



# THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE OF THE NEW SOUTH SUDAN STATE

By

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(11618535)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of  
Political Science in the Department of Development Studies, School of Human  
and Social Sciences

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DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

# **The Political Challenges of the New Southern Sudan State**

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**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of a Masters Degree in Political  
Studies**

**SUPERVISOR: Dr. Gabriel Lehloka**

**CO-SUPERVISOR: Dr. Tsoaledi Thobejane**

**2014**

## DECLARATION

I, Yasser Wagi Allah ,hereby declare that ,this research dissertation submitted to the University of Venda for Master's Degree in Political Sciences has never been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university.It is solely my own work in design and execution. All materials contained therein have been duly acknowledged.

Signed:



Date: 16 July,2014

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## DEDICATION

The issue surrounding the division of North and South Sudan and the independence of the South have a long and complex history. This history is taken into account in the present study, with the focus on the political challenges facing the New Southern Sudan State. The

This research is whole-heartedly dedicated to all the victims of the civil war in the Sudan. I would also like to dedicate it to my brothers Ezz AIDin and Abdullah .

Republic of South Sudan and the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains. Central to thesis of this study is the understanding that this complex situation necessitates a holistic and integrative theoretical approach, which emphasizes the interrelationships between the different variables, including social, cultural and ethnic factors. This study strongly suggests that consolidated political stability will not in all likelihood be achieved unless the conjunctive and interrelationships between the various issues and problems are firstly understood in depth. And these issues are as explicated in the literature review. The study takes the approach of a qualitative design through a comprehensive archival method of collecting and analysing the data to reach a conclusion and recommendation pertaining to challenges faced by Sudan. Findings highlight that opportunities are lacking and therefore sustainable solutions regarding peace and stability are limited. For progress to be seen, avenues for dialogue between all sectors, both at national and state levels must be kept open and effective in order to ensure a long-term and sustainable peaceful transition.

The issues surrounding the division of North and South Sudan and the independence of the South have a long and complex history. This history is taken into account in the present study, with the focus on the political challenges facing the New Southern Sudan State. The challenges explored and analysed include aspects such as the problem of Abeyi and oil, the issue of the oil pipeline and associated revenue distribution, the disparity of workforce, ethnicity and integration between the different tribes, as well as the relations between the Republic of South Sudan and the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains. Central to thesis of this study is the understanding that this complex situation necessitates a holistic and integrative theoretical approach; which emphasizes the interrelationships between the different variables, including social, cultural and ethnic factors. This study strongly suggests that consolidated political stability will not in all likelihood be achieved unless the conjunctions and interrelationships between the various issues and problems are firstly understood in depth. And these issues are as explicated in the literature review. The study takes the approach of a qualitative design through a comprehensive archival method of collecting and analysing the data to reach a conclusion and recommendation pertaining to challenges faced by Sudan. Findings highlight that opportunities are lacking and therefore sustainable solutions regarding peace and stability are limited. For progress to be seen, avenues for dialogue between all agencies, both at micro and macro levels must be kept open and effective in order to ensure long term and sustainable peaceful transition

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**Acronyms**

AMIS African Union Mission in Sudan  
 AUHLP African Union High-Level Implementation Panel  
 CPA Comprehensive Peace Agreement  
 DDPO Doha Document for Peace in Darfur

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DAF Democratic Alliance Party (an opposition party in Sudan)  
 DEM Justice and Equality Movement (an insurgent group in Darfur)  
 LJM Liberty and Justice Movement  
 NCF National Consensus Forces (an alliance of opposition parties in Sudan)  
 RDP Sudanese Congress Party (Sudan's ruling party)  
 SIF Sudanese Islamic Front

**TABLES**

PCP Popular Congress Party (an opposition party in Sudan)  
 SDF Sudanese Defense Forces (Sudanese government-backed militia)  
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SSRF South Sudan's Liberation Movement/Army (South Sudan's ruling party and its army, respectively)  
 SPLM Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army – North (formerly a major opposition party in Sudan, became an insurgent group in 2011)  
 SSM Sudanese Islamic Army Front (an alliance of insurgent groups in Sudan)  
 UNAMID UNAMID – African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur  
 UNHCR United Nations High Commission For Refugees  
 USM Sudanese Military Security Force for Abyei  
 UNMIS UNMIS – Mission in Sudan  
 UNMISS UNMISS – Mission in South Sudan

## Acronyms

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| AMIS     | African Union Mission in Sudan   |
| AUHIP    | African Union High-Level Implementation Panel  |
| CPA      | Comprehensive Peace Agreement  |
| DDPD     | Doha Document for Peace in Darfur  |
| DRA      | Darfur Regional Authority  |
| DUP      | Democratic Unionist Party (an opposition party in Sudan)   |
| JEM      | Justice and Equality Movement (an insurgent group in Darfur)   |
| LJM      | Liberty and Justice Movement   |
| NCF      | National Consensus Forces (an alliance of opposition parties in Sudan)   |
| NCP      | National Congress Party (Sudan's ruling party)   |
| NIF      | National Islamic Front   |
| PCP      | Popular Congress Party (an opposition party in Sudan)  |
| PDF      | Popular Defense Forces (Sudanese government-backed militia)  |
| SAF      | Sudan Armed Forces (the Sudanese military)   |
| SDBZ     | Safe Demilitarized Border Zone   |
| SLM/A    | Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (an insurgent group in Darfur)  |
| SPLM/A   | Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (South Sudan's ruling party and its army, respectively)                                      |
| SPLM/A-N | Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army – North (formerly a recognized opposition party in Sudan, became an insurgent group in 2011) |
| SRF      | Sudan Revolutionary Front (an alliance of insurgent groups in Sudan)   |
| UNAMID   | United Nations – African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur  |
| UNHCR    | United Nations High Commission For Refugees  |
| UNISFA   | United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei  |
| UNMIS    | United Nations Mission in Sudan  |
| UNMISS   | United Nations Mission in South Sudan  |

## CHAPTER 1:

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Introduction

This introductory chapter describes the background to the political economy of South Sudan and particularly the significance of the study. It will then outline the importance of this topic. It further summarises research aims and more specifically the research questions.

#### 1.2. Background to the study

On Saturday, the ninth of July, 2011, Southern Sudan became an independent country, ostensibly resolving the long term conflict between the North and the South of the country. The independence of the Republic of South Sudan was the result of a referendum in January, 2011 and also the outcome of a 2005 peace deal that ended decades of civil war with the North.

However, it could also be argued that the independence of South Sudan can be perceived as yet another phase in the problematic and complex history of this region and the country and 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. This point is emphasized by the fact that, Northern and Southern leaders have still not agreed on a list of issues, most importantly the line of the border and how they will handle oil revenues, the lifeblood of both economies. South Sudan is a new nation, but tensions remain (Al Arabiya news, 2011). Furthermore the situation with regards to the North is complicated by insurgencies in its Darfur and South Kordofan regions.

Therefore, an initial and valid assessment is that the issue of the newly emergent South Sudan is complex and has to be considered in the larger context of the troubled and often violent history of the region. The differences and the future trajectory of the South can also be seen in its allegiances and in the groups that it supports. This should be considered in relation

to the possible future direction of political attitudes, which in turn might affect its interactions and relationships with the North. This problematic aspect is reflected in a recent report on the election celebrations; In a possible sign of the South's new allegiances, the crowd included about 200 supporters of Darfur rebel leader Abdel Wahed al-Nur, fighting Khartoum in an eight-year insurgency just over South Sudan's border in the north (Al Arabiya news, 2011). This point has been further emphasized by the President of South Sudan, Salva Kiir, who has stated that "we want to assure the people of Abyei, Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan that we have not forgotten you. When you cry, we cry. When you bleed, we bleed; I pledge to you today that we will find a just peace for all" (Dziadosz and Clarke, 2011).

The issue of stability and political development towards healthy interrelationships between the two countries therefore means that a wide range of factors and variables have to be taken into consideration.

### 1.3. Problem Statement

Central to this study is an understanding of the political, social, cultural and economic problem areas that face the emergent South Sudan in relation to the North, as well as to other countries in the region. The political and social problematics that face the country are suggested by the following quotation:

Despite some misgivings, Southern Sudan's self-determination referendum was held right on schedule (January 9-15, 2011). Voting in favour of the South seceding from the North were 98% of the Southern Sudanese. Khartoum has fully accepted the outcome of the voting: Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir has already signed a decree partitioning the country. But is everything really all right? A broad range of issues remain to be resolved during the transition period (Sapronova, 2011).

These issues and problems and the ways that they impact the present and future political development of the region will form the core focus of this thesis. One can break down the central problems into the following headings:

- The issue of Abyei and oil.
- The issue of the package of agreements between the two states
- The issue of the oil pipeline
- The disparity in population and workforce issues
- Problem of separating the Southern Sudanese tribes.

There are also a host of equally important underlying issues that have to be addressed. These include the important issue of political stability in South Sudan. This is a complex area of discourse that will be analysed in-depth and includes aspects such as the conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and rivals in the south. Okello (2005) 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" (Okello, 2005). The issue of future stability therefore includes the political vision, 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.

There are other related issues that will be considered as well, such as relations between the Republic of South Sudan and the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains. These areas are politically sensitive and "were the most difficult final aspect of negotiating the CPA" or the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (The Nuba Mountains: Central to Sudan's Stability). Furthermore, many believe they contain the fuse of any future North-South conflict (The Nuba Mountains: Central to Sudan's Stability). As one study cogently points out that 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).

Another issue that has already been referred to above are the tribal conflicts over natural resources in South Sudan. Corruption is another aspect that impacts on the issue of positive future developments in the region.

Central to the complexity of the situation that will be explored is the view that it is extremely important for both the North and the South to compromise and neither side must allow the country to fragment further (Uma, 2011). Many other aspects and variables, such as the border issue, will be discussed. Each area will receive its own subsection in the body of the text. 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).

#### **1.4. Purpose of the Study**

The political challenges of the new South Sudan State are intimately linked to its previous history and the way in which diversity of social, economic, cultural and religious factors

intersect. Hence, there is a need to explore and provide an understanding of the political situation and future political outcomes by adopting a comprehensive and holistic view which includes a wide range of variable factors and their interaction.

## 1.5. Study Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- Explore and understand the previous and current political context of South Sudan and examine the range of variables and factors on how the political history and context impact on future political outcomes within South Sudan.
- Determine the future political implications of South Sudan in relation to North Sudan and surrounding countries.

## 1.6 Research question

The research question for this study was:

What are the current political context of South Sudan and the range of variables and factors that impact on future political outcomes within South Sudan?

### 1.6.1 Sub-question

- What impact does the political situation of South Sudan have on its neighbouring countries especially North Sudan?
- What measures are in place for nation building in South Sudan?

## 1.7 Justification of Study

This study critically explores the political challenges of the new Southern Sudan State and its linkages to the previous history of South Sudan. The timing of this study is right because South Sudan is currently one of the main conflict hotspots and humanitarian disasters in the world. This study will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of challenges that continue to plague the South Sudan State.

## 1.8 Definition of Operational Terms



### 1.8.1 Political Stability

Political stability is a system that survives through crises without internal warfare or conflicts. Stability of a country is as a result of tolerance in politics, religion, and ideology which in most cases are shaped by major tribal, ethnic, sectarian, and regional differences. Once there is tolerance in those aspects among citizen of a nation, there will be no violence or civil wars which are a distraction to economical development (Carothers, 2002).

### 1.8.2 Political Transition

Political transition is a doctrine, also known as “transition paradigm”. A situation of any country in which there is a shift away from an authoritarian regime is a country in transition to democracy (Carothers, 2002). That is to say that there are usually two actors who are equally matched and come to the realization that they need each other to lead the political transition. Therefore, they reach a compromise, which may take the form of a Peace Agreement if the country is facing a civil war, and together initiate the transition.

