

CRISIS - UNIVERSITARIO

SPECIAL SUMMIT: THE TRANSITION OF SOUTH SUDAN



SINGLE DELEGATION



Dear Delegates,

My name is Paula Negron and I am fully honored to be serving as your Director for the Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan at PUCPMUN 2019. First of all, a bit about me: currently a third-year international relations student at USIL, and completely in love with Model UN. I first attended to a conference in 2017 with IRMUN Society, and since then I have been participating as delegate in all kind of committees, but my specialties - and also my favorites - are DISEC and Security Council due to the topics it implies and the dynamic of the committees. PUCPMUN 2019 will be my first time serving as Director of a university committee, and I am excited for having the opportunity to develop a topic as important as the transition of South Sudan and its implications for African politics.

As many of you may know, South Sudan is the youngest country in the world, and it is currently dealing with political, social and economic problems which are threaten the population. Political instability, ineffective government, food insecurity and a civil war situation place South Sudan as the State most fragile in the world. However, during the development of the debate, the delegates will have the opportunity to improve or worsen the situation in South Sudan, not only through proposed solutions, but also by sharpening the timeline of the crisis and the events that may impact on the country's situation.

Along with Rodrigo, Emilio and the crisis team, we look forward to meeting you all at PUCPMUN 2019 and welcoming you to - what we expect to be - one of the most challenging committees of the conference!

Good luck to all!

Paula Negron

Director, Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan
PUCPMUN 2019

Dear Delegates,

My name is Rodrigo Ezcurra and I am glad to tell you that I will be hosting the Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan as your Assistant Director alongside the amazing team formed by Paula, Emilio, Kenneth and Federico. Firstly, I will give you a brief introduction on my career choice and my trajectory at MUN. Less than three weeks ago, I finished my studies majoring in Economics at UP with a specialty on finances and, at the moment, I am working as a consultant to the Embassy of Canada in Peru and Bolivia at the Trade Commissioner Service. My path at MUN started three years ago when I applied to PU with an aim at improving my soft skills such as public speaking. However, I am pleased to say that throughout the years debating subjects such as the Ebola crisis, Gender Politics of Terrorism and Climate Refugees (or Migrants); I have managed to develop not only my soft skills, but an holistic view of international politics and its importance in aiding crisis management and containment.

The crisis at South Sudan is an extremely delicate subject that has to be addressed in an integrated manner. Despite being a new country, the structural problems that triggered the crisis are much older than the state itself and many of these have strong correlations. In this light, we will be expecting a debate with an approach that tackles them in a comprehensive, structured and complete way. Given the urgency of the matter and the ad hoc opportunities you will have to change the course of the crisis, we will be looking forward to feasible short term solutions that also consider the long term repercussions of those actions.

I hope you enjoy the study guide and feel free to email me for any doubt on the subject, and I will gladly answer as soon as possible. Without further ado,

Best luck to you all,

Rodrigo Ezcurra

Assistant Director, Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan
PUCPMUN 2019

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COMMITTEE

Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan



Having acknowledged the situation of South Sudan, the Peace & Security Council (PSC) of the African Union has called for the realization of a Summit which will gather all African countries that are trying to solve the civil war in the newest country in the world, as well as the ones which are facing the consequences of the violence. The PSC noted that South Sudan's crisis is a threat for the fragile - and sometimes nearly inexistence - stability in African countries; on that matter, the Summit will work as a forum to discuss further solutions and African involvement in the transition to peace and democracy in South Sudan and full implementation of the previous agreements. In addition, it will look for tackling the main consequences of the civil war in neighboring countries and the African community.

The Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan will start on February 2nd, 2019. After the first meeting, countries of the PSC, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the AU Ad hoc Committee (C5), and other relevant countries¹ to the conflict will meet once a month to follow up the decisions and take more actions regarding the solution of the conflict. Moreover, starting in Pretoria, South Africa, the Summit will change its location throughout the meetings.

Regarding the faculties of the Summit, the delegates - as representatives of the African States - will be able to decide on actions that will be implemented by the participating countries of the Summit in order to tackle the civil war and its consequences to African community. In addition to this, the Summit can call upon collaboration from any UN specialized agency, non-governmental organization, etc.; it can also recommend certain actions from specific countries or the participating organizations (IGAD, PSC, C5) - bearing in mind the faculties of each. Furthermore, as the summit is placed in the frame of the African Union, the directives will have to be guided by the principles of the African Union as well as the United Nations.

African Union (AU)

The African Union is a regional organization comprising 53 African states. It was established on the grounds of Pan-Africanism principles: unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African States;² and following the work that the Organization for African Unity (OAU) did.

According to the Article 3 of the Constitutive Act, the Union have fourteen objectives. The Summit will be held in accordance to the following: "Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent". In addition, the Act states the principle of non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another, and the prohibition of the use of force or threat to use among Member

¹ As a representative of the western powers overseeing the deal of September 2018 (R-ARCSS), United Kingdom is invited to the Summit as an observer country.

² Constitutive Act of the African Union.

States of the Union.³ However, it allows Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security.

The African Union uses as guide for policy making and implementation of decisions the Agenda 2063: *The Africa We Want*, which serves as a plan for African development. The document aims to refocus and re-prioritize Africa's agenda from political independence and apartheid, to inclusive social and economic development, continental and regional integration, democratic governance and peace and security with the objective to repositionate Africa as a dominant player in the international community. Among the African aspirations of the Agenda, the N° 4 aspires for "A peaceful and secure Africa" having as main mechanisms the ones that promote dialogue-centred approaches to conflict prevention and resolution of conflicts.

Furthermore, since the African Union is the successive organization of OAU, the Union also adopted the declarations, conventions and decisions that this organization took. It is important to point out the fact that the African Union includes among its documents the Solemn Declaration AHG/Decl.4 (XXXVI) on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA)⁴, the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism⁵; and most importantly, the Declaration AHG/Decl.2 (XXX) on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations⁶.

Peace & Security Council

The Peace & Security Council is the standing decision-making organ of the AU for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. It was created, according to the Article 5 (2) of the Constitutive Act, on July 9th, 2002 in Durban, South Africa with the adoption of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council. Currently, the PSC constitutes a key pillar of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) which is the framework for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa.

According to the constitutive protocol, the PSC is composed of fifteen countries which are elected by the Assembly of the African Union by following a varied criteria. This countries have the duty to ensure that the PSC follows the objectives gathered in the Article 3 of the Protocol, in which you can find:

1. [...] In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, the PSC shall have the responsibility to undertake peace-making and peace-building functions for the resolution of these conflicts;
2. Promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence;
3. Promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law.

