

SOUTH SUDAN - DIMINISHED EXCITEMENT OF GREATER HOPE: CAUSES
OF INSTABILITY AND LACK OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
General Studies

by

PATRICK MKANDAWIRE, MAJOR, ZAMBIA ARMY
BPIR, University of Lusaka, Lusaka, Zambia, 2015

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2019

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited. United States Fair Use determination or copyright permission has been obtained for the use of pictures, maps, graphics, and any other works incorporated into the manuscript. This author may be protected by more restrictions in their home countries, in which case further publication or sale of copyrighted images is not permissible.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved</i> <i>OMB No. 0704-0188</i>		
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 14-06-2019		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2018 – JUN 2019	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE South Sudan—Diminished Excitement of Greater Hope: Causes of Instability and Lack of Economic Development			5a. CONTRACT NUMBER		
			5b. GRANT NUMBER		
			5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER		
			5d. PROJECT NUMBER		
			5e. TASK NUMBER		
			5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER		
6. AUTHOR(S) Major Patrick Mkandawire			8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER		
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)		
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)			11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)		
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT After more than a century of continued socio-economic and political marginalization of the black and Christian southern Sudan by both the Egyptian Condominium that colonized Sudan and the Arab and Muslim north, South Sudan eventually got independence on 09 July 2011. However, the great exuberance, anticipation and tears of joy that beamed on the faces of South Sudanese people on that day at the thought of lasting peace, stability and prosperity that come with self-determination would sadly diminish with a minor misunderstanding between two people. The consequences were deaths for hundreds of thousands of people, millions were displaced, some of whom sought refuge in neighboring countries. At the time of its independence, South Sudan was not ready for self-rule. Tribal chiefs had ruled their respective clans until rebel movements were formed to fight the oppressive North. Former guerilla leaders took over the reins of the new country that lacked almost everything from infrastructure, institutions, roads, healthcare and education. Since then, the newest country in the world has been rocked in one conflict after another, including one of the most violent civil wars in Africa that erupted in December 2013. One noteworthy fact about South Sudan is that any minor conflict quickly aligns itself on ethnic lines due to the nature of its demography.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS South Sudan, Instability and Lack of Economic Development					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES:	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
(U)	(U)	(U)	(U)	100	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: Patrick Mkandawire

Thesis Title: South Sudan: Diminished Excitement of Greater Hope, Causes of Instability and Lack of Economic Development

Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chair
Dirk C. Blackdeer, M.S.

_____, Member
Kailah M. Murry, M.A.

_____, Member
Paul R. Sanders, Ph.D.

Accepted this 14th day of June 2019 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

SOUTH SUDAN-DIMINISHED EXCITEMENT OF GREATER HOPE, CAUSES OF INSTABILITY AND LACK OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT by Major Patrick Mkandawire, 100 pages.

After more than a century of continued socio-economic and political marginalization of the black and Christian southern Sudan by both the Egyptian Condominium that colonized Sudan and the Arab and Muslim north, South Sudan eventually got independence on 09 July 2011. However, the great exuberance, anticipation and tears of joy that beamed on the faces of South Sudanese people on that day at the thought of lasting peace, stability and prosperity that come with self-determination would sadly diminish with a minor misunderstanding between two people. The consequences were deaths for hundreds of thousands of people, millions were displaced, some of whom sought refuge in neighboring countries. At the time of its independence, South Sudan was not ready for self-rule. Tribal chiefs had ruled their respective clans until rebel movements were formed to fight the oppressive North. Former guerilla leaders took over the reins of the new country that lacked almost everything from infrastructure, institutions, roads, health care and education. Since then, the newest country in the world has been rocked in one conflict after another, including one of the most violent civil wars in Africa that erupted in December 2013. One noteworthy fact about South Sudan is that any minor conflict quickly aligns itself on ethnic lines due to the nature of its demography.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to my MMAS committee chair, Mr. Dirk Blackdeer and the members of the committee, Dr. Paul Sanders and Ms. Kailah Murry, for helping me lay a firm foundation for this thesis. I gladly thank them for their relentless guidance and unwavering support in ensuring that this thesis is a complete success. I also wish to thank the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC) and the Department of Graduate Studies in particular for providing me with a rare opportunity of undergoing this Scholarship that is a crowning programme for my educational endeavors.

May I take this great opportunity to recognize the special assistance offered by Dr. Richard A. Olsen in ensuring the MMAS committee was assembled in time to allow for commencement of this research. His timely intervention gave me the impetus to soldier on with this work. I greatly thank him. Last but not the least, I thank Mr. Hebert F. Merrick, who offered me invaluable advice on matters concerning the thesis, whenever I consulted him. Finally, I wish to thank my beautiful family for their moral and spiritual support when I really needed it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
ACRONYMS.....	viii
ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
TABLES	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Background.....	4
Research Questions.....	8
Primary Research Question.....	8
Secondary Research Questions	9
Statement of the Problem.....	9
Significance of the Research.....	10
Limitations	11
Assumptions.....	11
Delimitation	12
Definition of Concepts.....	13
Summary.....	14
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	15
Introduction.....	15
Causes of the 2013 Civil War	16
Political Instability	16
A Weakly Institutionalized State	20
Ethnicity	24
Colonialism	28
Corruption of Government Officials.....	31
Historical Events That Have Contributed to the Current Instability	34
The Role of the International Community in the South Sudan Conflict	38
The United Nations	40
The African Union	42
Intergovernmental Authority on Development.....	43

Sudan.....	43
Key Individuals in the South Sudan Conflict	45
President Gaafar Mohamed el-Nimeiri, 1969-1985.....	45
Vice-president John Garang, 2005.....	46
President Salva Kiir Mayardit, 2005-present.....	46
Vice President Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon.....	47
Chief of Staff Paul Malong, 2014-2017.....	48
Factors of the Lack of Economic Development in South Sudan.....	49
High Illiteracy Levels	49
High Unemployment Rate	51
Lack of Accountability of Resources.....	51
Summary	52
 CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 54
Introduction.....	54
Research Methodology	54
Single Case Study Research Method	56
Data Collection Methods	58
Database	60
Data Analysis.....	60
Summary.....	61
 CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS	 62
Introduction.....	62
Factors at Play in the South Sudan Crisis and Their Contribution to the Conflict.....	62
Historical Factors Shaping the Environment	63
Other Factors at Play.....	65
Actors at Play in the South Sudan Conflict	69
International Actors- The UN and China.....	70
China	72
Continental-Regional Actors	73
Intergovernmental Authority on Developmental	74
Country Level State Actors Uganda-Kenya-Sudan-Ethiopia	75
Primary Reasons for Failure to Stabilize the Government	76
Summary.....	78
 CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	 79
Conclusions.....	79
Recommendations.....	80
Recommendations for Further Study.....	83
Summary.....	84
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 85

ACRONYMS

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CNPC	China National Petroleum Company
DIME	Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economic
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
PoC	Protection of Civilians
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
UN	United Nations
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. South Sudan Population Movement since 2013	3
Figure 2. Geographical Location of South Sudan	4
Figure 3. Political Map of South Sudan Showing the Ten Provinces	23
Figure 4. Research Methods Used in this Research	55
Figure 5. South Sudan Conflict as of December 2018	77

TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Reasons for Displacement of People in South Sudan by OXFAM	69
Table 2. Stakeholder Analysis Matrix.....	78

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which have negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. This thesis will also try to ascertain the extent to which the South Sudanese government is able to apply the instruments of National Power–Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economic (DIME) in order to steer the country into prosperity. This research is relevant because national and international policymakers need to understand the underlying principles of this phenomenon in order to make decisions that support stability and economic development.

Mismanagement, unequal distribution of state resources, coupled with corruption by political leaders and heads of governments have caused civil wars world over. Despite these civil wars being characterized by fog and friction, their outcome has usually been devastating. They have resulted in a massive loss of lives, refugee crises, famine, resentment of one ethnic group by another, instability, and overall underdevelopment of these countries. Such is the case with the instability that has rocked South Sudan for more than half a century, decades of wars over land ownership and other resources have left South Sudan one of the poorest countries in the world.¹

¹ Kathryn Reid, “South Sudan conflict, hunger: Facts, FAQs, and how to help,” World Vision, 16 January 2018, accessed 19 October 2018. <https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/south-sudan-refugee-crisis-facts>.

Sudan, in its entirety, had been a center of conflict since the early 1980s. Various rebel groups and militias fought each other over land and over other natural resources for almost three decades before the non-Arab south seceded from the Arab and Muslim north in 2011. Several militia groups were formed, both in the north and south of the country with a view to protecting themselves from many attacks believed to have been perpetrated by the Arab government in order to suppress any emerging opposing groups.

The 2011 referendum vote and eventual independence from the north were characterized by massive jubiliations in South Sudan, an indication that many people of the south were fed up of being oppressed by the north. The South Sudanese people must have begun imagining what self-rule could bring to them; among them peace and security, jobs and prosperity, healthcare, education, something most of them had never experienced before. This was just to be an elusive dream however, that has diminished, as two years down the line in December 2013 civil war erupted in South Sudan, resulting in an estimated death toll of 400,000.² More than 3.9 million people, including one million children, were displaced. Many went to seek refuge in neighboring countries as shown in Figure 1.

Affected communities and various actors described the humanitarian crisis and the suffering of the people in South Sudan between 2013 and 2016 as the most devastating ever. A Joint Agency Consolidated Gender Analysis by Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) indicated that 85 percent of the people who fled some parts

² CBC News, “South Sudan civil war has caused 400,000 ‘excess deaths,’” 27 September 2018, accessed 30 October 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/south-sudan-civil-war-deaths-1.4840424>.

of the country to other areas cited civil war as the main cause, while others attributed their flight as being due to ethnic clashes and communal violence, economic decline, and disease. Humanitarian aid had been insufficient to cover basic needs for the women, men, boys, and girls in all the areas where OXFAM conducted their studies.³ The fact that climatic shock was also prevalent in the fleeing crowds revealed the complex nature of the protracted South Sudan conflict.

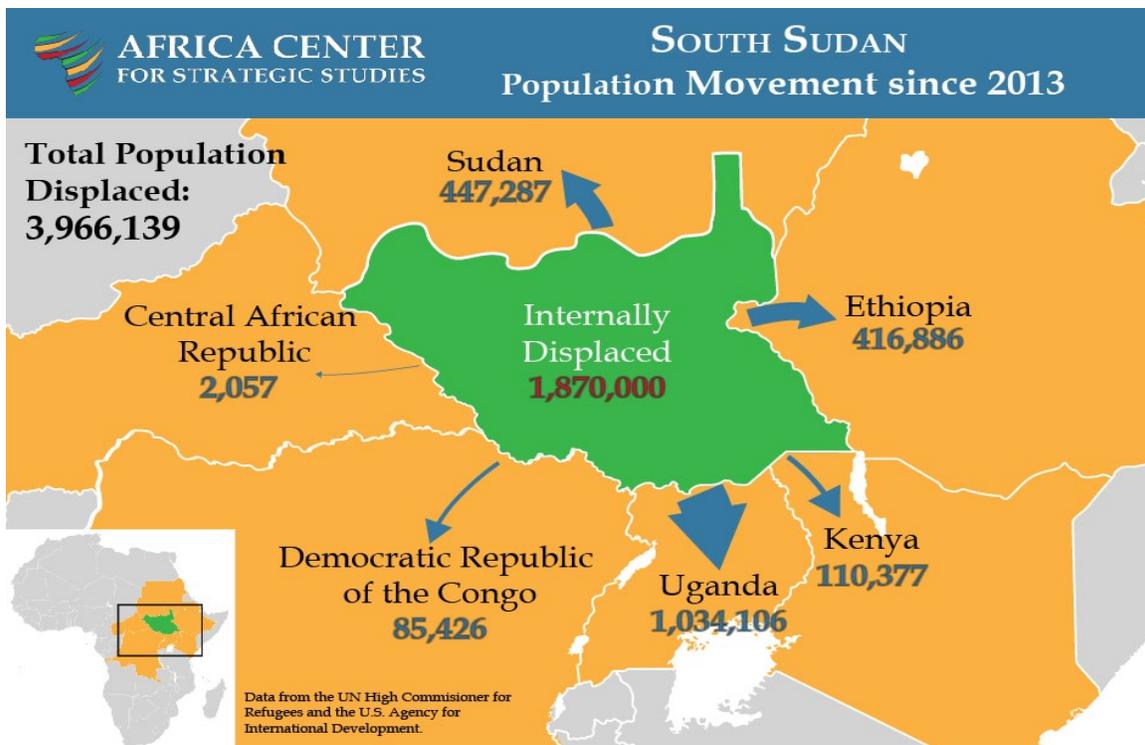


Figure 1. South Sudan Population Movement since 2013

Source: Africa Center for Strategic Studies, “South Sudan Conflict Drives Massive Population Movement,” 31 October 2017, accessed 8 October 2018, <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/south-sudan-conflict-drives-massive-population-movement>.

³ ReliefWeb, “South Sudan Gender,” 6 March 2017, accessed 11 March 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/south-sudan-gender-analysis-snapshot-situation-analysis-differential-impact>.

Background



Figure 2. Geographical Location of South Sudan

Source: Ngokland, “And so is true in South Sudan,” 22 June 2015, accessed 8 October 2018, <http://www.ngokland.com/and-so-is-true-in-south-sudan/>.

The Republic of South Sudan is a landlocked country located in East-Central Africa. It is surrounded by six neighboring countries; Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Central African Republic. The country gained its independence from the Republic of Sudan on 9 July 2011, following a referendum which passed with 98.83 percent of the vote. South Sudan immediately became the newest country in the world, with widespread recognition, and went on to sign the Geneva Conventions in July 2012. South Sudan is 239,285 square miles in size and has a population of approximately 12.5 million people. In 2013, South Sudan disintegrated into civil war after an alleged coup attempt by the Vice President Riek

Machar against the incumbent President Salva Kiir. Since then, more than three million people have been displaced, tens of thousands are estimated to have been killed, and up to six million, which is almost half of the total population, are said to require humanitarian assistance. A power-sharing agreement was signed between the warring parties in August 2018 in a bid to bring the five-year civil war to an end.⁴

Due to its strategic location, and the presence and uneven distribution of natural resources, Sudan has been a fertile country for instability since it became independent in 1956. The British colonial masters are known to have combined the two Sudan groups, the Arab north and the black south for easier control between 1899 and 1956. Their segregationist policies led to the south not being prepared to actively participate in governance after independence, resulting in huge economic differences and a deeply divided country. These differences contributed largely to conflicts in Sudan before the two separated.⁵ The first and continuous civil war lasted from 1955 to 1972, when the South rebelled against the rule of the North, feeling they were unjustly ruled.⁶ The Addis Ababa peace agreement of 1972 brought the end to this war, but all the Southern Sudan rebels gathered under the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM), the precursor to today's Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, or SPLM/A.

⁴ British Broadcasting Corporation, "South Sudan country profile," 6 August 2018, accessed 15 October 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14069082>.

⁵ Savo Heleta, "Roots of Sudanese Conflict are in the British colonial policies," *Sudan Tribune*, 13 January 2008, accessed 9 October 2018, <http://www.sudantribune.com/Roots-of-Sudanese-conflict-are-in,25558>.

⁶ Molly Zapata, "Sudan: Independence through Civil Wars, 1956-2005," The Enough Project, 13 December 2011, accessed 17 November 2018, <https://enoughproject.org/blog/sudan-brief-history-1956>.