**Table 1-1 Outlines of Chapters**

| Chapter | Chapter Overview  |
|---------|---|
| 1       | Introduction<br>Chapter 1 will introduce the study, provide background to the study and will give an overview of the structure of the study.              |
| 2       | Literature Review<br>Chapter 2 will discuss written literature on the political challenges of South Sudan.  |
| 3       | Research design and methodology<br>Chapter 3 will describe and motivate the research design which will be used for this study.                            |
| 4       | Implementation of methodology and Findings from methodology<br>Chapter 4 will provide the steps on implementing the methodology and discuss the findings. |
| 5       | Recommendations & Conclusions<br>Chapter 5 will summarise the study and its findings as well as discuss the findings.                                     |

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the history and current political economy of South Sudan. It presents historical and current issues surrounding the new state of South Sudan and specifically points to current political challenges as mentioned by several scholars or researcher after long periods of investigative reporting.

### 2.2. The Political Economy of South Sudan

There are a number of studies on the background and history of Sudan as well as the various elements and aspects that form the underlying backdrop to the present situation in Sudan. A useful general overview of the history of the region that was found to be helpful was by O'balance (2000). The author traverses the history of the country from independence in 1956 and its emergence as the sovereign Republic of Sudan from a colonial past. It is interesting to note, and perhaps an omen of the dissention that was to emerge in the country, that the five-man Supreme Commission that first governed the country was composed of four northern Sudanese and only one southerner (O'ballance, 2000: p. 1).

Another work that provides a general but comprehensive overview of the political history of the country is *Sudan* by Sidahmed, and Sidahmed (2004). This work covers the political, social as well as economic development of the country. The authors succinctly sum up the underlying historical developmental factors and suggest something of 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 (Sidahmed & Sidahmed, 2004: p. 146).

### 2.2.1. Issues and Areas of Contention



Some of the issues that face the new South Sudan, which also impact the North, are outlined in the following extract from Okello (2005).

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).

Okello goes on to describe other challenges that face the new Republic of South Sudan. Equally challenging is the implementation of the peace accords and protocols that have been signed. Integral to this is the reconciliation between the two sides that have been such bitter enemies for so long (Okello, 2005). This study also emphasizes important factors in the past which relate to the challenges posed by the recent division of the country. Foremost among these are factors such as justice and the marginalization of certain groups. As Okello emphasizes; "Unless these basic human rights concerns are seriously addressed it will be difficult to have a lasting peace" (Okello, 2005).

Another issue and thematic that interweaves with the other factors refers to the issue of nationality, ethnicity and identity. A very useful author that provides a general overview of nationality and identity in Sudan and the role that these two important aspects have played in the history of the region up to independence, is *Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Sudan* by James Mabor Gatkuoth (1995).

Referring to the civil war which has raged also continually in the country since its inception, the author makes the following insightful comment; Sudanese may disagree about the root causes of this war, but they all know that it began in August 1955 and, with a pause between 1972, and 1983, has been going on ever since. Whatever the precise reasons for the war, it does attest to the inability of the country's leaders to reconcile the cultural and ethnic realities that make of Sudan a nation. They have failed to unite about the question of identity and to devise ground rules for co-existence (Gatkuoth, 1995).

This study also focuses on the problem of nation building and the issue of the definition of national identity. 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. In this regard the author aptly notes that "The disparities between the North and the South do not in themselves lead to war. But when one group pursues policies and practices perceived to be hostile by the other, some degree of conflict may ensue" (Gatkuoth, 1995).

Cultural pluralism is emphasised in this and other studies as a central factor in ascertaining the political reality or realities of the region. This also refers to the complexity of the tribal affiliations in the region. As Gatkuoth (1995) states, there are an estimated 570 tribes in Sudan,(6) 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 (Gatkuoth, 1995).

Central to the history of the Sudan is the devastating civil war, the effects of which are still vivid in the collective psyche of both Sudanese countries. However, there have been considerable advances and changes since the end of the civil war in the country. As Myers (2010) states in an article entitled, *Out of the Earth: Nation-building in South Sudan* " Much had changed since the 2005 peace accord brought a halt to the twenty-one-year war between North and South Sudan, a conflict in which over two million people died and four million more had been displaced" (Myers, 2010, p. 190).

A critical issue that is explored in the analysis of this thesis is the problem of religious diversity and how these differences have in the first instance been a contributory factor to the independence of the South and to what extent they will form barriers or obstructions to future relationships between the two countries. Religious as well as ethnic differences play a major role in the history of the region that has led to the present situation. In this study Myers (2010) refers to the actions taken by the predominantly Christian south in 1984 when they took up arms against the Khartoum government which had imposed Islamic law in the country. As Myers states, the initial Southern goal was reform and greater representation in Khartoum - to create what their charismatic leader John Garang called a "New Sudan" - but as the conflict wore on, there were increasing calls for southern secession. The Peace Accord reflected this, and promised the South a referendum on independence in 2011 (Myers, 2010).

In this regard, the issue of underlying religious dissent will form a central focus of the present study.

### 2.3. Problems Relating to Peaceful Development and Stabilization

The background to the issue of stabilization and fair and equitable development is summarized by Sidahmed & Sidahmed (2004) as follows;

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. 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 (Sidahmed & Sidahmed, 2004, p. 146).

The above is quoted at length as it provides a useful platform for a discourse on the reasons for political instability and dissent in the country and for a discourse on the way ahead.

The problem of political and social stabilization is dealt with in a number of commentaries and reports; for example, the view that, one sign of the new national order was the disappearance of some English-language and SPLM-linked newspapers. The north said it suspended them on Friday as they were published or owned by southerners -- an ominous signal for more than 1 million southerners left in the north (Dziadosz and Clarke, 2011).

A central problem that has been referred and will be analysed in this study is the issue of the national identity and unity. In this regard Meyers makes the important point that "Under the terms of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA), Sudan effectively became a loose confederation of 'one country, two systems' " (Myers, 2010). The author states further that the goal of national unity has now been replaced by independence rather than national integration.

This has a number of important consequences, not least of which is the ongoing challenges of interaction and interrelationships between the two countries at various levels, including the economic. This in turn leads to the issue of oil and the border areas.

Oil and resources are always an area for dissent and potential sparks to further conflict. As Okello (2005) notes,

*One of the major features of the conflict, notwithstanding the issue of the predominantly Islamic north fighting against a mainly Christian and animist south, is the issue of Sudan's significant oil and natural gas reserves, which are mainly concentrated around the south and central regions (Okello, 2005).*

According to Dagne (2011) the comprehensive and informative study includes sections on Unresolved CPA Issues as well as Border Demarcation, Citizenship Rights, and other Issues. Other informative sections in the study deal with political developments as well as the important issue of Internal Conflict and Reconciliation Efforts in South Sudan.

There are a number of critics and commentators who predict that South Sudan will become a failed state. They partially base this view on the fact that Sudan is not well represented in the Failed State Index of 2010 (Storø, 2011:p.32). Essentially a failed state is defined as a state which is unable to perform a set of functions needed for a state to be considered a functioning state". This includes functions such as the maintenance of secure boundaries, the protection and security 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 that are lacking or failing in South Sudan to a great extent. On the other hand there are other commentators who are of the view that the recent independence of South Sudan is a move in the right direction of greater freedom and autonomy and that this means that in the long run the challenges that face the country can be overcome. However, even among the most extremely optimistic critics acknowledge that the hard realities of the multivalent problems in the country have to be faced.

As has been stressed in the above discussion, central to the complexity of the situation explored is the view that; "It is extremely important for both the North and the South to compromise. Neither side must allow the country to fragment further. Critics warn that in spite of euphoria about the independence of the South, many analysts still have long feared a return to war if north/south disputes are not resolved" (Romita, 2011:p.12)

These rather gloomy prognostications are not helped by references in history to the partitioning of countries. One need only refer to the division of India and Pakistan and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, which led to intense conflict. There is however the hope that if these challenges which face the country can be met and overcome, South

Sudan's secession will have a different outcome. This will however depend largely on political decisions made in Khartoum and Juba. No matter how engaged international actors are in mediating between the parties, key politicians in the north and south will need to demonstrate leadership and foresight if the two Sudan's are to live in peace. (Romita, 2011:12)

### 2.3. Misconceptions regarding Sudan

There is a common misconception that the inhabitants of Sudan and their relationships can be simplified to an essential division between the Arab in the North and the Christian in the South, and that this division can be further understood on the basis of a more prosperous North as opposed to a more impoverished South Sudan. 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 (History of Sudan, 1996, p. 26).

This view is also reflected in a number of studies and commentaries of the recent division of the country into North and South. While a number of critics rightly welcome the independence of South Sudan and the resolution of many years of conflict and civil war, there is also a cautionary note evident in their responses; yet behind the joy is a tragic history and sober realities: a decades-long war between northern Sudan and the south cost 3 million lives. And in recent weeks, 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 (Herlinger, 2011:p. 5).

In order to understand the extent and nature of the obstacles and problems that confront the political and other concomitant relationships between Sudan and South Sudan, one has to bear in mind the long and conflicted history of the region. At the risk of reiteration, the following extract from an extensive study of 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).

Part of the reason for the complexity and challenges of modern Sudan and South Sudan is that in the period prior to independence, 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: p.35).

From this time the North developed a more Arab cultural and social context (Holt, 1961, p.8). It also became a trading route for slaves and slave trading, with slaves captured mainly from the south of the country (Holt, 1961: p. 36). 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 to a great extent 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: p. 9). The advent of colonialism and the influence of Britain in the region during the late 1800s had certain consequences for the region which 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: p.122). This caused considerable dissention and resulted in the Mahdist uprising. This was to lead to the struggle between the Mahdists and the Egyptians and British which were to finally result 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 1899 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. The appointed governor-general acted more or less independently and his proclamations on domestic affairs were law" (Abdalla, 1997:p.304).

In the 25 years that it took the condominium (Egyptian –British) government to subdue all of Sudan there was a great deal of conflict and tension. The situation was exacerbated by the

fact that the British as well as the Egyptians manipulated the political scenario by giving power to the North. This included political as well as administrative power which was given to Muslim leaders in the North (Domke, 1997). Consequently, this can be seen as a significant contribution to the early historical origins of the enmity between North and South. As Domke (1997) states; little of these efforts were made in the South, which maintained a tribal structure and received very little assistance with development of infrastructure or an educational system. In addition, the British encouraged missionaries to go into the South to convert the native tribes that followed traditional African religions. As a result, many Southerners are Christian and the rest mostly still follow traditional animist religions (Donke 1997). As a result there was an emphasis on the difference between North and South.

Furthermore, the condominium government also created in the South an entirely separate system of administration from 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 of the North and South (Donke 1997).

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.

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. This was also a result of the lack of attention that had been given to the South during the period of British rule. In other words, 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 that still exists between North and South can therefore to a large extent be traced to the past history of the region. One must also bear 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 help to outline some of the problematic elements that have influenced the present situation.

According to Domke (1997), the 1955 civil war was 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 (Domke 1997). 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 a form of 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 leading to conflict between North and South.

However, in the process of understanding the complex interrelationships between North and South one must not lose sight of the fact that such an understanding involves a holistic view of the historical situation and the way that history impacted the present. The second civil war cannot be categorized simply as 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, there was also discordant voice and opposing opinions about this aspect 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 this 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 in the history was the fact that Sudan became one of the least developed countries in the world. It was number 154 of 162 states on the Human Development Index in 2010, as well as having very high rates of infant mortality (Governance Democracy and Development in the Least Developed Countries, 2006, p. 83). Furthermore, many studies have suggested that the history of civil war in the region has created many pressing social problems for both countries. Attree (2012:p.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" (Attree, 2012, p.2).

In the light of the above discussion one should also briefly refer to the catastrophic Darfur conflict. 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 Arab militias known as the Janjaweed "to murder and rape civilians and lay waste to 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 that 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.

However, the point that is 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 permeate interactions and relationships between the two countries to this day. This can be seen in the often convoluted and complex process of the implementation of the CPA. As Attree (2012) comments, "efforts to reach compromises have been held back by mutual

suspicion and a dangerous tendency toward brinkmanship by both sides" (Attree, 2012:p. 3).

Attree goes on to make the following cogent comments: " 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" and " 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" (Attree, 2012: p. 3). These comments illuminate the endemic tension and suspicion that exists between the two countries and also relates to the ongoing difficult that characterize the recent history of the region.

## **2.4. Unresolved Issues and Problems**

While 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, there are many issues and problems that still remain unresolved. This is also the view that 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 (Attree, 2012: p.2).

The following is an exploration of the central challenging areas.