Moreover, according to its functions and powers, the PSC can and shall intervene in matters related to peace-making (including the use of good offices, mediation, conciliation and enquiry), peace support operations and interventions - the latter in pursuant to article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act of the Union -; and it can decide to undertake peace-making and peace-building functions to resolve conflicts where they have occurred, to recommend to the Assembly intervention in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances, and to authorize the mounting and deployment of peace support missions.

³ Article 4. Constitutive Act of the African Union.

⁴ Adopted by the 36th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OUA. 10 to 12 July, 2000.

⁵ Adopted by the 35th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OUA. 12 to 14 July, 2000.

⁶ Adopted by the 30th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OUA. 13 to 15 June, 1994.

AU High-Level Ad hoc Committee (C5) for South Sudan

The C5 is composed of five countries chosen by the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Since 2015, South Africa, Algeria, Chad, Nigeria and Rwanda, gather in the C5, are expressing political support to South Sudan on its transition. As part of its mandate, the five countries have signed the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS) which demonstrated the AU support and involvement - through the C5 - in the efforts to end the war in South Sudan.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

Under the principles of peace, prosperity and regional integration; the IGAD has the mission to assist and complement the efforts of the Member States through increased cooperation to achieve (1) food security and environmental protection; (2) promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs; and (3) economic cooperation and integration.

The IGAD was created in 1996 to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). IGADD had the aim to supplement national efforts to combat drought and desertification in the region. However, in 1995, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government made a declaration to revitalize IGADD and expand the cooperation among the Member States. One year later, on March 22nd, 1996, the Assembly signed “Letter of Instrument to amend the IGADD Charter” establishing the revitalized regional organization with a new name, a new organizational structure and more areas of regional cooperation.

Currently, IGAD is composed of eight countries: four from the Horn of Africa - Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea -, two from the Nile Valley - Sudan and South Sudan -, and two from African Great Lakes - Kenya and Uganda; and is having an important role in the peace process in South Sudan, working close with the AU.

Crisis elements

If the Special Summit on the Transition of South Sudan will be your first crisis committee in Model UN, we want you to fully understand how it works before the Conference. First of all, while traditional General Assembly or Specialized committees operate on a static timeline and protocol; crisis committees are extremely dynamic since the delegates have the capacity to modify the timeline of the crisis by using what is known as secret actions to create updates. Secret actions are, like its name states, actions that a delegate can take by using the faculties, power and tools that his country has. There is no strictly format for secret actions; however they must be well explained.⁷

Second, crisis do not work in the same way as a GA committee. The main point of having the ability to use your portfolio power is to change the crisis and take advantage of the situations to serve your country's interest in the topic; even though if that requires for you to go against your committee. However, you must be secretive about it and use your crisis notes to build an arc that will achieve its objective without anyone knowing.

Finally, the Special Summit of the Transition of Sudan will be a crisis committee with some modifications: instead of using specific characters you are going to represent a Head of State or Government; that means you will have to take into consideration your country's needs and interests as well. In this regard, this factor must be included in the directive a delegate writes or supports. Nonetheless, since directives are actions taken by the entire committee, they have to be discussed and

⁷ As an advice, you may write as many details as you feel needed to explain your goal. Include specially what you want to achieve, how you want to do it and who you are going to use in order to accomplish it.

voted before adopting it. It is important to point out that directives modify both the crisis timeline and the front room debate.

Directives' format:

1. Title
2. Sponsors
3. Signatories
4. Action (preceded by an operative clause).

INTRODUCTION

Colonialism in Africa

To fully understand the context in which South Sudan was created, it is important to first defined the influence that European colonialism had in African history in general. By the late 19th century, France and Britain had control of almost two-third of Africa. However, without any formal definition of imperial boundaries, there was a possibility that any conflict among European powers started due to the constant expansion of the influence and power in the African continent.

The formalization of colonial rule was accomplished at the Conference of Berlin (1884 - 1885), in which all the European powers - France, Britain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Italy - recognized each other's share of Africa. However, where this conference was successful to avoid conflicts among Europeans, it was one of the principal causes why Africa is now struggling with civil wars, humanitarian crises and underdevelopment. The boundaries that European governments defined did not take into consideration neither ethnics nor culture nor tribal religions in Africa; and reunited in one country different - and sometimes also antagonic - lifestyles that, in the future, will fight for power creating protracted conflicts. But how Europe contributed to South Sudan's current situation in particular?

To answer this question, we will need to explain 1) why Europe was interested in Africa, and 2) how British rule was implemented in the territory of Sudan.

Reasons for Europe's interest in Africa

When thinking about what led to colonialism in history, it is not uncommon that most people believe that the main reason was - and continue being in contemporary forms of colonialism - the search for natural resources. Nevertheless, the African colonialism experience had the need to gather scientific knowledge about the unknown as the first reason why Europeans decided to travel and observe the "Dark Continent" - as Africa was known back in time.⁸ Expeditions of scientifics and geographers like



⁸ Vincent B. Khapoya. *The African Experience*. Edition No. 4.

Samuel Baker, Joseph Thompson, Richard Burton and others in the 19th century served to attract Europeans to Africa.

After they “discovered” African lakes, rivers and mountains, and wrote about African people, culture and ways of life; the second reason appeared: Western Christianity. If you read about Christian doctrine - as well as Muslim -, you might realized that it is a requirement to spread the religion and win converts. Since Europe in the 19th century had religion values well established, it was not a surprise when Europeans missionaries, after having acknowledge - through the previous studies about Africa - that almost everybody followed their own traditional beliefs, acquired the “sacred duty” to convert Africans to Christianity. As a result, during the first years of colonization, military campaigns were accompanied by evangelical work; and even when this could be described as a way of cultural assimilation, we have to recognize that missionaries had - and continue having - a positive social impact since they set up health clinics, schools and social services centers which was an asset to African societies due to the contribution it made to reduce mortality rates and increase living standards.

These two reasons were related to the third one: Imperialism. The desire of European patriots to contribute to their country’s grandeur by laying claim to other countries in distant lands. The desire to create great empires by acquiring foreign territories grow when the scientific information gathered in previous expeditions showed the vast amount of natural resources, good prospects for lucrative trade and possible reservoir of manpower. Furthermore, imperialism was seen as a political strategy for international domination which was a key factor in the rivalry between European powers in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Once the expeditionary forces were sent, came the colonial authorities to establish the complete domain over the territory. In most of the cases, colonial authorities worked closely with missionaries. Western education was imparted, colonial institutions substituted previous indigenous forms of government and the territories once owned by African, now responded to foreign powers, with which they had not had previous contact before their arrival to the Dark Continent.