The second major civil war broke out in 1983 and lasted up to 2005. It was as a result of accumulated anger among the southerners. When oil was discovered in southern Sudan in 1978, the north tried to redraw boundaries to seize the oil fields. When the southerners protested, the land was taken by force. In 1983, the President of Sudan Gaafar Nimeiri declared Islamic sharia law on the whole of Sudan. This further infuriated the Christian and animist people of the south, and civil war erupted. During this period, the government of Sudan began arming its proxy, local militiamen known as the People's Defence Forces (PDF) and the Murahaleen, to raid villages in the south. The same feat was later repeated in the Darfur region where the Janjaweed militiamen were armed by the government to raid locals—killing thousands of Sudanese people while others were raped, kidnapped, displaced and starved in an ethnic cleansing that the U.N officials later called the world's greatest humanitarian catastrophe.⁷

The Darfur region, west of Sudan, is mostly a desert where armed groups fought for scarce fertile land available. The most notable of these groups was the Arab Janjaweed (fighters on horsebacks), whose support by the government of Sudan was evidenced by the government airstrikes that usually preceded their ground attacks. They were specifically labeled as perpetrators for the infamous 2003 Darfur Genocide, which targeted ethnic cleansing of "Black Africans" and left 1.5 million people dead. The Janjaweed fought against the ethnic blacks Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM/Army), and the Justice for Equality Movement (JEM), which disintegrated into smaller armed

⁷ Smith E. Gayle and Rice E. Susan, *The Darfur Catastrophe* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 30 May 2004), accessed 20 April 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/the-darfur-catastrophe/>.

groups after the war due to disagreements. Although the wars in this part of Sudan are different from those that occurred between the south and north, they are significant for this research because they too displaced many people who have since fled to the south and formed part of the militia groups currently there. In 2005, another peace agreement known as the Nairobi Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed. This agreement gave South Sudan autonomy for a six-year trial period, after which a referendum to determine self-rule was to be organized.⁸

The first general elections held in more than twenty years in Sudan between 11 and 15 April 2010, resulted in the north voting for Omar Al-Bashir's party, the National Congress which received 68.24 percent of the vote. In the south, Salva Kiir won the presidency with a 93 percent vote. Following the expiration of the six-year trial period for self-rule, South Sudan voted in a historic referendum on 11 July 2011 in line with the CPA, with 98.83 percent voting in favor of a breakaway from the north. The newest country in the world joined the United Nations (UN) on 14 July 2011 as the 193rd nation to do so. The vote percentage and the celebrations that followed the announcement of the results were a clear indication of how the people of South Sudan craved for peace, which they had never experienced in their lifetime.⁹ They had hoped for freedom with better health care, education, and infrastructure.

⁸ Water for South Sudan, "A brief history of modern Sudan and South Sudan," 2018, accessed 17 November 2018, <https://www.waterforsouthsudan.org/brief-history-of-south-sudan/>.

⁹ David McKenzie, "Sudan president wins elections," *Cable News Network*, 26 April 2010, accessed 18 November 2018, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/africa/04/26/sudan.election/index.html>.

The people of South Sudan expected change—and quickly. However, development takes time to happen, and in the case of South Sudan, it may not be soon. Diplomatic relations with other countries must be established through which South Sudan may acquire outside funding, human expertise, advice and any other requirements for various developmental activities to start.¹⁰ With less than 30 percent literacy levels, South Sudan lacks the necessary intellectual capacity in many spheres of the government departments to access the much-needed information for developmental purposes. The Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA), though ill trained and ill-equipped, may prove handy in the whole building process in this war-torn country by providing labor and performing various other non-combatant roles. Further, the abundant natural resources South Sudan possesses must be put to good use and provide the required monies for revamping its economy, even though President Salva Kiir is on record to have said his country was bankrupt and that it definitely required external support.

Research Questions

Primary Research Question

What do national and international policymakers need to know about the complex nature of the South Sudanese conflict, politics, and socio-economic challenges in order to make policy decisions that support peace and development in that country?

¹⁰ ReliefWeb, “South Sudan Gender Analysis: A snapshot situation analysis of the differential impact of the humanitarian crisis on women, girls, men and boys in South Sudan,” 6 March 2017, accessed 11 March 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/south-sudan-gender-analysis-snapshot-situation-analysis-differential-impact>.

Secondary Research Questions

The following secondary questions must be answered in order to address the primary research question:

1. Why did civil war erupt in South Sudan in 2013, barely two years after gaining independence from the North?
2. To what extent have the historical events in the former Sudan contributed to the current instability?
3. Who are other actors and stakeholders? What are their interests, goals, capabilities, and weaknesses?
4. What does a variety of sources say are major contributing factors to lack of economic development in South Sudan?
5. After reviewing the nature of the conflict, politics, and the socio-economic challenges in South Sudan, what are some of the recommendations that can be made for the government of South Sudan, actors, and stakeholders to act upon?

Statement of the Problem

Almost a decade after gaining independence from the Arab-north and Muslim Sudanese government, which was preceded by more than half a century of consistent policy marginalization and underdevelopment, the non-Arab South Sudan still wallows in extreme poverty. South Sudan seceded from the rest of Sudan on 9 July 2011, and still remains one of the poorest countries in the world. It also has one of the worst road networks in Africa such that 60 percent of the country is inaccessible during the rainy

season.¹¹ In addition, the government of South Sudan seems to lack ideas with regard to its priorities, where construction of schools should be highly prioritized in order to embark on reducing the high rate of illiteracy that is estimated at 73 percent of the total population. On average, 84 percent of the women population in South Sudan can neither read nor write, and only 20 percent of the population has access to healthcare.¹²

Ideally, South Sudan, which boasts of possessing some of the largest oil reserves in Africa, amounting to 75 percent of the total oil reserves in the whole of Sudan,¹³ and diamonds and gold, should be experiencing massive economic development, with the provision of all the socio-economic necessities for the people. In reality, the newest country in Africa, if not in the whole world, is insecure and lacks almost everything; infrastructure, schools, hospitals, energy, water, and even fuel sometimes. It is this information gap between the ideal and the real situation, which has necessitated the conduct of this research.

Significance of the Research

The significance of this study is to provide information about the lack of socio-economic development in South Sudan with its contributing factors. A basic

¹¹ World Food Programme, “South Sudan: 9 Hunger Facts,” 10 April 2014, accessed 16 October 2018, <https://www.wfp.org/stories/south-sudan-9-hunger-facts>.

¹² Deutsche Welle, “Poor despite oil – independent South Sudan,” 9 July 2012, accessed 16 October 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/poor-despite-oil-independent-south-sudan/a-16082565>.

¹³ Irina Slav, “Sudan, South Sudan to Jointly Repair Oil Infrastructure,” OilPrice, 8 June 2018, accessed 5 November 2018, <https://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Sudan-South-Sudan-To-Jointly-Repair-Oil-Infrastructure.html>.

understanding of this complex situation is necessary with a view that it will complement the existing literature on the problems experienced by South Sudan and in turn, make possible recommendations to the problems. This research is relevant because national and international policymakers need to understand the bedrocks of this phenomenon in order to make decisions that support stability and economic development. Although this study is for academic purposes, it is the researcher's hope that the information provided herein, will increase awareness of the prevailing situation in South Sudan and an insight of the parties, which could play a role to improve living conditions for the people.

Limitations

This study is not expected to be without limitations, which are likely to affect the findings. Firstly, the study did not involve an application of sampling methods to select subjects to be included in the research for the provision of primary information. Key informants, who are supposed to be residents or former residents of South Sudan with the required experience in South Sudan, could not be made available. Secondly, obtaining the information from the residents of South Sudan could be a very expensive assignment to undertake by the researcher. Third, the researcher relied on online video clips to try and obtain first-hand information from some of the main players in the South Sudan quandary.

Assumptions

A vast majority of data sources consulted for this research is from organizations that are operating or have operated in South Sudan before. It included data from NGOs publications, video interviews of key informants that include the President of South

Sudan, the main opposition groups, and other main players in the conflict. Most of these sources are non-peer reviewed, but the similarities in their contents are an indication of their credibility. Sources included stakeholder reports and journals on the civil war in South Sudan, and reports from renowned journalists and news firms. Secondary data included paper presentations and other research on similar subjects. A good amount of data sources had similar information on the instability in South Sudan. Although all these sources accessed were in the English language, it is the assumption of the researcher that even if data from any other languages were accessed, it would not have made any significant additions to this work.

Delimitation

This research examined the major contributing factors to the lack of socio-economic development in South Sudanese since that country gained independence from the North in 2011. These factors included the recent colonial historical events through which South Sudan was governed by both the British Condominium before 1956, and by respective Khartoum governments over the years that followed the Sudanese independence. Further, the study looked at the causes of the 2013 civil war that erupted in South Sudan, resulting in the death of 383, 000 people and displacing more than 3.9 million. Generally, major actors and stakeholders, including the international community, selected individuals, and the roles each of them played in the overall tempestuous situation that created instability in the whole country were analyzed. The thesis recommends some approaches the government of South Sudan and the international community must employ in order to bring stability to the newest country in Africa.

Definition of Concepts

The following concepts will be defined to enhance the understanding of this research:

Friction: A protracted ideological, political, and economic disagreement between two or more groups.

Civil War: This is a disagreement between two or more groups within the state, nation, or country, which includes fighting against each other in order to topple the existing government or to express distaste of the status quo.

Democracy: A form of governance in which citizens decide the activities, which involve governance. It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Conflict: The resistance experienced when two forces are engaged in war. It may be characterized by lethal action.

Kleptocracy: A government ruled by corrupt politicians who use their political power to receive kickbacks, bribes, and special favors at the expense of the populace.

Militia: An army or some other fighting organization of non-professional soldiers, citizens of a nation, or subjects of a state who are employed for military service.

Republic: The state in which supreme power resides in citizens through their voting of the presidents and representatives.

Security: A situation where people are protected by their government.

Socio-economics: An analysis of how societies progress, stagnate, or regress because of their local or regional economy, or the global economy.

Stability: The quality, state, or degree of being stable and avoid potential conflict in the country.

Unemployment Rate: The number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labor force.

Summary

Chapter one provides a detailed background and framework for the South Sudan instability from pre-independence to secession/independence, and through the present time. The 2013 South Sudan civil war exacerbated the complications associated with national building. The country has lagged behind in its quest for national development, diminishing hopes of prosperity that beamed on people's faces throughout the country on 11 July 2011.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which have negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. This thesis, in addition, investigated the extent to which the government of South Sudan is able to apply the instruments of national power DIME in trying to build the new country. To better understand this phenomenon, this study has addressed several key areas, including the causes of the 2013 South Sudan civil war, other actors and stakeholders involved in the conflict, including the international community and their goals, interests, capabilities, and weaknesses, and historical events that have made this new country so fragile.

The continued instability in South Sudan has generated much concern from the academicians, scholars, and authors alike because of its unique nature of being a new country in Africa. Eight years after independence, the country has not achieved anything tangible on its road to overall national development. Scholars are also concerned because of the deaths, suffering, and displacements of millions of people, which have occurred as a result of the civil war that started in 2013. The war has also created a refugee crisis in neighboring countries, and tribal differences, yet the international community, regional and sub-regional organizations appear reluctant to set conditions for stability and economic development in South Sudan. In order to make this research more reliable, a critical review of various literature and studies on this similar subject has been conducted.

The research systematically evaluated South Sudan's failure to embark on meaningful socio-economic development, and in turn focused on finding the answer to the research question: What caused the 2013 South Sudanese civil war, barely two years after gaining independence from the north and how has the war affected the overall situation? This was meant to establish a basis for the subsequent research questions to be answered as well. This chapter has progressively moved from the historical perspective in as far as the civil war is concerned to the current situation, through the wider consultation of various researchers on the same subject. A substantial amount of effort was directed to examining the literature on Sudan as a whole, the pre-independence period through the South Sudan independence, the 2013 civil war, and to the current situation.

Causes of the 2013 Civil War

Political Instability

According to Fr. Daniele Moschetti (2018), in an article entitled *A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan*, the political struggle for power between President Salva Kiir and his rival Vice President Riek Machar is at the root of the 2013 civil war.¹⁴ This was despite the existence of minor tribal conflicts, which at times had resulted in the loss of life. After independence in 2011, President Kiir, from the majority Dinka tribe appointed Machar, as Vice President from the minority Nuer to signify unity of purpose. As Vice President, Machar openly disapproved Kiir's leadership of the country and his handling of the economy. Among his dislikes was the shutting down of oil production by

¹⁴ Daniele Moschetti, "A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan," Comboni Missionaries, 2018, accessed 25 November 2018, <https://www.combonimissionaries.org/a-brief-history-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.

the government six months after gaining independence due to differences with northern Sudan. He announced his intentions to challenge Kiir for the presidency in 2015. This did not appease Kiir, who previously claimed that Machar had attempted to kill him during the July 2013 coup attempt. Later that year, he responded by firing Machar, including twenty-eight of the cabinet ministers and their deputies.¹⁵

In a Jeff Koinange television interview on 3 August 2016, President Salva Kiir confirmed that Riek Machar had planned a coup against his government¹⁶ and that he had carried a gun to his office. He further said that Riek Machar and the group were impatient to wait for their time to rule and had planned an assassination on the president during a weekly council of ministers meeting in July 2013. He moved to the meeting with a motorcade of ten vehicles, which was later followed by another twenty vehicles, including an ambulance, all carrying armed soldiers and weapons. The plan was for the motorcade to carry out the assassination while the convoy of twenty that followed was to provide guard for Machar as he declared himself president. The coup was foiled after Kiir's guard became aware of the assassination plan. Violence immediately ensued outside the venue of the meeting, and by December 2013, it had spread throughout South Sudan and quickly aligned itself along ethnic lines.

¹⁵ Riek Machar, "Riek Machar Biography. Education, Wealth, Family," *VenasNews*, 16 September 2016, accessed 9 December 2018, <https://venasnews.com/riek-machar-biography-educationwealthfamily/>,

¹⁶ Salva Kiir, interview by Jeff Koinange, 3 August 2016, "Dr Riek Machar carried gun to my office," *KTN News*, accessed 19 October 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOQEYFk-4do>.

A similar study by Lauren Blanchard, a specialist in African Affairs, titled *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead* indicated that in December 2013, political tensions among key political leaders erupted in violence. She argued that the political dispute that triggered the civil war was not based on ethnic identity but that it overlapped with preexisting ethnic and political grievances, sparking armed clashes and targeted ethnic killings in the capital Juba, and then beyond.¹⁷ Machar continues to deny having plotted a coup as alleged by President Kiir, that subsequently led to the deaths of hundreds of civilians in attacks targeting Machar's ethnic group, the Nuer in Juba, in the first days of the conflict.

Revenge attacks by the Nuer resulted in widespread retaliatory violence. Machar, with the support of several senior Nuer military commanders, subsequently declared a rebellion, earning himself a name *rebel leader*. The conflict turned into civil war between the government forces supported by the Mathiang Anyoor militia and the forces aligned with Machar, which triggered mass displacements, compounding the country's vast preexisting needs and development challenges. After his dismissal from the government, Machar went to head the Sudan People's Liberation Army-in Opposition (SPLA-IO), where he was joined by cabinet ministers who were dismissed with him. Many elected members of parliament, previously belonging to Kiir's SPLA, that came to be called the South Sudan People's Defence Forces (SSPDF), openly sided with Machar's opposition

¹⁷ Lauren Ploch Blanchard, R43344, *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 22 September 2016), accessed 24 November 2018, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43344.pdf>.

and were later expelled from the house. These were instrumental in recruiting and organizing the opposition military that subsequently protracted the civil war.

By the time the August 2015 ceasefire agreement was reached and signed, fifty thousand or more people had died, while more than 2.2 million were internally displaced. A deadlier civil war ensued immediately following the 2015 ceasefire agreement, as some warring factions were displeased with the terms of the agreement. From then on, there had been continuous fighting in South Sudan until the time of the proposed ceasefire agreement in 2015.

According to Edmund Yakani of the Independent Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (CEPO) in Juba, Kiir's actions to dismiss the vice-president, party secretary general, and the national ministers and their deputies was a strong indicator of instability in the political system. These actions reflected deeper problems. He added that among the negative implications were the possibility that there would be no elections and no registration of political parties.¹⁸ This collapse of Kiir's government raised the prospect of escalating violence in South Sudan, as various stakeholders, including the UN, aid agencies, and local analysts warned of a full-blown catastrophe if Kiir did not state when a new government was to be formed. By this time, fighting between the army, rebels and the rival tribes was going on in the eastern Jonglei state. Kiir's popularity had suffered from a perceived failure to end high poverty rates, lack of infrastructure, internal repression, and widespread official corruption.

¹⁸ Simon Tisdall, "South Sudan President Sacks Cabinet in Power Struggle," *The Guardian*, 24 July 2013, accessed 17 November 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/24/south-sudan-salva-kiir-sacks-cabinet>.

A Weakly Institutionalized State

According to Alex de Waal (2016) a researcher and expert on African issues in his article *Understanding the Roots of Conflict in South Sudan*, the reason things turned from a political crisis to a civil war was not because of the ethnic divisions, but because the army was not a professionalized institution. It was rather a collection of militias.¹⁹ The Army was an assortment of ill-trained groups of individuals brought together by respective former rebel leaders after independence in 2011. Each armed group was organized on the basis of personal or ethnic loyalty to its commander, who was now highly ranked in the unity government.