### **2.4.1. Oil**

The conflict in regard to oil in the region is a central point of contention. This has been discussed to some extent in the previous chapter. To reiterate: this situation is complicated by a number of important factors. The following is a brief summary of the situation.

The majority of the oil reserves in the country are situated in South Sudan. However, the problem arises in that the only viable route by which the oil can be transported is through the North. This places a great deal of strain on the relationship between the two countries in terms of rights and negotiations relating to the tariff to be charged for the transportation of the oil.

Simply put, this means that, for both CPA and SPLA, maintaining the alliances on which stability depends is partly a question of revenue flows that are largely dependent on oil. With this in mind, a huge challenge lies ahead for both states (Attree, 2012: p. 3). Furthermore, a new pipeline to export oil from South Sudan via Kenya is a possible, but distant, prospect. For both CPA parties, maintaining the alliances on which stability depends is partly a question of revenue flows that are largely dependent on oil (Attree, 2012: p.3).

There is also the complicating factor that unless new reserves are found there will be a sharp decline in oil production in the region, with obvious and concomitant economic problems for an already impoverished South (South Sudan oil output declines). The historical distrust that exists between the two sides is sharply evident in the dissention about the oil supply. For instance, in early December 2011, a deal on how oil would be marketed and sold and the sharing of oil revenue was not yet agreed between the two sides, with the South accusing the North of stealing its oil, and the North demanding a 23 percent share of oil revenues pending a final agreement (Attree, 2012: p.4).

From a political standpoint the problem is that both parties stand to benefit in an economic and geopolitical sense if they control the majority of the oil output. In fact, many analysts state that the dilemma of the oil supply in the region has been the root cause of the conflict and tension between North and South since the discovery of oil in the 1970s. However, as the discussion of the various problem areas in the region will show, the challenges in the area are more convoluted and complex than only a dispute about oil – although this is certainly a central point of contention that needs to be addressed if any true reconciliation between the two countries can be achieved. At the same time, as the overview of the history of the region has shown, the conflict about oil is inexorably intertwined with other issues, such as ethnicity, marginalization and religion.

#### **2.4.2. Status of Abyei**

Abyei is an area of Sudan that has been claimed by both the North and the South. This issue is still unresolved. The dispute about this region is intensified and complicated by the fact that it is an area surrounded by the oil fields – which is an extreme point of contention in the region. As noted above, in recent years tension and conflict have erupted in this region as a result of disagreements regarding oil as well as grazing rights. In this regard one could refer to the May 2011 incident when there was an SPLA attack on a Joint Integrated Unit troop convoy, and the retaliatory occupation of Abyei by the SAF (Sudanese Armed Forces) (Attree,

2012: p. 4). This incident led to the displacement of some 100,000 people and destruction of property (Attree, 2012: p. 4). In some quarters it led to concerns about another civil war; which again emphasizes the high emotions and tension that surround this disputed area. The situation was defused by an agreement to demilitarise the area and by the deployment of a United Nations Interim Security Force.

### 2.4.3. South Kordofan, Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains

Other areas that have also become points of tension in the region are South Kordofan and Blue Nile. These, with the other contentious areas, are regions that border the South and, as would be expected, are areas where loyalties are divided and where allegiances are suspect.

Reeves (2011), sums up by stating the tensions and fears in the region. Widespread military violence, much of it targeting civilians, accelerated dramatically this past June in the South Kordofan region of Sudan, and as of September 1 it had spread to Blue Nile State. Like much of Sudan, South Kordofan and Blue Nile are a highly combustible mix of ethnic animosities, tortured history, and great numbers of heavily armed men (Reeves, 2011: p.165).

A recent example of the tension leading to violence in these areas can be seen from events in 2011 when intense fighting took place between the Sudanese army and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in South Kordofan. This fighting was over suspicions about election rigging.

The problem in these areas mainly centres on the feared marginalization and repression of the populations. This is also linked to the fact that the people in these areas supported the Southern rebels during the civil war. Furthermore, South Kordofan is the only oil producing state in Sudan. There are therefore a number of interweaving and interrelated problems and issues that need to be addressed in these areas. The complexity of the situation is succinctly outlined by Reeves (2011) that while geographically in northern Sudan, much of Blue Nile and South Kordofan - and virtually the entire Nuba Mountains area in the center of South Kordofan - identifies with the South culturally, politically, and militarily. Tens of thousands of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) soldiers are from the Nuba and southern Blue Nile; they refuse to be sent back to the South or disarmed - and if pushed by Khartoum, they will fight to save their lands and cultural heritage (Reeves, 2011: p.165).

There are a number of historical antecedents to the tension in this area. A prime example is the case of the Nuba. The Nuba Mountains are situated in the South Kordofan state. This historical antecedent for tension and discord refers to the near annihilation or genocide of the Nuba in the 1990s by military action undertaken by the National Islamic Front/National Congress Party. Hundreds of thousands of the Nuba were killed or displaced from their fertile lands (Reeves, 2011: p.165). Furthermore, the Nuba view themselves as having their own unique identity and being different to the Arab culture of the North. The fact that during the last civil war the Nuba fought in support of the SPLA is a source of further tension in the region. The ethnic and religious dimension of the problem is illustrated by the following quotation:

President al-Bashir said in a speech that as soon as South Sudan secedes, there will be no place for ethnic or cultural diversity in the North, and Islam would be the sole source of law. Statements such as these only lead to further strain on the relationship between the Nuba and North Sudan, as they are not willing to give up their beliefs (Storø, 2011). Examples of underlying tension and friction in these regions abound. When elections were held in South Kordofan and were won by the NCP there were widespread allegation of vote rigging, which marred any real move towards stability and reconciliation. Furthermore, as the National Congress Party (NCP) moved to 'disarm rebels' in South Kordofan, both rebels and civilians were targeted in SAF bombings, while SPLM-N supporters were targeted for assassination, humanitarian relief was blocked and United Nations Missions in Sudan (UNMIS) national staff were arrested and tortured (Attree, 2012: p.4).

Attree emphasizes a similar pattern of aggression and military domination leading to the deaths and displacement of large numbers of people, which was repeated in the Blue Nile state in 2011 (Attree, 2012: p.4). This led to the problematic situation that, With civilians facing a desperate humanitarian situation in both South Kordofan and Blue Nile, instead of a peaceful political process to resolve political and economic grievances, the two states have thus relapsed into vicious conflict between GoS allied forces and rebels for the foreseeable future" (Attree, 2012: p.4).

Therefore, from the above analysis it becomes clear that while the issues and problems in these regions have to a certain extent been addressed by the CPA process, the situation has not been fully resolved and fears have not been satisfactorily allayed.

#### 2.4.4. Citizenship



An issue that is pertinent to the ongoing resolution of tensions and conflict is the problem of citizenship. In essence both Sudan and South Sudan failed to resolve this issue before the Southern secession. This refers to the status and rights of Southerners in Sudan and Northerners in South Sudan. This can also be linked to the problem of the various undefined border areas regarding land and grazing rights in these areas. The issue of citizenship and the rights of the individual in another country is yet another factor which has the potential to "catalyse further destabilising resentment and violence" (Attree, 2012: p.5).

#### 2.4.5. Governance and Internal Social Dynamics

The issue of governance and the internal administrative dynamics of both South Sudan and Sudan are important areas of concern. As One study on this aspect noted, 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. The core issue of poor governance and marginalisation of the periphery by a centrally controlled state looms large in both countries (Attree, 2012: p.5).

This is a clear indictment of the ability of government to address the complex dynamics of the region. A common criticism of Sudan in this regard is that "state institutions have for some years served as the vehicles for upholding NCP 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: p.5). From this perspective religion and religious prejudice are interlinked with poor democratic governance which can lead to tension and the possibility of conflict.

There is also the view that the actual administrative process of government in both the North and the South are in need of refurbishment. Attree (2012) 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" (Attree, 2012: p.6). 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. There is also a tendency, especially in the north, to centralize services which need to be expanded to service the entire population.

Another variable that has to be taken into account is the view that the governments in the region are strongly influenced by the military and this also lends itself to a greater proportion of the budget being spent on the military instead of upgrading infrastructure, education (Oil and State Building in South Sudan, 2011).

Studies have found that there is 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. This is referred to as a perception of 'democratic deficits' (Attree, 2012: p.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: p.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 influences the strength of civil society (Sudan, 2012: p.12).

The issue of corruption also falls within the ambit of the above discussion. Numerous reports and studies highlight the prevalence of this issue in both North and South Sudan. Many of these reports indicate that cases and allegations of corruption are particularly prevalent in South Sudan; for example, in a report by (Machar, 2012). The following extract from this report stresses that this is a cause for concern in terms of the stability of the country. South Sudan's Vice President, Riek Machar has blamed the new nation's weak institutions for corruption that has blighted the country and urged the international community to assist in building 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 last seven years (Machar, 2012).

The situation is perceived as being of such a serious nature that "The government considers corruption one of the major obstacles to both peace and good government" (Larmondin, 2008: p. 10). Corruption is also blamed for preventing the benefits of the recent peace agreement and independence from reaching the people (Larmondin, 2008: p. 10).

Allegations of corruption include many common scenarios; such as government officials who receive money which they have not earned and civil servants and teachers who are not being paid are being misappropriated by corrupt officials (Larmondin, 2008: p. 10). However, a number of measures to combat corruption have already been instituted. The Southern Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission, for example, encourages the reporting of cases of corruption and

emphasizes the role of the ordinary citizen in combating corruption. The report from the Sudan Sunday Tribune sums up the severity of corruption and the possible danger that it may have on the future of the fledgling country. It's a matter of fact that: there is no country in the world that does not suffer from some form of corruption or another. The only difference is that, the level of corruption is often higher in countries like- Sudan- where corrupt officials are being rewarded with even higher positions, instead.

Another area of concern is the situation regarding 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. The Sudan has for many years had a very poor record with regard to women's rights. This is a well documented topic with many extensive studies and reports. The following is only intended as a brief and cursory overview of the problem.

Stringent laws that marginalize women from the mainstream of society and opportunity have characterized the North of the country for some time; the role and public freedom of women in particular that has been targeted as a priority by the regime of General Omar Hassan Ahmad al Beshir (Shahin, 1993: p.48).

Coupled with the above is 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: p. 48). This fact has obvious consequences for the future growth and development of the country. Furthermore, there is also a lack of legislation that could protect women from rape and violence. There is no law criminalising domestic violence; nor does there appear to be any legislation protecting women from sexual harassment, Spousal rape is also not addressed in the law (Sudan: Gender Index Org.)

Related to the above is the very serious issue of maternal mortality. South Sudan has the worst reported maternal mortality rate in the world. More women die in child birth, per capita, in South Sudan, than in any country in the world (SAS report, 2012). This alarming fact is emphasized in a SAS report (2012), This report states that a national survey that was carried out in 2006 may have seriously underestimated the number of deaths in South Sudan. This is due to the fact that many deaths are still not being reported as it has been found that more than 90 percent of women give birth away from formal medical facilities and without the help of professionally trained assistants (SAS report, 2012). 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. Even more alarming is the finding that,

one in seven South Sudanese women will die in pregnancy or childbirth, often because of infections (from puerperal fever and retained placenta), haemorrhaging, or obstructed births, with a lack of access to healthcare facilities playing a large role in their deaths (SAS report, 2012).

### 2.5.6. Conclusion

The above overview of the problems and obstacles that need to be overcome in the region have purposely covered a wide range of issues and aspects that 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. 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 removing the obstacles towards political stability an understanding and an assessment of the historical origins of these issues is necessary. The impact of colonialism on the region must also be taken into account in any realistic understanding of the problems that presently manifest themselves in the political intercourse between the two sides.

### 3.2 Research Design

A research design is used to structure the research to articulate how all of the major parts of the research work together to address the research questions (Kombo and Tromp 2006: p.70). The principal method of investigation in this study was a qualitative exploration of assessing what challenges are in place for social justice in South Sudan.

The qualitative approach was chosen on account of its ability to allow the researcher to gain first hand information about the research objectives, but accurate accounts of their views, perceptions and experiences (Creswell, Johnson and Christensen, 2007: p.156; Weber, 2004: p.19; Livesey, 2016: p.7). As a result, this allowed the researcher to investigate and interpret the respondents' views, perceptions, feelings and meanings regarding factors impacting on South Sudan.