The British colonies

With the Conference of Berlin, seven European powers consolidated their presence and rule over one portion of Africa; and since Africans were not technologically advanced and their achievements were not written and therefore not known to the rest of the world, the European felt that it was their moral duty to “uplift” Africans from their primitive state. However, the British, the French, the Portuguese and the Belgians did not articulate their role in Africa in the same terms and with the same methods; which impacted differently in the intensity of development each country achieved right after independence.

Before becoming a sovereign State, South Sudan was part of the Republic of Sudan, which, in turn, was part of the British empire. As part of the British mission, Sudan was characterized by segregation: indigenous people and British in Sudan - as well as throughout the British colonies - maintained different social institutions for each racial group; and in cases in where significant Asian, Arabic, and European communities settled (for example, in East Africa), there were separate facilities for each of those groups.

British mission in Africa was also characterized by ethnocentrism and cultural arrogance. Even when the British tried to convert Africans into British ladies and gentlemen, they never considered an African a social equal. Education were meant to increase productivity and it was unthinkable that an African could be educated to a level of social equality with the Europeans. Furthermore, despite the fact that British governors did speak about Africans eventually exercising political power in their countries, the reality prevent Africans to rule over Europeans, or even share the

power with them: “political power could be exercised by the Africans only over other Africans”.⁹ This inability translated, once African countries gained independence, in fragile political institution, ineffective government and political instability.

Regarding colonial administration, British colonies were administered by indirect rule. This administrative style, formulated by a colonial governor named Lord Frederick Lugard (Nigeria), involved identifying the local power structure. Once the kings, chiefs, leaders, etc. were identified, they would be invited, coerced or bribed to become part of the colonial administrative structure in exchange of retaining considerable political power over the people in their own areas, protection, properties, a salary, among other “gifts”. In this way, the British government ensure that taxes were being collected, local ordinances were enforced, cheap labor were provided if required; but most importantly, that they possessed a direct important link between their colonial authorities and African indigenous. Moreover, by having control of local leaders and work “in collaboration” with them, British colonizers could make the cost of running the colonies remain low.

Nonetheless, indirect rule had one major consequence that led to the current problem between Dinkas and Nuers in South Sudan. Indirect rule reinforced separate ethnic identities and stunted the development of a national consciousness. Bearing in mind that South Sudan has over 60 different ethnic groups, it is not a coincidence that after British colonizers played these groups against each other to prevent a countrywide resistance against colonial rule the differences and tensions between indigenous communities along with the inability to constitute an effective government degenerated in a protracted conflict whose structural causes were amplified by British colonialism.

Finally, it is important to point out the fact that colonialism had some positive contributions to African societies, as well. Leaving aside all the exploitation, lack of industrialization, the prohibition of inter-African trade and most important, the exacerbation of ethnic rivalries; colonialism had five positive contribution according to the leaders of the two countries that were never formally colonized by Europe: Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia.

1. Introduction of Western medicine;
2. Introduction of formal education;
3. Colonialist institutions - which served as the basis for post-independence national institutions;
4. Introduction of Islam and Christianity that simplified African spirituality and created a new basis for Africans with diverse backgrounds to come together;
5. By imposing arbitrary boundaries, it has shortened the process of state formation due to the vast variety of ethnicities and cultures.

The debate regarding colonialism and its impact in contemporary Africa continue having divergent arguments that may or may not defend the imperialist attitudes towards Africans. However, we do not need to go deep to realized that Africa has the most fragile states - 23 of 30 least stable countries in the world -¹⁰ and that war, violence and terrorism are part of the daily life. And even when they are registering some improvements, the quality of life in Africa is still not high enough to ensure human rights, development and security throughout the countries boundaries.

⁹ Khapoya. *The African Experience*, pp. 107 - 108.

¹⁰ Fragile States Index (2019).

HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

Sudan's Civil War

As it was mentioned previously, Sudan was under British - and also Egyptian - rule since 1899. This territory was administered as two separate regions: south Sudan and north Sudan. However, with independence, the two areas were merged into a single administrative region as part of British strategy in the Middle East, causing different attempts from the North to spread its religion and language to the South. With independence in 1956, the northern-dominated government in Khartoum sought to homogenize the country as a way to ensure national unity and spread what they considered as a superior civilization, which contributes with the prolongation of the war started one year before. Nonetheless, despite all efforts to end the conflict with the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 and the granting of regional autonomy to the South, the violence and attacks continued afterwards.

The Addis Ababa enabled the redirection of resources that were previously allocated for the civil war. This redistribution of government resources coincided with the dramatic growth of petroleum revenues in the Persian Gulf which led to an increase on investments from private multinational corporations and Arab governments in Sudan in order to transform it into the “breadbasket” of the Arab world. Consequently, efforts to expand the national infrastructure and improve economic institutions in Sudan were made. Though these projects were laudable in conception, their flawed implementation plunged Sudan into a severe economic crisis by 1980. When the tension throughout the country started to grow one more time, Sudan was facing an increasing debt, severe inflation and ever-diminishing standard of living, especially in the south where these created a widespread famine.

As the years passed by, the situation between the north and south worsened. Although the Addis Ababa agreement aimed to put an end to the First Sudanese Civil War and prevent further civilian unrest in the country, the President Ja'afar Muhammad Nimeiry violated this accord when he attempted to take control of oil fields straddling the north-south border, since having access to the fields meant significant economic benefit to whoever controlled them. Furthermore, in September 1983, the President Nimeiry, pressurized by his political ally, the Islamist National Front, approved a decree imposing Sharia on the country, including the non-Muslim South. These decisions led to increased tensions and contributed with the eventual re-escalation of the conflict between the government and the rebels in the South which took place when the Khartoum government unilaterally abrogated the Addis Ababa agreement, divided the South into three regions and reduced the powers of the regional governments.

The Second Sudanese Civil War was fought between the northern government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement of the South and its military wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA). The first movement Nimeiry did intending end the war sought to crush the rebels by military force; however, the deployment of the Sudanese army only succeeded in increasing the famine in the south due to the disrupting of the distribution of food. After that, an armed rebellion in the south and growing criticism in the north made Nimeiry softened his hard-line policies. Nonetheless, he was overthrown in a coup in April 1985 by his chief of staff, General 'Abd al-Rahman Siwar al-Dahaba, and the next four years were characterized by political instability, indecisive leadership, and failed attempts to reach a



John Garang.

peaceful settlement with the SPLA.

