POST-INDEPENDENCE STABILITY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN: CONSTRAINTS AND PROSPECTS

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ABSTRACT

The question of post-independence stability, its constraints and its prospects in South Sudan is explored from a variety of perspectives in this study. Central to the discussion is the view that nation and state building, together with social and political cohesion, aspects which would lead to a more stable country, are seriously lacking in the fabric of modern South Sudan. Several reasons account for this, among which the lack of leadership, the failure of political agreements and the absence of a willingness to compromise in the pursuit of national unity. The view that an understanding of the problem of stability has to be founded on a full comprehension of the political and social background to the formation of South Sudan is adopted in the study. The study proposes a holistic and comprehensive perspective through which the important subject of stability in South Sudan can be understood and possibly resolved.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcast Corporation
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
FAO	Food Agriculture Organization
GoS	Government of Sudan
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
NCP	National Congress Party (Sudan's ruling party)
OCHA	Office for the Coordination (UN) Of Humanitarian Affairs
POC	Protection of Civilians
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement /Army (South Sudan's ruling party and its army, respectively)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This present study seeks to examine the challenges which face South Sudan in the quest for social, political and economic stability. The key focus of the study is to analyse the stumbling blocks which prevent South Sudan form achieving the harmony and balance of an ordered nation state. In essence, this study will examine the problems which the country has to overcome in the search for political, social and economic equilibrium in a post-independent South Sudan. It is therefore essential to examine certain central issues and criteria in detail. One of these issues revolves around the important concepts of state and nation. Nation building is described as the ability of a nation state to forge together different ethnicities, races and other identities, whereas state building refers to the ability to create functionally-effective institutions and viable policies in a country (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). Both these concepts provide a theoretical framework to describe a unified and socially and politically coherent country. As such, these concepts are pertinent to the intentions of this study and will be dealt with in greater depth in this dissertation.

1.2 Literature review

1.2.1 The central problems facing South Sudan

1.2.1.1 The deterioration of the humanitarian situation

The present turmoil in the country is a central theme and relates to the need for a more comprehensive and integrated nation and state. Many reports and commentaries attest to the often appalling conditions and the apparent chaos in the country. The following extract sums up a rather bleak view of the country since 2013: "Since the outbreak of the conflict in South Sudan in December 2013, continuing insecurity, and logistical constraints owing to heavy rains, have hampered the delivery of food and

other essential items. Access to displaced people has been restricted, and refugees have faced serious protection concerns" (UNHCR, 2015:1).

This situation is exacerbated by the various factions and divisiveness within the country's socio-political structures in the country, as indicated in the following extract: "The multiplicity of armed elements throughout South Sudan greatly exacerbated the challenge of re-establishing the civilian character of refugee camps in the north and north-east of the country. This also affected the protection environment with the erosion of law and order in refugee settlements and camps, as well as in surrounding communities" (UNHCR, 2015:1).

Women's rights in the region is another area of concern. Another area of concern is the situation with regard to women's rights in the region. A number of studies refer to the situation of women in the region as a central problem that needs to be addressed. For many years, South Sudan has had a very poor record with regard to women's rights. This is a well-documented topic of many extensive studies and reports (Scott, Averbach, Modest, Hacker, Cornish, Spencer &Parmar, 2013; Ali, 2011). The situation of women is further aggravated by the fact that women in Sudan and South Sudan have a very low literacy rate. This is estimated as being as low as fifteen percent (Shahin, 1993). This has obvious consequences for the future growth and development of the country. Furthermore, legislation that could protect women from rape and violence is also glaringly absent. Some of the legal shortcomings includes an absence of the law against domestic violence, sexual harassment and marital rape. All this point to a dearth of law protecting women.

According to some observations South Sudan has the worst per capital maternal mortality rates in the world with a high number of women dying during child birth (Small Arms Survey, 2012). This alarming fact is emphasized in a Small Arms Survey (2012) report which states that a national survey, which was carried out in 2006, may have seriously underestimated the number of deaths in South Sudan. The same report estimates that as much as 90% of women give birth without access to trained professionals or medical facilities. Statistics such as these reflect badly not only on the status and situation of women but also on the standards of governance and infrastructure in the country.

1.2.1.2 Violence

As has already been strongly suggested in the foregoing, violence is a central aspect that impedes the ability of the country to grow towards a stable society, and it retards all efforts towards a stabilization of the political, social and economic environment. The prolonged fighting which is getting more brutal has the whole country affected.

Moreover, violence is a central and overriding factor in the country which has had a deep and significant effect on the human situation. The following extract from the *UNICEF South Sudan Humanitarian Situation Report* (UNICEF, 2017:2) clearly illustrates the link between conflict and violence on the one hand and the humanitarian situation on the other.

> "In Greater Equatoria, violent clashes and general insecurity is causing severe access restrictions, while the humanitarian situation continues to worsen. Following military activity in villages surrounding Yambio, Western Equatoria in early January, there was a mass displacement of over 4,000 people, who took shelter in a primary school in Yambio town. Yei is also host to a high number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) – approximately 57,000 – and thousands others displaced in various locations across the three states. There is an urgent need for humanitarian support in the region, as continued displacements are putting strain on the available services. According to OCHA, more than 250,000 people have been displaced within Greater Equatoria since July 2016. Active transmission is also ongoing in the BentiuPoC site, where 76% of those affected are children under 14 years of age".

Whereas peace agreements have been signed in the past few years, a continual pattern of the violation of these agreements has been present. This has meant that the situation with regard to the creation of a peaceful environment conducive to the resolution of differences and the restitution of past problems has not yet been achieved. This an ongoing problem which requires urgent attention.

Juba has seen increasing violence especially in July 2016 just a day before the country's first independence anniversary. It is estimated that the violence displaced more than 40 000 people and left other 300 people dead within days. This is all worsened by the country's economy which is currently depressed. The depressed economy has left the South Sudanese pound devalued which in turn has caused the

prices of basic goods and service to skyrocket and the inflation to climb to around 835% which is currently the highest in the world (Xin, 2017).

What has been disconcerting about the violence is the ethnic dimension is has been taking. On one hand is the President Kiir aligned Dinka ethnic group and on the other is the Nuer allied with Machar .Throughout the violence, civilians have been the biggest casualties as the violence increasingly spread along ethnic lines. (UNHCR, 2017). Worse still, there has been allegations of ethnic cleansing in South Sudan raising concerns that his might lead to a repeat of what happened in Rwanda in 1994 which puts a moral obligation on the international community to intervene before the situation gets out of hand (UNICEF, 2017:1).

1.2.1.3 Famine

A problem that exists side by side with political and social violence is the issue of food shortages and famine through the reduction of available food sources. It is claimed that in "early 2017, a famine was declared in parts of South Sudan, leaving 100,000 people on the verge of starvation" (Mercy Corps, 2017). Furthermore, the UNICEF South Sudan Humanitarian Situation Report (UNICEF, 2017:1) outlines the link between conflict, poverty and famine as follows: "…in central and southern Unity state, a combination of drought, lost opportunities for cultivation, combined with looting and insecurity is likely to lead to a deterioration in the already fragile humanitarian situation. This is coupled with access restrictions in many areas of southern Unity, limiting humanitarian assistance".

The situation has spawned many other issues such as serious health problems, which includes cholera. As stated in the by UNICEF (2017:1), "[t]he beginning of the New Year has seen a resurgence of cholera cases at the UN House PoC site in Juba, with 33 new suspected cases reported between 1 and 12 January …. Active transmission of the disease is also ongoing in the BentiuPoC site, where 76% of those affected are children under 14 years of age". This in turn is also linked to other issues that have become significant problems in the region, such as malnutrition.

1.2.1.4 Economics

The situation in the country has had a profound effect on the economy. The farming has made the cultivation of crops difficult resulting in one of the world's worst food crisis which has left almost 25% of the South Sudanese population requiring food aid according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation and Mercy Corps (2017) people were collapsing because of hunger after not eating for days. This has all been compounded by events outside of South Sudan which the country has little control over. It is claimed that, "before the war, South Sudan earned most of its money from oil sales. It accounted for 98% of government revenues. But since then production has halved…and with global oil prices having fallen, the government is not getting much for the barrels still being produced" (Byaruhanga, 2015). This has all raised some concerns that the conflict could spill over into neighbouring countries further affecting the region leading the Mercy Corps to make the following statement: "It is undermining the stability of one of the most sensitive regions in the world, the United States Institute of Peace has warned" (Mercy Corps, 2017:1).

1.2.1.5 Education

A study and education assessment conducted by UNICEF (2017:1) in South Sudan, clearly indicated the poor situation concerning education in the country. Among the key findings of the assessment were the following:

"…the assessment showed that 25% of schools that had been functional at any point since 2013 were non-functional at the time of the assessment, with insecurity reported as the main cause of school closures, followed by the delayed or non-payment of teacher salaries. There has also been a 10% decrease in the number of students enrolled at the start of 2016 compared to the start of 2013.The dropout rate since the beginning of the 2016 school year was 11% for girls and 10% for boys, with the lack of food being the main reason for children dropping out".

In general a universal alarm from many quarters about the rapid deterioration of the humanitarian situation in South Sudan has been sounded. In summary, "Sudan, and what was then the semi-independent Southern Sudan, endured a brutal civil war for more than 25 years, which resulted in South Sudan's independence in 2011. But the conflict in December 2013 reopened deeply-rooted political and ethnic tensions that

hadn't yet been reconciled — and those divisions have continued to fuel ongoing clashes" (UNICEF, 2017:1).

This is related to the lack of any significant growth and development in terms of the urbanization of the country. UNICEF (2017:1) notes that the "larger cities in South Sudan had experienced some development, but the majority of the nation is rural. Even before the crisis, more than half of its citizens lived in absolute poverty, were dependent on subsistence agriculture and suffered from malnourishment".

Consequently, it is generally accepted that the humanitarian situation in the country has declined radically in recent years as a result of conflict and the effects of this conflict. According to UNICEF (2017:1), "Humanitarian space in South Sudan is shrinking, with humanitarian actors facing severe access restrictions in several areas, notably in Greater Equatoria and Unity. The continued deterioration of the security situation in the country is likely to further impede access. Military activity in the Greater Equatoria and Greater Upper Nile regions has also caused large population displacements, increasing the need for humanitarian assistance".

The report goes on to list specific issues that have their causal roots in the endemic violence in the region. The report goes on to mention that "in Greater Equatoria, violent clashes and general insecurity is causing severe access restrictions, whilst the humanitarian situation continues to worsen. Following military activity in villages surrounding Yambio, Western Equatoria in early January, a mass displacement of over 4,000 people, who took shelter in a primary school in Yambio town, occurred. Yei is also host to a high number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) – approximately 57,000 – and thousands others of displaced in various locations across the three states. Humanitarian support in the region, as continued displacements are putting strain on the available services, is urgently needed". The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates that as much as 250 000 people within the Greater Equatoria might have been displaced since July 2016

1.3 Formulation and demarcation of the research problem

South Sudan got its independence from the larger Sudan on 9 July 2016 following a civil war which had started in 1983. The war ended in 2005 and this was followed by

a referendum where South Sudan opted to for independence from the larger Sudan. South Sudan's independence was immediately followed by tensions and conflicts with the Republic of Sudan, mainly because of the unresolved issues in the CPA. Two such unresolved issues were of primary importance. The first concerned the border demarcations between the two Sudans, and in particular the issue of Abyei, because of the oil fields. Border disputes between the two countries also covered the areas of Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile and South Kordofan(Reeves, 2011; Friedman, 2011). This resulted in military clashes which threatened to spark off a renewed fully-fledged war.

The second issue revolved around the division of revenue generated from the sale of oil. At independence South Sudan received 75 of the Sudan's oil production but the refineries, pipelines and export infrastructure remained located in the North Sudan. This made South Sudan dependent on the North for access to international oil markets (Sanders, 2012). Disputes over oil revenue resulted in the suspension of oil production in South Sudan which had a significant impact on revenue generated by both countries. This forced the two presidents to sign economic and security agreements in September 2012, allowing for the expansion of oil exports from South Sudan.

However, whilst the tension between the two countries was easing up, a civil war was brewing in South Sudan. This erupted finally, ostensibly as a result of disunity and lack of common vision between the county's president and Vice President. The collapse of working relations between the two parties may be ascribed to ideological differences, but clear ethnic tensions between the two were also evident. This introduced another element into the mix of problems that had a profound impact on the issue of stability in the country. (This cardinal aspect will be dealt with in depth in the following sections of this study.) The result was a split of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), which precipitated a bloody civil war starting in December 2013. This has raised the question of South Sudan's viability as a state in general and in particular the long term prospects for stability (Khadiagala, 2014).

This brief overview leads to many critical questions about the future of South Sudan, a future within which the topic of the present study is manifested, namely, the uncertainty about the political, social and economic stability of South Sudan. As one author states: "The war raised profound questions about South Sudan's stability and

viability, particularly in the context of the optimism that greeted its statehood" (Khadiagala, 2014:1). In this statement, Khadiagala (2014:1) articulates the central perception which lies at the core of the problems surrounding state and nation building in South Sudan: "After years of struggling against oppression, repression, exploitation, and marginalization, South Sudan was expected to forge novel institutional paths in efforts to reverse past legacies. They have, before them, a wealth of knowledge about how to avoid mistakes committed by both post-colonial and post-conflict states..."