Due to lack of institutionalization, oil revenues could not trickle down to carry out developmental tasks and ended up in the hands of top officials, who owned individual oil wells. This, according to de Waal, brought about ethnically based grievances and ethnically based narratives of fear such that when fighting ensued, people fled to their affiliates for security. Riek Machar, not having the resources that the government had when he was fired, immediately fell back on ethnic mobilization as it was the easiest and cheapest way. Primarily, the conflict became Nuer versus Dinka due to lack of professionalism and institutionalization.

In another study conducted by the Sudd Institute in 2014, titled *South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post Conflict Prospects*, a conclusion reached highlighted causes of the conflicts as unclear power structure within the ruling Sudanese

¹⁹ Alex de Waal, interview by Katherine Noel, 14 September 2016, "Understanding the Roots of Conflict in South Sudan," Council on Foreign Relations, accessed 20 November 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/interview/understanding-roots-conflict-south-sudan>.

People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) party and the weak institutional restraints on excessive power in the hands of a few individuals. Others were lack of adherence to the party constitution, and the growing number of factions and power centers within the SPLM.²⁰ Despite the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with Sudan, and subsequently becoming a ruling party, the SPLM maintained its pre-CPA politico-military high command hierarchy. When the time came in 2005 to re-structure the SPLM-led national government, assignment to government positions was done on the basis of their past military seniority in the Movement. This was clearly evidenced through the appointments of the president, vice president and the speaker of the National Legislative Assembly, that followed the order of their military seniority when they fought against Sudan as rebels. Even in their official capacities, they would rather be addressed by military titles than the official designations associated with their incumbent positions.

The use of military ranks by the SPLM leaders after the signing of the CPA and before the country attained its independence was rational, but it was unnecessary thereafter because they were no longer serving as military generals. Keeping the Movement's hierarchy is tantamount to autocracy, and presents a challenge to civilian leadership, which should be built on individual aspirations, experience, merits, and integrity. It further infringes on democratic values of free and competitive politics. The state of affairs in South Sudan today, and within the SPLM certainly shows this reality. Understanding that leadership can only be accessed on the order of wartime seniority

²⁰ Sudd Institute, "South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-conflict Prospects," 8 March 2014, accessed 19 December 2018, <https://www.suddinstitute.org/publications/show/south-sudan-s-crisis-its-drivers-key-players-and-post-conflict-prospects>.

clearly means that officials can only ascend to the top positions through this dictatorial line, which is very unsustainable.

In an interview with Samir Bol, Dr. Luka B. Deng Kuol, Director and Associate Professor at the Centre for Peace & Development, University of Juba, weak institutions in South Sudan are pointed out as the biggest problem facing that country. He cited the major problems on-going at that time to have started within SPLM because there was no tradition of democratic practices in the party, such that even a small crisis could not be contained. The country's stability was vulnerable because it still depended on the SPLM as it had during the independence movement."Dr Deng Kuol summed up major causes of instability in South Sudan as being a failure to put oil revenues to good use for the benefit of the people, weak institutions of governance, and what he called the chaos of liberation defined by the difficulties in the transition from liberation to the governing phase.²¹

Another study conducted by Clémence Pinaud, an expert on South Sudan and Africa, titled *Who's behind South Sudan's return to fighting?*, adds that the 2013 civil war was partly fueled by Paul Malong, a former ruling SPLA chief of General Staff and former governor of Northern Bahr El Ghazal.²² She writes that Malong recruited and trained militias in his area of Northern El Ghazal province located north of the country as

²¹ Global South Development Magazine, "Causes of Conflict in South Sudan: Oil and Weak Institutions," accessed 12 December 2018, <https://www.gsdmagazine.org/causes-of-conflict-in-south-sudan-oil-and-weak-institutions/>.

²² Clémence Pinaud, "Who's behind South Sudan's return to fighting?" African Arguments, 11 July 2016, accessed 28 November 2018, <https://Africanarguments.org/2016/07/11/whos-behind-south-sudans-return-to-fighting/>.

shown in Figure 3 below, following the approval by Kiir in a clear indication of weak institutions.



Figure 3. Political Map of South Sudan Showing the Ten Provinces

Source: Maps of the World, “Political Map of South Sudan,” accessed 22 November 2018, <https://www.mapsofworld.com/south-sudan/map.html>.

Having been appointed governor by Kiir in 2008, Malong managed to convince Kiir of the need to create a militia, which he called Mathiang Anyoor, meaning “brown caterpillar” or Gel-Beny, translated as “rescue the president.” This force was meant to be loyal to both Malong and Kiir as episodes of fighting with both South Sudanese rebels and Sudanese forces continued.

On the onset of the 2013 conflict, Paul Malong with his Mathiang Anyoor militia group organized the massacre of thousands of the ethnic Nuer in Juba that led to Machar fleeing the country. This was followed by his promotion to Chief of General Staff, the position he used to dominate the entire system of the SPLA. Further, Malong is reported to have invested money, that he embezzled through the government militia training programme, in several companies and used it to strategically sustain military allegiances both within and outside the SPLA, just like he did before independence. He commanded more power than the minister of defense, a situation that brought rifts between the two men. President Salva Kiir was aware of this situation but, being once under the command of Malong, seemed to grant him immunity unconditionally. Malong was fired later in 2017 when he declined to return embezzled monies to the government.

Ethnicity

The SUDD institute's special report titled *South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-Conflict Prospects* states that even though the South Sudanese crisis strictly developed as a political issue within the party, there were underlying post-CPA social issues that had not been addressed, that were responsible for escalating a political dispute into an open war. These include the history of the liberation process induced ethnic rivalry, disequilibrium in the army, and poor social indicators. After its founding in the mid-1980s, the SPLM experienced many internal tensions, including the split between the unionists and separatists in 1991. These splits unfortunately pitted the Dinka community against that of the Nuer, a political rivalry of bitterness and hatred that had

gotten worse over the years starting with the “Bor Massacre” in which thousands of Dinka civilians were killed on orders from Riek Machar.²³

Greg Larson, Associate Director, for the Valentino Achak Deng Foundation, and Water for South Sudan, Inc. in an article titled *A brief history of modern Sudan and South Sudan* states that the political battles that eventually turned into violent ethnic conflicts, took place in three states known as the Upper Nile-Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile, an area completely isolated from the rest of the country. Upper Nile had never been administered by the government since 2013, and the citizens in this part of the country held resentment views towards the government. Almost all rebellions have been emanating from this region even before the country’s independence.

This ethnic rivalry coupled with poor provision of social services by the government makes a deadly combination of factors, such that it becomes very easy to arouse the youth’s frustrations of the government and easily form a rebellious force. The absence of schools, jobs, and good living conditions exacerbates the likelihood of ethnic rivalry engulfing the whole country in a short period of time. As was the case when conflict along ethnic lines ensued from Kiir and Machar’s political differences in 2013.

On 12 April 2017, Elias Biryabarema of Reuters reported that the UK had classified the killings in South Sudan as amounting to genocide. He cited British Secretary for International Development Priti Patel as having said this, and at the same time, she urged all African leaders to “step up” and not just rely on others for a response. She declared the violence in South Sudan as genocide on the grounds that it was tribal,

²³ Sudd Institute, “South Sudan’s Crisis.”

where the superior Dinka tribe used state resources, including government soldiers, to massacre the minority Nuer people and smaller tribes, and burn their villages.” In addition, and after visiting Africa’s newest country, Patel told journalists in neighboring Uganda that President Salva Kiir’s government was blocking the Nuer and other displaced tribes’ access to humanitarian aid. Civilians who fled the violence to neighboring countries confirmed that mass killings had been perpetrated by government troops, mostly drawn from Kiir’s Dinka tribe, and that the ethnic violence in South Sudan had been in existence even before the country got its independence.²⁴

The Dinka tribe accounts for South Sudan’s largest of the sixty-four tribes with 35 percent of the population. The second largest group is the Nuer, who are predominantly nomadic, moving from place-to-place in search of grazing land for their animals. The Nuer usually fought other tribes, including the Dinka, the Murle, the Shilluk and many others. Therefore, the political conflict between Kiir and Machar can be said to have only ignited the already existing hate among these tribes into widespread ethnic violence.

In a similar study by Brenna Yowell, titled *The Borgen Project*, conflict in South Sudan broke out between the country’s most prominent tribes when President Salva Kiir of the Dinka tribe, removed Vice President Riek Machar of the Nuer tribe from office and accused him of a failed coup attempt. Since then, violence continued between Kiir and Machar’s respective tribes until the signing of the shaky ceasefire peace agreement in August 2015, which was as a result of the pressure from the international community.

²⁴ Elias Biryabarema, “UK says killings in South Sudan conflict amount to genocide,” *Reuters*, 12 April 2017, accessed 18 December 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southsudan-war/uk-says-killings-in-south-sudan-conflict-amount-to-genocide-idUSKBN17E2TF>.

The United States Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair had, in 2010, forewarned that over the following five years, a new mass killing or genocide was very likely. True to his word, tensions escalated into greater ethnic violence in 2016 than in 2013, that even prompted the U.N to warn the international community to prepare for another genocide like that of Rwanda in 1994.²⁵

A publication by the Africa, Faith and Justice Network titled *Brief Profile of the Civil War in South Sudan* described the interpretation by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) of the conflict as exclusively a race for power between Kiir and Machar as a tip of the iceberg. The Network states that the conflict was in fact a much more complex problem, whose solution must involve an agreement with a more regional scope since there are other rebel ethnic groups aligned to some of the sixty-four different ethnic groups. The main parties involved in the civil war were troops of President Salva Kiir representing the government and the opposing forces of former vice president Machar. Other minor rebel groups include the Shilluk, Bari, Zande, Balanda, the Murle and many more. These are some other groups in the region of Equatoria who have collaborated in the past with the SPLA and were now opposed to both Dinka and Nuer hegemony. From time to time new factions arose against the ruling Government, but not necessarily aligned with the opponent Riek Machar.

²⁵ Brenna Yowell, "Ten Facts about the Ethnic Violence in South Sudan," The Borgen Project, 25 December 2016, accessed 18 December 2018, <https://borgenproject.org/ethnic-violence-in-south-sudan/>.

There appear to be more than six hundred “military generals” in South Sudan alone, a number that equals almost those of the U.S or Russian militaries.²⁶ Some generals belong to the regular army, some to opposition forces, while others have set up their own autonomous ethnic militia. Some move from one political faction to another driven by personal interests or the clan of origin. From the time South Sudan gained independence in July 2011 to the outbreak of the civil war in December 2013, the Kiir government had integrated various rebel groups into the national army and government. Some generals have even become ministers at the national or local levels, while others occupied key roles in some of the thirty-five states in which South Sudan is now divided.²⁷ What sustained this corrupt system was the oil money, but when the extraction reached minimum levels due to many of the oil wells being damaged or destroyed by the civil war, the integrated generals took up sides along tribal lines again.

Colonialism

The roots of conflict in the two Sudans, where peace has lasted only for less than a decade since 1956, are said to be in the British colonial policies. Savo Heleta, a researcher at Nelson Mandela University in South Africa, in his article *Roots of Sudanese conflict are in the British colonial policies* writes that Sudan was ruled by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium since 1899, where in reality Egypt had little influence.²⁸ The

²⁶ Africa Faith and Justice Network, “Brief Profile of the Civil War in South Sudan,” 20 February 2018, accessed 19 December 2018, <http://afjn.org/brief-profile-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.

²⁷ Moschetti, “A brief history.”

²⁸ Heleta, “Roots of Sudanese Conflict are in the British colonial policies.”

British did not have the force to occupy Sudan at the time, in their quest to control half of the world. Hence they used the “divide and rule” policy in order for the Sudanese to distrust, fear, and fight each other, instead of their colonizers. The “divide and rule” policy separated southern Sudanese provinces from the rest of the country and slowed down their economic and social development.

The British authorities claimed that the south was not ready to open up to the modern world, and instead, heavily invested in the Arab north, modernizing, and liberalizing political and economic institutions and improving social, educational, and health services. While the “divide and rule” policy separated the north from the south, the British gave power to the tribal chiefs in the south, which separated the south into hundreds of informal chiefdoms and ruled through them using the “indirect rule” policy. Citing Albino, (1977), Heleta states that the policy of the British government in southern Sudan was to build up a series of self-contained tribal units with structure and organization based upon indigenous customs, traditions, and beliefs. This explains why South Sudan of today is still highly organized on tribal lines; its people are very illiterate and highly underdeveloped.

In a similar article titled *South Sudan: The Only Solution*, Hank Cohen, a former U.S Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs believes that the British “indirect rule” policy retarded interactions among different groups in the south and led to divisions and conflict between them, thus helping the north. He adds that South Sudan was in fact born a failed state and that the Sudanese Government under Arab domination between 1954 and 2005 had done nothing for South Sudan during fifty years of independence

from the British.²⁹ They put in no infrastructure, no health system, and no educational system, and that anything useful was the work of the Christian churches and NGOs. Therefore, post-independence conflict in Sudan was largely caused by the ethnic divisions created by the British colonial administration between 1899 and 1956. The south became economically underdeveloped and isolated from the rest of the country due to the British segregationist policies.

Consequently, due to much underdevelopment, lack of political organization and unity, and political marginalization, the South was not able to undertake any developmental projects after gaining independence in 2011. Neither was it prepared for this independence. The differences created by the British are vividly visible today in the two Sudans, through a deeply divided and economically differentiated Arab-dominated north, economically and politically stronger than an underdeveloped and weaker African south. The southern provinces, sidelined during the British rule, continued to be marginalized and underdeveloped in independent Sudan controlled by the northerners until the 2011 referendum for secession. These differences every now and then triggered the southern rebellion and two civil wars that ravaged the country for the most part of the second half of the twentieth century.

When the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium divided Sudan into north and south along racial lines, the fighting usually took place in the center of the country along the border area. These fights were either entirely among northern rebel groups or those of the

²⁹ Herman J. Cohen, "South Sudan: The Only Solution," *Hank Cohen's Africa* (blog), 26 August 2014, accessed 20 December 2018, <http://www.cohenonafrika.com/South-Sudan>.

south. This assertion is confirmed by Marina Ottaway, a scholar and researcher in Middle East and African studies, as well as a former lecturer at various universities in Ethiopia, Zambia, Egypt and South Africa. In her May 2016 article, titled *Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict*, Marina argues that conflict in Sudan had never been a bilateral affair between the north and south. She contends that the North was extremely unstable politically such that power switched back and forth between military and civilian governments, ranging from those dominated by the left to those with an Islamist orientation.³⁰ Likewise, the South was generally resentful of the dominant North but also deeply divided along tribal lines. These divisions were systematically exploited by northern governments to weaken the southern rebel movements. When oil in commercial quantities was discovered in 1978 around the Heglig and Bentiu areas, along the border, the situation became more dangerous because it was located in an area where the boundary was not so well defined by the British colonialists, and so, both the North and South claimed ownership.

Corruption of Government Officials

Corruption in South Sudan is present in all sectors of the economy and at all levels of the state apparatus. It manifests itself in various forms, including financial and political corruption, patronage, pervasive tribalism and misuse of power. John Prendergast, who has both lived and worked in South Sudan for thirty years, in his article to *The Paper Tiger in South Sudan* titled *Threats without Consequences for Atrocities*

³⁰ Marina Ottaway and Mai El-Sadany, *Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict*, The Carnegie Papers (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2016), accessed 20 September 2018, https://carnegieendowment.org/files/sudan_conflict.pdf.

and Kleptocracy writes that after extensive analysis undertaken by his colleagues at the *Enough Project*, their collective conclusion was that the primary cause for the atrocities and instability that marked South Sudan's short history was the violent and kleptocratic nature of government and how quickly this government had embraced these vices.

High-level corruption and extreme violence have been part of the system where control of the government means control of a vast wealth-generating machine—the oil.³¹ Using extreme violence to keep control of government resources is not only viewed as the only way, but it is the only way the political elite use to enrich themselves at the expense of providing essential services for the poor people of Sudan. They buy guns and arm their respective ethnic groups in order to have security for the stolen public wealth. Unless this violent kleptocratic system is addressed head-on by policymakers internationally, the billions of dollars spent annually for peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, and the ongoing diplomacy and assistance supporting the peace deal there will simply be treating symptoms and not addressing the primary cause of the conflict. Prendergast (2016) argues that while it is not uncommon for political elites to exploit power for personal gain, South Sudan stood out, as it had been struck by an attitude of impunity among the South Sudanese former rebels, who are now in government.