The researcher spent considerable time in working in Sudan where he had a firsthand experience and analysing written documents. The qualitative approach further allowed him to

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. Introduction

Welman, et al., (2005:p.2) defined research as a process aimed at obtaining scientific knowledge by means of a number of objective methods and procedures. Therefore research methodology explains the logic behind research methods and techniques (Welman et al., 2005:p.2). All forms of researches must be auditable, disciplined, systematic approach to finding things , using the method most appropriate to the question being asked (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2009:p.6).

The methodological approach to the study of South Sudan is qualitative. According to Creswell (2003:p.52), there are five main approaches to qualitative research. The researcher implemented three of these, namely qualitative interviewing, questionnaires and analysis of texts and documents. The purpose for using these methods was to encourage diversity and to limit the effects of the weaknesses each method on their own would present to the research. The following chapter makes attempts to explain how it all came together.

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The researcher spent some considerable time in working in Sudan where he had a firsthand experience and analysing written documents. The qualitative approach further allowed him to

develop an in-depth understanding regarding the topic. For that reason, the approach assisted in “the gaining of an in-depth understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation from the participants’ point of view”.

This aim and intention of this study, as well as the methodological approach employed, necessitated a comprehensive literature review which was intended to incorporate studies and data on the socio-political history of the region, as well as more contemporary issues relating to future political stabilization of the two countries. This includes the most recent studies, reports, news reviews and other data sources that are available. The research involved covered all the printed media as well as online sources and databases. The following is an outline and selection from the relevant literature.

The central hypothesis was that the political situation needs to be understood from a multidimensional and holistic perspective. This necessitated a methodology that supported discursive research into many aspects and variables affecting the situation in Sudan; as well as the impact of surrounding regions and external politics as well as social and economic factors. In other words, in terms of the literature a wide net was cast in order to ascertain the most significant factors that affected the political situation in South Sudan.

Research and information on the Sudan were accessed from an extensive and wide range of sources. These included books, articles and studies, online databases, as well as verified Web sources and news reports. The Internet proved to be an invaluable source of the latest news and information, as well as discussion, on the various issues that form the substance of this discussion. Online private resource centres and databases such as Questia and Highbeam were also consulted and proved to be important sources of documentation and recent scholarly studies and research.

The methodology integrated many aspects of the study and makes attempts to view the events in Sudan from a holistic perspective. In other words, the issues and problematic of the events in the country leading to the recent independence of the South were not seen in isolation but the widest possible context was considered. This means, for example, that events in the neighbouring countries and the wider political context with regards to the political and military groups in the south were taken into account. This is an important aspect to consider, as it has a bearing on the present and future relationships between North and South Sudan. The International context was also seen as an integral part of the holistic perspective, and

included interests that other countries have in the region, especially in relation to the issue of oil.



The research objective was to determine and examine the range of variables and factors on how the political history and context impact on future political outcomes within South Sudan and to propose a framework to address or solve the problem of such failures. The methodology selected for the proposed research was quantitative, since the study is not exploratory in nature (Creswell, 1998). Qualitative is well placed to capture the participants' attitudes, experiences and perceptions. Furthermore, the research aims determine the future political implications of South Sudan in relation to North Sudan and surrounding countries.

The research will provide a background of the participant, a quantitative approach was thus deemed suitable as it is particularly concerned with understanding multiple perspectives of different individuals and aspects (Leedy and Ormrod 2005; Williams, 2007). The proposed study is mainly aimed at answering the following questions; what impact the political situation of South Sudan has on its neighbouring countries especially on North Sudan? The application of a qualitative approach is sufficient to achieve the overarching question of the research.

### **3.3 Research Methods**

#### **3.3.1 Literature Review**

According to Taylor (2009: p.22) a literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars and researchers. Lie (undated) defines a literature review as an effective evaluation of chosen documents on a particular research topic. Cronin, Ryan and Coughlan (2008:p.38) define a literature review as a thorough summary which is objective in summarising and critical in analysing all relevant available research and non-research literature on the study being undertaken. In simple terms a literature review thoroughly studies the current scholarly work available on a particular subject

This study used both primary and secondary sources. Welman et al. (2005:p.41) defined a primary source as the original works, books, magazines articles, films and sound recordings which reflects the information first-hand. Secondary sources include commentaries, explanations, elucidations, etcetera, which other writers have done on the primary sources

and they are easier to locate than literature as they are covered more thoroughly by the tertiary literature.



### 3.3.2. Planning and Analysing of Literature

The implementation of the research process also requires a schedule or a framed time. Stouthamer-Loeber and van Kammen (1996:p12) recommend that a researcher dealing with a study that depends on access to participants from specific organisation(s) needs to take an appropriate time for it. The plan for the survey and the collection of data from international sources and from Sudan was framed due to the limited time at hand. It was comprised of five visits of intensive three-month–fieldwork- periods. The first survey was conducted from January through March 2012 and the second starting from January to March 2013. During this time, a complete number of fifty filled questionnaires by students were returned to the author.

Table 3.1 shows the response rate from the various respondents

| University          | Sent Questionnaires | Responses |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Khartoum University | 20                  | 18        |
| UN /UNHCR           | 15                  | 13        |
| ISS                 | 10                  | 7         |
| Juba University     | 10                  | 7         |
| Political Analyst   | 15                  | 5         |
| Total               | 70                  | 50        |

### 3.3.1. Sampling

Having the filled questionnaires, then it was possible to begin the analysis. Scholars pursue different methods of analysis for a qualitative research. For instance, Hatch, (2002:p233) pursues typological analysis. He describes it as a method of “dividing everything observed into groups or categories on the basis of some canon for disaggregating the whole phenomenon under study”. Hatch, (2002:p.233)

### 3.3.3 The Role of Literature Review



Literature gives readers easy access to research on a particular topic by selecting high quality articles or studies that are relevant, meaningful, important and valid and summarising them into one complete report. It provides an excellent starting point for researchers beginning to do research in a new area by forcing them, to summarise, evaluate, and compare original research in that specific area. It ensures that researchers do not duplicate work that has already been done. It can provide clues as to where future research is heading or recommend areas on which to focus. It highlights key findings. Literature has got the potential to identify inconsistencies, gaps and contradictions. It provides a constructive analysis of the methodologies and approaches of other researchers (Leedy and Ormrod (2005:p.129).

#### 3.3.3.1. Primary and Secondary Sources

Primary sources are original sources constructed or created by individuals who were there during the time of the event (Guide to reading primary sources, undated). Neumann (1997:p.396) defines a primary source by giving examples such as: diaries, novels, movies, articles, photographs. Neumann (1997:p.396) further said that these sources can be found in archives, private collections, in family closets and in museums. Neumann gives a more comprehensive definition of a primary source by saying it is a record created by a direct participant in an event or activity in the past.

### 3.4. Research Sample

Neumann (1997:p.201) defines sampling as: “a process of systematically selecting cases for inclusion in a research project”. In simple terms a research sample is a small group of the population which is selected for the sole purpose of a certain research project.

#### 3.4.1. Sampling

Sampling strategy was considered to be appropriate for the study because the researcher was not interested in generalising the findings; except for getting an in-depth understanding of the observable fact (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006: p.309).

The use of sampling provided the researcher with an opportunity to thoroughly explore, analyse and describe the perspectives and views of these respondents in their natural setting.

As a result, an in-depth insight regarding factors impacted on factors on how the political history and context impact on future political outcomes within South Sudan was established.

For this research, purposive sampling (a non-probability sampling) was utilised. Leedy and Ormrod (2010), explain that purposive sampling is necessary when a researcher wants to obtain 'rich data' from a particular group of respondents who represent diverse perspectives on a given situation. Purposive sampling starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest and exclude those who do not suit the purpose. Subjects are selected because of some characteristic.

The logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases and the underlying focus on intentionally selecting specific cases provide the most information for the questions under study. Researcher chose random sampling techniques so as to maximize the sample size and to increase the probability of making accurate generalizations from the data

#### **3.4.2 Site Selection**

The researcher identified approximately 25 South Sudan nationals living in South Africa within the province of Gauteng. Before conducting investigation, permission was sought and granted by the selected persons. All the population was easily accessible to the researcher. In the opinion of the researcher, all participants were viewed as rich sources of information (Creswell, 1998 p.52). As indicated in the next section, the researcher used purposive sampling to choose participants.

### **3.5 Research Techniques**

Multi-methods techniques like questionnaires, observational field notes and written documents analysis that were used permitted the triangulation of data (Maxwell, 2005: p.106). With triangulation, the data collected with one instrument is confirmed by the data collected using a different instrument (Creswell, 1998: p.188). In this study, data collected through document analysis was used to confirm, corroborate and augment the data collected through questionnaires. Therefore, the triangulation strategy indeed improved the trustworthiness of the study.

This study is both descriptive and explanatory. The former refers to “what is going on” and the latter deals with “why it is going on”. And in order to describe “what is going on” about the conflict of national identity and “why it is going on” in Sudan, it adopts a survey as one of its fundamental strategies.

### 3.5.1. Survey Questionnaire

The survey instrument used for data collection was a questionnaire. The questionnaire was chosen as it is one of the most popular forms of data collection. It is important for the questionnaire to be constructed in such a way as to gain as much useful information from the respondent as possible (Newell, 1993: p.48). With this, great care, time and efforts were put into the construction of this research study’s questionnaire as to obtain as much useful information as possible. Questionnaires are created to be easy to understand, avoid ambiguous, draw up leading questions, quick and simple to answer.

In this case, the questionnaire was distributed to participants and collected once they had been completed. These questionnaires were distributed through email, containing a hyperlink to the questionnaire and for those without access to email; a hard copy was handed to them. There were more participants responding than the aimed target number of 60 participants. This strengthened the quality of the data and increased confidence. A three (3) day time frame was adopted to give time to participants to complete the questionnaires. Once the three (3) day time frame expired, follow ups proceeded to ensure that the target population number had been met. Once all of the questionnaires had been collected, an audit took place to ensure that the minimum numbers of respondents required were satisfactory.

These questionnaires required a minimum of between 10 to 15 minutes and this again was dependant on the individual in terms of the speed and understanding of the questions presented. The time taken to complete the questionnaire was critical as respondents would prefer to answer something as quickly as possible. The questionnaire’s language was in English.

### 3.5.2. Unstructured Interviews



Yin (2010:p.78) stated that it is always easy for a qualitative researcher doing a face-to-face interview because they can easily and quickly adjust the interview schedule even if the interviewees' responses suggest the need for additional probes. Neumann (1997:p.253) agrees with Yin (2010:p.78) that face-to-face interviews are always an advantage because they allow the longest questionnaires and therefore have the highest response rates.

Interviews that are conducted telephonically provide the interviewer with the liberty to observe the surroundings and the usage of nonverbal communication and sometimes visual aids (Yin, 2010:p.78). Interviewers can ask all sorts of questions and also can use comprehensive probes. Interviews allow the researcher to observe the respondent's bodily expression, mood, voice intonation, and any other environmental factors that might directly or indirectly influence the interviewee's responses (Creswell, 2010:p.226).

Specifically, unstructured interviews are normally used in explorative research for the purposes: "to identify important variables in a particular area, to formulate penetrating questions on them and to generate hypothesis for further investigation", (Welman et al., 2005:p.197). This type of interviews gives the interviewer a broader scope of information more than other forms of data-collecting methods because of their qualitative nature. Unstructured interviews vary from structured interview in that they suggest the general theme of discussion and pose further questions as these come up in the spontaneous development of the interaction between interviewer and research participant (Welman et al., 2005:p.198).

The researcher decided to use unstructured interviews because most of respondents were political informants, diplomats, academicians, reporters and international political policy makers and correspondents so did not want to make them feel uncomfortable by providing them with a list of questions. Unstructured interviews ensured that respondents were able to respond freely without fear.

### 3.6. Procedure for Data Collection

The researcher attempted to directly contact the potential respondents by telephone informing them of the research and inviting them to partake in a research project. At this time, the researcher informed the potential respondent of the purpose of the study, subjects to be covered and the research process, including the expected duration in answering the questions. The researcher did encounter significant resistance from potential respondents'

personal assistants and was not allowed to speak to the potential respondent directly. The researcher made an attempt to explain the purpose of the research to the personal assistant and asked if this be kindly forwarded on to the potential respondent, whilst at the same time alluding to the relevance of the research to the potential respondent's day-to-day business activities as all the respondents were in senior positions. As a further measure, the researcher requested if electronic correspondence detailing an outline of the research and its objectives be sent to the potential respondent for attention and acceptance.