Being founded in 1983, the SPLM/A comprised several rebel groups naming John Garang as leader. At first, the SPLM/A was not seeking independence for the south, but demanding the regional autonomy and political representation that Nimeiry stole from the Christian-majority south. They did seek backing to form the “New Sudan” in the controlled areas of the region, thus gaining the support from Libya, Uganda and Ethiopia, and people from the marginalized regions in the north - like Nuba Mountains, southern Blue Nile and Eastern Sudan.¹¹ Nevertheless, the group had to face several internal power struggles which led to the separation of the SPLM and the SPLA in 1995 after the first national convention in 1995. This encouraged efforts by the SPLM to establish a basic civilian administration in the areas that its troops controlled, but the connection between the two factions continued being close.

Throughout the war, both the Sudanese army and government carried out numerous abuses of fundamental human rights of South Sudanese such as decimation of the population of South Sudan through prosecution of war and perpetrating large scale massacres, indiscriminate bombing and raiding of civil population, denial of basic human needs and use of food as a weapon for conversion into Islamic religion, and reviving of slavery and slave trade during the war.¹²

In 1989, President Bashir¹³ took power through a *coup d'état*, having behind him the powerful figure of the National Islamic Front¹⁴; and it was Bashir still President when the Peace Agreement was signed on January 9th, 2005. Sudan's peace arrived thanks to the mediation of the IGAD, since it made possible the signing of six agreements as part of the peace process by Government of the Sudan - specifically the National Congress Party (NCP) - and the SPLM/SPLA, which finalized with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that also created the possibility for south Sudan to become an independent state in 2011. The six agreements which made substantial achievements in the peace process are the followings:

1. The Protocol of Machakos (Machakos, Kenya; on July 20th, 2002): The parties agreed on a broad framework, setting forth the principles of governance, the transitional process and the structures of government as well as on the right to self-determination for the people of south Sudan.
2. The Agreement on Security Arrangements (Naivasha, Kenya; on September 25th, 2003).
3. The Agreement on Wealth Sharing (Naivasha, Kenya; on January 7th, 2004).
4. The Protocol on Power Sharing (Naivasha, Kenya; on May 26th, 2004).
5. The Protocol on the Resolution of the conflict in Southern Kordofan and the Blue Nile States (Naivasha, Kenya; May 26th, 2004).
6. The Protocol on the resolution of the conflict in Abyie (Naivasha, Kenya; May 26th. 2004).

However, three more agreements were needed in order to finally conclude the peace process: arrangements for a permanent cease-fire, fully implementation of the previously signed protocols, and international/regional guarantees. In that end, the Permanent Ceasefire and Security Arrangements (October 30th, 2004) and the Implementation Modalities and Global Implementation Matrix (December 31th, 2004) were signed resolving the remaining issues. These final agreements included the following:

1. The Joint Integrated Units (JIUs) in Eastern Sudan;

¹¹ It must be taken into consideration that this could probably response to economic motivations since much of Sudan's oil wealth lies in the south of the country.

¹² Riek Machar. South Sudan: A history of political domination - Aar case of self-determination. Retrieved from: http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Hornet/sd_machar.html

¹³ Bashir is still in office today, elected as president in 1993.

¹⁴ Muslim fundamentalism had an important role during the Second Sudanese Civil War.

2. Establishment of JIUs Service Arms;
3. Collaborative approach of handling other armed groups;
4. Other aspects of permanent cease-fire including the role of United Nations Peace Support Mission.

The war ended officially in 2005 after tens of thousands were killed in violence and hundreds of thousands died prematurely because of displacement and increased morbidity rates. During these years, several situations of violation of human rights had occurred. Stands out the Bor Massacre (1991) which evidenced, even before the secession of South Sudan, the conflict among Nuers and Dinkas.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the final CPA of January 5th, 2005 provided for a new constitution and outlined new measures for sharing power, distributing wealth, and providing security in the country. It also allowed the creation of a separate administration for southern Sudan which had to receive 50% of net oil revenues arising from oil produced in Southern Sudan, and stipulated that a referendum on independence for that region would be held in six years, key issue for the SPLM/A and south Sudanese people.

South Sudan

Once the Sudanese civil war ended, the vestige of a new nation started to appear. In 2005, the semi-autonomous government in South Sudan was created to govern the vast, underdeveloped and damaged region of southern Sudan. The Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) was supposed to rule this region while a Government of National Unity (GoNU) is formed. However, due to the condition of the territory after the war, the GOSS - which was controlled by the SPLM - had to face enormous challenges like constituting the government and civil service and making them operational, rehabilitating, equipping and building the governmental buildings.¹⁶ Furthermore, the SPLM changed its leader since John Garang died. In his place, Salva Kiir - the deputy commander-in-chief - was appointed as the new SPLM chairman and became the president of Southern Sudan and first national vice-president.

Over the years, internal disputes caused by rebel groups and former rebels did not allowed the completely development of South Sudan. Fights between the Murle and Lou Nuer, and later on between Nuer and Dinkas led to the commitment of several crimes that affected the trust among the tribes and increased the possibility of the escalation of tensions. Namely, the ethnic disputes over land had as main elements the raiding cattle and abduction of children to raise as their own. At the same time, the panorama of the country - Sudan -, when the referendum for independence was called, was not positive. Among the reasons - apart from ethnic clashes - were the situation on Abyei region, the complexity ethnic situation in the Nuba Mountains region of South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and the rivalries among Christians and Muslims.

Notwithstanding, the referendum took place on January 9th, 2011 and after three day of voting, representatives of the SPLM/A announced that, according to their estimates, the 60 percent required for the referendum's validity had been reached. Later on, the official results showed that 98.83% of the population was in favor of the independence. It is important to point out that after independence, Sudan became the first state to recognize the new nations; however, the relations between both countries since have been poor and frantic.

¹⁵ See Nyaburi (2018). "The Bor Massacre and its implications on the conflict".

¹⁶ *Leadership, trust and legitimacy in Southern Sudan transition after 2005*. UNDP (2010).

Civil war

As we have seen early in this Study Guide, the SPLM gained support from members from both the South and North under the banner of liberating marginalized groups in the North. However, among its vast variety of members, the SPLM included diverse ethnics being the majority the Nuers and the Dinkas. Since its inception, they occupied polar positions within the organization's hierarchy and this antagonism was exposed even during the years of the Sudanese civil war. The first split that occurred at the nascent stages of the liberation struggle (1984 - 1985) was more ideological and was anchored on the determination of the path the liberation struggle was to take. Nuers and Dinkas supported different conceptions of the new state, and although the claims were muted, they triggered an unending slugfest between the two dominant ethnic groups and dimmed the possibilities of a peace South Sudan.