Family members for both Salva Kiir and Riek Machar, as well as those of top-ranking officials in the South Sudanese government, lead luxurious lifestyles through their personal oil deals at the expense of the country, which is ranked one of the poorest

³¹ John Prendergast, “The Paper Tiger in South Sudan: Threats without Consequences for Atrocities and Kleptocracy,” *The Enough Project*, 24 May 2016, accessed 24 October 2018, <https://enoughproject.org/reports/paper-tiger-south-sudan-threats-without-consequences-atrocities-and-kleptocracy>.

in the world. Citing a report by the Sentry, a partnership of rights advocates and policy experts, founded by Actor George Clooney and John Prendergast, Rick Gladstone of the New York Times, reported that there was a direct causal link between public corruption and armed conflict in South Sudan. Contrary to perceptions that the conflict that first erupted in 2013 is based on ethnic lines between Mr. Kiir and Mr. Machar, the real struggle is over control of the country's vast mineral and oil resources.³²

Many of the six hundred generals in both the army and government own personal oil wells. They take advantage of the brutal civil war to remain in control of these resources, and in turn use the state-owned oil company, the Nile Petroleum Corporation to conduct business on their behalf so that these deals appear to be legal. The oil company is directly under the control of President Salva Kiir and his inner circle. Tens of thousands of people have been killed, mass rape has been used as a weapon, more than two million civilians have been displaced internally, and more than five million, which is almost half the population, need food aid.

An overview of corruption and anti-corruption in South Sudan by the Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, the Transparency International, and the Christian Michelsen Institute assert that grand corruption is a serious problem in South Sudan where officials take advantage of inadequate budget monitoring facilities to divert public funds for personal gain. Both the Head of the UN Mission to South Sudan and President Salva Kiir have called on the international community to help trace and repatriate funds that have

³² Rick Gladstone, "South Sudan Leaders Amass Great Wealth as Nation Suffers," *The New York Times*, 13 September 2016, accessed 20 December 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/13/world/africa/south-sudan-salva-kiir-riek-machar-corruption.html>.

been deposited abroad by the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) officials. Kiir, in an interview with Jeff Koinage of KTN news Kenya, accused seventy-five current and former top government officials of embezzling US\$4 billion of public funds, through various unfulfilled official deals and illegal payments, and had written to them to return the funds anonymously to the government account in Kenya.

In the video, Kiir declares that most of these funds had been taken out of the country and deposited in foreign accounts, while some of it was used to purchase properties, often paid in cash. From the time the letters were written to December 2014, about US \$60 million of the money misappropriated in various ministries had been recovered.³³ Because every government employee is aware of the top government officials' corruption, it is very difficult to do business or access government services without anyone asking for bribes.

Historical Events That Have Contributed to the Current Instability

An August 2014 special report by the SUDD Institute highlights that the internal crises within the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A) are as old as the institution itself. It states that at the inception of the movement in 1983, there were disagreements over the vision as well as the leadership, leading to an internal fight between two factions: one made up of "separatists" whose primary objective was an outright independence of South Sudan, while the other faction was led by "unionists"

³³ Magali Mores, "U4 Expert Answer: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption in South Sudan," U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 4 March 2013, accessed 21 December 2018, <https://www.u4.no/publications/south-sudan-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption.pdf>.

who advocated for the transformation of the old Sudan into a “New Sudan”. Although the differences were basically tactical and ideological, the fight that ensued between these two factions pitted the Nuer against the Dinka at the end, which was the beginning of the political rivalry between these two ethnic groups.³⁴ The SPLM unionists won eventually, and the leaders of the separatist faction were either killed or absorbed into the SPLM/A. Many of the militia problems that confronted the SPLA throughout the liberation course, particularly in Upper Nile, were rooted in this history and are linked to the current crisis, as the political upheavals within the movement did not stop.

In another article *South Sudan: Civil war, predation and the making of a military aristocracy* by Clemence Pinaud published in April 2014, Riek Machar was in tears as he admitted to ordering a series of raids commonly known as the Bor massacre, that cost thousands of southern Sudanese lives, mostly Dinka, which Amnesty International estimated to be around two thousand. This followed the failed coup plot, which Riek Machar and Lam Akol, along with others, announced in August 1991. They claimed to have overthrown the then leader of the movement, Dr. John Garang De Mabior. Although the attempted coup failed, it created, for the first time a major split in the movement. The breakaway group formed the Nasir faction, named after a little town located in eastern Upper Nile where the group was based. The split was a major setback for the SPLM/A, as it gave the Khartoum government an upper hand in the conflict. The movement was nearly crushed between 1992 and 1994. As usual, the majority of the Nuer supported the breakaway group while the Dinka backed the mainstream.

³⁴ Pinaud, “Who’s behind South Sudan’s return to fighting?”

In support of Clemence Pinaud's findings, the London Evening Post of 16 August 2011, titled *Riek Machar in tears as he admits to 1991 Bor massacres*, states that earlier on the SPLM Nasir faction was weak militarily, prompting Riek Machar, its leader, to negotiate and sign the 1997 Khartoum Peace Agreement with the Sudanese government, and without the consent of the mainstream SPLM.³⁵ Part of what seemed to have pushed Riek Machar to reach a deal with North Sudan was the frustration he felt after his failed coup attempt, and his faction disintegrated into over ten groups. Sudan President Al-Bashir embraced Riek's decision to join his government in a bid to use him in counter-insurgency tactics against the SPLA. Sudan was successful in the arming of South Sudanese to fight one another. Meanwhile, the split led to serious hate and conflicts between the Nuer and Dinka, culminating in massive displacement and deaths in the two communities.

Clemence Pinaud further argues that Riek Machar negotiated to rejoin the SPLM in 2002, when he realized that their talks between the SPLM and the Khartoum government were beginning to show promise, and that he could lose even further, if a deal was reached without him in South Sudan, especially after he learned that his own deal with Sudan was not going to work out. He was welcomed back to the SPLM mainstream and was made the third man in the SPLM's power structure. The return of Riek Machar and Lam Akol to the SPLM proved to be a uniting factor to the people of South Sudan just before the signing of the 2005 CPA. After John Garang's death in July

³⁵ The London Evening Post, "Riek Machar in tears as he admits to 1991 Bor massacres," 16 August 2011, accessed 19 December 2018, <http://www.theLondonEveningPost.com/riek-machar-breaks-down-in-tears-as-he-admits-to-1991-bor-massacres/>.

2005, Salva Kiir, who was his deputy became the SPLM chairman and commander-in-chief of the SPLA, the president of the Government of Southern Sudan, as well as first vice president of the Republic of Sudan. Riek Machar became his deputy, and Lam Akol, of the Shilluk descent, became minister of foreign affairs of Sudan. With the impending referendum and independence of South Sudan, there was a need for this unity, as South Sudan's secession was the one thing only a few South Sudanese disagreed on.

Isaac Vuni of the Sudan Tribune, in his May 2008 article *Sudan's Kiir faces two contenders for the SPLM chairmanship*, the SPLM held its Second National Convention in 2008, the first since the signing of the 2005 CPA.³⁶ In that convention, signs of power struggle emerged as Riek Machar sought to contest for the SPLM chairmanship, a position that would make him president in the 2010 anticipated elections. However, President Salva Kiir desired to retain his position. Salva Kiir also expressed publicly that he did not want to work with Riek Machar and Pagan Amum, former SPLM Secretary General, intending to appoint people of his choice. The delegates eventually voted to keep the status quo to ensure continuity and unity within the party as they approached the 2010 elections against Sudan's ruling National Congress Party (NCP). Eventually, Salva Kiir chose Riek Machar as his running mate essentially to keep the party and people's unity.

Despite the differences over the 2010 elections, the SPLM leaders stood together and steered the country towards the referendum and subsequently the independence. The

³⁶ Isaac Vuni, "Sudan's Kiir faces two contenders for the SPLM chairmanship," *Sudan Tribune*, May 2008, accessed 21 December 2018, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article27153>.

people of South Sudan were more united during the referendum than at any other time before. It was hoped that the leaders would capitalize on this unity to build a new state that was accommodating for all. However, the excitement, great hope, and joy, that the South Sudanese people felt during the time of independence were to fade faster than they thought it would.

The Role of the International Community in the South Sudan Conflict

The international community in South Sudan has continued to mobilize diplomatic, humanitarian, and peacekeeping resources in order to protect civilians, respond to their needs, and bring an end to the brutal conflict that has ravaged the country. Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), an East African regional body, with the support of the UNSC, AU, and other international partners, has spearheaded the talks between the warring parties.

Chinese Win-Win Diplomacy and the National Petroleum Corporation

Austin Bogetti, a scholar of the intersection of Islam, culture, and politics in Africa and Asia in his article on *How China came to dominate South Sudan's oil*, states that China's appetite for risk-taking cemented its presence in the conflict-torn young country, where other western countries have failed to go.³⁷ The China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), a Chinese state-owned company and one the world's largest oil

³⁷ Austin Bogetti, "How China Came to Dominate South Sudan's Oil," *The Diplomat*, 11 February 2019, accessed 11 March 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/how-china-came-to-dominate-south-sudans-oil/>.

companies, controls 40 percent of the oil in South Sudan. China is a major buyer of the other 60 percent as well, which is controlled by the South Sudanese government-owned Nile Petroleum Corporation. CNPC has been operating in Sudan before the turn of the century in 1995, and merely changed camp from Sudan to South Sudan in 2005 when China realized that the majority of reserves were in the south. China deployed 2,600 soldiers in South Sudan on UN operations close to the oil and lost two of them in the violence of 2016. In 2018, fourteen more Chinese oil workers died in one day during sectarian violence, but a year later in 2019, the company was again operating normally.

Bogetti states that China's success in Africa comes from its tendency to avoid criticizing allies who ignore human rights and international law. This was despite the difficulties under which some Chinese companies were operating. An example given is of the CNPC, which is said to have lost as much as \$2 million a day in 2016 when oil prices dipped below \$30 a barrel, but still continued operating.

In a similar publication by Lily Kuo, the Guardian's Beijing bureau chief, reported that China's win-win diplomacy in South Sudan was failing. She stated that China tried to start delivering rice as aid in order to win hearts and minds of the people in Sudan, to bring the instability to an end, and allow the various Chinese businesses that were stuck in the country doing nothing to commence various works. The civil war that lasted more than four years had put infrastructure projects, loans, and other financial help from Beijing on hold. This led to half of the 140 private Chinese businesses and investors

to leave the country as the prospect of peace appeared more remote.³⁸ Researchers and observers have taken to calling South Sudan a testing ground for China's ascendant role as a global power. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is also facing a serious challenge in South Sudan due to the instability there. Critics say that China is trying to do too much on its own, and has prioritized its economic interests over long-term peacebuilding.

China's ambitious gamble in South Sudan may succeed, and the world power stands to reap diplomatic and economic benefits. This followed the signing of the peace treaty in July 2018, between the main rivals in the South Sudan conflict President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar, leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition. China has also played a major role in trying to bring together the warring factions to find a lasting solution to one of the most devastating civil wars on the continent.

The United Nations

United Nations Mission in Sudan was established under the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1590 of 24 March 2005, following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), between the government of Sudan and the SPLM/A on 9 January 2005, that it supported. This mission ended its mandate the same day South Sudan declared independence on 11 July 2011 because the north was relatively peaceful.³⁹ In support of the new nation, UNSC established a successor mission—the

³⁸ Lily Kuo, "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing," Quartz, 21 November 2017, accessed 11 March 2019, <https://qz.com/africa/1111402/south-sudan-china-win-win-diplomacy-struggles/>.

³⁹ Francesca Mold, "UNMISS Announces Extension of Peacekeeping Presence to New Locations in South Sudan," United Nations Peacekeeping, 24 January 2018,

United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) for an initial period of one year, although the mission has continued due to persistent conflicts.

On 24 January 2018, the UN, through its UNMISS report, “announced the extension of peacekeeping presence to new locations in South Sudan.” The UNSC Resolution 1996 of 2011 has every now and then modified the mandate and size of the UN peacekeeping mission in South Sudan since its independence in July 2011, in accordance with the prevailing situation in that country. On the onset of civil war in December 2013, the UNSC authorized the increase of UN forces from 7000 troops and 900 police to 12,500 troops and 1,323 police. UNSC also modified the mission’s mandate early in 2014 from one focused on state-building to instead prioritize four key tasks, that are protecting civilians, monitoring, and investigating human rights abuses, facilitating aid delivery, and supporting the cessation-of-hostilities deal between the SPLM and the rebel factions.⁴⁰

In December 2015, the UNSC authorized another increase to UNMISS’ force size by adding six hundred police and five hundred troops, as well as an expansion of the mandate to include training for police in human rights and community policing. The expanded troop level was meant to facilitate the deployment of more troops in as many Protection of Civilians (PoC) sites as possible. However, by many accounts, UNMISS’s responsibility for the security of these sites affected its ability to protect civilians

accessed 23 December 2018, <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/unmiss-announces-extension-peacekeeping-presence-new-locations-south-sudan>.

⁴⁰ Blanchard, *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead*, 16.

elsewhere. This can be ascertained through the high figures of victims of rape, death, IDPs, and refugees in neighboring countries.

The African Union

The African Union was established in 2001 with a mandate to promote peace, security, and stability in Africa, as well as to facilitate the creation of conditions favorable for sustainable development. The AU's Constitutive Act, inspired by the noble ideal of the generations of Pan-Africanists, subscribes to the right of intervention as well as the principle of no indifference. The AU principles state that African countries can no longer be indifferent to the conflicts and humanitarian crises occurring in their neighborhoods and that they have the primary responsibility for establishing and maintaining the peace and security architecture on the continent.⁴¹

The AU established its liaison office in Juba, South Sudan's capital in 2008, to support the implementation of the signing of the IGAD-led CPA between the two Sudans. This was followed by the strategic objective aimed at promoting peace and maintaining cordial neighborly relations between the two countries after the independence of South Sudan. The AU, along with the regional body IGAD, possesses the power to hold violators accountable and facilitate governmental change. However, both entities have been accused of failing to assist in any transition within South Sudan.

⁴¹ Emmanuel Sithole, "Democratic Republic of Congo—A Fertile Ground for Instability in the Great Lakes Region" (master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS 2017).

Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGAD is the East African regional organization, which was created in 1996 to supersede the already existing Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). Its members include Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, and Uganda. According to its homepage, IGAD's responsibilities include promoting peace, prosperity, and regional integration in the Horn of Africa.⁴² It has been instrumental in mediating all of the previous CPAs between the two Sudans since 2005, less for the one signed in January 2015, which was led by then AU chairperson Jakaya Kikwete and President of Tanzania. Of the three peace brokered by IGAD, the most recent was signed in September 2018. This resulted in power sharing among the SPLM government, various rebel factions, and main opposition Riek Machar, who even became the first vice president of the four others. John Campbell from the Council on Foreign Relations calls this latest deal "a hollow peace deal, which has all it takes to erupt into another conflict, should one of the four vice presidents not agree with the rest."⁴³

Sudan

Unlike other international actors who are said to have taken up the role of trying to end the conflict in South Sudan, Sudan has been accused of fueling the conflict in the newest country on the continent in order to continue benefitting from the oil. Marina

⁴² Intergovernmental Authority on Development, "About Us," 23 December 2018, Accessed 23 December 2018, <https://www.igad.int/about-us>.

⁴³ Adam Valavanis, "Another Hollow Peace Deal Signed in South Sudan," Council on Foreign Relations, 26 September 2018, accessed 18 October 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/another-hollow-peace-deal-signed-south-sudan>.

Ottaway and Mai El-Sadany in their article “Sudan: From Conflict-to-Conflict” state that hardly a year had passed from the time Sudan split into two, the north and south Sudan were in a state of war again.⁴⁴ The North did not envisage that the South would think of seceding, and hence allowed the referendum to go through. Soon after the independence of the South, a war between the two Sudans erupted along the border areas, in particular, South Kordofan, the Blue Nile, and Abyei, fueled by the North’s bitterness about the secession of the South, and the loss of territory, and oil revenue. Fueling conflict in the South by supporting rebel groups is advantageous for the North because South Sudan will not have a chance to create an alternative export route for its oil due to continued conflicts. The only pipeline through which oil from the South is exported passes through the North, where the Arab North is able to charge for various services and port taxes.