This has however not been the case in recent years. Instead, " [t]he recent political meltdown in South Sudan demonstrates the fallacy of this optimism and points to the enormous challenges these new states face" (Khadiagala, 2014:1). These challenges are multi-valued and by no means separate, and should be perceived holistically. This refers to the internal dynamics typical of Africa's post-colonial states as well as to "…the limits of international efforts to build effective institutions of democracy and governance" (Khadiagala, 2014:1).

The question which is central to this study, namely stability in South Sudan, involves discovering why the new state and nation has not been successful, and what the central reasons are for the present crisis in the country. Furthermore, the study will focus on how these problems can be met in order to produce a more positive future outcome. When determining the parameters of the central questions, it is imperative to take into account the involved and often complex history of conflict and struggle in the region, and how this has had a profound and far-reaching impact on the question of state- and nation building in South Sudan.

Among the many issues and problems which underlie and form part of the contextual background to the central aspects being explored in this study, are the various historical points of dissent and contention which still form part of the overall complex of problems facing the country and the region. These include issues such as: the problem of Abeyi and oil; the issue of the oil pipeline and associated revenue distribution; the disparity of the workforce; the issue of ethnicity; and the problem of the integration of the different tribes, as well as the relations between the Republic of South Sudan and the Blue Nile- and Nuba Mountains regions.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the various problems should be approached from a holistic perspective. A central thesis, which will run throughout the dissertation, is that an understanding of this complex situation necessitates a holistic and integrative theoretical approach, which emphasizes the interrelationships between the different variables, including social, cultural and ethnic factors. In terms of the question of nation and state building, this study will take into account the theoretical perception which consolidated that political stability will not, in all likelihood, be achieved unless the interrelationships between the various issues and problems are understood in depth.

Therefore, when approaching the question of the future stability of the country, it becomes clear that this should be understood firmly in the historical and socio-cultural context from which it has arisen. The present efforts to effect state- and nation building and the obstacles in the way of these processes form part of the problematic and complex history of the region and the country as a whole. A full and comprehensive understanding of the present situation and possible future outcomes of efforts to stabilize the situation lies in taking cognizance of the total context of the events and issues that have led to this point, many of which still remain unresolved.

External conflict and the relationship between North and South Sudan also form part of this complex picture. This point is emphasized by the fact that Northern and Southern leaders have still not agreed on a list of issues, most importantly on the borderline, and how to handle oil revenue - the lifeblood of both economies. South Sudan is a new nation, but tensions remain (Ghasemilee, 2011).

Furthermore, the situation in the North is complicated by insurgents in its Darfur and Southern Kordofan regions. An initial assessment therefore reveals that the issue of the newly emergent South Sudan is complex and has to be considered within the larger context of the troubled and often violent history of the region. These issues and problems and the ways in which they impact the present and future political and social development of the region will form the core focus of this dissertation. These problems include issues such as the disparity in the population and workforce, and the problem of separating or ameliorating the tensions between the Southern Sudanese tribes and ethnic groupings.

A host of equally important underlying issues also has to be addressed. These include the important issue of political stability in South Sudan. This is a complex area, and will be analyzed in depth. It includes aspects such as the conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and rivals in the south. Okello (2005:20) observed that: "The SPLA took up arms against the Khartoum regime in 1983, demanding more autonomy and a greater share of wealth from their Arab-African rulers". The issue of future stability therefore includes the political vision and the role and aspirations of the SPLA/M. Coupled with this is the sensitive issue of transacting the overtly military orientation of the SPLA into that of a peaceful political entity or party. Corruption is another aspect which impacts on the issue of positive future developments in the region. All of these factors impinge on and impact the nascent efforts of the country towards a stable nation and state.

The aforementioned refers to a very important aspect of the present political situation in the country, from both a theoretical and practical point of view. In this respect, Fanon (1961) describes how elite political leaders in independent African states, bereft of imagination and creativity, allow the degeneration of national projects into ethnic chauvinism which leads to civil wars and genocides. The current civil war is an indication of the failure of the government to understand and address issues historically linked to tribocracy, together with a concomitant inability to master the intricacies of state- and nation building in a post-colonial and emerging national state setting in Africa.

The impact of the old civil war and the new civil war on the people of South Sudan has been horrendous. The human destruction and suffering has continued unabated for years and the economic destruction accompanying it will take decades to repair. Widespread discontentment among the citizens is present (Shankleman, 2011). This is likely to be a major stumbling block to any government, in both the near and the distant future. State-and nation building attempts in South Sudan are seen to be troubled projects, and the present study is one of the attempts to understand the challenges. It is within the abovementioned context that one has to discuss the issue of state and national stability in South Sudan.

This study will focus on how the government of South Sudan has dealt with factors that threaten the political, economic and social stability of the country. This includes

the different variables and factors, both external and internal, that impact on and shape the current situation and the future of the South Sudan in terms of governance and security, which by extension may threaten its stability. The focus of the study is directed at how current challenges can be overcome and how ways for long lasting peace can be paved by, amongst others, investigating how the activities and policies of current governments have contributed to the split between the predominantly Muslim North Sudan and non-Muslim South Sudan (Anderson, 1999). Equally important in this study is an understanding of the political, social, cultural and economic problems which face South Sudan in its relations with North Sudan, as well as with other countries in the region.

1.4 Methodology

By employing the qualitative approach the study will "cover the exploratory-, descriptive- and explanatory elements of the research process" (Creswell, 2009). The research is primarily exploratory, as it aims to understand the phenomenon of the post-independence conflict and the resultant instability in South Sudan. Previous attempts provide an informed analysis of the South Sudanese situation tends to be historically-inclined. While acknowledging the historical perspective in the South Sudan it is important to appreciate the contemporary situation as well. This research thus aims to analyse the current situation within its historical perspective using an exploratory and descriptive approach rather than describe a situation at one point in time. The theory of Political Development (Smith, 2010) will be applied to empirical data in a bid to assess which data strengthens and which deviates from the prescripts of the theoretical approach, necessitating innovation. Both deduction and induction will be employed in the process of reasoning. Each of these however has inherent limitations and abduction will therefore also be employed. Abduction, as described by Finnemore (2013) describes abduction as "neither a process of deduction nor of induction, but a dialectical combination of the two".

According to Creswell (2009), "this approach embraces considerable advantages for the research which is to be undertaken, as neither deduction nor induction provides clear guidance as to where the process of inquiry should commence. Thus, combining both deduction and induction not only provides a good starting point for the research,

but also allows the research design to be flexible enough to meaningfully evaluate the usefulness of findings".

This research shall mainly rely on secondary data collection: i.e. collecting data from that which has already been documented by different authors on post independent South Sudan. This will be augmented by perceptions from political leaders on specific policies undertaken to deal with instability and the analysis of the situation in South Sudan as well as interviews with academics and scholars. The instruments of data collection will therefore be literature study and in-depth interviews. The texts and interviews will be analysed.

As mentioned, the research will rely on literature study as a primary means of investigation (Descombe, 2010). To this is added, as indicated, analysis of interviews and texts. Secondary tools will include academic research reports, analyses of primary material, analyses of media statements and reports and other forms of documentation. The study will adopt a critical attitude to the aforementioned. Where interviews are conducted, it will be attempted to record the interviews and later transcribe them for analysis.

1.5 Structure of the study
This study is structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduces the topic and highlights the background to the study. A brief overview of the literature review and the methodology for the study is further presented in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Examines the evolution of conflict and instability in South Sudan with specific reference to nation and state building and the theoretical perspectives thereof.

Chapter Three: Provides a review of literature on the evolution of conflict and instability in South Sudan. In this chapter, specific reference is made to CPA, the present situation in South Sudan and its unresolved issues and problems.

Chapter Four: Presents the root causes of the instability in South Sudan. External political considerations are further discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Provides the overall conclusion to the study and recommends a way forward towards stability in South Sudan.

1.6 Conclusion

The instability and turmoil that currently exists in South Sudan is intensified by the various conflicts and dissention within the social and political structures in the country. Key problems that exist in South Sudan include: a deterioration of the humanitarian situation, violence, famine, economic decline, and poor education. Essentially, the humanitarian situation in the country has declined radically in recent years as a result of conflict and the effects of this prolonged   civil war. The current situation in South Sudan clearly relates to the need for a more comprehensive and integrated nation and state. The next chapter consequently examines political instability and the importance of nation-building in South Sudan.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF NATION- AND STATE BUILDING

2.1 Introduction

Political instability is commonly defined as "…the propensity of a government collapse either because of conflicts or rampant competition between various political parties. In addition, the occurrence of a government change increases the likelihood of subsequent changes. Political instability tends to be persistent" (Hussain, 2014:1). An unstable political is thus characterised by conflict and a state of disequilibrium.

Instability is however, multi-faceted and assumes different degrees of intensity. For example, the concept of political instability is intimately linked to the economy of a country. "Economic growth and political stability are deeply interconnected. On the one hand, the uncertainty associated with an unstable political environment may reduce investment and the pace of economic development. On the other hand, poor economic performance may lead to government collapse and political unrest…" (Hussain, 2014:1). As another theorist explains: "Economic growth and political stability are deeply interconnected. On the one hand, the uncertainty associated with an unstable political environment may reduce investment and the speed of economic development. On the other hand, poor economic performance may lead to government collapse and political unrest" (Alberto, Ozler, Roubini&Swagel, 1996).

Political instability may be defined in two ways. The first is accomplished by the construction of an index of socio-political instability (SPI) which "…summarizes several indicators of more or less violent forms of political protest and social violence. The SPI approach begins with a list of variables that identify events such as riots, political demonstrations against the government, and assassinations" (Perotti, 1996:149).

The second method concentrates on executive turnovers and the frequency of government collapses. However, these methods are only partially successful when estimating the degree of stability or instability in South Sudan. This is due to the fact that many other factors need to be taken into account when determining the degree of stability or instability in a country. These include, as will be discussed, ethnic and tribal

animosities, historical antecedents and precursors to the present conflict, the level of the humanitarian crisis and the very important issue of the maintenance of adequate human rights. There is little doubt that at present South Sudan is very unstable in all the aforementioned areas. It is in fact a "failed state" in many aspects.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the literature pertaining to political instability and the importance of nation- and state building. In particular, this chapter will focus on political instability in South Sudan, nation and state building and the theoretical perspectives of nation and state building.

2.2 Political instability in South Sudan

This is a complex area of study which must take into account multi-layered political realities, and intricacies of the South Sudan landscape. This includes aspects such as the conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and rivals in the south. Okello (2005:20) observed that: "The SPLA took up arms against the Khartoum regime in 1983, demanding more autonomy and a greater share of wealth from their Arab-African rulers". The issue of future stability should therefore embrace the political vision, role and aspirations of the SPLA/M. Coupled to this is the sensitive issue of transforming the overtly military orientation of the SPLA into that of a peaceful political entity or party.

Other related matters which need to be considered when assessing the political situation in South Sudan, both historically and contemporaneously, are the relations between the Republic of South Sudan and the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains areas. These areas are politically sensitive and "… were the most difficult final aspect of negotiating the CPA" or the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Christi, 2011). Furthermore, many believe they contain the fuse of any future North-South conflict. As one study cogently points out, "the Darfur conflict is far from over and other daunting challenges remain for the two countries, ranging from oil revenue sharing to contested border regions like Abyei" (Friedman, 2011).

The situation with regard to political stability in the country can be summarized as follows: "As a prelude to the convocation of a national dialogue initiated by the

government of South Sudan, President SalvaKirr declared a public holiday of prayer on the tenth of March 2017 to boost efforts towards peace, reconciliation, repentance, unity and forgiveness in South Sudan. Despite such positive stance, the situation in South Sudan is galloping from bad to the worst" (Dibaba, 2017).

According to a UN report issued in March 2017, "the country is currently plunged into a purgatory of human suffering with a constellation of human agony in the form of famine, protracted civil war, the violation of human rights, rape and endless forms of human suffering, together with recalcitrance of the warring parties to call for peace and tranquillity in South Sudan. Children and minors who are supposed to be in school are tottering around with AK 47 rifles, about the purpose of which they are totally ignorant" (Dibaba, 2017)

2.3 Nation and State building

Before embarking on a discussion on the nature of state and nation building in South Sudan and the contemporary problems facing the successful conclusion of these processes, the following aspects should be borne in mind as they have a far reaching bearing on the central issue of stability in the country. Firstly, the citizens of the new republic were members of a minority group in Sudan. This has ramifications for the general existential mind-set of the country as well as for nation building. Secondly, they had already been subjected to aggressive nation building techniques enforced by the Khartoum government which sought to "…Arabize and Islamatize the South". These factors have increased the present challenge for South Sudan in their efforts to create a common national identity that would unite the country in a realization of unity that is so dearly needed. This sense of unity should transcend the divisions which have been created by ethnic- and tribal loyalties (Odera& Blair, 2013).