The second split came years after in 1991 after Riek Machar joined forces with Lam Akol - a senior commander in the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) - and started calling for the replacement of John Garang as leader of the SPLM. The main reason: Garang was supposedly establishing close ties with the Ethiopian government, which they considered a move that would stymie internal reforms within the SPLM. The episode constituted the start of the ethnic lens that pitted the Nuers against the Dinkas in a fight that involves all South Sudan.

Finally, the third split came after a series of events that has led the SPLM to disgregation. On July 13th, 2013, the president Salva Kiir Mayardit started the internal disputes when he issued a presidential decree firing his vice-president Riek Machar and dissolving the entire cabinet after Machar announced his president candidacy. In addition, Kiir also decided to issue an order calling for an investigation of the party's Secretary General, Pagan Amum, accusing him of inciting violence and criticizing his actions. The week following these decisions, forces loyal to the president and those loyal to the vice-president engaged in confrontations. Nonetheless, it was on the night of December 15th, 2013, when Salva Kiir accused Machar of plotting a coup against his government, that an order to disarm members of certain communities within the presidential guard led to a mutiny that triggered revenge attacks of Dinka in Akobo and of Nuer at Bor. Even though, the alleged coup plotters were arrested, Riek Machar managed to escape from the country; but troops loyal to him continued with the conflict. Later that month, Uganda troops intervene on the government's side, and not long after the beginning of the conflict, the clashes spread quickly to Jonglei, Upper Nile, and Unity states.

The South Sudanese conflict has been marked by a strong ethnic loyalty combined with a political system that allows winners to dominate government positions influencing the decision-making process in a way in which they could manage the government to favor their side.

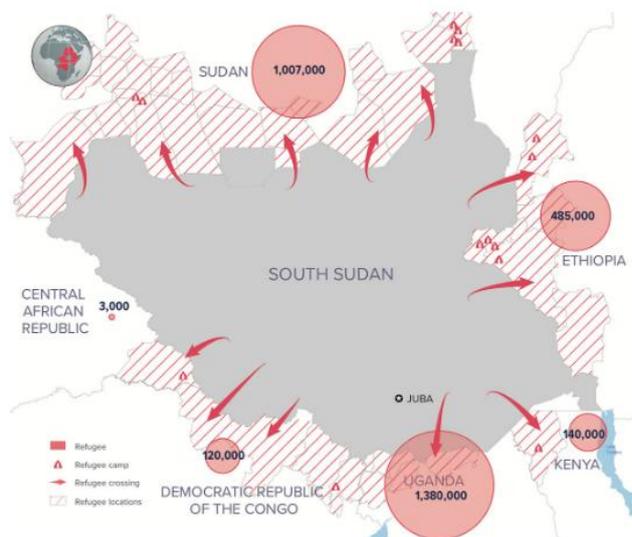
However, even when there is one dominant group in the opposition, the South Sudanese conflict is being fought by more than 40 rebels groups and insurgencies. Notwithstanding, the only one recognized by the regional community - IGAD - is the Sudan People's Liberation Army-In Opposition (SPLA-IO). The SPLA-IO appeared in 2013 as the result of the internal disputes over the control of the SPLM - as mentioned previously. The disgregation of the SPLM in several factions also led to the

Rebels groups fighting in South Sudan

Sudan People's Liberation Army-In Opposition
National Salvation Front
National Democratic Movement
People's Democratic Movement
The South Sudan National Movement for Change
Former Political Detainees

appearance of the SPLM-Juba¹⁷, the SPLM-N¹⁸, among others. Nonetheless, there are others rebel groups and local militias which has a major role in the conflict. Until 2017,¹⁹ the official number was six; however this does not entail the numerous local factions that are fighting in the country nor the later disgregation of rebel groups.

The first years of the war were brutal for south Sudanese people: the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees raised, the mortality rates increased and the economic crisis led to an inflation of over 100%. That was the panorama that saw the signing of the 2015 Peace Deal between President Kiir, Riek Machar and the representative for the Former Detainees. The Agreement



General overview of the flow of South Sudanese refugees

on the Resolution of the Conflict of South Sudan (ARCSS) constituted a fragile agreement that sought to end the conflict, leading to the formation of a transitional government in 2016, and Riek Machar's return from exile to be reinstated as vice-president. Nonetheless, the return of over 2 000 militants with Machar hindered the peace implementation, since a vast number of rebels from different factions and different ideologies increased the uncertainty on South Sudan. So, it is not a surprise that soon after the return of Machar - in July, 2016 - violence broke out again between government forces and opposition factions, once more displacing thousands.

Throughout the years of the conflict, several analysts have tried to identify the

main circumstances that have led to the war but none of them had been successful in explaining why South Sudan is suffering from violence. On the first hand, scholars argue that the warring parties are keen on controlling oil and natural resources that South Sudan has. These responses to the fact that oil-producing states - such as Unity, Jonglei and Upper Nile - have seen the worst of the civil war. Nonetheless, natural resources are linked to secessionist conflicts - like the first and second Sudanese civil war - which is not the current case of South Sudan. In second place, the ease of access to arms enjoyed by the warring parties reflected an additional point for the prolongation of the conflict. After successfully carrying out an armed resistance against the Arab North, the south Sudanese people failed to recognize the importance of complete disarmament of the civilians at the very early stages of independence. These arms hindered the task of enforcing security and control of the government, since not only the state security agencies had access to arms, but civilians were able to keep arms they used to fight for independence thus challenge the state's monopoly on the use of force. However, one more time, this argument failed to explain why the gun is being pointed at very specific members of certain tribes and not the other. The last argument regarding the causes of the conflict emphasizes in the role of Sudan in the civil war, since historically it made efforts to destabilize the southern region and even provided support to South Sudanese's groups to carry out attacks in the region. However, Sudan's current situation would benefit more from a peaceful South Sudan since it would lessen Juba's support

¹⁷ Loyals to Salva Kiir.

¹⁸ Sudan's branch of the SPLM. They carry out anti-government activities in Sudan.

¹⁹ South Sudan crisis deepens as main rebel groups fragment and realign. May 1st, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://theconversation.com/south-sudan-crisis-deepens-as-main-rebel-groups-fragment-and-realign-76240>

of rebel groups in Darfur. So far, the heterogeneous nature of South Sudan's culture raises as the argument that can explain accurately why the conflict will not dwindle unless the structural causes are addressed.