In an article by Isma’il Kushkush of the New York Times, the reason Sudan decided not to sign the agreement regarding the delineation of the border between the two countries, especially in the Abyei area, was for the North to continue claiming part of the oil. Independence of South Sudan meant that 75 percent of the oil is produced in South Sudan, and leaves the North with greatly reduced revenues.⁴⁵ South Sudan is a landlocked country, whose oil is mostly exported through the pipelines and port facilities in Sudan. Sudan demanded a share of US\$36 per barrel of oil for these services before beginning to confiscate South Sudanese oil in lieu of transit fees believed owed since

⁴⁴ Valavanis, “Another Hollow Peace Deal Signed in South Sudan,” 28.

⁴⁵ Isma’il Kushkush, “Sudan and South Sudan Fail to End Oil Dispute,” *New York Times*, 17 February 2012, accessed 23 December 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/18/world/africa/sudan-and-south-sudan-fail-to-end-oil-dispute.html>.

independence. This led Salva Kiir to shut down oil production, an action that prevented Sudan from accessing the oil and also drew much criticism from Riek Machar and other factions within South Sudan. This is because South Sudan was hit hard as it is the most oil-dependent country in the world, accounting for 98 percent of its income. It is for this reason that Sudan is said to have contributed to the break out of the 2013 South Sudan civil war, as hostilities erupted when Kiir fired those who criticized him for the continued shut down of the oil production.

Key Individuals in the South Sudan Conflict

President Gaafar Mohamed el-Nimeiri, 1969-1985

El-Nimeiri first overthrew the civilian Sudanese government in 1969, three years after graduating from the U.S Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Prior to this, he was the commander of the Khartoum garrison that perpetrated campaigns against “rebels” in southern Sudan. He was formerly elected as President in September 1971, with a 98.6 percent of the vote, and went on to sign the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, which ended the First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972). He was, however, responsible for the second Sudanese civil war of 1983, which lasted twenty-two years, in which more than two million people died.⁴⁶ He imposed the Islamic sharia law in all of Sudan, an act that precipitated the second civil war, as the

⁴⁶ Amy McKenna, ed., *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019), s.v. “Gaafar Mohamed El-nimeiri: President of the Sudan,” accessed 25 December 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gaafar-Mohamed-el-Nimeiri>.

southern Sudanese were already infuriated with the continuous socio-economic and developmental marginalization. El Nimeiri was later ousted in a bloodless coup in 1985.

Vice President John Garang, 2005

John Garang, known as a rebel leader by northern Sudan, and as a liberator in South Sudan, founded and led the SPLM/A for twenty-two years of war against the Sudanese government. Educated in the U.S both militarily as well as in civil institutions, Garang was absorbed in the Sudanese armed forces after the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, but joined the southern rebel forces instead in 1983, having been sent there by President Nimeiri to quell the protests. Garang's forces grew to sixty thousand by the time of the 2005 CPA. The 2005 CPA, which he negotiated with Omar al-Bashir beginning in July 2002, made him the first vice-president of Sudan, allowed for a referendum to determine self-governing of South Sudan, and eventual independence on 9 July 2011.⁴⁷ He is widely known as the founding father of South Sudan despite his death in 2005, three months after signing the Peace Agreement.

President Salva Kiir Mayardit, 2005-Present

Salva Kiir became the first president of South Sudan in 2011 following the death of John Garang, in a helicopter crash in 2005. BBC News reported that Kiir assumed leadership of the SPLM, for which he was its vice president in 2005, stirred the country to a referendum in 2011, and the eventual independence, before presiding over a civil war

⁴⁷ Karen Sparks, ed., *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019), s.v. "John Garang: Sudanese Leader," accessed 25 December 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Garang-de-Mabior>.

that created the largest refugee crisis and famine on the continent.⁴⁸ Kiir is a poor public speaker, and he is seen as a weak leader to transform the country from its current deplorable state. He has lost support from some of his Dinka tribesmen, who criticize his policies regarding the oil deals and overall economic development of the country. However, parliament voted in July 2018 to extend his presidential term of office until 2021, a move viewed by this author as likely to jeopardize peace talks with the opposition groups.

Vice President Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon

Riek Machar is at the heart of both historical and current South Sudanese conflicts. He served as the first vice president of South Sudan from 2011 to 2013. After his dismissal by President Kiir, he formed his rebel group and named it Sudanese People's Liberation Movement in Opposition, that has been fighting Mr. Kiir's government with the aim of dethroning it. A 2015 IGAD-facilitated CPA was reached and signed between Kiir and Machar in an attempt to end the civil war.⁴⁹ Machar was to become vice president again, but fighting resumed within months of the agreement. In a 2018 CPA, Machar has for the third time been reinstated as vice president, this time, the first of the four vice presidents.

⁴⁸ British Broadcasting Corporation, "Salva Kiir: South Sudan's president in a cowboy hat," 21 June 2018, accessed 20 September 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12107760>.

⁴⁹ Matthew Hauenstein and Madhav Joshi, "What are the prospects for South Sudan's new peace agreement?" *The Washington Post*, October 2018, accessed 25 December 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/29/what-are-the-prospects-for-south-sudans-new-peace-agreement?.f920df1c97d2>.

In his biography by Venas news, Riek Machar joined the SPLM rebel group in 1984. He formed his SPLM/A-Nasir in 1991, having fallen out with John Garang. In 1997, Machar made a treaty with Khartoum and became head of the government-backed South Sudan Defense Force fighting fellow southerners. In 2000, he formed yet another new militia—the Sudan People’s Defense Forces/Democratic Front. In 2002, he renegotiated to join the SPLM/A and became SPLA senior commander. Machar became vice-president of autonomous South Sudan after the death of John Garang in 2005, and eventually vice-president of the Republic of South Sudan in 2011.

In March 2015, Murithi Mutiga, Deputy Director for the International Crisis Group based in Nairobi, Kenya, summarized his report that Kiir *and Machar should be arrested and sent to exile* to save South Sudan. Murithi believed that the South Sudan conflict was simply a conflict between two small men—Salva Kiir and Riek Machar, who should be removed from the scene to allow their country to experience peace.⁵⁰ Many scholars though claim that removing Kiir and Machar from South Sudanese politics is just but one part of the measures that the international community must take to bring lasting peace to South Sudan.

Chief of Staff Paul Malong, 2014-2017

Paul Malong, became one of the most feared Generals in the SPLA during the 1990s, when he continuously repelled attacks into northern Bahr el Ghazal, the north-western province of South Sudan from several rebel groups of northern Sudan.

⁵⁰ Murithi Mutiga, “Kiir and Machar should be arrested and sent to exile to save South Sudan,” 7 March 2015, accessed 25 December 2018. <http://www.southsudan.nation.com/kiir-and-machar-should-be-arrested-sent-to-exile-to-save-south-sudan/>.

Nicknamed “King Paul,” Malong was appointed the governor of the el Ghazal, his area of origin in 2008 on request from the people of that area. In 2014, he was transferred to the capital Juba and appointed chief of staff of the SPLM/A, where he defeated Riek Machar’s forces after the break out of the civil war in 2013. He has been referred to as the life battery of Salva Kiir’s presidency for his advice as well as for training the special forces, who came to the aid of the president in times of rebellions until he was sacked in 2017.⁵¹ As chief of staff, Malong would assign operations to the Air Force without the consent of the Defence Minister, thereby creating conflict with the SPLM. He has been accused of embezzling government funds for his personal gain during the time he was in charge of training the presidential guard. The 2018 CPA had earmarked Malong as one of the four vice presidents of South Sudan in an effort to unify the people of Sudan.

Factors of the Lack of Economic Development in South Sudan

For sustainable development to occur in South Sudan, there must be stability, violence must be contained, and the rule of law must be instituted and enforced. However, for this to happen, the following issues must be addressed:

High Illiteracy Levels

An analysis by the SUDD Institute of Research for a Peaceful, Just and Prosperous South Sudan argues that although the civil war was triggered by power struggle within the SPLM, the South Sudanese Ministry of Education, Science, and

⁵¹ Lual A. Akeen, “Who is Gen. ‘King Paul’ Malong Awan Anei?” 15 April 2018, accessed 25 December 2018, <https://paanluelwel.com/2018/04/16/who-is-gen-king-paul-malong-awan-anei/>.

Technology's policy for alternative education systems asserts that illiteracy stands out as one of the major factors impeding efforts to end violence related conflicts in South Sudan. Since most of the fighters in the war are not professional soldiers but an uneducated militia, their assimilation of instructions with regard to ceasefire agreements and commands does not hold because fighting on tribal lines was the order of the day even before the Kiir-Machar political conflict. More than a dozen ceasefire agreements since 2014, including the June 2018 one have been violated by fighters of various warring factions of South Sudan as soon as they are signed.⁵² The government of South Sudan itself has two groups of fighters—the government troops and the militia, while the opposition has since disintegrated into more than ten militia groups.

In a related article, Madeleine Bunting of the Guardian states that the biggest and daunting developmental challenge in South Sudan was illiteracy and maternal mortality. She adds that accessing basic education remains a dream for many South Sudanese, as it has been adversely affected by more than two decades of civil war, resulting in one of the worst illiteracy rates in the world. Almost all fighters in South Sudan in the ages between twenty and forty years have never stepped foot in a classroom, as only 10 percent of the children complete primary school. On maternal mortality, she says that South Sudan has the worst in the world, and adds that a fifth of all children are acutely malnourished. Having only 27 percent of the adult population that can read and write explains this sad

⁵² Associated Press, "South Sudan Cease-fire Violated Within Hours," *The New York Times*, 30 June 2018, accessed 25 December 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/30/world/africa/south-sudan-cease-fire-violated-within-hours.html>.

situation⁵³. As a consequence, these high illiteracy levels have had a devastating effect on sustainable peace and economic productivity in that country.

High Unemployment Rate

The Borgen Project highlights that since 73 percent of the population is illiterate, and resides in the rural areas where there is no formal employment.⁵⁴ High unemployment rate means less productivity for South Sudan, resulting in high poverty rates in the entire country. Without access to employment and career resources, the South Sudanese are hindered from aiding themselves and their country for sustainable economic development. The majority of the population is under the age of thirty, a most active age. Due to lack of education and employment, these youths resort to violence, sighted as the main factor that accounts for the disintegration of the South Sudanese societies, unraveling of the social fabric and the death of millions of people. As long as peace will not prevail in South Sudan, there will be no sustainable development, as the people responsible for developing the country fear from their resources and their lives.

Lack of Accountability of Resources

South Sudan lacks accountability of its oil revenues and other government resources since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. In his paper titled *Lack of Accountability and Causes of the Current Political Instability*, Bol

⁵³ SUDD Institute, “South Sudan’s Crisis.”

⁵⁴ Sophie Casimes, “Bringing Stability: The Top Causes of Poverty in South Sudan,” The Borgen Project, 2 August 2017, accessed 23 December 2018, <https://borgenproject.org/causes-of-poverty-in-south-sudan/>.

Mathieng states that corruption and looting of government resources have resulted in non-implementation of the economic aspects of the 2005 CPA.⁵⁵ In one of its several resolutions, the CPA allots two percent of the total oil revenues to the producing area in order to resettle the people who live near this area to allow for its expansion and development. No progress has been made in this area thirteen years after the agreement. Lack of accountability by the presidency is also cited as being the reason opposition leaders are so rich and able to fund their militia using looted state resources.

The presidency should note that once accountability is affected in South Sudan, there would be no corruption, and at the same time, political opponents would be financially weakened and unable to continue their rebellious activities. As a result, the U.S has imposed a number of sanctions on Juba, including withdrawing of the developmental fund, an arms embargo, and other individual penalties to the defaulting senior members of the South Sudanese government.

Summary

There are several causes of the conflict in South Sudan. They range from political instability, weak institutions of government, ethnicity, and corruption of government officials, and poor leadership. These, coupled with historical perspectives and colonialism, have been strongly cited as major contributing factors to lack of development in South Sudan by various scholars and authors who have had an insight

⁵⁵ Bol Mathieng, "Lack of Accountability and Causes of Current Political Instability: A Case of South Sudan," South Sudan Nation, February 2016, accessed 25 December 2018, <http://www.southsudannation.com/lack-of-accountability-and-causes-of-current-political-instability-a-case-of-south-sudan/>.

into the conflicts. In trying to bring an end to the conflict in South Sudan, many actors at global, continental, and state levels have been involved, but they have, to a large extent only helped to address the symptoms and not the real causes of the problem. Some of these actors include the UN, the U.S, the AU, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Although the political elite with their armed militia has played a major role in the South Sudan conflict, to an extent, Sudan has exacerbated the problem.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which have negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it attained independent on 11 July 2011. This thesis tried to ascertain the extent to which the government of South Sudan is able to apply the instruments of national power DIME, where possible. To better understand this phenomenon, this study has addressed several key areas including the causes of the 2013 South Sudan civil war, government institutions available to ensure socio-economic development, other actors and stakeholders present in South Sudan and their activities. This research is relevant because national and international policy makers need to know about this complex situation in order to make policy decisions that support stability and economic development.

Research Methodology

This research used a qualitative methodology that involves exploring and understanding what a certain group of individuals ascribe to in relation to a human or social problem. Quantitative and mixed methods are the other two methodologies. Quantitative research tests objective theories by examining relationships among variables, whereas mixed methods is simply the combination of both qualitative and

quantitative methods.⁵⁶ The major distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is that quantitative research is framed on the use of numbers or using closed-ended questions, while qualitative is framed in terms of using words or open-ended questions. This research used qualitative case study methodology because it aimed at finding answers to a social problem that the people of South Sudan have faced.

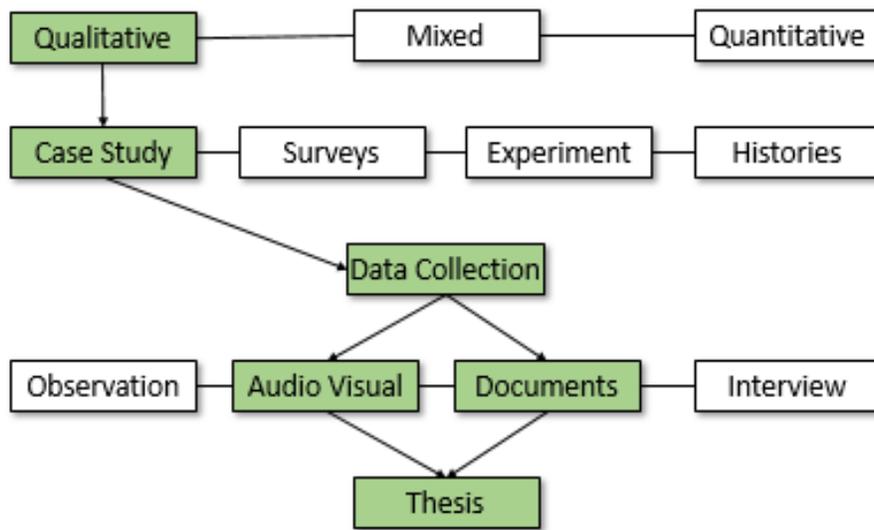


Figure 4. Research Methods Used in this Research

Source: Created by author. NOTE: Colored boxes depict part of the methodology used for this thesis.

Although qualitative methods bear less statistical power when it comes to verifying trends, it allows for consistency in the findings about human behavior, emotion, and personality characteristics that quantitative methods cannot match. This thesis dealt

⁵⁶ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed. (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009), 5.

with a social problem, that suited the use of a qualitative study. The availability of research material in the library and the internet provided the ease and quick access to online sources such as books, journals, reports, and other publications that were relevant to this research. The figure above illustrates the methodology employed by this thesis. The quantitative method was not suitable for this thesis as it mostly deals with measurable quantities rather than quality. Quantities of the dead or the displaced persons in this thesis were obtained from the various literature but were not the subject of this research, and were insignificant for this research to adopt a mixed method.

Single Case Study Research Method

Depending on the nature of the subject under the qualitative research method, a researcher may use case study, experiments, surveys, histories, and, economic and epidemiologic research. This thesis used the case study method in order to bring out the richness of the phenomenon in South Sudan and the extensiveness of the real-life context of the events surrounding the whole problem. The real-life events demand the use of the case study method to allow researchers to deal with a technically distinctive situation.⁵⁷ In this research, a case study method provided a detailed description of a social phenomenon that engulfed the South Sudanese people. It also provided a clear picture of the situation in Africa's newest country, and hence, its suitability in this case for an enabling basis for rational decisions by decision makers.