Upon acceptance or refusal from the respondent, either verbally or electronically, electronic correspondence was sent thanking the respondent for their reply. In instances where respondents accepted to partake in the interview, the correspondence also sent a note of thank to the respondent for their willingness to participate in the study and confirm the place, date and time of the interview. Importantly, respondents were also offered the opportunity to confirm their willingness that their responses remain anonymous and confidential.

The answering process to the interviewing place at the respondent's offices was interviews had been used. This is because of the convenience for the respondent and the familiarity of the location rendered the respondent to feel more at ease in participating in the research. In addition, handwritten notes were taken during the process.

### 3.7 Data analysis and Interpretation

The data analysis procedure that was to be employed is a themed content analysis. A thematic analysis closely resembles content analysis in that the researcher looked for and identified regular and recurring themes in the data (Burns, 2000). Leedy and Ormrod (2005: p.142) term content analysis as a, "detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material for the purposes of identifying patterns, themes or biases". In support of this case, this content investigation was conducted on the information (question transcriptions) gathered during the in-depth interviews (questionnaire) and literature review.

### 3.8. Validity and Reliability

Globally, qualitative and quantitative researchers (Maxwell, 2005: 108; Ratcliff, 2003:28) concur that dependability raised and enhanced reliability and validity of the research. In

applying the strategy, the researcher took the question transcripts back to the participants for confirmation before being analysed and interpreted



It is important to point out; every study must address threats to validity and reliability (Leedy and Ormrod 2005). Validity refers to the ability of the measurement instrument, which in this instance is the structured questionnaire schedule, to measure what it is intended to measure (Leedy and Ormrod 2005); whereas Kirk and Miller (1986) refer to reliability as the extent to which a measurement procedure provides the same answer whenever and however it is conducted.

Therefore making validity and reliability of every research a critical element as they provide a deeper understanding of the quality and excellence of the research and the extent to which the findings from the research can be relied upon.

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) suggested a vital list of nine general decisive factors, based on significant prior research by a number of academics, as to evaluating qualitative and quantitative research and these include;

- purposefulness;
- explicitness of biases and of assumptions;
- rigour;
- open-mindedness;
- completeness;
- coherence;
- persuasiveness;
- consensus; and
- usefulness

### 3.8.1 External Validity

External validity relates to the extent to which the results of research conducted are applicable to situations beyond the immediate research and can be generalised to other contexts (Yin 2003; Leedy and Ormrod 2005). Since the research conducted had encompassed on the responses from a limited number of respondents who were not randomly selected, it is not possible to generalise findings; but it may be that the findings from the research will be of value in understanding the political economy of South Sudan.

### 3.8.2 Internal validity



Internal validity relates to the extent to which the research design and data results enable the researcher to draw accurate conclusions about the cause and effect and other relationships within the data (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005).

In order to enhance internal validity and ensure that the findings of the research are matching and fitting with reality, the concept of triangulation was considered. Since, for the purposes and scope of this research, multiple sources of data have been obtained, the concept triangulation has been implemented. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the source of the data involves questionnaire, literature, observational and field notes that are all independent of each other.

### 3.10. Research Ethics

It is also the duty of the researcher to be objective in the analysis of the data, and in the capturing of answers from the questionnaire script technique. The objective is for the researcher to conduct the research in a neutral manner and not to lead the respondent to answer in a specific manner.

### 3.8.3 Reliability

Leedy and Ormrod (2005: p.99) describe reliability as “the consistency with which a measuring instrument yields a certain result when the entity being measured has not changed”. Thus the capability of a measurement mechanism to present the same answers whenever and however a research is conducted (Kirk & Miller, 1986). A research instrument is reliable to the extent that it measures whatever it is measuring consistently.

In order to increase the reliability of the research, all the research will be conducted by the researcher. The researcher maintained consistency in approach by utilising the same interview structure.

### 3.9. Limitations of the Research

The research conducted faced a number of limitations and these include that;

- The research was investigative in nature and only had a limited number of respondents participating in answering the questions.

• The respondents, who had agreed to take part in the research, may be different from those who were not available or not prepared to answer the questions.

• Single researcher bias. The methodology is limited by and to the researcher's abilities, integrity and sensitivity, because results may therefore be open to misinterpretation, whether intended or accidental (Leedy & Ormrod 2005). The researcher opted to adopt strict procedures and a customary protocol in order to reduce and overcome this limitation by applying the research ethics below.

### 3.10.5 Deception of the Respondents

## 3.10. Research Ethics

The researcher avoided deception and to ensure privacy by being open and honest in dealing with the respondents. The researcher ensured that the study did comply with ethical principles (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005: p.101; Ramcharam & Cutcliffe, 2001: p.358), the researcher employed the following ethical measures to ensure the reliability and validity of the study.

### 3.10.1 Approval for Conducting Research

The researcher requested an approval from the employers of different organisations before commencing with the study. The letter of request was written to the different Directors of companies for approval. In that letter, the purpose of the investigation, target, participants and duration of the study was clearly outlined. The letter further gave assurance that the identity of participants, as well as the information that would be shared would be treated with honesty and integrity (Keats, 2000:p.30). During the process of responding to the questionnaire, the approval letter was attached to the questionnaire to show authenticity of the study.

### 3.10.2 Informed Consent

Informed consent is well articulated by Ryan and Bernard (2000): p.21) as procedures in which participants choose to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decision. This principle guided the researcher to inform employees of the nature of the study to be conducted and indicated that they had the choice to participate in the study or not and to stop whenever they see fit. Participants were then given informed consent to read and sign. In doing that, the researcher never promised participants any material benefit, except the experience of being part of the research. That was in agreement with the view of Pedroni and Pimple (2001:p.10) who highlighted that

participants need to be reminded that they might terminate their participation at any time without being penalised.



Over all, the participating employees were also made aware that their participation in the study was entirely voluntary which gave them other options. That completed Creswell's (2003:p.64) assertion that elements of consent forms should include and highlight the right to participate voluntarily, the purpose of the study, the procedures of the study, the right to ask questions, obtain a copy of the results, and have their privacy respected. To that effect, the researcher ensured that all such provisions were included in the consent forms that participants signed. Additionally, both the researcher and the respondents signed the consent form.

### **3.10.5 Deception of the Respondents**

The researcher avoided deception and to ensure privacy by being open and honest in dealing with the participants (Kombo and Tromp 2006: p.107). This was achieved by ensuring that all the participants would be informed of the purpose of the study and the procedures to be followed during the research (McMillan and Schumacher 2006:p.196). A disclosure or information sheet was attached on the questionnaire for the participants at the beginning of each questionnaire. The disclosure explained to the participants what they were to do if they were uncomfortable with the question, and that they could correct the researcher whenever they found it necessary.

### **3.10.6 Violation of Privacy**

To ensure that the questions asked did not possibly violate the participants' privacy, arrangements were made to ensure that the collection of the data was done at a time and a place that was convenient for the participants.

### **3.10.7 The Actions and Competence of the Researcher**

In conducting this research, it is so important to note that the researcher was the primary research instrument for the collection and analysis of the data. Therefore reflexivity (rigorous self scrutiny by a researcher throughout the entire research process) was of paramount importance in the whole research process (McMillan & Schumacher 2006: p.411). The researcher needed to be conscious of any biases that may creep into the research, as this could have an effect on the research process and the results presented.

Given that quantitative studies often contain rich descriptions of the participants in the study, confidentiality breaches via deductive disclosure, also known as internal confidentiality (Tolich, in: Kaiser 2009), are of particular concern to quantitative researchers. Although quantitative and qualitative researchers may sometimes face a conflict between conveying detailed, accurate accounts of the community, and defending the identity of the individuals who take part in the research. Such is the predicament faced in this research study.

As much as the participants are assured of anonymity and confidentiality, the risk of the likelihood of the participants being identified was discussed with them. The researcher, accordingly, considered a more nuanced view of consent as presented by Kaiser (2009: p.1636). He suggested moving away from the assumption that every respondent desires 'complete confidentiality', and instead, recognizing that a participant in the research might want to receive recognition for some of, or all of what he or she contributed. Participants were also fully informed about who the audience of the research project would possibly be, so that they could make informed choices of what to share. The researcher was however, careful to ensure that names of the participants will not be identifiable in print. Instead, pseudonyms were used.

### 3.10.9 Permission to Conduct the Research at an Institution

As a 'pre-field logistic' (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003:p.182) a letter was written to management asking permission to conduct the research in their company

## 3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter an explanation was given of the research design and methods used in this study. The ethical measures, data collection and data analysis strategies were also indicated. In the next chapter that follows, the findings of the study will be presented accordingly.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 4.2.1. China

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the political challenges of South Sudan from the research obtained. It presents firstly the findings from the comprehensive current literature about the current challenges as well as the degree to which respondents from the survey had to say over the issues. The findings from the survey have been grouped according to the literature themes for better linkage and understanding.

#### 4.2. Outstanding Challenges and Disputes

Despite their formal separation, Sudan and South Sudan remain linked by and divided over a range of shared interests and outstanding disputes. The CPA did not define the relationship between north and south in the event of a southern vote for separation, and arrangements on multiple issues were left unresolved when Sudan split. Among the disputed issues are those related to their shared border, citizenship, and financial arrangements, including those pertaining to revenues from the sale of South Sudanese oil that transits Sudan for export. Other arrangements called for in the CPA, such as resolution of the final status of the contested border region of Abyei and the implementation of popular consultation processes for the people of South Kordofan have yet to be fully implemented.

Recently, South Sudan resumed oil production after almost a year of being shut down as a result of a dispute about pricing and tariffs with Khartoum. This will result in an expected production of 230,000 barrels of oil per day (South Sudan to Resume Oil Production - Ventures Africa, 2012). At the same time, while this is welcome news from an economic perspective, it also brings into focus the issue of outside influences in the future of the two countries.

As has been referred to in the previous chapters, oil has been a central locus of attention in terms of the input and influence of other countries on the political and historical development of this region. China is one of the countries that has in the past and continues to play a significant role in the Sudan today, particularly with regard to its interest in the oil reserves in the region. Therefore, to add to the other layers of complexity and the variables that have an

effect on the present and future political outcome of the region, we must add the important dimension of outside influences and input in the region.

(Sanders, 2012, p. 8).

#### 4.2.1. China

China has a relatively long history of involvement in Sudan. The following is a necessary reiteration of some of the central points in the relationship between the countries.

China first established relations with Sudan in 1959 and become an active player in the oil sector in the 1990s (Sanders, 2012:p.2). The far-reaching influence of the West should also be understood in this political context. From a political perspective influences from Western countries tended to increase the relationship between China and Sudan. A prime example of this was the sanctions imposed on Sudan in 1997 by the United States and other Western countries, with a conviction that its activities in the Sudan could have economically instigated and perpetuated more violence. This led to China taking advantage of the gap in relationships and the subsequent monopolization of the oil industry in the Sudan (Sanders, 2012, p.2). The following quotation is worth repeating at this juncture as it emphasizes the role that China played in the country through its involvement in the oil industry.

Source: (www.asia.gov)

China owned multi-billion dollar investments in Sudan that were predominantly concentrated in Sudan's oil sector. China dealt almost exclusively with the central government in Khartoum and had "controlling stakes in the biggest energy consortiums operating in Sudan" which gave China an estimated 60% share (490,000 bpd) of Sudan's daily production. Oil coming from the Sudan makes up 5% of Chinese oil imports (Sanders, 2012:p.8).