Natural resources: oil

South Sudan has the third largest oil reserves in Sub-Saharan Africa. That having said, since the Sudanese civil war, the importance of south Sudanese oil has been an essential factor that needs to be address in order to ensure a long lasting peace. The argument of oil fuelling the civil war in South Sudan states that the warring parties are keen on controlling oil and other natural resources, since many scholars concluded that there is a causal relationship between oil resources and civil wars. Indeed, in the case of South Sudan, oil is the most important source of government revenue. However, research conducted by Sentry showed that oil revenues are used to finance and sustain the ongoing civil war since it is used to enrich a small group of people in South Sudan, increasing economic differences and social inequality. South Sudan's leaders are getting richer using country's oil wealth and terrorizing civilians.

While this may be true, the oil dependency of South Sudan do affect the economic situation in the country since oil makes up 60 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) and almost all of its exports. Thus, a decline of the global oil price will greatly damage even more the extremely fragile economy. Furthermore, cutting of oil production due to the violence sent the economy into a recession that last until now.

Oil is a major element that needs to be address by the African country. The interests over its control have led to the continuance of the civil war. As a result, the worst fighting has been taking place in the oil rich town of Bentiu in Unity State, where hundreds of unarmed civilians have been murdered and their properties either destroyed or looted. Moreover, the relations between Sudan and South Sudan are being affected by the tensions over oil and several border issues - as the Abyei region - since both countries depends mutually on oil extraction. In addition, the current situation in Sudan of civil unrest is putting at stake oil flow, bearing in mind that after Sudan lost control of over 75 percent of Sudanese oil, it secured leverage by retaining control over the only pipelines capable of transporting South Sudanese oil to global markets. Hence, it is one more factor to be considered when it comes to solve the economic crisis in South Sudan.



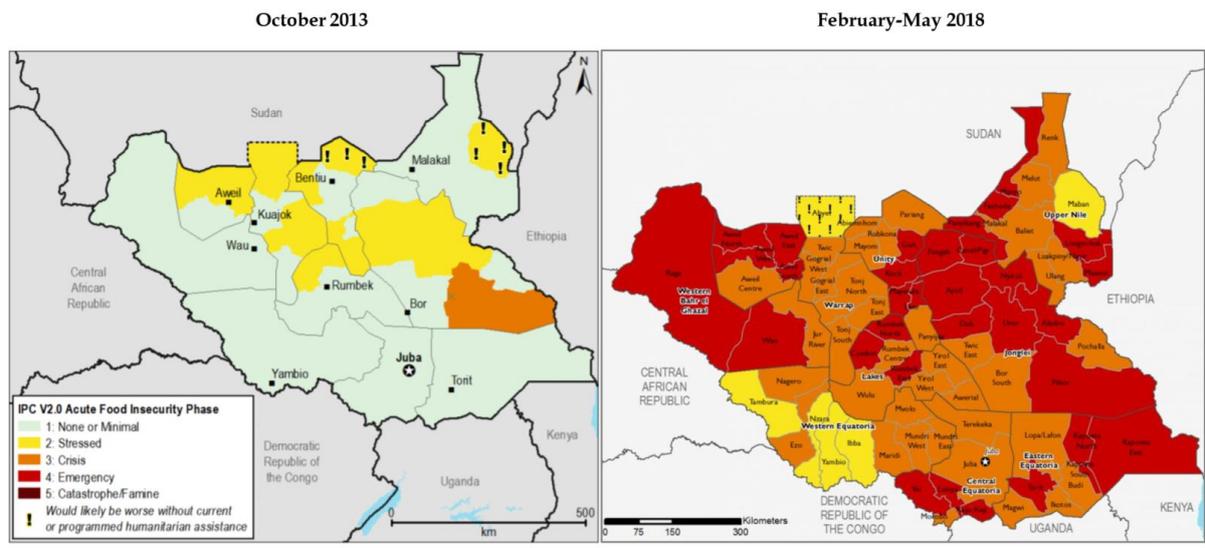
CURRENT SITUATION

Internal affairs

The situation in South Sudan is currently being characterized not only by violence and war, but also by the widespread corruption among the governmental institutions. According to the Corruption Index,

South Sudan ranks 178 with a score of 13/100 - being 100 the least corrupt.²⁰ Furthermore, the economic sphere of the country is close to collapse according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As the organization states, the prolonged war threatens a complete collapse of the south Sudanese economy since the large economic imbalances and exhausted economic buffers are not being addressed. Notwithstanding, South Sudan is endowed with abundant natural resources which includes oil, large amount of fertile rain fed agricultural land, forest resources and mineral resources; that unfortunately are not being exploited due to the lack of human resources and stability.

In the social sphere, the South Sudan's conflict is continuously being the cause of massive killings and executions. The dehumanized participation of the government and militias loyal to it has led to the formation of a coalition, in 2017, between the six south Sudanese opposition groups to call on the international community to recognize that the country has sank into a genocide perpetrated by the government. These groups stated that the President Salva Kiir's regime, with the direct participation of the SPLA - the government's army - and the state-sponsored Mathiang Anyor militia are carrying out attacks against the community.



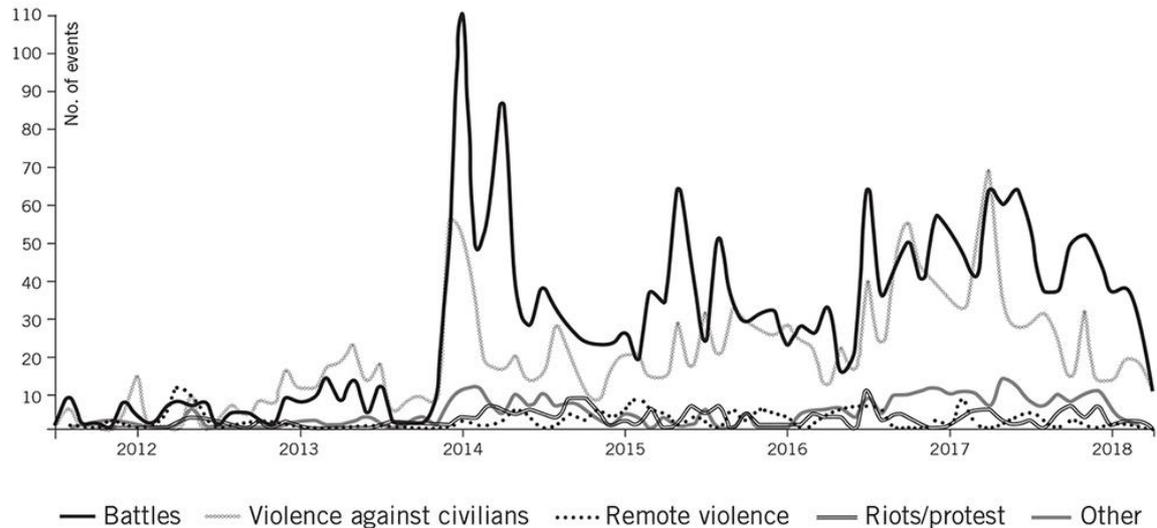
At the same time, in 2018, reports by the Mercy Corps indicate that 1 out of 3 people in South Sudan is a refugee, 1,9 million people are internally displaced while more than 2.1 million have fled out of the country. Moreover, the African Union Commission of Inquiry has stated that the unchecked violence has seen war crimes and crimes against humanity committed. These numbers have been increasing while the conflict escalated. During the first four years of the war, the number of displaced persons increased to over 2.3 million people, the number of people seeking shelter at UN peacekeepers' bases also increased to 230 000 from 63 000 in response to targeted attacks on civilians, gender-based violence including rape, burning of homes and livestock, murder and kidnapping, among other crimes. The human rights situation has made even worse with the outbreak of a severe famine which lasted for more than six months. On the other hand, to September, 2018, the number of people who have died due to the fight was estimated to be in 383 000, according to a report that documented the scale of devastation after five years of fighting in the world's youngest country.²¹