⁵⁷ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009), 2.

South Sudan is an entity with a unique and complex situation, where the country just emerged from gaining independence, without any previous references of self-rule. It was, therefore, essential that it took a single case study evaluation. Graham Allison's single case study of the Cuban missile crisis was one such a one-time event that used a single case study, in which the U.S—Soviet Union confrontation could have produced a holocaust and doomed the entire world. The study that came out as a political science bestseller posited three themes, just as in this research, to explain the crisis that the U.S and the Soviets performed.⁵⁸ Therefore, apart from looking at what caused the civil war, this study also aimed at examining the existence of government institutions put in place to foster development, including the availability of basic public amenities.

The single case study was best suited for this research for a number of reasons: firstly, this method facilitated the investigation of the overall instability in both North and South Sudan in their contexts based on the literature that was reviewed, which allowed the researcher to critically review the documented information as necessary and realized that there were more stakeholders and players in the conflict than anticipated.

Secondly, this type of study provided a basis for an understanding of chronological events from a historical perspective, the current players both governmental and non-governmental organizations, and international, regional, and local actors whose contributions have shaped the current situation. Through understanding of the overall situation, the researcher was able to make a detailed analysis of the unique environment under investigation, thereby making key recommendations that may help to solve the

⁵⁸ Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)*, 6.

South Sudan predicament. It is the hope of the researcher that some, if not all, the recommendations made through this research may be employed by policy and decision makers for a viable solution for South Sudan.

Data Collection Methods

There are four primary methods of data collection in qualitative analysis including observations, interviews, documents, and audio-visual materials.⁵⁹ The primary method for data collection for this qualitative study of the instability in South Sudan was through documents, which come under both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are generated through the period of the research, while secondary sources are the analyses of the primary sources.⁶⁰

This thesis did not use surveys or experimental methods due to the nature of the topic and lack of subjects to provide the required information. A survey would require more time than what was possible for this research. It also demands the collection of information from key informants who are citizens of South Sudan or residing in the diaspora but had experienced the conflict. Experiments, on the other hand, could not be employed as it is not possible to control social variables in South Sudan to prove the issues about the conflict. Nevertheless, the study ensured that the instability in South Sudan was not studied using one source of information, but enabled the use of a variety

⁵⁹ Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 180.

⁶⁰ Paul W. Smith, "Sustainment in the Army 2020: Using the Army's Sustainment Principles to Identify and Mitigate Risks Associated with Organizational Change" (master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2015).

of books, including online sources such as articles and journals, and audio-visual devices. Previous interviews of key players on the internet ensured that numerous aspects of northern Sudan and South Sudan's instability and lack of transformation were discovered and analyzed.

Before embarking on the research, secondary data sources were collected using the computer and categorized in the form of a database in accordance with selected themes such as historical events, the civil war, and recommendations. The researcher also made sure that there was accuracy in this data. This ensured the credibility of the research and made it easier for the researcher to locate the data for reference when required.

The researcher utilized multiple secondary data sources in an effort to enhance the credibility of this research and to investigate various research questions. The data source was mainly limited to documented materials that were brought together during the analysis and the review processes. The literature on established themes for the research and research questions was sought directly from the websites using Google search. A large number of themes was used to collect information from the internet but most notably those concerning civil war and instability in South Sudan, the current situation in South Sudan, poor despite oil, South Sudan crisis, fighting in South Sudan, Ethnicity in South Sudan, and many others. Important data as identified by this researcher was stored in different folders in the database, and named according to themes or research questions. This enhanced the understanding of the case and findings to be provided by various data components.

Database

The reliability of this case study is hoped to be reached through the creation of a database, where only accurate data from reliable sources was stored. The researcher avoided data from Wikipedia and other unsubstantiated websites. The collected data was sorted and properly organized using the computer in order to keep track of it and retrieve it when needed. Information was categorized into causes of the 2013 civil war, the significant historical events that greatly contributed to the shaping of today's Sudan and South Sudan, major actors, and stakeholders relevant to the South Sudan quandary at international, continental, and local levels. Above all, major contributing factors to lack of economic development from a variety of sources and perspectives, and recommendations have been highlighted. This facilitated the ease of retrieval when required by the researcher. It also included dates and time of collection of the information.

Data Analysis

This researcher employed thematic analysis to generate findings in chapter 4, where each research question was addressed in order to provide a clear description of the social phenomenon under investigation. The data collected would then facilitate a detailed analysis meant to identify a pattern on the occurrence of activities in Sudan, leading to the current situation. It involved extensive study of materials in order to get familiarized with the information, as well as to ensure wider coverage of essential data. The information to be analyzed was based on Sudan before secession of the South, the secession and independence, civil war of 2013, and the current situation. Other areas to

be considered were main actors and stakeholders in South Sudan, and their interests, goals, capabilities, and weaknesses.

Summary

This chapter provides a systematic plan for this thesis. It started by describing the research methodology followed by the type of case study to be employed in the research. This research used qualitative methodology, which best presents consistency in the findings about human behavior, emotion, and personality characteristics - the basis for this research. This was followed by a detailed explanation as to why this research was best suited for a qualitative single case study and not quantitative, surveys or experiments. Quantitative research methodology could not be used because it tests objective theories by examining relationships among variables and describes statistical data. Experiments need to prove changing variables, which could not be altered for this research. Surveys, on the other hand require a considerable amount of time, which was not available for this thesis. The sources of literature were identified with their data systematically stored for easy retrieval when required. The overall process to be adopted was finally explained just before this summary.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which have negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. To better understand this complex problem, this study has addressed several key areas including the causes of the 2013 South Sudan civil war, actors and stakeholders present in South Sudan and their interests, and activities and the international community. This research is relevant because national and international policy makers need to know about this complex situation in order to make policy decisions that support peace, stability, and economic development.

A critical look at the primary research question and a detailed analysis of the secondary research questions ensured a comprehensive literature review in chapter 2. Chapter 4 generates the findings through the thematic analysis of the literature review and ends with a summary of salient points and a conclusion.

Factors at Play in the South Sudan Crisis and Their Contribution to the Conflict

A number of factors have contributed to the deadly conflicts that have ravaged the new country of South Sudan since it attained independence from Sudan in 2011. These factors have either been common to both South Sudan and Sudan or specific to South Sudan. The factors have in turn affected all neighboring countries of South Sudan as refugees continue fleeing the country for survival and in search of a better life. Historical

factors have been singled out by this author as having played a major role in the conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan, and within South Sudan itself.

Historical Factors Shaping the Environment

Lack of socio-economic development in South Sudan, and the general instability in the country is in the opinion of this author, a legacy of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, and partly, the Sudanese government. The literature reviewed indicated that when the British colonized Sudan under the umbrella of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1899, they had a segregation policy that only allowed for the development of the Arab Muslim north, and not the Black Christian south, claiming that the south was not ready for exposure to the world. This was evident from the official delineation of the border between the two Sudans based on race, yet physically the border did not exist. They ruled South Sudan through local tribal chiefs to settle local disputes and to avoid uprisings, while they were physically present in the north.

Consequently, when the barrier between the two areas was lifted after Sudan became independent in 1956, the south found itself in an extremely disadvantaged position of lacking almost everything in terms of development, while the north had made headways.⁶¹ This was the first factor at play in the Sudanese conflict that has greatly shaped the current situation. However, this was not a permanent situation as Sudan had a chance to make amends, especially after the discovery of oil in 1978.

The government of Sudan has been another major player in the Sudanese conflict. The people of southern Sudan were overwhelmingly agitated by the continued economic

⁶¹ Ottaway and El-Sadany, "Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict."

marginalization of the south by the Khartoum government. In 1983, when Lieutenant Colonel John Garang was sent to go and quell the mutiny by soldiers in the south, he defected and instead encouraged mutinies in other cantonments. This did not please President Nimeiri, who later imposed sharia law on the whole of Sudan, an action that infuriated the people of the south even further. The civil war that ensued resulted in the death of more than one and a half million people between 1983 and 1997. These wars were avoidable had the Sudanese government granted the south Sudanese autonomy early enough according to their demands, despite the south not being ready to self-govern.

In this analysis, Riek Marchar can be singled out as a major player in the Sudan/South Sudan conflict over the years through his switching of allegiances from one camp to the other just to remain in an influential position. From being a rebel leader in the SPLM/A in charge of Western Upper Nile zone under the leadership of John Garang, between 1984 and 1991, Machar with his friends Lam Akol and Gordon Kong announced that John Garang, their leader had been ejected from the SPLM following a disagreement in SPLM objectives. The fight that ensued resulted in what is commonly known as the Bor massacre, where more than two thousand people, mostly civilians were killed, while tens of thousands died in the following years from the resulting famine.⁶²

Between 1996 and 2002, Marchar and a number of other rebel groups in the south signed the Khartoum Peace Agreement that made him assistant to President Al Bashir, President of the Southern States Coordinating Council as well as commander-in-chief of

⁶² James Copnall, "South Sudan's Massacre Among Many," *Al Jazeera*, 23 April 2014, accessed 14 February 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/south-sudan-massacre-among-man-2014423103845492493.html>.

South Sudan Defence Force, fought other rebel leaders with South Sudan several times, before rejoining the SPLM when he realized that they had signed the CPA for a referendum, that would mean independence of the south from the north. Riek Machar was again the architect of the South Sudan civil war that erupted in December 2013, barely two years after independence, a war that resulted in more than 383,000 deaths, more than four million displaced, out of which 1.8 million are internally displaced.⁶³ Machar had been in and out of South Sudan since his military defeat in 2013. In 2015, he signed a failed agreement with the government of Salva Kiir, before signing yet another and delicate power-sharing deal in 2018, under which, he was again appointed the first vice president of the four existing vice presidents.⁶⁴

Other Factors at Play

Ethnic strife or tribalism in South Sudan is as chronic as a contagious disease and has claimed the most lives of the South Sudanese people than any other causes of death. Coupled with high levels of illiteracy throughout the country, especially in the majority youth, it is a reality that the cure and civilized way forward of nation-building is far-fetched. The cycle of violence is likely to keep occurring for many years to come. The ethnic conflicts in South Sudan are traced back to the British colonial masters who were more interested in the north of the country, while they ruled the south through tribal

⁶³ Lul Gatkuoth Gatluak, “Tribalism in South Sudan is an infectious disease,” *Sudan Tribune*, 24 November 2018, accessed 14 February 2019, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article66660>.

⁶⁴ Voice of America, “S. Sudan’s Warring Leaders Sign Peace Deal to Share Power,” 5 August 2018, accessed 15 February 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-sudan-s-warring-leaders-sign-peace-deal-to-share-power/4514628.html>.

chiefs. Their divide-and-rule policy separated southern Sudanese provinces from the rest of the country and slowed their political, economic, and social development. As a consequence, when the British left, southern Sudan remained organized on tribal lines.⁶⁵ These groups of people regularly fought for scarce grazing land for their animals, and hence, their enmity dates back to the colonial days. Facts are that young people have been left both idle and frustrated by their continued marginalization and high rates of youth unemployment. This makes them vulnerable to exploitation by extremists, who use them as political pawns and militants.

This is the reason any type of conflict quickly aligns itself on tribal lines and becomes remarkably violent. In addition, the high number of rebel leaders owning militias has led to an increased demand for fighters. This has resulted in them recruiting children in their ranks. UNICEF estimates the total number of child soldiers recruited since the beginning of the civil war in 2013 to be an alarming nineteen thousand. This figure alone implies that the country could still be unstable for a long time to come, as the majority of these children will never be enrolled in school.

As at December 2017, there existed nine rebel groups in South Sudan, all of whom were willing to dialogue and have a stake in Salva Kiir's government. With the mediation of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the AU, and Troika, the government of South Sudan and these rebel factions had since the start of this bloody war signed more than a dozen agreements for the cessation of hostilities. These agreements had already been broken more than a dozen times by the end of 2017, at

⁶⁵ Heleta, "Roots of Sudanese conflict are in the British colonial policies."

times even before the commencement dates of the cessation of hostilities by any of the factions, including by the government forces. Rebellions starting from the capital Juba slowly spread throughout the country, due to the existence of government militia in other parts of the country, strategically positioned to reinforce government forces in Juba. Consequently, millions of people are forced to flee to neighboring Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, fearing more bloodshed. It is truly a long way to go for peace in South Sudan.⁶⁶

South Sudan was born a failed state, and it was still in its primitive state the time it attained independence from the North. Both the British, who had colonized Sudan before 1956 and the Arab-dominated government of Sudan, after its independence between 1954 and 2005, had done nothing to develop South Sudan. The only and sparsely—available infrastructure was built by different NGOs and church bodies that operated in the south, and which were solicited for by the tribal heads. Health and educational systems have been non—existent. Formation of various rebel groups in the South was a demonstration to the North of continued economic and social marginalization. With no schools in the southern part of the country to keep the youth preoccupied, it was easy for rebel leaders to mobilize their respective fighters and engage in the fight for their rights and freedom.

Having attained independence from the north in 2011, the people of South Sudan, supported by the UK, United States, and Norway, thought that a solution to the long quest to free the Christian South from the dominant and repressive northern Arab government

⁶⁶ Moschetti, “A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan.”

was at hand.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, they overlooked the fact that South Sudan was the least prepared country for independence than any other former colonized nation in Africa. There was a lack of credible leaders to take the mantle of governance, so, the former rebel leaders of the SPLM took charge of the country.

Lack of credible leadership has been one of the major reasons for continued instability in South Sudan, that has seen the excitement felt by the people of South Sudan at independence diminish. This development has made it extremely difficult for the existing political system to apply instruments of national power DIME effectively. This is evident from the 2018 structure of the government that has four vice presidents serving at one time, as none of the former guerilla leaders is willing to accept a lower position. Apart from Riek Machar, who holds a Ph.D. in Mechanical Engineering, the rest are uneducated and lack the critical thinking skills to govern.

⁶⁷ Cohen, “South Sudan: The Only Solution.”

Study Site	Reasons for Displacement
Juba PoC*	Ethnic war between the Dinka and the Nuer war was cited as the main reason for men and women to seek refuge in the UNMISS PoC site in Juba, the capital of South Sudan. Juba's PoC site was holding 180,000 IDPs as of December 2013. The number increased exponentially to 1,672, 989 by July 2016.
Bor PoC	Approximately 98 percent of the IDPs in this site said civil war was the reason for their displacement. 79 percent of them were from Jonglei state where Paul general Malong's militia were believed to be perpetrating violence among the villages of the Nuer tribe.
Akobo Counties	In Akobo Counties 69 percent of the IDPs in this site cited insecurity arising from communal land disputes, lack of essential services in their villages, and GBV against women and girls in the form of violent attacks, rape, revenge killings, and abduction of children who are in turn used as child soldiers.
Twic East County	War and ethnic clashes were given as the main reasons for displaced persons in this site. Most of them IDPs came from the Jonglei state where fights between the Dink, Nuer and Murle ethnic groups were rampant. Human rights violations, violence, restrictions in movement, and loss of homes and livelihoods were some other mentioned acts, which had been taking place before the 2013 civil war erupted.
Watau State	Main push factors forcing IDPs to leave their homes and find shelter elsewhere was the civil war and ethnic clashes. Extrajudicial killings, rape of women and girls, arbitrary arrests, detentions, loss of income, livestock and crops were other reasons given.

Source: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, *South Sudan Gender Analysis*, (Oxford, England: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, March 2017), accessed 11 March 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rr-south-sudan-gender-analysis-060317-en.pdf>. Note: PoC* Protection of Civilians.

Actors at Play in the South Sudan Conflict

The conflict in South Sudan has been characterized by the involvement of various actors ranging from state actors, non-state actors and stakeholders, all with diverse

interests, goals, capabilities, alliances, and those against as indicated in the strategic estimate table for the conflict. These actors are grouped into international, continental, regional and finally country levels.