According to Mbaku, "South Sudan was thus faced with the challenges of state- and nation building from the moment of its inception. The institutions inherited by the new country were not suited to the effective management of ethnic diversity and they could not provide the wherewithal for sustainable economic growth and development" (Mbaku, 2004). The unity among the Southern Sudan provinces who had been united by their mutual struggle against the regime in Khartoum was soon to fall apart. Mbatha (2004) further argues that this was characterized by "destructive ethnic mobilization

as groups sought ways to maximize their values, aspirations, economic and political interests, customs and cultures, a process which has made it very difficult for the central government to achieve national integration and concretise national objectives".

Mbaku & Smith (2012) make the assertion that "a high priority for South Sudan therefore, is institutional reforms which are capable of creating a consensual and productive state, one that can significantly enhance the peaceful coexistence of the country's diverse ethnic and religious groups, encourage and promote entrepreneurship, and hence, the creation of wealth. To this, needs to be added the ability to adequately constrained civil servants and politicians, in so-doing preventing them from engaging in growth-inhibiting behaviour" (Mbaku& Smith, 2012; Mbaku, 2004). The abundance of natural resources, such as large oil deposits, rich farm lands, the vast water reserves from the Nile River, generally accepted as desirable for development, pose a further incentive for political jostling and conflict (Tafesse, 2009). These resources, because of the conflict and instability, remain nothing more than resources, unable to be converted into the wealth required to better the lives of the people of South Sudan. The challenge confronting South Sudan therefore appears to revolve around the need to build working state institutions and the equally important necessity to forge a durable and working nation out of the diverse ethnicities of the Republic, (Mbaku& Smith, 2012). According to Mahmood&Mamdani (2001), the challenges of conflict and insecurity in South Sudan require political solutions rather than legalistic, international interventionism. To this needs to be added that conflict-escalating factors be met with a measure of effectivity.

The ongoing civil conflict has led to many critical questions about the future of South Sudan. As one author states: "The war raised profound questions about South Sudan's stability and viability, particularly in the context of the optimism that greeted its statehood" (Khadiagala, 2014:1). The author further expresses the central perception that lies at the core of the problems of state- and nation building in South Sudan. "After years of struggling against oppression, repression, exploitation, and marginalization, Sudan was expected to forge novel institutional paths in efforts to reverse past legacies. They have, before them, a wealth of knowledge about how to avoid mistakes committed by both post-colonial and post-conflict states..." (Khadiagala, 2014:1).

This has not been the case in recent years. Instead, the "recent political meltdown in South Sudan demonstrates the fallacy of this optimism and points to the enormous challenges these new states face" (Khadiagala, 2014:1). These challenges are multi-valued and by no means separate - but should rather be holistically perceived. This refers to the internal dynamics typical of Africa's post-colonial states as well as "…the limits of international efforts to build effective institutions of democracy and governance" (Khadiagala, 2014:1).

The central question, namely the stability in South Sudan, involves discovering why the new state and nation has not been successful, and what the central reasons are for the present crisis in the country; and furthermore how these problem can be met in order to produce a more positive future outcome. This will be explored in more detail in chapter four.

In determining the parameters of the central question, it is imperative to take into account the complex and often convoluted history of conflict and struggle in the region, and the far-reaching impact on the question of South Sudanese nation and state building. Therefore, when approaching the question of the future stability, it becomes clear that this question should be understood as being rooted firmly in the historical and socio-cultural context from which it arises. This refers to the need to view the present efforts and obstacles in the way of state- and nation building as part of the problematic and complex history of this region and the country, and a realisation that a full and comprehensive understanding of the present situation and possible future outcomes towards stabilization, lies in taking cognizance of the total context of the events and issues that have led to this point, many of which still remain unresolved.

External conflict and the relationship between North and South Sudan also forms part of this complex picture. This point is emphasized by the fact that the leaders of the North and the South have not agreed on some fundamentals like border issues and revenue from oil (Christi, 2011). Furthermore the situation with regards to the North is complicated by insurgency into its Darfur and Southern Kordofan regions. Therefore, an initial assessment is that the issue of the newly emergent South Sudan is complex and has to be considered within the larger context of the troubled and often violent history of the region.

2.3.1 The realities of nation building

Nation building is usually understood as "…constructing or structuring a national identity using the power of the state" (Deutsch &Folt, 1966). However, the view put forward by James (1996) to the effect that this perspective is too narrow and that we should rather talk about nation formation in a more inclusive context, seems more appropriate to the particular situation of South Sudan; where many factors, including historical divisions, economics and external forces all play a role in the process of nation building. This more inclusive view of the concept of nation building will be used in an analysis of the situation in South Sudan.

When attempting to understand the various aspects that impinge on the development of both state and nation one has to take factors such as the conflict over resources and access to facilities and services into account. As the UNHCR notes: "Competition over scarce resources has in some places caused tensions and fighting between refugees and host communities. Greater attention has to be paid to the needs of host communities, to foster peaceful coexistence. This is important to minimize the risk of secondary displacement of refugees and further instability in the border regions" (UNHCR, 2015:3).

This report from the UNHCR (2015:5), also reveals the cost to the civilian population of the continued conflict in the country. This has a direct and negative impact on efforts aimed at establishing a stable nation and state. As stated by the UNHCR (2015:4), the "South Sudanese civilian population at large is bearing the brunt of the conflict, with some 1.4 million people uprooted by the end of September 2014. The continuing violence could also precipitate famine in the country, where millions suffer from food insecurity and varying degrees of malnutrition as they cannot plant, grow and harvest crops due to their forced displacement". Several other reports from a variety of sources also refer to the ongoing conflict and disruption the country (USAID, 2017).

The abovementioned descriptions of the internal conflict and displacement in the country do not bode well in terms of positive nation and state building in South Sudan, and possibly represents a primary obstacle in the way of positive future developments.

This has indeed become a central problem area which needs to be addressed before any real advances can be made towards true nation building. As one commentary on the present situation in South Sudan stated: "Predicting conflict in South Sudan is easy. Those who warn that the coming of the dry season means further bloodshed are not being especially astute; they are stating the obvious. What to do about this likelihood is a much harder question" (African Arguments, 2015:1).

Schmitt (1927) noted that all states are involved in congenial as well as hostile relationships which constantly require attention. Schmitt held the opinion that tension and conflict underlie the formation of all states and nations. This is not only true during the period of state-formation, but these phenomena seem to never completely disappear from the ambit of the nation state. In this light the present study will attempt to examine the challenges of conflict and insecurity which have confronted the state of South Sudan in the Horn of Africa after independence. The Horn of Africa sub-region has been, for many years, been marked by the opposing forces of co-operation and conflict within and amongst states. Comaroff&Comaroff (2001) state that, wherever post-colonial nations and states are concerned, the challenges of belonging and the accompanying issues of borders and border-conflict are present. Comaroff&Comaroff (2001) suggests that the state in Africa and in fact the entire Global South embraces a colonial problem in that it is a colonial invention and as such is a creation of the Euro-American vision of imperial modernity.

2.3.2 The central problem

The question of state-and nation building has become a complex area of debate and concern in the light of recent events in the region. According to Sengupta (2014), after South Sudan's cessation, an attempt to create a state and inspire nation building through "Arabization" and "Islamization" as a means to unite the ethnic and religious groups in Sudan followed. The issues relating to state and nation building are however complex and various groups have resisted the policies aimed at integration within one nation and several conflicts have emerged as a result.

The practical situation as follows: "Almost paradoxically, limited, ongoing violence has not so far been the main obstacle to progress in the peace process: more of a problem is the inability of the parties to demonstrate goodwill and genuinely commit to finding

a solution. Since the Bahir Dar talks in September 2014, violence certainly hasn't prevented both warring parties from continuing to talk – in the earlier months of 2014 this was not always the case" (African Arguments, 2015). The following further highlights the situation:

> "Today, more consequential to the environment for talks are the rhetoric and antagonism of preparations for escalating the conflict, rather than any individual episode of conflict itself; the increasing authoritarianism and paranoia of the government in Juba; provocative declarations that national elections will be held on schedule (all too similar to the strategy of the National Congress Party (NCP) in Sudan, unfortunately); and on both sides, prevaricating leaders who care more about their own interests than that of their so-called constituencies" (African Arguments, 2015).

The aforementioned emphasize a number of central points - all of which indicate a lack of a central political and social cohesiveness as well as an apparent inability on the part of some to place nation building before personal political agendas.

An important theme, which emerges from the literature on the subject, is that criticism has also been directed at the South Sudan government in that their emphasis seems to be on state- rather than on nation building. This leads to the crucial issue of the definition and understanding of the terms state and nation building, and how these two terms differ. For example, the centrality of this issue can be deducted from the following comment: "Most South Sudanese interviewed for this project assert that the most obvious impediment to national cohesion is exclusion from the national platform, especially exclusion along ethnic lines" (Jok, 2011:1). Several variables like nepotism, corruption and exclusion from access to government impinge on the understanding.

2.4 Theoretical perspectives: State- and Nation Building, Two Central Issues or One?

Whereas state-and nation building can be dealt with as two separate theoretical entities with different criteria and political and social theoretical parameters, this study suggests that, in terms of the estimation of future outcomes, state- and nation building should be understood as interconnected and viewed from a holistic point of view. This is in particular ascribable to the fact that politics and nationality development in South

Sudan are entwined with ethnic issues. However, at the same time, it is important to distinguish between these two theoretical perspectives, so as to better understand the root causes of the present dilemma in the country.

A possible entry point into the complexity of this debate, from an internal political perspective, can be derived from the following factors. The transitional period to independence was in fact inadequate for the creation of a solid foundation for statehood and nation building. The SPLM is largely unable to shed its militaristic attitude towards governance and charismatic leadership is seriously lacking (Khadiagala, 2014). These factors have to be taken into account when attempting to define and understand national- and state identity in South Sudan.

Firstly, it is important to distinguish between nation- and state building. Nation building is commonly referred to when the issue of national identity is being discussed, whereas state building usual refers to institutions and infrastructure of the state. The issues of state- and nation buildings require an extensive theoretical framework to be properly understood in terms of the context suggested above. A report by Reeve (2012:5) in this regard reads "…how local, national and international dynamics around independence in July 2011 and the end of the six-and-a-half-year formal Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) process with Sudan have impacted on peace and conflict in 2011–2012 and how they are likely to influence peace and development over the next decade".

From a theoretical perspective, this report makes use of the International Alert's Peace-building Framework. Using this methodology the author asserts that "the dynamics, structures and opportunities for building a positive peace under five Peace Factors: Power, Economy, Safety, Justice and Well-being. It also analyses some of the challenges and impact of peace building actors, institutions and strategies over the CPA period and provides a series of recommendations on improving peace-building programming beyond 2012 in terms of prioritising approaches, target locations and actors/partners" (Reeve, 2012:5).

The abovementioned five factors also provide a framework in terms of which to consider the level of South Sudanese state and nation building. The study by Reeve (2012:5) concludes that: "while the enjoyment of peace is highly variable across South

Sudan, the nation as a whole and few if any of its constituent peoples or countries have yet experienced a positive, sustainable peace. Conflictual and rapidly worsening relations with Sudan as well as uncertainty about the length of suspension of oil exports (and thus revenues) appear likely to aggravate longstanding deficits in governance, security, economic opportunity, justice and reconciliation. This in turn increases the risk that South Sudan will become more violent".

This conclusion views the issue of state- and nation building as a measure of the degree of peace and stability in a country or a region. Once again, this also serves to illustrate the view that any theoretical understanding of or approach to the issue of state- and nation building has to take into account the various strands which constitute the power dynamics in South Sudan. This raises issues that influence the definition and understanding of state- and nation building. These issues include "…a lack of voice and participation, exclusion, power differentials, low social capital, low legitimacy and impunity of leaders, and unchallenged legitimisation of violence" (Reeve, 2012:6). As Reeves (2012:6) points out: "While the SPLM has withstood the transition to independence robustly, its internal tensions – historic, regional, ethnic, personal – remain more significant than its engagement with other parties. The nature of politics and the marginalisation of groups or individuals outside a small circle of military and political leaders continue to be significant drivers of discontent and conflict".

It follows that state- and nation building are intimately linked to reconciliation initiatives that involve aspects such as "...the greater inclusion of women and young people are all opportunities for constructive engagement" (Reeve, 2012:7). Zambakari (2012) states that, when discussing the role of women in the nation-building project in South Sudan, it's important to note that fifty-two percent of the registered voters were women. He continues to stress that "for South Sudan to optimize its full potential it will need to integrate the mass by straddling both the urban and rural population into the nation and state building projects. For a durable peace and sustainable development, these projects will need to include women and youth" (Zambakari, 2012).

Whereas the nation and state building challenges in the country are similar in many respects to the problems which many other countries have and are still experiencing, there are also marked differences in the case of South Sudan which make it unique. These cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the historical and

political context of the country and its development. As one study in this regard emphasizes: "But the prolonged civil war that decimated institutions, the short period in which to prepare for self-determination, and the unresolved bilateral issues with the North have imposed additional hurdles on the leaders as they have scrambled to translate secession into functional and participatory institutions of governance. In the absence of these institutions, the relapse into civil war was predictable" (Khadiagala, 2014:1).