²⁰ Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2019.

²¹ The New York Times. 383 000: Estimated death toll in South Sudan's War. September 26th, 2018.

Peace process

Graph showing the number of conflict incidences from 2011 to 2018



Source: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) 2018.

Khartoum Talks

The civil war has remained persistent since the collapse of the 2015 peace agreement. During this time, several efforts were made to attract the leaders back to the negotiating table, but none of them were successful until the Khartoum Talks in 2018. Following the intense pressure of the African community, the President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar met in Khartoum (Sudan's capital) on June 25th, 2018. The meeting among the leaders concluded with the signing of a new peace agreement - the Khartoum Declaration of Agreement - that called for a countrywide ceasefire as well as the sharing of government positions. This ceasefire was just hours later violated in the Northern part of the country with both parties accusing the other of the violation. Fortunately, the parties were able to resume continuing with the compromise of signing a peace deal to finally end with the conflict, and in August 2018 a final ceasefire and power-sharing agreement were signed.

However, none of them were final to end the war since they only established a ceasefire. To that end, in September 2018 the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) was signed, taking into consideration previous agreements and the reinstatement of Machar as vice-president. But reports show that the R-ARCSS is not completely successful since attacks and violations are still being reported.

R-ARCSS

The 2018 Agreement was preceded by five key agreements between the parties and stakeholders to the conflict in South Sudan. After the signing of the last one - the Agreement on Outstanding Issues on Governance (August 5th, 2018) -, it was more likely that the R-ARCSS could be signed after 15 months of negotiations between the SPLM-IG and the SPLM-IO. On September 12th, the R-ARCSS was signed by the leadership organs of all Parties to the Agreement namely the incumbent government, the SPLA-IO, the Former Detainees Party (FDP), South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA)²² and other political parties. However, the apparition of new rebel groups and coalitions have created now new fronts and challenges that the R-ARCSS needs to overcome in order to be completely

²² A coalition of political parties and armed groups founded in February 2018 in Addis Ababa. Due to the decision of acceding to revised and signed the peace deal and further internal disputes over power, SSOA experienced two splits, and currently, there are two organizations using SSOA name and SSOA-AWAKA.

effective in achieving its goals. For instance, from the 12th-16th of October 2018 the SSOA-SWAKA forces attacked the SPLA-IO forces in Yei River leading to civilian displacement as people fled their homes to Yei town.²³

Posing itself as an attempt to revive the ARCSS of August 17th, 2015, the R-ARCSS' scope covers issues relating the Pre-Transitional and Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity (RTGoNU) governance structures and institutions; permanent ceasefire and transitional security arrangements, humanitarian assistance and reconstruction arrangements; among other things. Furthermore, the agreement provides for the establishment of a RTGoNU after a pre transitional period of 8 months from the signing of the R-ARCSS - on May 12th - that will rule for a 36-month transitional period after which democratic elections will have to be conducted. The R-ARCSS is considered as a significant development signaling the dawn of peace. However, since previous attempts of ending the conflict failed due to the lack of consent between not only Nuer and Dinkas but also the other factions not represented in the peace agreements, the concern that the R-ARCSS may not hold is increasing steadily.

The main frustrating phenomena in the south Sudanese history is the unwillingness of parties to peace agreements to implement what they had previously agreed. For this reason, it is imperative the participation of the African community in ensuring the completely establishment of the agreement. Previous accords has been only implemented partially and selectively for obvious political reasons; so, many experts states that the agreement - which favors the government since it leaves the opposition substantially weaker, factionalized and with a strong sense of insecurity - could generate new causes for the re-escalation of the conflict, leaving as the only solution to wait for a new generations of leaders capable of creating a civic space free from violence in the country. Furthermore, the R-ARCSS implies one more time the power sharing of government institutions among Riek Machar and Salva Kiir. As we could see previously, this was attempted in 2016 and failed to ensure peace, democracy and security in the country. The creation of positions for four vice-presidents, and efforts to extend the presidential term again by three years, plus the resumption of oil exploration are factors that are endangering the R-ARCSS and living the African community uncertainty regarding the resolution of the conflict.

PAST ACTIONS

United Nations

The Security Council (SC) effectively passed a resolution on July 8th, 2011, which created the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). Its main objective was to maintain peace and try to aid with the efforts to implement a safe path towards a stable independence. However, during the conflicts developed between December 2013 and February 2014, the role of the UNMISS was misconceived by the government which blamed it as biased in favor of the anti-government movement. As a result, the movement and actions of UNMISS were strongly restricted.

As soon as the conflict started in the capital, Juba, UNMISS started receiving internally displaced south Sudanese into their compounds by implementing feasible places made up by military engineers in partnership with humanitarian partners to protect the refuge seekers. To allow for UNMISS to tackle the issues at hand, the SC passed Resolution 2132 (2013) which reinforced the

²³ Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC). *Progress Report No. 3 on the implementation status of the R-ARCSS 2018*.