International Actors- The UN and China

The UN established itself in South Sudan as an international actor in 2011 with the overall mandate of spearheading peace and stability. The mission had just transferred from the United Nations Mission in Sudan to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) following that country's independence from the North. Apart from its main peace enforcement mission of protecting civilians, UNMISS is mandated to support the government of the Republic of South Sudan in developing its capacity to provide security, establish the rule of law, and to strengthen the security and justice sectors. Other tasks include mitigation and conflict resolution, and the overarching one of supporting the consolidation of peace.⁶⁸

During the 2012 Sudan-South Sudan civil war and 2013 South Sudan civil war, the UN provided shelter to many fleeing civilians in the UN camps. The March 2014 Secretary General's Report states that the humanitarian situation deteriorated sharply within two months following the outbreak of violence in mid-December 2013, with displacements reaching 900,000 persons, with 167,000 crossing into neighboring

⁶⁸ United Nations Mission in South Sudan, "Background," accessed 23 December 2018, <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/background>.

countries. The UN faced the challenge of providing food aid to the 3.7 million South Sudanese whose survival was very much in question.⁶⁹

The UN Security Council passed a US-sponsored Resolution 2206 of 2015, aimed at holding responsible six named individuals for their roles in the 2013 civil war as well as imposing sanctions on them. Russia and Angola, under unknown circumstances, are said to have blocked efforts to sanction former SPLA Chief of the General Staff Paul Malong and rebel commander Johnson Olony in September 2015. Malong was subsequently identified in the Separate Opinion issued by the African Union Commission of Inquiry in South Sudan as having recruited the irregular Dinka militia accused of leading the killing of ethnic Nuer in Juba at the onset of the conflict in December 2013. The UN Panel of Experts has continued to investigate the chain of command for operations that have targeted civilians. President Kiir has also been named in the report as part of those targeting civilians and extensive destruction of communities.⁷⁰ Following the signing of the 2018 peace agreement, the UN is monitoring the situation closely, and working with various NGOs on the ground in trying to alleviate the suffering of the civilians. Peter Run, a conflict resolution researcher at the University of Queensland, Australia has hinted that the US-sponsored sanctions against some firms and targeted elites have since taken effect and those concerned have complained that sanctions are contributing to economic woes of South Sudan.⁷¹

⁶⁹ United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan*, S/2014/158 (New York: United Nations, 6 March 2014).

⁷⁰ Blanchard.

⁷¹ Peter Run, "Machar's return signals a significant stage in South Sudan's peace process" *The Conversation*, 8 November 2018, accessed 16 February 2019,

China

China has every now and then tried to bring the warring factions together through the regional mediator IGAD in order to establish its businesses in the country. These efforts have yielded very little to the extent that researchers and observers have called South Sudan a testing ground China's ascendant role as a global power.⁷² The world power saw the independence of South Sudan as a huge business opportunity as the newest country in Africa lacked almost everything from health infrastructure, roads, schools, Information Technology, shopping malls, hotel industry, water bottling companies among other businesses. Although the state-owned Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC) already existed in South Sudan, after 2011, the Chinese government sent in a large contingent of various private and state businesses in the hope of carrying out all the stated developmental projects. In addition, China strategically stationed 2,600 troops under the auspices of the UN in South Sudan, and used part of this force to protect a few Chinese investments that still existed there.

The 2013 civil war placed the Chinese plans of major infrastructure projects, loans, and other financial help from Beijing on hold. Many private Chinese businesses and investors consisting of more than one hundred registered companies left the country. By January 2018, the only major Chinese-funded infrastructure going ahead is the \$160 million contract of renovating the runway, navigation system, and parking lots of Juba

<https://theconversation.com/machars-return-signals-a-significant-stage-in-south-sudans-peace-process-106284>.

⁷² Kuo, "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing."

International Airport.⁷³ CNPC boasts of building an unspecified number of hospitals and schools in the oil fields where it operates, as well as a computer lab for Juba University. However, sporadic conflicts within this area have resulted in schools and hospital infrastructure being vandalized and underutilized. CNPC also sponsors students on a yearly basis for various courses to China as a show of social responsibility and good partnership with the government.

Continental-Regional Actors

The African Union has continued to remind the warring factions in South Sudan that there is no military solution to a conflict. Through the Peace and Security Council, the AU expresses support to the efforts by IGAD, the AU High-Level Ad Hoc Committee, and the AU High Representative for South Sudan. The AU had planned to deploy regional troops to South Sudan to support the already existing UN forces there. However, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) expressed reservations despite the UN envoy on the ground strongly recommending the move. The Rwandan contingent was deployed under the AU in the Western Equatoria state, where the Joseph Kony-led Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel group had in the past launched a series of kidnapping and killings of civilians.⁷⁴ The AU forces have a robust mandate of imposing peace in the country just as they did in eastern Democratic

⁷³ Kuo, "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing."

⁷⁴ British Broadcasting Corporation News, "South Sudan Conflict: African Union approves regional force," 19 July 2016, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36833875>.

Republic of Congo (DRC), where they managed to defeat the M23 rebels. President Kiir has only consented to the deployment of the AU forces in South Sudan at the request of the state in need.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGAD, with the support from the Chinese government, has done a commendable job in bringing together the warring factions for dialogue, every time they have fought. Since December 2013, IGAD has been mediating the current South Sudan conflict, and its efforts have not gone without recognition, despite the eruption of war following every mediation process. IGAD's mediation processes have led to the parties signing landmark agreements including the cessation of hostilities and the releasing political detainees. However, the organization's structural problems and lack of leverage to enforce its will on the parties have contributed to relapsing of conflicts. In addition, stakeholders have called for the exclusion of Uganda and Sudan from the peace process due to having vested interests in that South Sudan. When South Sudan's civil war broke out in December 2013, Ugandan forces intervened, securing Juba before retaking Bor alongside the SPLA.⁷⁵ This was done to prevent the government from falling to the rebels, who would ally with long-term regional rival Sudan. Likewise, Sudan must not be part of the mediation before border issues with the South are resolved.

⁷⁵ Rashid Abdi, "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts," International Crisis Group, 27 January 2017, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan/its-ugandas-interest-keep-supporting-south-sudan-peace-efforts>.

Country Level State Actors Uganda-Kenya-Sudan-Ethiopia

The literature review indicated that the governments of Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, and Ethiopia have been spearheading mediation under the auspices of IGAD. Despite a shocking recommendation by these states for the government of South Sudan to have four vice presidents, all these countries have contributed to the conflict in South Sudan directly or indirectly. Rashid Abdi of the daily monitor states that President Museveni of Uganda will naturally defend Uganda's short-term interests in South Sudan, but that he should also work towards longer-term stability by supporting President Salva Kiir's pledge to bring peace through Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan implementation, negotiations, and national dialogue. Museveni is a long-term ally of the SPLM/A and seems to have vested interests in South Sudan. He has, however, been advised as a major regional actor with considerable experience in mediation, and a close relationship with the South Sudan government, to leverage these advantages to help the country overcome its political crisis through national dialogue and negotiations. Uganda's long term interests include the security of its citizens and border, reducing refugee flows, and the protection of its economic investments and trade.⁷⁶

Kenya is home to the majority of families of wealthy rebel and former rebel leaders of South Sudan. Sigal Mandelker, the US Treasury's Under-Secretary for terrorism and financial intelligence urged Kenya to investigate properties and assets owned by elite families from South Sudan, including its president and his rival, who have

⁷⁶ Abdi, "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts," 64.

enriched themselves in their country's violent civil war since 2013.⁷⁷ Kenya however, seems reluctant to follow the directive. It is in the author's view that Kenya would rather concentrate on efforts to bring stability to South Sudan than to make follow-ups on bank accounts, as doing so would jeopardize Kenya's impartiality on IGAD.

Unlike Uganda, which is an ally of the South Sudanese government, Sudan is allied to the opposition. Sudan would rather have a protracted conflict in the South in order to continue benefitting from the oil in the disputed border area of Abyei. This is because Bashir has been implementing strategies that helped destabilize South Sudan since the oil-rich country gained its independence. Therefore, questions still linger as to why he helped broker a ceasefire between Kiir and Machar.⁷⁸ As things stand, however, the peace deal being implemented in South Sudan was finally agreed under the brokerage of Al Bashir.

Primary Reasons for Failure to Stabilize the Government

The specific primary reasons for failure to find a lasting solution to continued instability in South Sudan are difficult to pinpoint. However, the main ones have been highlighted in the preceding chapter as being the lack of credible leadership, noninstitutionalized government machinery, high rates of illiteracy, tribalism or ethnicity,

⁷⁷ Standard Digital News, "US calls for crackdown on South Sudan war money invested in Kenya," 14 June 2018, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284082/us-calls-for-crackdown-on-s-sudan-war-money-invested-in-kenya>.

⁷⁸ Ahmed H. Adam, "Why is Omar al-Bashir mediating South Sudan peace talks?," *Al Jazeera*, 5 July 2018, accessed 17 February 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/omar-al-bashir-mediating-south-sudan-peace-talks-180705134746432.html>.

unemployment, and continued lack of developmental programs aimed at engaging the youth in order for them to contribute to national development. To reverse the damage caused in South Sudan requires decades of intense educational and economic developmental programs and stability, which is yet to be attained in this country.

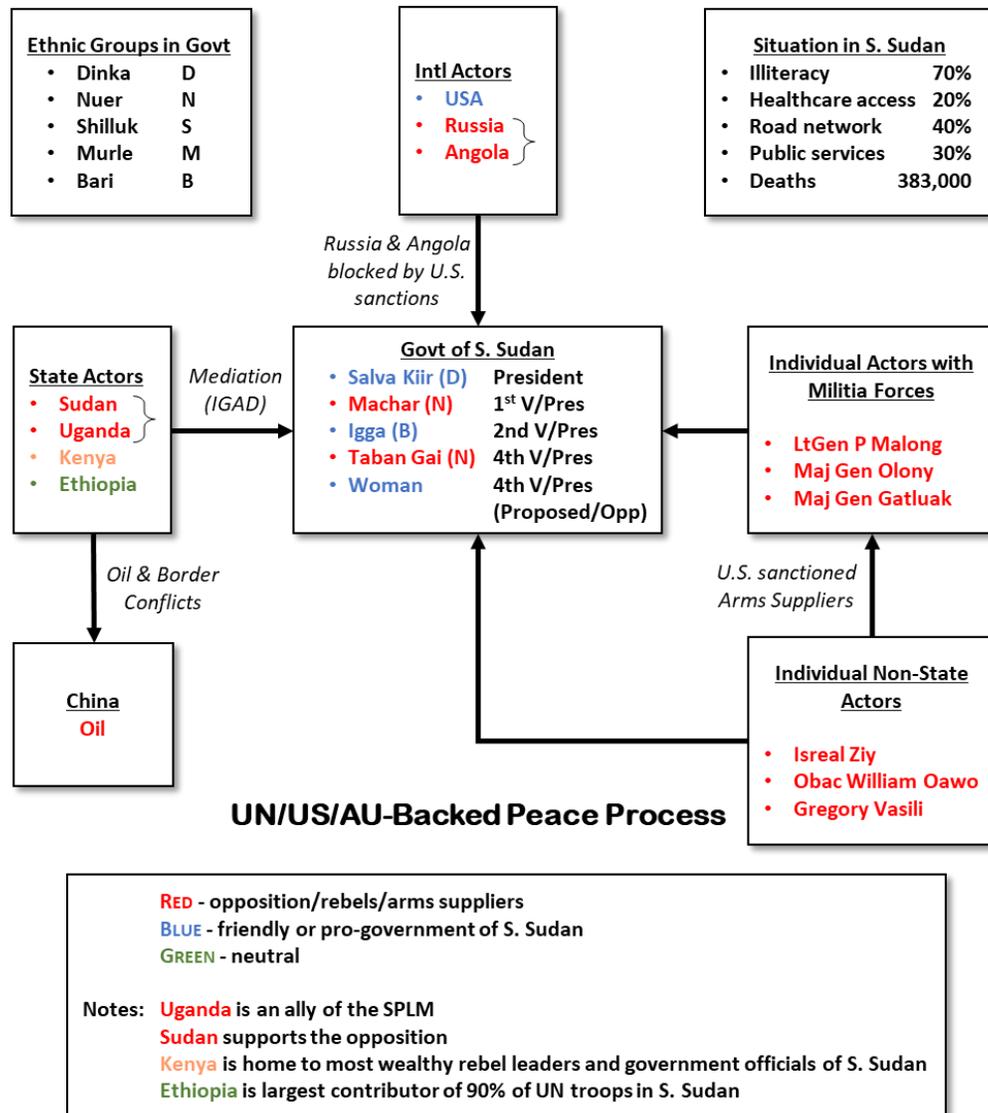


Figure 5. South Sudan Conflict as of December 2018

Source: Created by author.

Summary

In conclusion, chapter 4 analyzed the literature reviewed using thematic analysis in order to establish particular patterns formed in the South Sudan conflict. The instability in South Sudan and the failure to establish a working government is the result of numerous reasons as stated above. Further, the actors and stakeholders involved in various conflict resolution programs are unable to achieve their objectives due to underlying factors, that have already been stated, which require to be harmonized for the sake of peace and stability in the newest country in the world. This will facilitate a lasting solution without which peace and stability will be a farfetched dream.

Table 2. Stakeholder Analysis Matrix

S/holder Name	Leadership	Impact	Influence	S/holder Interest	Suggested Action	Actions Affecting the Conflict	How to Engage S/holder
South Sudan Govt.	Salva Kiir	High	High	Stability/Peace	Institutionalize the govt.	Fighting rebel leaders	IGAD/AU UN
Rebel Leaders	All	High	High	Oil/War/Militia	Cease having militia	Recruiting militia/children	ICC/ Dialogue
Govt. Soldiers	S/Sudan Govt	High	High	Intimidation	Stop committing atrocities	Crimes against humanity	Education by govt.
Sudan	State	High	High	Oil	Resolve border issues	Failure to resolve border issue	IGAD/AU UN
Uganda	State	Medium	Medium	Reduce refugees	Mediation	Not reacting	IGAD/AU UN
Kenya	State	Medium	Medium	Reduce refugees	Freeze rebel bank accounts	Not reacting	IGAD/AU UN
Ethiopia	State	Low	Low	Reduce refugees	Promote dialogue	Lack of participation	IGAD/AU UN

Source: Created by Author. NOTE: Impact: High, medium, or low signifies stakeholder effects-expected effects on the conflict previously and in the future. Influence: High, medium, or low signifies previous stakeholder effects on the conflict.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to investigate major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan, which negatively affected the socio-economic development of that country since it became independent on 11 July 2011. Further, the thesis was aimed at trying to ascertain the extent to which the South Sudanese government is able to apply the instruments of National Power - Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economic (DIME) in order to steer the country into prosperity. National and international policymakers need to understand the complexity of this situation in order to make decisions that support stability and economic development.

An observed general failure by the government of South Sudan to engage in democratic institutional reforms that would enable the provision of institutional arrangements to guarantee the legitimacy of government and the rule of law has left the newest country in the world unable to effectively manage its ethnic diversity. In addition, corruption and public financial mismanagement has been rampant at all levels of governance, thereby making it more difficult to create an enabling environment for wealth creation that can enhance human development. The future looks bleak as it is likely that the youth will be ineffective for decades to come due to lacking the opportunities to obtain an education, knowledge, and experiences that may make them better leaders.

Recommendations

Placing South Sudan under UN trusteeship to aid the development of viable self-government seems to be the best action to be taken. This is because South Sudan lacks everything: infrastructure, technology, roads and transportation facilities, healthcare, education facilities, private investment, institutions, including unavailability of most public services like clean drinking water and electricity. Much as concerted efforts were made by various actors and stakeholders to help the South escape the repressive colonial clutches of Khartoum, of all the African countries that came to independence since 1950, South Sudan had had the least amount of preparation.

A second recommendation is credible leadership, not only in South Sudan but also in neighboring countries like Uganda and Sudan, whose leaders have been mediating peace processes between the warring factions under the umbrella of IGAD and have other interests in the war-torn country. Both Museveni and Al Bashir have been presidents of their respective countries for thirty years or more, and are not suitable for mediation. These leaders have made some shocking recommendations during the peace process, including that of having four vice presidents in South Sudan, which was even implemented. Further, credible leadership within South Sudan would ensure the institutionalization of the government for its effective operations.

Currently, South Sudan is governed by former guerilla leaders, most of whom have lived a huge part of their lives in the bush fighting the Khartoum government, and every time there is a small disagreement, they mobilize their militia and start fighting. Therefore, a different crop of leaders, who are typically civilians preferably from a few

existing institutions of higher learning within the larger Sudan can solve this leadership problem.