Many positive factors also contribute to the potential of South Sudan for state- and nation building. Among these are the fact that the country has significant resources and has been receiving considerable support from the international community, although this may be seen as a double-edged sword by some critics. From one perspective then, South Sudan has "... a better foundation for state viability than most of the post-colonial and post-conflict states but the leaders will need to resolve their differences quickly before they can go back to the urgent tasks of building the state and nation"(Khadiagala, 2014:1).

Another factor which adds to the problem of nation building is the issue of the capability of the public servants responsible for the governance of the country. As a study by Larson, Ajak& Pritchett (2013:23) suggests; "Ultimately, the capacity of Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) is determined by the individual capabilities of its public servants; this is understood both by donors and government officials. It's a process that is personality-driven, says one high-ranking donor official; some ministers are asleep on the job, but their deputies are good". The interaction between tribal, traditional hierarchies and formal government in the creation of a balanced and harmonious nation and state also needs to be considered.

The areas of motivation and capacity in government that would be conducive to the creation of a positive nation and state are often hampered or counteracted by "authority bottlenecks produced through South Sudan's rigid system of traditional hierarchy and deference to authority" (Larson, Ajak& Pritchett, 2013:23). For example, "younger, highly-educated, qualified and effective deputies are often seen as threats and are thus stifled by their older, less-effective, often uneducated and untrained bosses". Older ministers in government are often not interested in developmental programs and workshops to improve state- and nation building capacity. As Larson et

al (2013:23) state, "Indeed, the entire effort of institutional development in South Sudan suffers from these human resource bottlenecks". This is illustrated by the following example:

> "Referring to the National Constitutional Review Commission, a donor cited examples of younger civil servants tirelessly working to prepare legislation, only to have the laws 'languish on the desks' of their bosses for years at a time. But addressing such bottlenecks is difficult due to cultural sensitivities and the complex political economy of GoSS" (Larsen et al., 2013:23).

The abovementioned provides insight into the possible reason why state- as well as nation building is not advancing at a positive rate in the country and also sheds light onto the obstacles that are preventing national unity and progress in South Sudan. An important element to consider when applying theoretical perspectives is the many misconceptions that exist about South Sudan. These include the view that "the inhabitants of Sudan and their relationships can be simplified to an essential division between the Arabs in the North and the Christians in the South". However, as a number of studies on this subject note, this is a rather simplistic view of the reality of the situation. As one commentary notes; "Sudan is a country of great variety; many different ethnic groups exist side by side and alliances are formed for many different reasons" (Wesseling, 1996).

2.5 Conclusion

In South Sudan, factors such as historical divisions, economics and external forces play a critical role in the process of nation building. Moreover, issues such as conflict over resources and access to facilities and services, must be considered when attempting to understand the various aspects that impinge on the development of both the state and the nation. The issues relating to state and nation building are further complicated as various groups have resisted the policies aimed at integration within one nation, resulting in the emergence of conflicts. Essentially, South Sudan has displayed a lack of central political and social cohesiveness, and the inability on the part of some to place nation building before personal political agendas. Nation building

is not progressing in the country due to the many obstacles that are preventing national unity and advancement in South Sudan. Chapter three outlines the origins of the conflict and the challenges impeding state building.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVOLUTION OF CONFLICT AND INSTABILITY IN SOUTH SUDAN

3.1 Introduction

The historical antecedents and the events and circumstances that preceded the independence of the country, cause it to be prone to dissension and conflict. The history of violence, social and political turmoil and economic instability have thus been a central causative factor in the present unstable situation. This has created a pattern of distrust and endemic instability that is being repeated in the present conflict and dire humanitarian situation. Coupled to this is the inheritance of essentially weak institutions - a factor which is often mentioned in the literature on the subject. This chapter presents the background and historical overview to the instability and conflict in South Sudan. Moreover, this chapter highlights details of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and describes the current situation in South Sudan.

3.2. The background to the instability and conflict in South Sudan

3.2.1 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

The position of the CPA in the present situation in the country is another factor to be considered in the overall dynamics of the nation's future. One should also take into account the outstanding issue of ethnicity in this context. For example, the Dinka-Nuer conflict as pointed out by Khadiagala (2014:1), the "triumphalism of independence and Machar's appointment as a Vice-President kept Dinka-Nuer conflicts at bay momentarily". This is an area that could give rise to various questions, especially with regard to the effectiveness of the CPA and whether the SPLM would transform into democratic political party or will be hijacked by people with ethnicity interests (Edigheji, 2010:11).

This leads to questions about the strengths and weaknesses of governance and leadership in the region. One also has to take into account the history of the region and the way in which this possibly has had an influence on the question of state and nation. As one author noted: "The violent confrontation between Juba and Khartoum

over the Heglig oil fields in April 2012 and the perennial battles over Abyei have sapped the energies of Southern leaders, leaving them little room to focus on the business of nation building"(Khadiagala, 2014:1).

According to LeRiche& Collins (2012:17), signing the CPA on January 9, 2005 between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement /Army (SPLM/A) and the Government of Sudan, the SPLM/A came "closer to achieving the goals of self-determination, Southern autonomy, independence and radical national transformation". The report goes on to specify that "millions of Southern Sudanese exercised their hard-won right to self-determination by voting for 'separation' in a historic referendum, thereby deciding to secede from Sudan. On July 9, 2011, the Republic of South Sudan (RoSS) officially declared independence; almost all who voted were in support of seceding from Sudan".

LeRiche& Collins (2012:17) further observe that "South Sudan's declaration of independence in July 2011 marked the end of the peace agreement, and subsequently, the SPLM/A became the new country's army. Ideally, allowing South Sudan to become a newly independent nation should have eased tensions between the deeply divided regions. However, several factors continued to underpin the prospects of civil war, in particular disputes over religion, resources, governance and self-determination. In addition, unresolved border disputes and tension over natural resources in the Blue Nile and South Kordofan states has resulted in a spiral of violence that has sent hundreds of thousands of Sudanese into neighbouring countries as refugees".

As LeRiche& Collins (2012:9) describes, "South Sudan, previously referred to as Southern Sudan, is less a result of a deliberate process of asserting the differences between northern and southern peoples, and more the result of a twentieth-century struggle over power, framed by the various geopolitical forces that defined the time". This is supported by Reynolds (2012:32) who argues that "as the newest nation in the world, the Republic of South Sudan (RoSS) is undertaking the immense and challenging task of building a nation state. This task is difficult in itself, but the country also faces the...challenge of millions of displaced people, internal and external conflict, widespread food insecurity, a stagnant economy, and a population that includes

dozens of tribes, ethnicities, indigenous communities and identities" (Reynolds, 2012:32).

3.3 Historical overview

A brief historical overview of the region may serve to highlight the abovementioned background to the present era. As a Republic, the larger Sudan came into being in 1956, inheriting its borders from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, established in 1899. During the sixth century, Sudan was Christianised and during the seventh century, it became Islamised, creating the playing field for enduring religious conflict. Between 1955 and 1972, Sudan suffered a debilitating civil war. Between 1983 and 2005, another civil war followed. On 9 July 2011, South Sudan successfully seceded from Northern Sudan. Since December 2013, a bloody conflict between forces loyal to President SalvaKiir and those loyal to former vice-president RiekMachar has raged. This adds an ethnic dimension to the conflict as SalvaKiir belongs to the Dinka ethnic group, whereas RiekMachar is a member of the Nuer ethnic group. The history of colonisation, civil wars, religious tensions and ethnic schisms further complicate the peace and security challenge in South Sudan (Ghasemilee, 2011:67). South Sudan thus finds itself in a delicate position in terms of instability, conflict and armed struggles (LeRiche& Arnold, 2012:79).

One should also of necessity bear in mind that, in spite of the independence of the South, many analysts still "…have long feared a return to war if north/south disputes are not resolved" (OCHA, 2011).

3.4 The present situation

"On January 9th 2011, South Sudan participated in a referendum exercise with the closest inquiry by the Pan-African community, together with relevant regional and international actors, that determined South Sudanese independence and the country was thus declared a new republic separate from North Sudan. Globally welcomed as the world's newest state, the hopes and aspirations of the international community for South Sudan were far from what we are now witnessing" (Dessalegn, 2017).

However, on December 15, 2013 a violent armed confrontation erupted at the centre of the South Sudanese governmental authority, at the presidential palace in Juba. This was a conflict between military personnel loyal to President SalvaKiir and soldiers backing his former deputy RiekMachar; and was in effect the beginning of the civil war, which still rages in the country. In brief, "… President SalvaKiir – from the Dinka ethnic group – dismissed the then vice-president RiekMachar – from the Nuer group – and his cabinet. The dismissal followed Kiir's decision to replace members of the army and government following rumours of a possible coup. (Maru, 2013) The result of this was that ethnic based and related violence began to spread throughout the country with "…militia groups carrying out attacks in villages and areas known to be inhabited by either Dinka or Nuer" (Laccino, 2016:1).

In short, what was supposed to have been the birth of a new nation that had fought for years for Independence, degenerated into accusations of coups and counter-coups and the morass of ethnic and tribal affiliations and factional fighting.

The present situation in South Sudan is summarized in an interview with Dr. Luka B. Deng Kuol, Director and Associate Professor at the Centre for Peace & Development, University of Juba, and South Sudan. He states that:

> "I think the situation in South Sudan now is very bleak after the peace talks failed. I think there is a lot of disappointment too because people were expecting a peace agreement, especially after the United Nation resolution and the sanctions. But the talks have stalled and every South Sudanese citizen is disappointed, the international community feels also disappointed and the worst part is that now there are not much options, the one option that warring parties have now is resume fighting. We are actually expecting an escalation of fighting especially in the oil producing areas like in upper Nile and Unity state, and unfortunately, we are going to see more human suffering. There is another issue of food security and if humanitarian assistance is going be obstructed due to fighting, we might face another famine in South Sudan. So the situation is really very tensed". (Bol, undated:1)

Dr.Kuol points out very important matters with regard to the central causative factors which have led to this situation:

"I think South Sudan is a very lucky country. God blessed it with several resources. In terms of minerals, oil and even water. But these are the things that make it be envied. Southern Sudan has been at war for many years, even before the independence of Sudan. So you had the first civil war and now this is another civil war. So it is a country that has gone through bad governance for a prolonged period of time." (Bol, undated: 1)

3.4.1 Misconceptions about Sudan

A common misconception is that the inhabitants of Sudan and their relationships can be reduced to an essential division between Islam in the North and the Christians in the South. Furthermore, that this division can be further understood in terms of a more prosperous North as opposed to a more impoverished South. However, as a number of studies on this subject have indicated, this is a rather simplistic view of the reality of the situation. As one commentary notes; "Sudan is a country of great variety; many different ethnic groups exist side by side and alliances are formed for many different reasons" (Wesseling, 1996).

This view is also reflected in a number of studies and commentaries on the recent division of the country into North and South. Whereas a number of critics rightly welcome the independence of South Sudan and the resolution of many years of conflict and civil war, a cautionary note is also evident in their responses. According to Herlinger (2011), "behind the joy is a tragic history of sober realities: a decades-long war between northern Sudan and the south has cost 3 million lives. The joy of South Sudan's imminent independence from Sudan-following a referendum earlier of 2011, was overshadowed by Sudanese military provocations in border areas, such as South Kordofan state, which remains part of northern Sudan, but has a long history of support for southern independence".

To understand the extent and nature of the obstacles and problems which confront the political and other relationships between Sudan and South Sudan, one has to bear in mind the long history of conflict in the region. At the risk of repetition, the following extract from an extensive study on the issues in the region sums up this background;

"...in the 200 years before their historic split, the history of Sudan and South Sudan was marred by colonization, exploitation, sectarianism and

war. Sudan and South Sudan are culturally, ethnically and linguistically diverse. They contain at least 19 major ethnic groups and 600 sub-groups. Relations and competition between different groups have been bound up in religious, racial and ethnic ideology. After independence from Britain in 1956, the country witnessed three military coups in 1958, 1969, and 1989 (Attree, 2012, p. 89).

The complexity and challenges faced by modern Sudan and South Sudan is aggravated by the fact that, for a prolonged period of time, Sudan was not a unified nation or state in any coherent sense. In essence, the north and west of the country had been under the rule and control of Arab Sultanates since the 17th century. Furthermore, these areas were also controlled by Mohamed Ali, the Turkish ruler of Egypt (Holt, 1961).

From this time on the North developed a more Arab-like cultural and social context. It also become a trading route for slaves, with slaves captured mainly from the south of the country (Holt, 1961). During the period of Turko-Egyptian rule, which continued until 1885, the North made efforts to control the southern regions, primarily because it was from this region that the Nile flowed (Domke, 1997). In other words, the North considered the South to be little more than a satellite or an adjunct to the North. Therefore, one could argue that the roots of the enmity and distrust between North and South lie largely in the early history of the region.