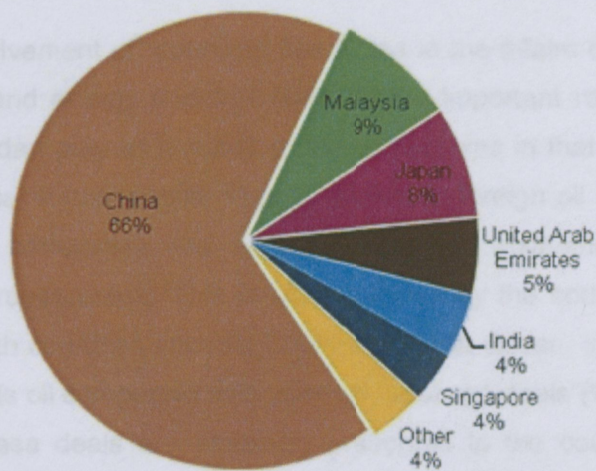
Sanders also notes that from 1996 the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) was the first large scale investor in Sudan, beginning in 1996. This was followed by the Malaysian-owned PETRONAS and Indian-owned Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Limited (ONGC) (Sanders, 2012, p.8).

These three oil companies continue to be the main oil companies operating in Sudan and South Sudan and were responsible for developing the current three main oil fields, network of pipelines, refineries and export terminals. The three international companies also hold the largest stakes in the leading consortia operating in both Sudan's the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), Petrodar, and the White Nile Petroleum Operating Company (WNPOC).(Sanders, 2012: p.8).

China however has been a central influence in the region. This has also meant that since the independence of South Sudan, China began to build closer diplomatic relationships with that

country. In 2011 the Chinese government provided a grant of USD 31.5 million to South Sudan for development projects in the areas of water supply, education, health and agriculture (Sanders, 2012: p. 8).

**Sudan & South Sudan Crude Oil Exports, by Destination, 2011**



Source: APEX

Source: (www.eia.gov)

In order to understand the importance of oil and outside influences in this industry one should also bear in mind the view put forward by Sanders that "although Sudan is a small player on the global oil stage, oil has been a dominant factor in the economies and domestic and international politics of north and south since it was first discovered in the late 1970s" (Sanders, 2012: p.8). This has certain implications in terms of the influence that major oil investors like China have on the political shape and development of the country. It is also significant that China began to build closer diplomatic ties with the South when it became clear that the independence of South Sudan was imminent and that Chinese investment would consequently be split between the two countries

The complexity of the Chinese involvement in Sudan and the larger geopolitical concerns that impact both North and South Sudan, are suggested in the following quotation;

*Sudan's oil industry and the foreign firms that operate it are essential in understanding why and how these state actors respond to Sudan's crises. Oil, for example, provides an important motivation to protect the NCP regime. Countries like China, India, and Malaysia particularly require vast amounts of energy to maintain the pace of economic*

growth, solidify their place in the global economy, and satisfy domestic demand. However, a large portion of the world's discovered oil supplies are either already held or are beyond the technological capacities of those countries' oil firms. Therefore, countries like Sudan, which are unpalatable for many oil competitors, are attractive targets for these latecomers (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008: p. 89).

In other words, the involvement of countries like China in the affairs of Sudan are related to the larger issue of oil and energy and this refers to the important role that relatively small countries like South Sudan play as a result of the oil reserves in that region. In this regard, China has a strategy that it implements to gain access to foreign oil reserves and sources. Chinese state owned companies are supplied with the economic support to pursue investments in key overseas areas. This is accomplished by the concomitant pursuance of political relationships with countries such as South and North Sudan. In essence this strategy combines contracts for its oil companies with informal "package deals"(Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008: p.90). These deals are enticingly presented to the countries concerned and include very accessible loans and weapons or military training; as well as protection on both a physical and political level for those who would enter into such an agreement with China. For example, in the case of Sudan, China uses its position on the UN Security Council to keep sanctions and other pressures off the table and to weaken resolutions" (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008:p.90).

The issue of arms supplies is also another very controversial aspect of the link between China and Sudan and is explored in more detail here.

In essence, the point being made is that the involvement of powerful countries such as China in the economic and political affairs of Sudan has a number of far-reaching and important consequences. As one commentator notes;

*In this way, Sudan's oil reserves allow its government to pursue conflict without hindrance from the international community. Oil directly provides the government of Sudan with vast amounts of non-transparent revenue, and indirectly is responsible for granting the government access to weapons, loans, and political cover. It accounts for over 90 percent of Sudan's export revenue. (Kotecki, 2008).*

This has led to assertions from, among others, the former Sudanese finance minister that over 70 percent of the government's share of oil profits was spent on the military and that "In the years following its first oil exports, the government doubled its military budget and used oil

revenue to build its domestic arms industry" (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008: p. 91). Stephanie Kotecki, in an article entitled *The Human Rights Costs of China's Arms Sales to Sudan A Violation of International Law on Two Fronts* (2008), states that China has a crucial need for oil to meet its growing fuel consumption. This led it to "invest heavily in Sudan, a country with extensive and productive oil reserves" (Kotecki, 2008).

There is also documented proof that since the 1980s China has been one of the major global powers. There is also evidence that investors and corporates in fact "finance Sudan's conflicts and provide impetus to their home countries to ally with Sudan" (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008). As a report by Goldstone, Hostetler and Small (2008) assert, large oil corporations "benefit from these alliances and from the violent tactics the government of Sudan has utilized, particularly in oil-rich zones. These benefits include the provision of armed forces for security and forced displacement programs" (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008: p.89).

Furthermore, these factors allegedly lead to a reduction of civil rights and equality in the society. As the above report finds:

*In addition, the current government of Sudan does not question the poor labour practices, human rights violations, and environmental destruction that historically have been attributed to several oil consortiums in Sudan. Oil companies do not want to jeopardize the stability of this regime, and its longevity can be better guaranteed by ensuring its access to revenue, weapons, and political protection. It is clear that oil corporations influence the decision of key state actors involved in Sudan's conflict (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008).*

This is an important point in the overall understanding of the complexity of the contemporary political and social situation in South Sudan. As has been referred to in the previous chapters, the modern reality of the situation in the region is an interweaving and interactive collage of a number of central variables that have not only created many of the political problems in the country but also tend to perpetuate these issues and problems. Oil is central in this regard but a full comprehension of its importance requires that one takes into account the many other variables germane to the political reality of the region – such as the way in which China and other foreign interests have affected the social and political relationships between the two countries.

*Sudan is China's primary oil store oil source (Reeves, 2001: p.23)*

As has been referred to in the previous chapters, social inequalities and the promotion of marginalization and differences have been central to the conflicts and political dissention in the region. Consequently, it is suggested that outsider influence in the oil production of the

region has to a great degree been responsible for these perceived differences and that the interests of China have shaped many of the issues and problematic of the region that have to be dealt with today. In this regard, the institution of poor labour practices suggested in the above quotation is an example of this influence.

There is also documented proof that since the 1990s China has been one of the major global suppliers of military equipment and arms to Sudan. This refers to, among others, the sale of fifty Chinese-manufactured Z-6 helicopters to the Sudanese government, as well as the provision of technical repair services by Harbin Dongan Engine, a Chinese company (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008: p.98). As the report by Goldstone, Hostetler and Small (2008) states;

China's financial interests in the country may contribute to its tolerant stance regarding Sudan's human rights record in Darfur. China has been a consistent ally to Sudan in the international debate over the situation in Darfur. Human Rights Watch reports that China provided financial and military support to the Sudanese government during periods of ethnic cleansing in Darfur. China also used its position on the Security Council to vigorously oppose UN-proposed sanctions against Khartoum. (Kotecki, 2008)

This view is bolstered by the perspective that despite global awareness of the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, *"China continues to provide military equipment to the government of Sudan"* (Kotecki, 2008). As Kotecki states the "legitimate" trade in arms between the two countries has in the past been a central cause of the continuation of the humanitarian crisis in Darfur" (Kotecki, 2008).

Other studies also refer to the history of China's oil involvement and promotion of arms which fueled conflict and resulted in many of the issues facing the region today.

Other "in-kind trading," especially between Sudan and China arms for oil and anticipated oil revenues has been documented in various reports, including a detailed compendium from Human Rights Watch. Reports from the ground indicate that as much as 75 percent of weaponry captured from Khartoum's forces is of Chinese manufacture. Not coincidentally, China is now a net importer of oil, with consumption growing at about 10 percent a year. And Sudan is China's premiere off shore oil source (Reeves, 2001: p.23).

There are also a number of studies that place China's role in Sudan against the broader backdrop of its influence and strategies in the rest of Africa. An article by Paterno (2009)

states that, "China views Africa as a place to exploit its resources, gain access to the vast market and an opportunity to increase its diplomatic clout" (Paterno, 2009). Furthermore, it has taken advantage of the vacuum left by Western companies and high risk associated with investment in Africa (Paterno, 2009).

*...trade between Africa and China grew to more than \$100 billion by 2008, from less than \$10 million in the 1980s." The growth has surpassed the US trade with Africa, which were just more than 81.7 by 2008. China shows significant investments in the sectors of infrastructure, energy, mining and agriculture. Chinese made goods and commodities are floating African market at the expense of African local products (Paterno, 2009).*

The assessment of Chinese influence in Sudan is often negative and seen as interference that can be linked to many of the issues and problems facing a new political realignment between the two countries. Paterno (2009) asserts that;

*If anything, China relationships and activities in Khartoum is the best example of China's negative influence in its engagements in the African continent. China's relationship with Khartoum exposes and debunks the myth of the core element of Chinese foreign policy of 'non-interference.' The mere presence of Chinese in Khartoum is by implication a sign of China siding with Khartoum in the many conflicts that the regime is facing against significant portions of the country's population (Paterno, 2009).*

This view is supported by the assessment of the value of the infrastructure development built by China in Sudan. These developments are not seen as being essentially in the interests of the population; for example;

*The building of railways, roads, and airports may contribute into development in other countries, but in Sudan, they are detrimental to the masses as they are used by Khartoum military to effectively and quickly exterminate the populations Khartoum regime deemed worthless, such as those in South Sudan, Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile, Eastern Sudan, and Darfur region (Paterno, 2009).*

Other examples of those infrastructure developments deemed to be "worthless" by some refer to the building of unnecessary dams along the River Nile by the Khartoum regime supported

by Chinese finance and companies. These developments already resulted in death, displacements and potential long term environmental risks. There are numerous report and commentaries that support this view of China's negative influence and impact on the social and political development of the region. A report from the International Crisis Group (ICG) states that China's support of Khartoum has led to a perception in South Sudan that “Beijing had underwritten an autocratic regime, helped facilitate the devastation and economic exploitation of the South and aided in preserving the country’s fundamental centre-periphery problem” ( Sanders, 2012: p.3).

These reports and assessments of China's role all intimate that over time a perception has developed among the people of South Sudan that has led to a political and social divide and the view that the South has been continuously marginalized by the North. This in turn has had a severe impact on the political relationships between the two countries; which is an aspect that still needs to be addressed before a true political balance can be achieved between Sudan and South Sudan.

However, one must also take into account the more recent changes and improvements in relations between South Sudan and China. For example, in April 2012, President Salva Kiir visited China with the intention of strengthening diplomatic and economic relationship. This has been described as a success and China agreed to loan South Sudan USD 8 billion for infrastructure development in the form of “roads, bridges, hydropower, agriculture and telecommunications projects” (Kiir says China to loan South Sudan \$8 billion). There are a number of political aspects that have a bearing on the future of the South Sudan; especially the fact that China sees the ongoing disputes about oil in the region as a form of instability that could threaten its already substantial investments in the region. Therefore, Chinese mediation in disputes between the two countries is a factor that will have a bearing on the future of the region and the two countries.

#### 4.2.2. Religion

As has been stated in previous chapters, religion forms a complex but essential ingredient in the overall dynamic of the region. As one study on this important aspect summarizes; Sudan, the largest country in Africa, was one of the first countries on the continent to gain its independence from colonial rule in 1956, but has never developed a clear identity of its own. Clear divisions exist between the people of the North, primarily Muslims of Arab descent, and the South, mostly black Africans of Christian or traditional African religions, and it is this

division which historically has formed the battle lines in the civil war that has raged off and on since the 1950's (Domke: ICE Case Studies).

In brief, the state religion of Sudan is Islam, which is primarily Sunni in orientation. However the religious demographics of the South tend to be more varied and eclectic with most of the citizens of the new country following Christianity and traditional religions. Besides the influence of colonial history, the reason for this relatively high number of adherents to the Christian faith in South Sudan is also due to the fact that Roman Catholic missionaries were active in Sudan in 1842 and there are now approximately 2,009,374 South Sudanese practicing Roman Catholicism (Religions of South Sudan). Most of the Christians in South Sudan are members of the Roman Catholic or Anglican churches as well as several other smaller denominations.