A third recommendation is that the UN should consider being more proactive rather than reactive in its approach to the Sudan-South —Sudan conflict before it reignites. The UN should consider adopting the stakeholder analysis matrix and co-opt the various actors to resolve the current predicament in South Sudan. When the two countries signed a comprehensive peace agreement in 2005, which led to South Sudan's independence, they did not agree on boundary lines in the Abyei oil-rich area. As a result, Abyei's status remains unresolved to this day and has been a source at times of fighting. Even if Sudanese President Al Bashir was part of the mediating team to solve the internal power struggles of South Sudan, his country remained bitter about the secession of the South because it meant loss of territory and oil revenue.

People of the North had not internalized the new reality and felt deeply resentful. Equally, the South was angry at the North's refusal to allow a referendum to take place in this contested border region. Subsequently, there was clearly reciprocal anger in the dispute over the transit fees that the landlocked South had pay the North in order to ship its oil through a pipeline running to the northern Port Sudan terminal.

A fourth recommendation is that identified individuals involved in this deadly and bloody South Sudan civil war must be indicted to the International Criminal Court (ICC) on charges of crimes against humanity. Riek Machar, Paul Malong and other influential former rebel leaders with their respective militia groups have caused deaths and massive suffering to millions of innocent women and children of this part of Africa. By charging these and bringing them before the law, it would serve as a warning to would-be next

time offenders. The Bor Massacre resulted from Machar's announcement of the toppling of the late John Garang. More than two million lives were lost, and more than ten thousand people were injured.

Paul Malong is responsible for recruiting and training the militia said to have committed most atrocities that the South Sudan army is accused of during the civil war. Despite his advanced age, Malong formed his own movement in 2018, having been dismissed from the government in 2017. A common practice in South Sudan, when one is relieved of his government duties, has been to form his own militant movement. Currently, more than six former generals, including Agany and Malong, have formed their own movements, and are believed to be recruiting children into their ranks in order to boost their numbers. The first recommendation is more of a solution to these problems facing South Sudan today.

A fifth recommendation is to restore and use the instruments of national power-DIME, to their fullest. Instruments of national power are a bedrock of every state without which no state can function. Apart from bilateral relations with the US, and yet without any significant trade relations, South Sudan has very little diplomatic relations with other countries as it is preoccupied with its internal struggles most of the time. Information is lacking and although the military is present, it is just a collection of extremely unprofessional and primitive militia. The economy is still on its knees, lacking most public services. The US has constantly appealed to the UN to impose an arms embargo on armed groups in South Sudan, as it is through arms deals that the rebels continue having access to weapons. Rebel leaders owning oil wells must forfeit them to the state in an operation that is very delicate and must only be carried out with the help of outside

actors and stakeholders. Doing so will prevent these rebels from having more money to spend on arms.

A sixth and final recommendation is that the government of South Sudan should accelerate the rehabilitation and construction of schools and bring back the more than two million children who were forced out of school due to violence across the country since 2013. The government must also formulate and implement a policy to integrate former fighters into rehabilitation centers to reduce the number of youths who have nothing to do, and hence are vulnerable to be recruited by rebel leaders. This will make the future more viable for the whole country.

Recommendations for Further Study

This thesis recommends further research into the role of Russia and Angola, including that of neighboring country Uganda, in South Sudan, and to investigate what their interests have been in this war-ravaged nation. Due to the existent of a high number of rebel leaders and their militia, the government of South Sudan is clearly unable to tackle the development programs and enforce peace and stability at the same time without disruptions from these rebel groups. Therefore, concerted efforts are required from both actors and stakeholders in this region. The extent to which the presence of the oil companies from China and other countries had contributed to the conflict both between Sudan and South Sudan, and among the various rebel groups within South Sudan must be established.

Summary

This research endeavored to investigate the major contributing factors to the instability in South Sudan. The newest nation in Africa has a complex scenario with unique problems as illustrated below. The high number of former rebel leaders, each one with own militia with a motive of protecting their stolen wealth or fighting to get recognition, aggravates the complexity. The findings indicated that state actors and policy-makers needed to have a better understanding of the various stakeholders in the conflict in order to generate effective policies for effective and long-lasting solutions to the South Sudan saga. The instruments of national power are not fully exploited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdi, Rashid. "It's in Uganda's Interest to Keep Supporting South Sudan Peace Efforts." International Crisis Group. 27 January 2017. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/sudan/its-ugandas-interest-keep-supporting-south-sudan-peace-efforts>.
- Adam, Ahmed H. "Why is Omar al-Bashir mediating South Sudan peace talks?" *Al Jazeera*. 5 July 2018. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/omar-al-bashir-mediating-south-sudan-peace-talks-180705134746432.html>.
- Africa Faith and Justice Network. "Brief Profile of the Civil War in South Sudan." 20 February 2018. Accessed 19 December 2018. <http://afjn.org/brief-profile-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.
- Akeen, Lual A. "Who is Gen. "King Paul" Malong Awan Anei?" Paanluel Wël Media Ltd. 16 April 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://paanluelwel.com/2018/04/16/who-is-gen-king-paul-malong-awan-anei/>.
- Alam, Mayesha, Ségolène Dufour-Genneson, and Rebecca Turkington. *Security, Basic Services and Economic Opportunity in South Sudan: Perspectives of Women Post Independence and Pre-Civil War*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University and D³ Systems, Inc., 2014. Accessed 30 October 2018. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Security-Basic-Services-and-Economic-Opportunity-in-South-Sudan-Perspectives-of-Women-Post-Independence-and-Pre-Civil-War.pdf>.
- Associated Press. "South Sudan Cease-Fire Violated Within Hours." *The New York Times*. 30 June 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/30/world/africa/south-sudan-cease-fire-violated-within-hours.html>.
- . "South Sudan civil war has caused 400,000 'excess deaths.'" *CBC News*. 27 September 2018. Accessed 30 October 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/south-sudan-civil-war-deaths-1.4840424>.
- Biryabarema, Elias. "UK says killings in South Sudan conflict amount to genocide." *Reuters*. April 2017. Accessed 18 December 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southsudan-war/uk-says-killings-in-south-sudan-conflict-amount-to-genocide-idUSKBN17E2TF>.
- Blanchard, Lauren Ploch. R43344, *Conflict in South Sudan and the Challenges Ahead*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 22 September 2016. Accessed 24 November 2018. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43344.pdf>.

- Bogetti, Austin. "How China Came to Dominate South Sudan's Oil." *The Diplomat*. 11 February 2019. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/how-china-came-to-dominate-south-sudans-oil/>.
- British Broadcasting Corporation News. "Salva Kiir: South Sudan's president in a cowboy hat." 21 June 2018. Accessed 20 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12107760>.
- . "South Sudan conflict: African Union approves regional force." 19 July 2016. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36833875>.
- , "South Sudan country profile." 6 August 2018, accessed 15 October 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14069082>.
- Casimes, Sophie. "Bringing Stability: The Top Causes of Poverty in South Sudan." The Borgen Project. 2 August 2017. accessed 23 December 2018. <https://borgenproject.org/causes-of-poverty-in-south-sudan/>.
- Cohen, Hank. "South Sudan: The Only Solution." *Hank Cohen's Africa* (blog). 26 August 2014. Accessed 20 December 2018. <http://www.cohenonafrika.com/south-sudan>.
- Copnall, James. "South Sudan's massacre among many." *Al Jazeera*. 23 April 2014. Accessed 14 February 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/south-sudan-massacre-among-man-2014423103845492493.html>.
- Creswell, John. W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed. Newbury Park: CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009.
- de Waal, Alex. "Understanding the Roots of Conflict in South Sudan" Council on Foreign Relations. 14 September 2016. Accessed 20 November 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/interview/understanding-roots-conflict-south-sudan>.
- Deutsche Welle. "Poor despite oil-independent South Sudan." 9 July 2012. Accessed 24 September 2018. <https://www.dw.com/en/poor-despite-oil-independent-south-sudan/a-16082565>.
- Gatluak, Lul Gatkuoth. "Tribalism in South Sudan is an infectious disease." *Sudan Tribune*. 24 November 2018. Accessed 14 February 2019. https://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=6660.
- Global South Development Magazine. "Causes of Conflict in South Sudan: Oil and Weak Institutions." Accessed 12 December 2018. <https://www.gsdmagazine.org/causes-of-conflict-in-south-sudan-oil-and-weak-institutions/>.

- Hackett, Mark C. "Modern History of Conflict in Sudan." Pulitzer Center. 12 April 2010. Accessed 8 October 2018. <https://pulitzercenter.org/blog/modern-history-conflict-sudan>.
- Hauenstein, Matthew, and Madhav Joshi. "What are the prospects for South Sudan's new peace agreement? Here are the critical next steps." *The Washington Post*. October 2018. Accessed 25 December 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/29/what-are-the-prospects-for-south-sudans-new-peace-agreement-here-are-the-critical-next-steps/?utm_term=.1d66f02a5db2.
- Heleta, Savo. "Roots of Sudanese conflict are in the British colonial policies." *Sudan Tribune*. 13 January 2008. Accessed 9 October 2018. <http://www.sudantribune.com/Roots-of-sudanese-conflict-are-in,25558>.
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development. "About Us." 2019. Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://www.igad.int/about-us>.
- Kelly, Stephen. "The Professional Case Study at the University of Huddersfield." Advance HE. 10 November 2018. Accessed 10 November 2018. <https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/knowledge-hub/professional-case-study-university-huddersfield-0>.
- Koerner, Brendan. "Who are the Janjaweed? A guide to the Sudanese militiamen." *Slate*. 22 July 2004. Accessed 8 October 2018. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2004/07/who-are-the-janjaweed.html>.
- Kuo, Lily. "There's at least one place in Africa where China's 'win win' diplomacy is failing." *Quartz*. 21 November 2017. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1111402/south-sudan-china-win-win-diplomacy-struggles/>.
- Kushkush, Isma'il. "President Says a Coup Failed in South Sudan." *The New York Times*. 16 December 2016. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/17/world/africa/attempted-coup-in-south-sudan-president-says.html>.
- Madrigal, Demetrius, and Bryan McClain. "Strengths and Weaknesses of Quantitative and Qualitative Research." UX Matters. 3 September 2012. Accessed 31 March 2019. <https://www.uxmatters.com/mt/archives/2012/09/strengths-and-weaknesses-of-quantitative-and-qualitative-research.php>.
- Mathieng, Bol. "Lack of Accountability and Causes of Current Political Instability: A Case of South Sudan." South Sudan Nation. February 2016. accessed 25 December 2018. <http://www.southsudannation.com/lack-of-accountability-and-causes-of-current-political-instability-a-case-of-south-sudan/>.
- McKenna, Amy, ed. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019. Accessed 25 December 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gaafar-Mohamed-el-Nimeiri>.

- McKenzie, David. "Sudan president wins election, officials say." *Cable News Network*. 26 April 2010. Accessed 17 November 2018. <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/Africa/04/26/sudan.election/index.html>.
- Mold, Francesca. "UNMISS announces extension of peacekeeping presence to new locations in South Sudan." United Nations Peacekeeping. 24 January 2018. Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/unmiss-announces-extension-of-peacekeeping-presence-to-new-locations-south-sudan>.
- Mores, Magali. "U4 Expert Answer: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption in South Sudan." U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. 4 March 2013. Accessed 21 December 2018. <https://www.u4.no/publications/south-sudan-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption.pdf>.
- Moschetti, Daniele. "A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan." Comboni Missionaries. 2018. Accessed 25 November 2018. <https://www.combonimissionaries.org/a-brief-history-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>.
- Mutiga, Murithi. "Kiir and Machar should be arrested and sent to exile to save South Sudan." South Sudan Nation. Accessed 25 December 2018. <http://www.southsudannation.com/kiir-and-machar-should-be-arrested-sent-to-exile-to-save-south-sudan/>.
- Ottaway, Marina, and Mai El-Sadany. "Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 16 May 2016. Accessed 20 September 2018. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/16/sudan-from-conflict-to-conflict-pub-48140>.
- Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. *South Sudan Gender Analysis*. Oxford, England: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, March 2017. Accessed 11 March 2019. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/rr-south-sudan-gender-analysis-060317-en.pdf>.
- Pinaud, Clémence. "Who's behind South Sudan's return to fighting?" African Arguments. 11 July 2016. Accessed 28 November 2018. <https://Africanarguments.org/2016/07/11/whos-behind-south-sudans-return-to-fighting/>.
- Prendergast, John. "The Paper Tiger in South Sudan: Threats without Consequences for Atrocities and Kleptocracy." The Enough Project. 24 May 2016. Accessed 24 October 2018. <https://enoughproject.org/reports/paper-tiger-south-sudan-threats-without-consequences-atrocities-and-kleptocracy>.
- Reid, Kathryn. "South Sudan conflict, hunger: Facts, FAQs, and how to help." World Vision. 13 February 2018. Accessed 19 October 2018. <https://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/south-sudan-refugee-crisis-facts>.

- Run, Peter. "Machar's return signals a significant stage in South Sudan's peace process." *The Conversation*. 8 November 2018. Accessed 16 February 2019. <https://theconversation.com/machars-return-signals-a-significant-stage-in-south-sudans-peace-process-106284>.
- Slav, Irina. "Sudan, South Sudan to Jointly Repair Oil Infrastructure." *Oil Price*. 8 June 2018. Accessed 5 November 2018. <https://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Sudan-South-Sudan-To-Jointly-Repair-Oil-Infrastructure.html>.
- Smith, Gayle E., and Susan E. Rice. *The Darfur Catastrophe*. Washington, DC: Brooking Institute, 30 May 2004. Accessed 20 April 2019. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/the-darfur-catastrophe/>.
- Smith, Paul. W. "Sustainment in the Army 2020: Using the Army's Sustainment Principles to Identify and Mitigate Risks Associated with Organizational Change." Master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2015.
- Sparks, Karen, ed., *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2019. Accessed 25 December 2015. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Garang-de-Mabior>.
- Sudd Institute. "South Sudan's Crisis: Its Drivers, Key Players, and Post-Conflict Prospects." 3 August 2014. Accessed 19 December 2018. https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/572b7eb3cea73_SouthSudansCrisisItsDriversKeyPlayers_Full.pdf.
- Standard Digital News. "US calls for crackdown on South Sudan war money invested in Kenya." 14 June 2018. Accessed 17 February 2019. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284082/us-calls-for-crackdown-on-s-sudan-war-money-invested-in-kenya>.
- Tisdall, Simon. "South Sudan President Sacks Cabinet in Power Struggle." *The Guardian*. 24 July 2013. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/24/south-sudan-salva-kiir-sacks-cabinet>.
- United Nations Children's Fund. *Annual Results Report 2016 Humanitarian Action*. New York: United Nations, 2016. Accessed 10 November 2018. https://www.unicef.org/publicpartnerships/files/2016arr_humanitarianaction.pdf.
- United Nations Mission in South Sudan. "Background." Accessed 23 December 2018. <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/background>.
- United Nations Security Council. *Report of the Secretary-General on South Sudan*. S/2014/158. New York: United Nations, 6 March 2014.

- Valavanis, Adam. "Another Hollow Peace Deal Signed in South Sudan." Council on Foreign Relations. 26 September 2018. Accessed 18 October 2018. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/another-hollow-peace-deal-signed-south-sudan>.
- Voice of America. "Warring Leaders Sign Peace Deal to Share Power." 5 August 2018. Accessed 15 February 2019. <https://www.voanews.com/a/south-sudan-s-warring-leaders-sign-peace-deal-to-share-power/4514628.html>.
- Vuni, Isaac. "Sudan's Kiir faces two contenders for the SPLM chairmanship." *Sudan Tribune*. 15 May 2008. Accessed 21 December 2018. <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article27153>.
- Water for South Sudan. "A brief history of modern Sudan and South Sudan." 2018. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://www.waterforsouthsudan.org/brief-history-of-south-sudan/>.
- World Food Programme. "South Sudan: 9 Hunger Facts." 10 April 2014. Accessed 16 October 2018. <https://www.wfp.org/stories/south-sudan-9-hunger-facts>.
- World Heritage Encyclopedia. "Sudanese Nomadic Conflicts." Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press, 2018. Accessed 12 April 2019. http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Sudanese_nomadic_conflicts.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009.
- Yowell, Brenna. "Ten Facts about the Ethnic Violence in South Sudan." The Borgen Project. 25 December 2016. Accessed 18 December 2018. <https://borgenproject.org/ethnic-violence-in-south-sudan/>.
- Zapata, Molly. "Sudan: Independence through Civil Wars, 1956-2005." 13 December 2011. The Enough Project. Accessed 17 November 2018. <https://enoughproject.org/blog/sudan-brief-history-1956>.