There is little doubt that the Egyptian and British influence were to a great extent responsible for the shaping of modern Sudan, which is politically and materially very largely the heir of these earlier regimes (Holt, 1961). The advent of colonialism and the influence of Britain in the region during the late 1800s, had particular consequences for the region that still have an impact today. Britain attempted to stop the lucrative slave trade between the North and South of Sudan. In so doing they disrupted the economy of the North (Holt, 1961). This caused considerable dissention and resulted in the Mahdist uprising. This led to the struggle between the Mahdists and the Egyptians and British, which finally resulted in "condominium rule" after more than twenty years. The result was a joint rule of the region, with Britain being the stronger party. As Abdalla (1997) notes, "Sudan has a unique colonial history in that it was governed by both Britain and Egypt from 1989 until 1956. During this period, the

Sudan's administration was the responsibility of the largely British Sudan Political Service (SPS) headed by a governor-general who was nominated by Britain and confirmed by Egypt. Once appointed, the governor-general acted more or less independently, and his proclamations on domestic affairs were law" (Abdalla, 1997, p.304).

In the 25 years of the condominium (Egyptian - British) government's efforts to subdue all of Sudan, conflict and tension were rife. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the British as well as the Egyptians manipulated the political scenario by endowing the North with power. Political as well as administrative power was bestowed on the Muslim leaders in the North (Domke, 1997). This can consequently be regarded as a significant contribution to the early historical origins of the enmity between North and South. Domke (1997) states "the South received very little of this. It maintained a tribal structure and received very little assistance with the development of infrastructure or an educational system. In addition, the British encouraged missionaries to go into the South to convert the native tribes which followed traditional African religions. As a result, many Southerners are Christian whereas the remainder mostly still follow traditional animist religions" (Domke, 1997). The difference between North and South was further accentuated by these developments.

Domke (1997) further asserts that "the condominium government also created an entirely separate system of administration in the South from that in the North, leaving the administration of the South almost entirely to the chiefs and sheikhs of small villages and ethnic African tribes. This should have been a positive move, but in fact caused an even greater sense of separateness in the North and the South". From a historical perspective, the abovementioned highlights the underlying emphasis on tribal and ethnic divisions and the present central difficulties to establish a democratic government which would be capable of superseding and incorporating these tribal and ethnic factors and influences.

Therefore, the privileging of the North over the South by the colonial powers can be seen to be an exacerbating factor in the peaceful relationship between these two regions and in the subsequent problem of stability in South Sudan.

The withdrawal of colonial forces and control from the region in the early 1900s led to further complications and political tensions. These tensions were increased by the fact that the Northerners took control of most of the administrative posts, owing to a result of the lack of attention to which the South had been subjected during the period of British rule. From the point of view of the people of Southern Sudan, the "sudanization" of the country laws was seen as a form of takeover or total control of the country by the North. This was to inflame the populace and move them towards the first civil war after independence.

The modern discord and enmity, which still exists between North and South, can therefore largely be traced back to the past history of the region. It also has to be borne in mind that South Sudan was for a long time used by Arab traders as a hunting ground for slaves and that "South Sudan is rich in resources and fertile in many parts, but has historically been marginalized and disempowered" (Attree, 2012, p.1). A brief summary of the central events in the modern history of the region will outline some of the problematic elements which have influenced the present situation. According to Domke (1997), among these are:

- The 1955 civil war, which erupted as a result of the rejection of Southern autonomy.
- This was followed by the Addis Ababa Peace Accord, signed in 1972, which initiated 11 years of peace and recovery.
- The second civil war in 1983 was the result of the imposition of Islamic Law by the Sudanese government on the mainly Christian and animist south. An estimated 2.5 million people died in this war, largely as a result of famine and disease, with many thousands fleeing their homes.
- This resulted in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005.

The first civil war in 1955 was a direct result of the Southern rejection of Northern control. This occurred when the British transferred power to the Sudanese administrators, who were mainly from the North; which in turn led to insurrection in the South and the start of the Anyanya separatist movement (Domke, 1997). The signing of the Addis Ababa Accord in 1972 resulted in superficial peace, but did not dispel the underlying tension and unease between the two sides. The situation was worsened by the reduction of the terms of the Peace Accord by President Jaafar al Nimeiri. He infringed on the spirit of the Accord, and in the early 1980s abolished the regional

government of the South and divided the territory to the advantage of the North, with the incorporation of the Bentiu region. This was a particularly significant move as this region was an area in which oil had been discovered in 1981 (Domke, 1997). Consequently, tensions increased which led to conflict between the North and South.

The second civil war cannot be categorized as simply representing a continuation of the religious and ethnic conflict between North and south. This confrontation was led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement or SPLM. The official goal of the SPLM was not the independence of the South but rather a secular and unified Sudan. However, opposing opinions about this aspect was present within the SPLM itself.

A number of studies emphasize the cost of these conflicts in terms of human suffering, dislocation and the political distrust that they engendered – the aftermath of which constitutes to a large degree the complex modern challenges of the region. As Attree (2012, p.17) states, "This conflict had a catastrophic human and developmental impact on Sudan that can only be summarised here. For example, during the latter part of the North – South civil war (1983–2005), approximately two million people were killed and four million displaced in the South of the country". This had a profound effect on the region. Besides death, injury and displacement, in the long years of fighting, the conditions for achieving any progress beyond the most basic living conditions, infrastructure, institutions and services have never been in place across large swathes of the two countries" (Attree, 2012, p.2). Among the consequences of this period was the fact that Sudan "became one of the least developed countries in the world. It occupied the position of 154 in a total number of 162 states listed on the Human Development Index in 2010. It also had very high rates of infant mortality" (Welch &Nuru, 2006:83).

Furthermore, some studies have suggested that the history of civil war in the region has created many pressing social problems for both countries. Attree (2012:3) suggests that "…civil war also transformed society in important ways, making violent methods for pursuing interests more commonplace, weakening traditional leadership structures and ensuring weapons proliferation across society on a massive scale".

In the light of the aforementioned, the catastrophic Darfur conflict should be mentioned. This conflict was the consequence of conflict over land and water

resources in the Darfur region. This escalated into a large-scale conflict in 2003 between various ethnic groups and the Sudanese government. The government responded by deploying Arab militias known as the Janjaweed to murder and rape civilians and lay waste villages. This was denied by the Sudanese government. This conflict has been described by the United Nations as one of the world's worst humanitarian disasters (Nabati, 2004).

Taking the above overview and analysis into account, one must also take cognizance of the complexity of the interrelationships which exist between the Sudan and South Sudan. These factors tend to complicate the issue of peaceful political coexistence between the two regions even further. For example, the people of South Sudan and Sudan are in many instances closely linked through intermarriage and trade relations. The latter aspect has been a point of continued tension in terms of the oil reserves in the two countries – as will be discussed in more detail below.

The point being made is that the previous history of discord and violence in the region has to a large extent led to a great deal of distrust between the two sides, which still permeates interactions and relationships between the two countries to this day; and also has an impact on the issue of stability in South Sudan. This can be seen in the often complex process of the implementation of the CPA. As Attree (2012, p.3) comments, "… efforts to reach compromises have been held back by mutual suspicion and a dangerous tendency towards brinkmanship by both sides".

Attree (2012, p.3) continues: " It is unclear whether and how the Government of Sudan (GoS) can be influenced to take a more restrained approach that is respectful of the rights of local communities and constructive in its pursuit of political processes, to achieve peace in the spirit of the CPA" …. "Similarly, it is unclear how the GoS can be influenced to take the most constructive approach possible in negotiations of outstanding issues and in its actions on the ground". These comments illuminate the endemic tension and suspicion which exists between the two countries and relates to the ongoing difficulties which characterize the recent history of the region.

3.5 Unresolved issues and problems

Whereas the recent independence of South Sudan is generally considered to be a positive development and one that bodes well for the decline in hostilities in the region, many issues and problems still remain unresolved. This is also the view of Attree (2012) who noted that despite the end of the CPA period and South Sudan's secession in July 2011, key issues remain unresolved between Sudan and South Sudan. These include border demarcation and management, allocation of disputed territories, rights of citizens in the two countries and sharing of debts, resources and revenues. Palpable tensions persist, and related outbreaks of violence occurred throughout 2011 and cannot be ruled out for the future.

The abovementioned overview of the problems and obstacles which need to be overcome in the region have purposely covered a wide range of issues and aspects which affect the social growth as well as the economic and political viability and stability of the two countries. In this chapter, emphasis has been placed on the historical antecedents of the contemporary situation in North and South Sudan, with an emphasis on how this history has impacted the possibility of stability in South Sudan. There is little doubt that the violent and traumatic past has had a profound and deeply felt impact on the region, and the scars of the past still play a role in relationships between the countries. This leads to the view that in order to make any headway in the removal of the obstacles in the way of political stability an understanding and an assessment of the historical origins of these issues is necessary. The impact of colonialism on the region also needs to be taken into account in a bid to understand the problems which presently manifest themselves in the political intercourse between the two sides and within South Sudan.

3.6 Conclusion

The often convoluted background to the political independence of the country sheds light on the central issues and problems of stability in the region. The history of colonisation, civil wars, religious tensions and ethnic schisms have compromised issues of stability, peace and security in South Sudan. Furthermore, the privileging of the North over the South by the colonial powers have been an exacerbating factor in the subsequent problem of stability in South Sudan. Whilst the recent independence of South Sudan is generally regarded as a positive development in addressing

hostilities in the region, many issues and problems between Sudan and South Sudan still remain unresolved. In order to fully understand how history has impacted on turmoil and instability in Sudan, the fundamental causes of the situation in the country need to be understood. The root causes of instability in Sudan is therefore discussed in chapter four

CHAPTER FOUR
THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE INSTABILITY IN THE COUNTRY

4.1 Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, it should be stressed that, in order to address the central question of this study, one has to employ a far reaching view of how the region has evolved into the present highly conflicted political reality of the country and the major factors that have caused instability and turmoil in Sudan. This chapter aims to address this by examining the fundamental factors have caused instability and volatility in Sudan. In particular, this chapter will examine causative factors such as tribalism, military, ethnicity, weak institutions, corruption, human rights, gender equality, and external political issues than underpin turmoil and instability in Sudan.

4.2 The fundamental causes of instability

The background to the issue of stabilization and the failure of fair and equitable development is summarized by Sidahmed&Sidahmed (2004, p.146) as follows:

> "The absence of a national party, leadership or representative platform to address the growing crises of the Sudanese state and society, led in the end to the re-surfacing and mushrooming of tribal affiliations and tendencies at the expense of national loyalty. The lengthy years of military rule and suppression eroded the ability of the mainstream/sectarian parties to accommodate the regional and ethnic grievances. As a result, the country's economy continued to deteriorate and the successive governments were not able either to tap its huge natural resources or to stop the economic decline. Thus, instead of being a breadbasket for the region, Sudan was plagued by famines and desertification".

The abovementioned is quoted at length as it provides a useful and cogent platform for a discourse on the reasons for political instability and dissension in the country and for a discussion on the way ahead. This includes the important aspect of tribal

affiliations as well as ethnicity as cardinal factors in the complexity of South Sudan's political, economic and social situation which has surfaced in recent years.

A breakdown of the central insights of the aforementioned quotation provides some useful starting points in an analysis of the complex causal factors in the instability in South Sudan. Firstly, the quotation refers to "…absence of a national party, leadership or representative platform to address the growing crises of Sudanese state and society…". This is evident in the events that occurred after Independence and in the split in leadership. In other words, the society did not have the required strength of leadership that would have had the capability of uniting the entire country across ethnic, tribal and religious divisions. This point to factors that could lead to stability in the country; i.e. a truly representative leadership and systems of governance that would be acceptable to all.

Secondly, Sidahmed&Sidahmed (2004:146) conclude that the lack of leadership "… led in the end to the re-surfacing and mushrooming of tribal affiliations and tendencies at the expense of national loyalty". This statement reiterates much of what has already been stated in this study with regard to the importance of tribal affiliations and the ways in which these have undermined the stability of national identity and nation building. This will be expanded on below.

Thirdly, the authors refer to the "lengthy years of military rule and suppression eroded the ability of the mainstream/sectarian parties to accommodate the regional and ethnic grievances", which has resulted in a suppression of economic development, and stable political governance. This again refers to historical antecedents that can be regarded as a central causative factor in the creation of the contemporary South Sudan crisis.

To reiterate, Okello (2005) stresses that South Sudan has an extremely troubled history which has engendered a plethora of related problems which still plague the region and which have been exacerbated by the political infighting and tribal and ethnic divisions which have again surfaced. "Years of fighting have virtually destroyed great swathes of Sudan's south. The war has rendered local infrastructure practically non-existent with hardly any schools, hospitals or tarmac roads present. The shattered towns provide a major development challenge for the international community, as does

rebuilding the whole post-war region" (Okello, 2005:20). The challenges in terms of the provision of basic infrastructure and the other fundamental elements of stability, such as education and a peaceful environment in which to rebuild and construct the formative elements of a national stable identity, have been eroded rather than developed in recent years.

Equally challenging is the implementation of the peace accords and protocols which have been signed (Okello, 2005). This study also emphasizes important factors in the past which relate to the challenges posed by the recent divisions in the country. Foremost among these are factors such as justice and the marginalization of certain groups. As Okello (2005:20) emphasizes; "Unless these basic human rights concerns are seriously addressed it will be difficult to have a lasting peace". This is a cardinal feature of the modern political and social landscape of the country and is the result of a myriad of related causative factors.