However, other commentators point that Christianity was not a new "import" to Africa and was not brought to the country solely by the influx of colonialism.

Christianity is not new in Africa, in fact, it was returning. John Pobee, one of the most renowned of African theologians, says that;

*"Christianity was well established in Egypt and Roman North Africa, not to mention Muslim Nubia, in the first three centuries of the Church's existence, long before Western Europe was Christianized"* (Kedini, 2002: p. 150).

Kedini (2002) also points out that Christianity was in fact established as the official religion in the Nubian Sudan between 543-80 AD. However, in 638 AD Egypt was conquered by Muslim forces and became an Islamic State (Kedini, 2002:p.150). Most studies on the subject state that Sudan remains intimately linked with the Islamic world and that there are *"sizable minorities of Christians and practitioners of traditional indigenous religions, particularly in the south, where Christianity is reported to be growing rapidly"* (Sudan Religions).

There are also many people in the region and especially in the South who continue the practice of traditional religions. On the other hand, the largely Muslim North is composed of various religious brotherhoods (tarigat) which play an important role in sectarian and communal life. These religious groups also have political affiliations, such as the Ansar, which is closely associated with the Umma Party, and the Khatimia, which is associated with the Democratic Unionist Party (Sudan Religions).

In political and constitutional terms, the constitution that was drafted in Sudan in 1973 ostensibly guaranteed unrestricted freedom of religion. However, Islam was cited as the official religion (Sudan Religions). Furthermore, other signs of marginalization in the past that would lead to future perceived biases and tensions on both a religious and political level was the nationalization of Christian schools in the South in 1957 and the expulsion of foreign missionaries in 1963–64 (Sudan Religions). Consequently, the 1983 civil war had a strong religious dimension, with the Muslim government in the North opposed to the Southern rebel groups who were mainly Christian and traditionalist. This situation is summed up succinctly as follows;

*The government, which claimed Islam as the state religion, supports adherence to Shari'ah (Islamic) law and declared a jihad, or holy war, against the rebel factions. The primarily Christian rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) supported a secular government, but seems willing to allow Shari'ah law in the northern states (Sudan Religions).*

In a more contemporary context, there is still evidence of discrimination on religious grounds between the Muslim majority and non-Muslims. As one study notes; the government and Muslim majority continue to discriminate against and persecute non-Muslims. Many non-Muslims have been fired from jobs in civil service and non-Muslim business owners are often harassed and discriminated against in matters of government contracts and trade licenses. Students of Christian schools are often kept from completing their compulsory military service, which is required in order to move on the University. Many Muslim employers do not allow Christian employees time off to attend Sunday worship services (Sudan Religions).

On the other hand, a number of commentators point out that the division of the country into a Muslim North and a Christian South in terms of political affiliations is highly simplistic. However, it does provide a basis from which to discuss the complexity of the religious background and its affect on the politics in the region. It is therefore perhaps worthwhile to briefly review some of the main historical and cultural aspects in terms of religious sentiments and affiliations, as this serves to place the issue of religion into the broader context of political and cultural change and development in the region.

The aforementioned attempts by the British to curtail the slave trade, which was a central source of income for the North, led to an economic crisis for the North and to the Mahdist rebellion. In order to return the region to a semblance of balance and normalcy the British

gained control of the North by giving political and administrative power to the leaders of various Arab Muslim sects in the North and provided development assistance. However, the South was neglected and little in the form of infrastructure and educational development was provided. Christian missionaries were also encouraged to go to the South of the country by the British and, as a result, "many Southerners are Christian and the rest mostly still follow traditional animist religions" (Domke, 2002).

The above discussion very briefly provides a foundation for an understanding of the way in which religious differences between North and South Sudan are linked to the political history of the country – and the way that this history impacts the present reality of the country. In essence, the historical past tended to accentuate the differences between North and South in terms of culture and religion.

As has been emphasized throughout this thesis, one cannot isolate one variable or influencing factor from another - they are in most cases inextricably interlinked and interconnected. This is especially the case with religion and this can be seen in the intersection between religion and ethnicity, as was discussed in the previous chapters. It is also clear that religious views and affiliations have become an integral part of the present problematic in the region. As Attree (2012) states that "state institutions have for some years served as the vehicles for upholding NCP 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: p.5). The way in which religion has fuelled dissent and conflict in the region is also stressed by Badri (2004);

*Religion has been misused to contribute to conflict in the Sudanese civil war. Many reasons; historically, colonial, religions, conflict and distances have caused little genuine dialogue between people of the Sudan, particularly people of the North with people from the South Sudan (Badri, 2004).*

Badri goes on to assert that religious and cultural differences are a central causative factor in the civil wars and dissent in region. At the same time Badri also suggests that; In the event of the current peace process there is dire need for Sudanese people to move beyond conflict and find avenues for peace-building. One approach could be through inter-faith dialogue between Muslims, Christians, and others from African traditional faiths. This would have instrumental impact on Sudan, particularly that much of the people place religion at the heart of their daily lives (Badri, 2004).

There are numerous studies that attest to the fact that religion has in the past “been misused to contribute to conflict in the Sudanese civil war” (Badri, 2004). Religion, combined with other factors such as the impact of colonialism and outside influences have led to what in essence could be described as a breakdown of dialogue and communication between the people of North and South Sudan. The many cases of religious persecution and marginalization that have occurred throughout the history of Sudan have led to what Badri (2004) describes as “this uneasiness in relations” (Badri, 2004: p.7). Importantly, this has led to the “politicization of Islam and implementation of Shari’ah in Sudan which has caused much anxiety and mistrust among many Sudanese particularly Christians” (Badri, 2004: p.7).

A better understanding of the root causes of the conflict in the region therefore helps to reveal that religious differences have played and continue to play a vital role in the development of political as well as cultural relationships between the two countries. As has already been suggested in the previous section of this chapter and elsewhere, the issue of religious difference is also strongly linked to economics and political affiliations, variables and perceptions. Consequently, the importance of understanding religion as a fundamental factor in the political interrelationships between the two countries has also led to renewed efforts from many quarters to promote inter-religious dialogue in Sudan. This includes initiatives at various levels – including both government and community. As Badri states, “*It is vital to promote inter-faith dialogue as part of the peace-building process*” (Badri, 2004: p. 9). Badri goes on to summarize the present situation in terms of the relevance of religious perceptions as follows:

*As a result of this context, it is understandable that many Christian Sudanese are influenced in their thinking by the experience of religious tension, conflicts, displacement and discrimination...There are those who sincerely feel that the Christians from the south are discriminated against and marginalized on ethnic and religious grounds. These groups express their sympathy and advocate dialogue. They are aware of the tense situation which exists especially where religion is at stake and will in the long run break up the state and alienate groups of citizens.*

However, the point is also made that there still exists a great deal of prejudice and discrimination in terms of religion and religious affiliation in the region, which tends to cloud and complicate the relationship at a political level between the two countries. This is evident in a segment of the population who strongly feel that Sudan should be an Islamic country governed solely by Shari’ah law, while others feel that a more Christian and eclectic religious

context is the most suitable model for the future. This is a divide that is extremely difficult to reconcile when it is supported and exacerbated by other factors such as economic dissension and issues pertaining to human rights, as is the case in this region.

### 4.2.3. General Political Considerations

Critics have noted that while the tension and conflicts have tended to increase since the emergence of the New Republic of South Sudan there are some signs of optimism. In recent months there have been efforts to resolve many of the outstanding issues that stand in the way of peaceful coexistence between North and South. This refers to the recent agreements signed between Sudan and South Sudan, which is seen by many critics to be a positive move towards peace and stability between the two countries.

In September, 2012, the presidents of Sudan and South Sudan signed economic and security agreements that allowed for a resumption of oil exports from South Sudan. The agreements between the two leaders also went some way to resolving other areas of dispute and tension, such as a new agreement regarding a demilitarized zone between their borders and a cessation of all hostilities that brought the countries to the brink of all-out war just a few months ago (South Sudan-Sudan agree on oil but not border). A central part of the agreement was to resume the flow of oil which is the lifeline to both economies.

However, while this was seen by many authorities as an encouraging beginning to a new and more stable relationship between the two countries, there are still signs of problem areas that stand in the way of political and social progress. While the above-mentioned negotiations ostensibly solved a number of problems, there was no firm agreement on how to address the disputed and conflicted Abyei region. This regional dispute is one of the issues that stand in the way of political progress and an equitable resolution to the problems facing the two countries. As Samson Wasara, a professor of economics at Juba University in South Sudan, states;

*...the resumed oil exports - from which Sudan will take transport fees - would help ease tensions but that the new demilitarized buffer zone will provoke more conflict if the borders are not clearly defined. He noted that the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea has been a source of tension for decades. (South Sudan-Sudan agree on oil but not border).*

Political resolutions to the various tensions and points of dissent that will be discussed in this chapter however also depend on the issue of trust and the perception of the other's intention. In taking an integrative and holistic view of the situation in Sudan and South Sudan the present study has emphasized the way in which attitude and perception play an important role in the move beyond conflict. To reiterate, one must take into account the previous history of discord and violence in the region which has generated a great deal of distrust between the two sides. This distrust still affects interactions and relationships between the two countries to this day. This can be seen in the often convoluted and complex process of the implementation of the CPA. As Attree (2012) 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).*

It is therefore suggested that any discussion of the various practical factors and political objectives that influence the situation in the region should also be considered in terms of the perceptions and the views that tend to influence actions and decisions in both countries.

#### **4.2.4. The Issue of Oil.**

According to the 2008 Statistical Energy Survey, Sudan had proved oil reserves of 6.614 billion barrels at the end of 2007 or 0.53 % of the world's reserves (Sudan Oil - proved reserves). There is a scientific consensus that the oil reserves in the region are vast – although they are limited (Oil and Gas in Sudan- Overview). Sudan has three refineries which form the downstream component of the industry. While the country is largely self sufficient in terms of oil, it does still need to import jet fuel (Oil and Gas in Sudan- Overview).

As has been emphasized in the previous chapter, the issue of oil and the relationship in terms of oil trade and transportation between North and South Sudan is a central area of contention. To summarise the main points very briefly: while most of the oil reserves are situated in South Sudan, a point of contention arises in that the only viable route by which the oil can be transported is through the North. This places a great deal of strain on the relationship between the two countries in terms of rights and negotiations relating to the tariff to be charged for the transportation of the oil. As Attree (2012) states;

"For both CPA parties, maintaining the alliances on which stability depends is partly a question of revenue flows that are largely dependent on oil. With this in mind, a huge challenge lies ahead for both states..." (Attree, 2012: p. 3).

Furthermore, many commentators refer to the issue of oil as a central component in the conflict and continued tension between North and South Sudan; and that this long history of contention began with the discovery of oil in the region in the 1970s. One must also continually bear in mind that the issue of oil is inexorably intertwined with other issues, such as ethnicity, marginalization and religion.

Anderson (1999: p.142) provides a critical overview of the role of oil in the country's history. The only known oil reserves were discovered by Chevron in 1976. These reserves were located in the southern war zone, near Bentiu. The interconnection between oil, conflict and civil war is also evident from the fact that a rebel attack shut down oil operations in 1984. However, Chevron also found oil in South Kordofan.

The History of oil in the region is intimately connected with the various conflicts and issues that make up the texture of Sudan's decades of internal tensions. While oil was discovered in the 1970s, production of this oil did not begin until the 1990s as a result of violence and political tensions, as well as a host of human rights violations which dissuaded investment (Sanders, 2012: p. 1). With the interest and investment by China, India and Malaysia in the oil in the region, the oil production increased from 2,000 barrels per day (bpd) in 1993 to 490,000 bpd in 2009 (Sanders, 2012:p. 1).

With Independence South Sudan received ownership of 75 percent of Sudan's oil production. This is due to the fact that most of the oil fields in the region are situated within the boundaries of South Sudan (Sanders, 2012: p. 1). This immediately presents a political problem in terms of the allocation of resources between North and South and it has been the catalyst for tension and conflict. As had been noted, this tension is exacerbated by the fact that, " Though the majority of oil fields are in the South, the pipelines, refining and export infrastructure are located in the North, thereby making South Sudan dependent on Sudan to refine, transport and ship the oil to market"(Sanders, 2012: p. 1).