Mission with 12,500 personnel and 1,323 policemen, that were derived from other temporary missions as transfers. Five years later, the Council allowed force levels at the ceiling of 17,000 and the policemen ceiling of 2,101.²⁴

In this chaotic scenario, humanitarian aid is needed for the South-Sudanese who have been cut off from the mainland's distribution routes. In this light, most humanitarian assistance packages were being delivered by drones and it was not until October 2018 that the first convoy from the World Food Program (WFP) was able to transport supplies through the Greater Upper Nile towards displaced South Sudanese. Following one of the IPC's (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification) latest reports, approximately 50% of the population is struggling with serious food shortages.

African Community

The African Union has proven to be instrumental in aiding the efforts towards bringing peace to the situation in South Sudan. The mediation efforts led by IGAD culminated in the signature of the ARCSS in August 2015. Furthermore, it also was the leading body on the establishment of the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC) and the establishment of the Joint Military Ceasefire Commission (JMCC), both bodies in charge of evaluating critical points in the process towards peace.

During June 2018, the IGAD managed to finish drafting the basis for the Declaration of Agreement in Khartoum, which was signed on June 27th 2018. Despite this agreement including new perspectives on how to solve the problem at hand by including foreign, third party actors such as the Sudanese president, moving from the declaration's signature and vague terms to details on transitional arrangements and power-sharing will be no small fit.

International Cooperation

In 2014, the first comprehensive effort towards a peace agreement was spearheaded by the IGAD, with the aid of Norway, UK, and the US. This effort had set an eager deadline to reach a peace deal, however by March 5th, date when this deadline was due, no agreement was able to be done. In an attempt to incentivize the peace agreement, the SC sanctioned six individuals due to their role in the conflict; however, Kiir and Machar were not included. After this, a threat of new sanctions was established by the SC if no peace agreement was reached by the new deadline of August 2015. Even though, this ended up generating a peace agreement between the parties, it wouldn't last for long.

After two months of the agreement's validation, President Kiir unilaterally established 18 additional states above the 10 already delimited, action not aligned with the spirit of the agreement. Nevertheless, Kiir gave Cabinet positions to the opposition in December 2015 signaling a positive intent to fixing the disparities between groups. Unfortunately, the Peace Agreement included a clause that determined a maximum date for the generation of the Transitional Government of National Unity, which was not met by the parties involved. This was a clear indicator of the slow progress towards a *de facto* peace agreement implementation.

In February 2016, Riek Machar was appointed 1st Vice President and in April he had the chance to return to Juba and take that position. However, this did not last long. Few months after Machar's reintegration, he was obliged to flee the city again as a newer wave of conflicts between his party and the government arose giving path to the final collapse of the Transitional Government of National Unity.

²⁴ From the first ceiling of 17,000, 4,000 came from the Regional Protection Force.

According to De Vries and Schomerus (2014), the reason behind why the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan was that both parties were not inside the agreement due to political goodwill but because of power ambitions. Following these authors, sharing government slots will not result in a peace agreement unless the latter has a more comprehensive analysis of the situation.

The latest efforts has been the signature of a peace agreement on September 12th, 2018 in Addis Ababa, which is also the 12th time both parties enter a peace agreement since the conflict began. The new part of this pact is the inclusion of presidents Bashir (Sudan) and Museveni (Uganda). In this new agreement, Bashir is seen as part of the solution to the conflict. However, the underlying feature of ethnicity seems to be lacking from the agreement and as such 12 days after the signing of said accord the ceasefire agreement was violated in Koch Country.

QUESTIONS A RESOLUTION MUST ANSWER (QARMAs)²⁵

Domestic issues

- A. Bearing in mind ethnic clashes and inequality in most of Africa, how African countries should address the structural causes of the South Sudanese war? How they can implement these measures in their country to prevent the spreading of violence to their own ethnic and political problems?
- B. Noting the accessibility of arms played an important role in the causes of the conflict, how the African community could response to the proliferation of arms among civilians? What mechanisms the countries of the Summit could use to prevent the widespread using of arms within its borders?
- C. Acknowledging that the South Sudan conflict is seen as a destabilizing element to neighboring countries due to the increasing rates of people fleeing the country, how these countries could contribute with the improvement of living standards in South Sudan as a mechanism to prevent further migrations?

International issues

- D. Taking into consideration the numerous insurgencies in Africa and the current situation of the rebel groups in South Sudan, would it be an asset to peace efforts in South Sudan the involvement of international military and police force to secure the country's borders and prevent militias to flew the country?
- E. Since the IGAD only recognizes the SPLA-OI as party to the conflict, how the African community should include the other major rebel groups in the peace process? Furthermore, how the vast number of rebel groups - and continuous fragmentation - should be tackle?
- F. How the international community can strengthen the capacity of the Revitalized Agreement to keep the peace and reduce tensions between the parties of the conflict? Is it possible for the African community to fully ensure the establishment of the R-ARCSS?

²⁵ The QARMAs will function as a guide for the debate and directives.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

When investigating civil wars, it is important to check on some theory related to civil clashes and how ethnicity, culture and religion influence in the way civil society reacts and differs in a vast range of situations. The protracted social conflicts theory is a way to understand how these factors affect and contribute to violence; and particularly in this problem, it is imperative that delegates address the main structural issues of the social conflict in South Sudan. In addition, delegates must also take into consideration the social and political aspects of their country and how they can use them to influence the situation in South Sudan. Africa is a continent with a vast number of ethnicities and cultures,²⁶ most of which are not inside the same country's frontiers. Having great knowledge of them will help the delegate to develop appropriately in crises.

On the other hand, we realize that African politics are not as known as the implications and political activities of other regions; ergo, we strongly recommend to look for specific events in African history that change relations between African countries. Please, remember that your crisis arc must be in relation to your country's interests, history and real diplomatic, political, economic, and military relations with other countries. Moreover, read more about how African Union works as well as other African organizations.²⁷ Knowing its principles, objectives and faculties will help the delegates understand the crisis even better and learn how to face the situations that may come up during the conference. Please take note that as representative of countries which are part of the PSC, IGAD or C5, you can recommend any action - according to its function - to be taken by the aforementioned organizations.

Do not forget to check current events in both South Sudan and Sudan since it could help you develop a crisis arc accordingly to reality. Also, keep in mind that the bibliography and footnotes throughout the Study Guide may help you find more information regarding South Sudan, the African Union, and African politics; as well as indications for the committee. Finally, if this will be your first MUN Conference, we recommend you to check BestDelegate.com (<https://bestdelegate.com/resources/>), especially regarding the drafting of your position paper, rules of procedure and preparation before conference.

²⁶ We highly encourage develop further research regarding the different rebel groups and insurgency fighting in the conflict.

²⁷ Knowledge of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) would be appreciated.

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