Another issue that is interwoven with the above factors is that of nationality, ethnicity and identity. Gatkuoth (1995:211), referring to the civil war that has raged continually in the country since its inception, makes the following insightful comment, namely that "Sudanese may disagree about the root causes of this war... Whatever the precise reasons for the war, it does attest to the inability of the country's leaders to reconcile the cultural and ethnic differences ...They have failed to unite about the question of identity and to devise ground rules for co-existence". This statement is significant for the present study as it focuses on the problem of nation building and the issue of the definition of national identity, which in turn is part of the answer to the problems of stability. This also includes the heritage of ethnic diversity, as well as religious differences, which have been a mobilization factor in various political, national, racial and religious actions.

Cultural pluralism is emphasized in this and other studies as a central factor in the determination of the political reality of the region. This also refers to the complexity of the tribal affiliations in the region.

4.3 Central causative factors

4.3.1 Tribalism

The civil conflict in South Sudan is driven by a set of multiple set of drivers that cannot easily be reduced to a few main points. According to Shankleman (2011), "the root causes of the conflict however vary, ranging from religious tensions to communal-, inter-, and intra-tribal regional conflict, competition over dwindling natural resources and positions of political power. The persistence of conflict has remained modern Sudan's defining characteristic" (Shankleman, 2011).

However, as has been noted above and in previous sections, whereas the issue of tribalism is a central factor to consider when determining the problems in the way of a peaceful and politically stable Sudan, one also has to take into account various closely related concepts such as ethnicity and religion.

Some studies refer to the complexity of tribal affiliations in the region. In this regard one can refer to the study by Gatkuoth (1995, p. 206) who states that:

> "There are an estimated 570 tribes in Sudan, which have been grouped into 56 ethnic groups on the basis of linguistic, cultural and other ethnological characteristics. These have been further reduced to eight major categories: Arabs (39%), Nilots (20%), Para-Nilots (5%), Westerners of Darfur (13%), Nuba (5%), Nuvians (5%), Sudamic (6%), and foreigners (7%)… the non-Arab groups still constitute more than 60% of the country's population".

The complexity of this ethnic and tribal mix is evident. One also has to take into account the fact that "ethnicity in Sudan Region is not easily discernible…given the entrenchment and intertwining of original African and Arab groups" (Paglia, 2008, p.11). Paglia (2008) further states that "conflicts in Sudan have usually been defined as tribal or ethnic. On the one hand, the North-South divide has usually been defined as a war between predominantly the Arab, Muslim North and the African, Christian South. On the other hand, the Darfur conflict has been described as a conflict between Arab and African tribes".

Paglia (2008, p. 11) also explores the differences and similarities between the terms tribal and ethic and notes that a tribe "… is thought of as a group of people who are

descended from common ancestors and ruled by a hereditary 'chief', who share a single culture (including, in particular, language and religion), and who live in a well-defined geographical region".

However, the author also points out that this is a rather simplistic conception of the reality of a tribe, belonging to the era of 19th Century colonialism. Furthermore, it refers to a simple and homogeneous identity but in reality contemporary African identity "… does not always share common ancestors and well-defined geographical regions" and the notion of a tribe is also suspect, as "… it has often been stressed that the term tribe has discriminatory connotations, because it underlines the primitiveness of a group relative to the advance of another group" (Paglia, 2008: p.11). Without delving into this complex and convoluted argument to any great extent, the point that Paglia (2008) makes is relevant in that the term tribe should be considered in a more realistic light as a term that includes aspects of ethnicity and religion, as well as political affiliation.

Many other interlinking social identities should also be considered when attempting to understand the concept of tribe; for example, the village community, the clan and the lineage. A tribe can also be understood as "…the gathering of more clans and sub-clans, a clan being a "…family tree of male descendants…" (Paglia, 2008, p.11). The author explains further that, "Although they might have shared many of their daily life activities with their village neighbours, they often had political loyalties to rulers elsewhere, and connections through trade and secret societies to people in other villages and towns" (Paglia, 2008, p.11).

The reality of tribal affiliations therefore becomes a less distinct and more complex concept that serves to illuminate some of the fissures and stresses in the Sudanese cultural tapestry, which in turn all impinges on the overall problematics of the question of stability in South Sudan. According to Paglia (2008), "most ethnic and tribal groups in Sudan define themselves their ancestry, their origins and their culture by referring to the past. Thus, for instance, the Berti and Zaghawa claim descent from a Nilo-Saharan group, which came from northwest between the 1300s and the 1500s. However, despite the perceived common origins and ancestry, most modern ethnic groups in Sudan are also the result of centuries of migrations from neighbouring countries".

When defining ethnicity the concepts of common origins and ancestry are often referred to. Two central theoretical approaches to the understanding of this term can be identified. Primordialism views ethnicity as being innate and structured according to genetic factors, whereas the constructionist approach tends to view ethnicity as being mainly determined by cultural and social norms and values. Primordialism sees kin relations and family ties as pre-social, or to use Geertz's concept 'given'.

According to Paglia (2008, p. 17), constructivism, to the contrary, sees ethnicity not as a matter of nature, but as a "…matter of 'nurture'. Thus, common ancestry and myths are socially and culturally constructed, not 'given'   From a constructivist viewpoint ethnicity is described as;…the social construction of descent and culture, the social mobilization of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them. People or peoples do not just possess cultures or share ancestry; they elaborate these into the idea of a community founded upon these attributes. Both these views emphasize the central nature of ethnic links and relationships and the way that they permeate society and impact the political as well as the other structural components of the society. The history of Sudan must therefore take into account the history of tribalism and ethnicity.

Adeldong (2012:1) asserts that "before independence and before the introduction of Christianity the different tribal groups found it very difficult to co-exist. Hostility between the tribes was the order of the day. The slave trade was run by the Arabs. It was a constant threat to Africans. These two factors fuelled hostilities and resulted in a strong spirit of tribalism and ethnicity. All this added to the highest enmity and hostility between the African and the Asian races. The immediate outcome was suspicion, hatred, conflict, and wars". The important point in terms of the present analysis is that this long history has resulted in various divisions in the society "which are based on ethnicity, tribal groups, religious groups, and racial groups. Furthermore, tensions among tribal groups in Sudan today are transmitted from the ancestors into the present generation. People today express their inherited bitterness and anger against the tribal group or groups which fought against and maltreated their own tribe. Care should be taken to understand this background" (Adeldong, 2012:1).

Tribal- and ethnic affiliation were seen as sign of superiority, a sentiment that still has repercussions for equitable and fair government and social harmony. As a number of

studies indicate these views of difference and superiority can all too easily be translated into nepotism and favouritism, practices that are encountered in employment and education in Sudan. An insightful study that sheds a great deal of light on the subject is that of Tombe (2012:1). In this study, the problem of tribalism in South Sudan is described as follows: "In the... Republic of South Sudan (RoSS); the system of governance is Tribocracy instead of Democracy. Tribocracy is a rule by a tribe or groups of tribes who monopolise all institutions of governance in a country like the South Sudan¨. Some ministries in the RoSS which look and sound like tribal gathering venues; considering the tribal rituals which are performed in them for some tribal rituals to be performed therein (Tombe, 2012:1).

The study associates tribalism with racism. Tombe's view is that, a tribalist will do all types of evil things to another human being, which a racist will do to another human being for similar reasons. As such a tribalist will discriminate against another human being because of his colour; tribal marks; language; culture; faith; and all those immutable characteristics that a human person is born with (Tombe, 2012).

From this perspective tribal affiliations are linked to crime and corruption in government and are seen as a serious complicating factor in South Sudan, counteracting political stability and the peaceful development of the young nation. According to this view, "…the RoSS is proving ungovernable because all formal institutions of governance in the RoSS have been transformed into informal institutions of Tribocracy" (Tombe, 2012:1).

Tribocracy is compared unfavourably to the advantages of a meritocracy and to a system of governance which is fair and equitable. As the author of this study stresses; "Governance based on Tribocracy lacks the capacity to identify; nurture; develop and sustain formal talents, and comprehensive value systems, acquired via formal educational processes, and various graduations; for the creation of pools of technocrats, needed for the purposes of formal governments and governance…" (Tombe, 2012:1).

Whereas some may view these statements as somewhat extreme and perhaps lacking in the various grades of subtle distinction which exist within the concepts of tribalism and ethnicity, they should be taken into consideration when discussing the problems

of political and cultural stability in the region. The point that is being made in this study is that the very ethos and mode of operation that exists within a tribal political situation is in many ways opposed to the elements of a true democracy, in which merit and value are based on the value of the individual and not on tribal or ethnic affiliation. Tombe (2012) furthermore asserts that in South Sudan military alliances are formed, not on the basis of the national good, but rather on the basis of tribal allegiances. This is obviously not a situation conducive to a healthy and progressive government and a situation which is certainty not conducive to the advancement of political stability. "In a Tribocracy, the wealth of the nation belongs to the controlling tribe(s). This is the tragedy that has befallen the RoSS. Close analyses of all the names and personalities accused by the President of the RoSS as having stolen four (4) billon dollars from the Peoples of South Sudan (PoSS) indicate that; the majority of them come from almost one tribe" (Tombe, 2012:1). The assertion is made that Tribocracy as the system of governance in the RoSS is "…extremely dangerous and that the tribalization of all institutions of governance is counterproductive and in radical opposition to the modernism of the New Government" (Tombe, 2012).

These views are also supported by Aliap (2012, p.12). The important view is put forward that many people of South Sudan are caught up between the choice between long-established tribal affiliation and the adoption of a united new national identity. As Aliap (2012) notes, it is an enormous challenge for the government of the Republic of South Sudan to effectively bring together all these tribal units under one effective system of government. "The government needs to act responsibly and transparently to convince all the tribes in South Sudan that the current government is realistically a government which truly represents the people of South Sudan irrespective of their tribal position in the country" (Aliap, 2012, p.14). The abovementioned is emphasized and repeated in a study by Cook & Moro (2012:6), who maintain that in terms of tribalism and ethnic differences the following aspects were found to be central:

> "Tribalism pervades government actions, they indicate, even though it is often denied. They report that tribesmen in government receive basic services and believe qualified candidates are turned down from government employment by members of other tribes. Participants in the study indicate that, because government officials practice tribalism, they have no choice but to support their own tribesmen in the hope of obtaining services and jobs".

A number of points from the abovementioned study need to be stressed. The consensus emanating from this survey of the people of the region is that the impact of tribalism in government is "pervasive". This implies a perceived notion that tribal affiliation is a cardinal determining factor in the political structure of the country. This in turn leads a distortion of the democratic and administrative processes of government, where individuals are chosen for office and for important positions on the basis of their tribal or ethnic affiliation and not necessarily based on their capability and intrinsic value for the nation. Aliap (2012) assert that multifarious consequences flow from the fact that the government of South Sudan creates institutions without first addressing the issue of tribalism. Aliap (2012:12) further asserts that, "All the government institutions and private institutions in South Sudan need to be tribal-, corruption-, favouritism- and nepotism free so that the people of South Sudan remain united to face the challenges which are currently facing the country". This central factor mitigates against the stability of the country.

The domination of one tribe in government will not only create negative perceptions and create suspicion which will hinder the democratic progress of the country, but is bound to in turn result in an increase in tribal divisions and tensions. This will further exacerbate the political process. The view put forward by a number of commentators is that a sense of nationalism should replace or rather supersede tribal affiliations. In this regard, Cook & Moro (2012:6) make a significant statement: "Participants strongly promote the idea of nationality as a unifying factor but believe for nation-building to succeed all tribes must be treated fairly, including in governing, and reconciliation among tribes must be encouraged".

It is also important to note in this regard that the UN (2012) has repeatedly warned that such internal clashes could exacerbate ethnic tensions throughout the country, leading to further violence. In the same vein, these statements have further warned that South Sudan's government has "limited capacity to deter crime or provide security" and that "security forces often operate outside civilian control and laws governing due process and treatment of detainees are often ignored." In the "fragility assessment", conducted by the Government of South Sudan in 2012 as part of the New Deal for International Engagement in Fragile States, it is stated that "large-scale internal conflict" has "markedly decreased," and that "initiatives" had been "put in place

to address inter-tribal clashes recurring in some parts of the country" (Government of South Sudan (GoSS, 2012:12). However, the assessment stated, "sustainable implementation of internal peace initiatives, in particular for the Jonglei state, had not yet been achieved". It also acknowledges challenges stemming from the "proliferation of small arms." The government further sought to "improve the behaviour, effectiveness, and accountability of a broad range of security actors," but some of them have now been drawn into internal conflict. Mareng (2010:473) reveals that "small arms proliferated during the civil war, and efforts to disarm communities in its aftermath, particularly efforts led by the SPLA, have been contentious and are often accompanied by charges of ethnic favouritism by commanders and abuses against rival communities". He further asserts that "the SPLA disarmament campaigns in the Greater Upper Nile area have been particularly problematic in the context of ongoing and emerging rebellions by various militias, most of which are organized along ethnic lines corresponding to ethnic groups, perceived to have fought as proxies of Khartoum against the SPLM/A during the north-south war (e.g., the Nuer, Shilluk, and Murle). Many local communities have also sought to retain their weapons for self-defence, and armed cattle raids have remained a recurrent source of violence".

4.3.2 The problem of militias, the military and ethnicity

As has been suggested above, that the problem of the military, its integration into the new South Sudan and the proliferation of militias with ethnic ties further aggravates the situation with regard to stability. LeRiche& Arnold (2013) state that "the South Sudanese government's incorporation of former militia fighters into its armed forces has further contributed to an over-sized military machine with little or no professional training and slack command and control. The United States and other donors have invested considerable resources in programs on disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and security sector transformation initiatives" Denscombe (2010)however argues that "the challenges associated with effecting these reforms in the context of inter-communal distrust, massive underdevelopment, and few short-term prospects for employment for ex-combatants are immense. Statements to the effect that the shattering of South Sudan's leadership, the various factions resort to

violence, and the resurrection of dormant ethnic grievances may have negative long-term effects on the country, whether events triggering the crisis were, in fact, part of a coup attempt, a mutiny, or spontaneous fighting". This is further supported by Ghasemilee (2001) who emphasize that "the conflict is inherently political, adding that it requires a political solution. Rebuilding trust among political leaders and between communities directly affected by ethnic violence, may however prove increasingly difficult the longer the crisis continues".

4.3.3 Weak institutions

Going into the process of post-independence stabilization with weak institutions is often mentioned as a factor in the problems facing the country. The civilian regime's inability and unwillingness to resolve the political crisis in the country and its failure to deal with the economic problems has resulted in a growing discontent within the populace (Shankleman, 2011).

Though much has been achieved in a political sense, the country still battles to be recognized as one of the stable countries in Africa as it continues to experience political and economic instability as well as social injustice. This situation can in part be ascribed to the lack of strong policies, political practices and other institutions at the outset and the concomitant practical political problems which followed, leading to the present crisis. This aspect refers to the previous discussion on nation- and state building and the centrality of strong institutions and infrastructure in state building-with the implication that national stability is in the first place dependant on strong institutions and infrastructure.

According to Bol (undated), "the current crisis, for instance, started from within the SPLM and because there was no tradition of democratic practice in the party, even a small crisis could not be contained. As it had led the independence movement, the whole country still depends on SPLM. When an internal crisis erupted within SPLM,it became a national problem which contributes to South Sudan's fragility. This can in turn be attributed to the weak institutions in the country" (Bol, undated). And "… there are two main reasons that cause instability in South Sudan at the moment. One is the problem of oil and weak institutions and the second one is the chaos of liberation. When we moved from the liberation movement to the governing phase it's been

difficult and chaotic. This chaos again is a result of weak institutions in South Sudan"(Bol, undated).

As noted throughout this study, it is difficult if not impossible, to demarcate clear lines of separation between the various categories of problems opposing stability in the country. An obvious example is the fact that the issue of poor or weak institutions of governance is exacerbated by the previously mentioned lack of military integration - which was "…one of the presiding dynamics which led to the December 2013 – August 2015 civil war, in which over 50,000 people were killed and 2.3 million displaced" (Kratt, 2016).

In this regard it is noteworthy that "South Sudan's Vice President, RiekMacharTeny has blamed the new nation's weak institutions for the corruption that has blighted the country and urged the international community to assist in building their capacity" (Sudan Tribune, 2012). This is a clear indication of the pertinent problem; with obvious consequences for the stability of the country.

4.3.4 Corruption

South Sudan is acknowledged by many as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. "South Sudan is internationally recognized as one of the world's most corrupt nations following a revelation by President SalvaKiir that $4 billion of government money has gone unaccounted for in the last seven years" (Sudan Tribune, 2012). Corruption, as a factor in the stability of a country, is one of the negative aspects which can lead to perceptions of fraud and a loss of faith in the institutions of that country. This is very much the case with South Sudan. A number of reports characterize the governance and administration of the country in terms of extreme forms of corruption and fraud - which are intimately linked with the other problems of the country which reduce the possibilities of a stable society (Thomson, 2016)

"…rampant corruption, neo-patrimonial regime and lack of transformational leadership, lack of constitutional reform, lack of ethnic diversity and institutional and political transformation, absurd notions of self-indulgence and iniquitous practices, an embezzlement scandal and disadvantages of incompetence and predominance of

militarism as well as kleptocratic oligarchy, a small group of people having control of the country" (Jangdit, 2017).

The issue of corruption is also closely linked to assertions of tribal and ethnic privileges and bias. As one commentary states: "… judicial ineffectiveness, military interference in politics and cultural situations in which traditional leaders such as Jieng Council of elders wield more power than those who are working in the national government. We know that the country is not governed by the elected members of parliament but rather by the tribal self-appointed leaders. For example, Jieng Council of Elders is a large ethnic bloc working for a common interest of Dinka rather than the national affairs". (Jangdit, 2017)

4.3.5 Human rights

The issue of human rights is one that has been referred to in the above discussion. However, this aspect is central as a causative factor in that the perception that basic human rights are not being enforced or encouraged by the government and institutions of a country can be directly related to the stability or instability of the country. Conversely, countries where human rights are upheld, and the populace perceives that their rights as being upheld by the political establishment and legal and other institutions, are usually described as stable.

However, in South Sudan "the situation with regard to human rights is described as one of the worst in the world". This is highlighted in the following statement: "The latest stories emerging from the conflict-ridden country seem too shocking to be true: children have been burnt alive, soldiers have been allowed to rape women in lieu of wages, and tens and thousands of people have been killed. It is, the United Nations said in a report, one of the most horrendous human rights situations in the world". (Thompson, 2016)

4.3.6 Gender equality and other issues

One of the main concerns has been the treatment of women in the country. "South Sudan is severely lacking in infrastructure and has some of the worst human development indicators worldwide. Social and cultural practices harmful to women

compound the effects of conflict and marginalization" (Aliap, 2011:1). In many instances gender marginalization and even abuse, are not seen as legitimate concerns in the society.

A number of studies point to the situation of women in the region as a central problem which needs to be addressed. Sudan has for many years had a very poor record with regard to women's rights. Stringent laws that marginalize women from the mainstream of society and from opportunity, have characterized the North of the country for some time; the role and public freedom of women in particular has been targeted as a priority by the regime of President Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir (Shahin, 1993:48). Human Rights watch refers to the view that survivors say rape has become "just a normal thing" for women caught up in South Sudan's civil war…" (Muscati, 2015:1).

Numerous case reports refer to instances of rape and sexual abuse.

> "Amid the killing of civilians, widespread pillaging of cattle and destruction of homes, scores of women have been subjected to appalling sexual violence. We documented dozens of cases of rape, including gang rapes. Almost every person we met had heard of or knew someone that government forces or their allied militias had raped. One woman said that rape had become 'just a normal thing'" (Muscati, 2015:1).

A report from the UNDP underscores this problem:

> "Much as both men and women suffer during armed conflict, the impact of conflict is felt differently and, therefore, diverse interventions are required to address the various needs of men and women in conflict-affected areas. Women often experience more horrific atrocities and injustices in comparison to their male counterparts. Women become targets of gender-based violence, with sexual violence used as a weapon of war, as a means of subjugation and humiliation, as a form of torture to inflict injury, to extract information and to destroy communities" (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

4.4 External political considerations

The complexity of the stability of South Sudan is further exacerbated by the surrounding countries and their attitudes and the various resulting pressures and problems. For example, "Sudan seems to be concerned about South Sudan's possible

plans for constructing an alternative pipeline for oil transportation, either through Kenya or through Ethiopia. This seems to threaten their security and economic interest in South Sudan" (B0l, undated). Many commentators believe that Sudan wants to see a weak, unstable South Sudan which continuously relies on Sudan to transport its oil. "South Sudan depends on Sudan to transport its oil and when the oil prices are going down South Sudan receives per barrel less than $10 while Sudan is getting at least $25 per barrel. So just because of the pipeline, or just because South Sudanese oil flow throw their transportation system, they are receiving almost three quarter of the oil revenue. So a weak and unstable South Sudan is in their economic interest in that way" (Bol, undated).

However, at the same time, there are many who wish to see stability in South Sudan as the continued conflict and instability is affecting their business and economics. The concerns of the republic of Kenya are a case in point. Regional states, especially Kenya, are concerned that the repercussions from the prolonged war could compromise regional security, peace and stability, thus undermining their economic, political and security interests. "Being a close neighbour on the northern frontier, a protracted conflict in South Sudan will affect Kenya in terms of trade and investment, infrastructure projects and influx of refugees" (Muluvi&Odhiambo, 2014:1). Furthermore, the intense and continued violence and instability in South Sudan and the lack of progress concerning the peace process, has had a considerable range of negative effects on countries like Kenya. There is also the problem of lost investments and earning.

"Kenyan nationals stand to lose their sunk costs on investments in South Sudan. Since the signing of comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) eight years ago, Kenyan investors have made significant inroads into South Sudan. Kenyans have invested in various sectors including banking, insurance, aviation, construction, hospitality, and information and communication technologies (ICT), transportation, and wholesale and retail trade" (Muluvi&Odhiambo, 2014:1).

Kenya is currently one of the largest investors in South Sudan. However, the escalation of conflict and the increase in instability in the country has resulted in many Kenyan businesses having had to close, or they have been looted by the factional fighting groups. Many Kenyans who could have been assisting in the economic up-

liftment and stabilization of the country, have been forced to return to Kenya. This in turn has decreased investment importunities in South Sudan. "Kenyan workers were providing substantial human resources to the country before the conflict started" (Muluvi&Odhiambo, 2014:1).

These economic factors are linked to other issues, such as the increased influx of refugees into countries like Kenya as a result of the violence and insensibility in South Sudan. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, "…by February 2014, an estimated 170,000 South Sudanese had crossed into neighbouring countries of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan. Of these refugees, 20,000 had entered Kenya alone, creating pressure on security and service delivery systems. This influx of refugees will not only strain resources in host countries, but also compromise national and regional security as it will exacerbate proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons" (Muluvi&Odhiambo, 2014:1). This situation has been exacerbated in recent years with all the problems associated with refugee status and pressure on infrastructure, as well as poverty, crime and many other concomitant factors.

4.5 Conclusion

Tribalism is a key factor that undermines peace and political stability in Sudan, and there are complexities that exist with regards to ethnicity and tribalism. The study further associates tribalism with racism, whereby tribal affiliations are often associated with crime and corruption in government. This is a serious, complicating factor in South Sudan, which threatens the political stability of the nation. A further problem is that of the military, its integration into the new South Sudan and the proliferation of militias with ethnic tie. Weak institutions is another factor in the problems facing the country, with the lack of strong policies and political practices. Additionally, South Sudan is considered as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Human rights are not being enforced or encouraged by the government and institutions and Sudan also has a poor record in terms of women's rights. The complexity of the stability of South Sudan is further exacerbated by the surrounding countries and their attitudes, and the various resulting pressures and problems which appear to threaten their security and economic interest. Based on the evidence presented in chapters two, three and four,

chapter five provides the overall conclusion to the study and recommends a way forward towards stability in South Sudan.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The present study has largely concentrated on instability in South Sudan. This is of course a natural concomitant of the concept of stability and it is implied that, unless the causative favours of instability in the country are fully comprehended, there can be no understanding of the counter measures that would lead to the stability of the region and of South Sudan. This has been a central tenet of the study. It is also clear from the above that unless the causative factors that have resulted in the nearly disastrous situation in South Sudan are addressed, there can be no real stability in the country. It has also been suggested that nation- and state building in its wider context should be accepted as the point of departure when seeking for an answer to the problems of stability in South Sudan. The opposite of a stable and unified state is a failed state. As has been inferred in this discussion, strong views to the effect that South Sudan is already a failed state (or at least very close to being one) are to be found. The following is a brief exposition of the meaning of a failed state in the context of the situation in South Sudan.

5.2 The possibility of a failed state

One of the key issues in the study is the variables affecting the stability of post-independence South Sudan and the attendant prospects and constraints. The issue of South Sudan as a failed state is an area of concern which relates to the theme of this research. The possibility of South Sudan being labelled a failed state is important because this compromises the stability of the new state. This is particularly important because some critics and commentators are predicting that South Sudan is set to become a failed state. They partially base this view on the fact that Sudan does not fare well in the Failed State Index of 2010 (Storø, 2011:32). Essentially, a failed state is defined as a state which is unable to perform the functions needed for a state to be

considered a functioning entity. This includes functions such as the maintenance of secure boundaries, the protection of the population, the provision of public goods, as well as the establishment of effective governance and the guarantee of law and order. These are all functions which are lacking or rapidly failing in South Sudan. Considering that the primary objective of the study is to analyse the challenges facing South Sudan and seeing that the possibility of becoming a failed state is very real, it is very important to analyse the possibility and possible consequences of South Sudan becoming a failed state.

On the other hand, some commentators are of the view that the recent independence of South Sudan is a move in the direction of greater freedom and autonomy and that this means that in the long run the challenges, which face the country, can be overcome. However, even the most extremely optimistic critics acknowledge that the hard realities of the varied problems in the country have to be faced. This is also the view which Attree (2012) holds, namely that "despite the end of the CPA period and South Sudan's secession in July 2011, key issues remain unresolved between Sudan and South Sudan. These include border demarcation and management, the allocation of disputed territories, the rights of citizens in the two countries and the sharing of debts, resources and revenues. This also relates to the issue of governance and internal social dynamics" (Attree, 2012, p.2).

The issue of governance and the internal administrative dynamics of South Sudan are important areas of concern, especially with regard to aspects of state building. This is important because they determine to a significant extent the possibility of South Sudan being a failed state. One study in this aspect notes that, "whereas the NCP and SPLM used the CPA to consolidate their own power, there has been only slow progress during the period of CPA implementation towards addressing the root causes of conflict in Sudan and South Sudan" (Attree, 2012:5). This is a clear indictment of the inability of the government to address the complex dynamics of the region. A common criticism of South Sudan in this regard is that, "...state institutions have for some years served as the vehicles for upholding…patronage and control. For many, authoritarianism and, in particular the imposition of Sharia law, are unacceptable, and the concerns of minorities regarding future exploitation and repression are palpable" (Attree, 2012:5). From this perspective religion and religious prejudice are interlinked

with poor democratic governance, a situation which could lead to tension and the possibility of conflict. Coupled to this is the more recent violence, inspired by tribal-, inter-tribal and ethnic affiliations.

A view to the effect that the administrative processes in both the North and the South are in need of refurbishment is also to be found. Attree (2012:6) refers to the fact that in 2005 it was found that " ... all the infrastructure of a functional government, as well as skilled personnel, laws and procedures needed to be established from scratch". This can be linked to other issues, such as lack of access to healthcare, low living standards, low educational standards as well as inadequate access to clean water.

Another view that needs to be taken into account is that the governments in the region are strongly influenced by the military and this lends itself to a greater proportion of the budget being spent on the military instead of on the upgrading of infrastructure and education (Shankleman, 2011). Studies have established that a general feeling among the populace in South Sudan that the government is not acting in a democratically responsible way to ensure the fair and equal redistribution of wealth is to be found. This is referred to as a perception of "…democratic deficit…" (Attree, 2012:6). This very problematic situation can be summed up as follows: "Much now depends on effective leaders, because power is concentrated in the hands of individuals rather than effective institutions, laws, policies and accountability mechanisms" (Attree, 2012:6). In essence, the popular voice in South Sudan is relatively weak and many sections of the community are isolated geographically. This also militates against proper access to information and negatively impacts the strength of civil society. This dominance of the military, it can be argued with certainty, is one of the variables contributing to the challenges of maintaining stability in South Sudan.

The issue of corruption also falls within the ambit of the above discussion. Several reports and studies highlight the prevalence of this issue in South Sudan. Many of these reports indicate that cases and allegations of corruption are particularly prevalent in South Sudan. South Sudan's Vice President, Riek Machar blamed the new nation's weak institutions for the corruption which has blighted the country and urged the international community to assist in building of their capacity. South Sudan is internationally recognised as one of the world's most corrupt nations following a revelation by President Salva Kiir that $4 billion of government money has gone

unaccounted for in the past seven years (Sudan Tribune, 2012).

The situation is perceived as being such that "The government considers corruption as one of the major obstacles to both peace and good government" (Larmondin, 2008:10). Corruption is also blamed for preventing the benefits of the recent peace agreement and independence from reaching the populace at large (Larmondin, 2008). It has been attempted to rectify the situation. The Southern Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission, for example, encourages the reporting of cases of corruption and emphasizes the role of the ordinary citizen in the combating of corruption.

5.3 Towards stability in South Sudan

Recently there have been signs that could be termed hopeful in terms of the termination of conflict in the country and the movement towards a more stable society. The following two recent reports are quoted at length.

Firstly, President Museveni has placed emphasis on national building as being more important than ethnic- or tribal identity.

> "President Museveni has urged the people of South Sudan to embrace unity for prosperity and development warning that the misuse of identity can paralyse and endanger their nation. Mr Museveni was speaking in Juba where he travelled at the invitation of President Salva Kiir, to attend the launch of South Sudan's National dialogue and the swearing in of the process' steering committee members. 'There are three problems; misuse of identity. This can paralyze and endanger any nation. Why insist on identity at the expense of other people. The issue of identity broke up Sudan,' Mr Museveni said" (Mwayi, 2017)

He emphasized the importance of a national dialogue in this regard. In another report, the following was stated:

> "The president of war-ravaged South Sudan has declared a unilateral ceasefire, according to new reports...In a speech in the South Sudanese capital Juba on 22 May 2017, Kiir declared a unilateral ceasefire as well as the release of political prisoners but, without a political deal with rebels, it is still unclear whether the announcement can bring long-lasting peace..." (South Sudan President Salva Kiir declares 'unilateral ceasefire')

Critics may of course suggest that these statements, once again, are actions and words without substance that will not lead to any conclusive peace or resolutions to the problems of the country and that tribal and ethnic conflict and social inequality will dominate. However, the analysis of the situation and its causes in this study suggest various options that could be explored in a bid to introduce a measure of stability that could lead the country away from the brink of a failed state.

There are a number of possible steps that need to be taken to avoid a failed state and to return the country to a semblance of stability. To repeat, on the positive side South Sudan is a country rich in natural resources, with access to oil revenue. Whereas it is true that these natural resources are the very causes of infighting (Tafesse, 2009:11), these can also be used as a means of stabilizing the country. In this regard a number of important aspects need to be addressed before a stable economic and social environment is created.

It should be emphasized that simplistic answers and solutions couched in obvious and easy terms will not answer the complex question of stability in South Sudan. In the first instance, institutional reform should be high priority in the country. This of necessity should be able to address the ethnic and tribal divides, which are the main causes of the instability in the country. A stable and productive country requires a reformation of institutions and government which is acceptable across the broad range of the populace and not bound by tribal affiliations and structures. This is of course a very difficult process to undertake without accepted and universally endorsed leadership. In essence therefore, the central and most crucial challenge facing the country "...revolves around the need to build working state institutions and the equally important necessity to forge a durable and working nation out of the diverse ethnicities of the Republic" (Mbaku & Smith, 2012).

One could again refer to the International Alert's Peace building Framework noted above as a means of theoretically ascertaining and dealing with the issue of stability in the country. This refers to the dynamics of structuring peace by taking into account five central factors; namely, Power, Economy, Safety, Justice and Well-being. However, any plan or initiative to rectify the present instability must deal with the central issue at stake which obstructs peace in the country - the inter-tribal factional fighting and the placing of tribal and ethnic consideration above national identity and nation building.

5.4 The ideal solution

The ideal solution would of course be an integrated state within a cohesive and independent nation. However, one has to be realistic within the framework imposed by the history of the region and ask which ideals are practically attainable within the region. One has to, for instance, take into account the critique that the government has become insular and authoritarian and a possible conduit for violent confrontation, rather than a source and springboard for integration. The question of the oil revenues is also another aspect which adds to the complexity of the issue and stands in the way of moving forward to a more positive future.

To summarize, the issue of stability in South Sedan is seriously hampered by a number of interrelated factors that tend to disrupt and prevent such stability. Sidahmed & Sidahmed (2004) stress the importance of the legacy of civil war, conflict and ethnic animosity as central factors which can be seen as the fundamental cause of the present untenable situation in South Sudan. Sidahmed & Sidahmed (2004, p. 146), summarize the underlying historical developmental factors and refer to the origins of the issues and problems in the region in the following quotation:

> "...the Sudan - which was created from an amalgamation of Arabs, Nubians (or Arabized Nubians) and Africans - has been involved in a painful search for its soul for the past half a century. Failure to come to grips with its identity realities led to political and economic instability that expressed itself in a chain of brief parliamentary regimes, followed by longer military ones, each of which was ousted by a popular uprising. In the meantime, civil war has raged most of the country's independent history".

Any solution to the situation of instability in the country therefore, in the first instance, needs to inculcate a new awareness and an open debate about this historical legacy which has resulted in the present conflict, violence and prejudice in the country.

Human rights or rather the lack of respect for Human rights, and their continued deterioration in South Sudan's political and social environment is also emphasised by Okello and others. This study also isolates important factors in the past which have an impact on the challenges currently faced by the country. Foremost among these are

factors are the questions of the administration of justice and the marginalization of certain groups. As Okello (2005:20) emphasizes; "Unless these basic human rights concerns are seriously addressed it will be difficult to have a lasting peace".

A central area of concern that has a profound impact on any discussion of state and nation building in South Sudan is ethnicity and identity. This also refers to the failure of leadership, in particular the "...inability of the country's leaders to reconcile the cultural and ethnic realities", and that they "have failed to unite about the question of identity and to devise ground rules for co-existence" are cardinal aspects that need to be addressed" (Gatkuoth, 1995:211).

Above all, the reality of violence and continuing hostilities has to be addressed. A report from the United Nations Mission on the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) entitled Conflict in South Sudan: A Human Rights Report (2014) states that "From the very outset of the violence, gross violations of human rights and serious violations of humanitarian law have occurred on a massive scale. Civilians were not only caught up in the violence, they were directly targeted, often along ethnic lines. In some cases, nationals of particular foreign countries were also targeted" (United Nations, 2014:16).

Coupled to this, is the dire need for a coherent leadership that can mend the division between the different groups. This refers to the central fault line or fissure in the society which is the one central causative factor that resounds throughout the literature and commentary on the problem of stability in the region. To repeat: "The absence of a national party, leadership or representative platform to address the growing crises of Sudanese state and society, led in the end to the re-surfacing and mushrooming of tribal affiliations and tendencies at the expense of national loyalty. ... As a result, the country's economy continued to deteriorate" (Sidahmed & Sidahmed, 2004, p. 146).

5.5 Recommendations for further study

In order to further the political, social and economic advancement and positive development of South Sudan, one must first understand the problem in context. This understanding is predicated on a necessary holistic and inclusive view of the problems on the ground and the way in which the various factors influence one another. Another important and fertile area for future research is the intersection or rather the

intersections between tribalism, ethnicity, religious affiliations and political affiliations and trajectories in the country. As has been noted, the issue of tribalism is a central factor to consider in ascertaining the problematic of a peaceful and politically stable South Sudan region.

The second area that might need to be researched is the complexities and subsequent solutions needed to foster unity among the citizens It is expected that this might also lead to more positive political and socio-economic spinoffs. It is important that there is a model or framework, to be reviewed and refined over time, that states like South Sudan can pursue when they are involved in nation building. This is especially more important as several other countries are considering the Sudanese option of breaking into states. For example, Cameroon is considering breaking into the Anglophone and Francophone zones. Against this backdrop, it is vitally important to research the complexities of nation building in the current context of international law.

5.6 Conclusion

Throughout this study there has been one central theme which is prominent in the literature on the stability of the country, viz. the cardinal importance of the creation of a sense of national identity which can supersede and incorporate the ethnic and tribal divisions that are tearing apart society. This refers to the view that the goal of national unity has now been replaced by independence rather than national integration. Every effort should be made to address the important aspect that can lead to possible stability in a country on the brink of becoming a failed state.

However, as has also been emphasized in this study, one cannot ignore the other aspects which need to be fully addressed for a stable state and nation to become a reality. This includes the important aspect of inequalities and perceived inequalities which hamper the resolution of conflict and which retard the move towards a more equitable and stable society and state. This also includes the important issue of women's rights and the rectification of the extremely poor humanitarian situation in the country. There can be no doubt that unless these aspects are addressed in a comprehensive way which includes all players with debate and input which is not biased in terms of ethnic or tribal affiliations, there is little hope of averting a failed state in the country.

An example of the way in which the improvement of human rights, for example, could assist in the stabilization of the country is evident from the following. New African (2012:1) refers to a strong view that "For a durable peace and sustainable development, these projects will need to include women and youth". In a special United Nations' report entitled *Gender and State building in South Sudan* by Nada Mustafa Ali (2011:1) the author states that; "The government of South Sudan, with the support of regional partners and the international community, should ensure that gender equality and women's rights are fully integrated into and are outcomes of state building". It follows that state and nation building are intimately linked to issues such as reconciliation initiatives which involve aspects such as "...the greater inclusion of women and young people are all opportunities for constructive engagement" (Reeve, 2012:7).

The abovementioned has a number of important implications. These include the value of gender in nation building as well as many other related aspects such as low infrastructural development and other factors which can contribute towards positive state and nation building.

The present situation also calls for outside intervention and the assistance of outside institutions such as the United Nations in helping the country to create a more stable environment for nation building. Muscati (2015:1) states that South Sudan's justice system, for example, does not have the capacity at present to deal with the level of crime in the country and, possibly more importantly, "...the government lacks the political will..." to deal with abuses that have "... persisted because of decades of impunity". He further suggests that:

"The UN Security Council urgently needs to step in. It must either help to establish an independent hybrid court, or refer crimes committed in South Sudan to the International Criminal Court. The Security Council should also establish an arms embargo on both government and rebel forces" (Muscati, 2015:1).

Such moves may not help end the war and conflict, but they could facilitate to break the awful cycle of violence engulfing the republic of South Sudan. However, in the final analysis, whereas measures such as UN intervention will go a long way to stabilize the situation and reduce conflict and crime, it will not in itself end the conflict and solve the problem of stability in the country. This can only be achieved through a reconciliation of leadership and the creation of a sense of national identity and unity that will supersede tribal and ethnic differences.

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