One must also take account of the fact that 98 percent of the revenue for the Government of South Sudan's (GoSS) comes from oil (Sanders and Mosley, 2012:p.2). At the same time it is also significant to note that oil production has already decreased from its 2009 peak of about 360,000 bpd and that "If there are no new discoveries or improvements in recovery methods,

South Sudan's oil reserves are expected to increase by 2020" ( Sanders and Mosley, 2012: p.2). This fact also places a great deal of pressure on South Sudan to achieve an equitable and healthy alliance with Sudan in order to ensure future growth in oil and various other sectors of the economy.

The three main investors in the South Sudan oil industry at present are the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) the Malaysian-owned PETRONAS and Indian-owned Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Limited (ONGC) (Sanders, 2012: p. 2). These companies hold the largest share in the major industry consortia in both North and South Sudan; namely, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), Petrodar, and the White Nile Petroleum Operating Company (WNPOC) Furthermore, Sudan National Petroleum Corporation (Sudapet) is active in Sudan's oil exploration and production and the Nile Petroleum Corporation (Nilepet) is South Sudan's national oil company (Sanders, 2012: p. 2). Importantly, and a facet of South Sudan that will be explored in more detail in chapter five, China established relations with Sudan in 1959 and became actively involved in the oil sector in the 1990s (Sanders, 2012: p. 2). The relationship between China and Sudan was strengthened by the sanctions imposed on Sudan in 1997 by the United States and other Western countries. This in fact enabled China to enjoy a monopoly of Sudan's oil industry (Sanders, 2012:p. 2). The influence of China and the subsequent role it has played in the political structure of the two countries is clear from the following quotation:

*China owned multi-billion dollar investments in Sudan that were predominantly concentrated in Sudan's oil sector. China dealt almost exclusively with the central government in Khartoum and had "controlling stakes in the biggest energy consortiums operating in Sudan" which gave China an estimated 60% share (490,000 bpd) of Sudan's daily production, ... Oil coming from the Sudans makes up 5% of Chinese oil imports. (Sanders, 2012: p. 8)*

With the independence of South Sudan China began to build closer diplomatic relationships with that country. In 2011 the Chinese government provided a grant of USD 31.5 million to South Sudan for development projects in the areas of water supply, education, health and agriculture (Sanders, 2012: p. 8).

One should also note that oil was also discovered in Abyei in 1979, which resulted in the region's growing strategic importance for both Sudan and South Sudan, and which has also contributed to the increased tension and conflict in this region. Until 2009 Abyei included the

oil towns of Heglig, Bamboo and Diffra, which contributed a combined total of 25% of Sudan's annual oil production (76,600 bpd) (Sanders, 2012: p. 6/7). However, in 2009 a court ruling placed the important oil towns of Heglig and Bambo outside of Abyei, leaving Diffra as the only oilfield in Abyei. Abyei consequently produced less than 1% of Sudan's annual production in 2009 (Sanders, 2012: p. 6/7)

The implications of the oil disputes, especially in the border regions is summed up by Sanders (2012) as follows: "...although Sudan is a small player on the global oil stage, oil has been a dominant factor in the economies and domestic and international politics of north and south since it was first discovered in the late 1970s" (Sarders, 2012: p. 8).

The impact of years of conflict has however taken their toll on the oil industry. For example,

*...it was estimated that the damage to the Heglig oil field during the fighting with South Sudan depleted oil revenues by a further 20%. The dispute with South Sudan over oil transit fees has resulted in an approximately USD 2.4 billion shortfall in Sudan's public finances. South Sudan has been even more negatively impacted.(Sanders, 2012: p. 8).*

What is of even greater concern for some analysts is the fact that South Sudan's foreign reserves show they could be depleted by July 2013, which could lead to economic collapse. This situation is of course worsened by the ethnic-based fighting in the region, which is exacerbated even further by a food crisis in the South. In recent months, the oil crisis has become a central point of contention standing in the way of progress. Lin (2011) sums up the general situation with regard to the political ramifications and possibilities of oil as follows;

*The existence of two separate Sudan's would require shift in the economic dynamics of the region. According to UN reports, Southern Sudan's land is fertile enough to feed the entire Middle East. Its output of 490,000 barrels a day makes it sub-Saharan Africa's third largest oil crude oil exporter. It will undoubtedly take time for the north and south to agree upon how to transfer the management of the oil industry to Southern Sudan, and even longer to resume business with foreign countries. (Lin, 2011)*

What is also noteworthy is that Sudan's oil is intimately linked to external and foreign influences. This provides another perspective on the issue of political stability of the country which can be explored in greater details in subsequent research.

#### 4.2.5. Tribal Affiliations

As has been noted in previous chapters, the issue of tribalism is a central factor to consider in ascertaining the problems of a peaceful and politically stable Sudan region. One also has to take into account various closely related concepts such as ethnicity and religion in the practical consideration of problems and solutions. Numerous studies refer to the complexity of tribal affiliations in the region. In this regards one can reiterate the study by Gatkuoth (1995) 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 (55%), Nilots (20%), Para-Nilots (5%), Westerners of Darfur (13%), Nuba (6%), Nubians (0.5%), Sudamic (6%), and foreigners (7%)... the non-Arab groups still constitute more than 60% of the country's population. (Gatkuoth, 1995: p. 206)*

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 discernable "... given the entrenchment and intertwining of original African and Arab groups" (Paglia, 2008: p.11). Paglia also makes the telling point 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 Arab, Muslim North against the African and Christian South. On the other hand, the Darfur conflict has been described as a conflict between Arab and African "tribes". (Paglia, 2008: p.11)*

Paglia goes on to explore the differences and similarities between the terms tribe and ethnicity. It should be noted that while this aspect will also form part of this section, an in-depth discussion of the nuances of interpretations in the term 'ethnic' and 'tribal' is strictly outside the ambit of the central concerns being discussed here and will be referred to only as an adjunct to the present discussion and as assistance in understanding the relationship between tribalism and the political context of the region

According to Paglia( 2008:p.11) 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, Paglia also points out that this is a rather simplistic conception of the reality of a tribe and belongs to the era of 19th Century colonialism. Furthermore, it refers to a simple and homogenous identity but in reality contemporary African identity *"... does not always share common ancestors and well-defined geographical regions"* (Paglia, 2008, p.11).

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 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.

One could also include other factors in understanding the context and influence of the tribe. In other words there are many other interlinking social identities that should be considered; 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). As Paglia explains further,

*"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 multivalent concept that serves to illuminate some of the fissures and stresses in the Sudanese cultural tapestry, a fact that further highlights the central thesis explored in this study of the need for less prescriptive and categorical understanding of the situation in both North and South Sudan.

Most ethnic and tribal groups in Sudan define themselves, their ancestry, origins and culture by reference to the past. Thus, for instance, the Eerti 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.

The main Sudanese ethnic groups can be outlined as follows:

Table 4.1 Sudanese ethnic groups

|                 |            |       |
|-----------------|------------|-------|
| Arabs           | 21,000,000 | 55.0% |
| Dinka           | 3,000,000  | 8.0%  |
| Nuba            | 2,100,000  | 6.0%  |
| Nuer            | 1,400,000  | 4.0%  |
| Fur             | 1,000,000  | 2.7%  |
| Zande           | 660,000    | 1.8%  |
| Shilluk         | 600,000    | 1.6%  |
| Bari or Zaghawa | 480,000    | 1.3%  |
| Nubians         | 200,000    | 0.5%  |
| Other peoples   | 6,300,000  | 17.0% |

Source: Paglia (2008: p. 12).

In defining ethnicity one commonly refers to ideas of common origins and ancestry. There are two central theoretical approaches to the understanding of this term. Primordialism views ethnicity as being innate and structured according to genetic factors, while 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, on 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' and view ethnicity 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. (Paglia (2008: p. 17).*

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.

Taking into account this more open-ended understanding of the concept of the tribe, and being cognizant of the aspects such as ethnicity and religious affiliation, one can propose a broader analysis of the issue of tribalism and its impact on the structure and future of society in South Sudan. The history of the region must therefore of necessity take into account the history of tribalism and ethnicity.

Before independence and before Christianity these tribal groups found it very difficult to co-exist. Hostility between the tribes was the order of that period. The slave trade was a hobby and a business of 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.

This long history has resulted in various divisions in the society that 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 and "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: p. 1).

Tribalism and ethnicity were seen as a sign of superiority, a sentiment that still has repercussion in terms of equitable and fair government and social harmony. As a number of studies hold the view that difference and superiority can all too easily be translated into nepotism and favouritism, practices which are encountered in employment and education in Sudan.

An insightful study that sheds a great deal of light on the subject is of Tombe (2012). In this study the problem of tribalism in South Sudan is described as follows:

*In the nascent 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 ROSS. There are some*

ministries in the ROSS which look and sound like tribal gathering venues; for some tribal rituals to be performed therein (Tombe, 2012)

The study goes to make a number of serious and far-reaching considerations and compares tribalism with racism. Tombe's view is that,

*A tribalist will do all types of evil things to another human being that a racist does to another human person. 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 because he is human. (Tombe, 2012)*

From this perspective the tribal affiliations are linked to crime and corruption in government and are seen as a serious aspect in Sudan that works against political stability and the peaceful development of the young nation. In 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).*

Tribocracy is compared unfavourably to the advantages of a meritocracy and to a system of governance that is more 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).*

While some may view these assertions as being somewhat extreme and perhaps lacking in the various grades of subtle distinction that exist within the concept of tribalism and ethnicity, they do make a valid point that should be taken into consideration in ascertaining the problematic of political and cultural stability in the region. The point that is consistently made in this study is that the very ethos and mode of operation that exists within a tribal political situation is opposed in many ways to the elements of a true democracy, where merit and value are based on the value of the individual and not on tribal or ethnic affiliation. Tombe (2012) goes on to assert that in South Sudan military alliances are formed not on the basis of national good but rather on the basis of tribal allegiances. This is obviously not a situation conducive to a healthy and progressive government.

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) billion dollars from the peoples of South Sudan (PoSS); indicate that; the majority of them come from almost one tribe. (Tombe, 2012)

The assertion is made that Tribocracy as the system of governance in the ROSS is "extremely dangerous" (Tombe, 2012) and that the tribalization of all institutions of governance is counterproductive and in radical opposition to the modernism of the New Government.

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 choosing long-established tribal affiliation and adopting a united new identity, through nationalism. This is a very important aspect of the present political situation in the country and can also be applied to the North. As Aliap 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 and effective system of government. It is a mission that needs the government to act responsibly and transparently to convince all the tribes in South Sudan that the current government is realistically a government that truly represents the people of South Sudan irrespective of their tribal position in the country (Aliap,2012:p.14)*

The above points are emphasized and reiterated in study by Cook and Moro (2012, p.6) that comprised of the findings from focus groups with men and women in South Sudan. In terms of tribalism and ethnic differences the following aspects were found to be central;

*Tribalism in government work is pervasive, they indicate, even though often denied. They report seeing others with tribesmen in government receiving basic services and believe qualified candidates are turned down for government employment by members of other tribes. Participants say that because their government officials practice tribalism, they have no choice but to support their own tribesmen in the hope of getting services and jobs. (Cook and Moro, 2012, p.6)*

A number of points from the above quotation need to be stressed. The consensus therefore from this survey of the people of the region is that the impact of tribalism in government is "pervasive". In the first instance 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 process of government, where individuals may be chosen for office and for important positions on the basis of tribal or ethnic affiliation and not necessarily on the basis of capability and value for the nation.

Therefore, some critics assert that there are multifarious consequences if the government of South Sudan creates institutions without first addressing the issue of tribalism. Aliap, (2012:p.12) 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*"

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 will result in an increase in tribal divisions and tensions. This will 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 and Moro (2012) makes a very significant point:

*"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"* (Cook and Moro, 2012, p.6)

#### 4.2.6. Contested Areas

The issue of economics, tribalism, ethnicity and religion are exponentially compounded in border areas between the two countries, which are often heavily contested. As one commentator notes in a survey of views and opinions of people in South Sudan, there are strong views and opinions expressed by the people with regard to these border areas. The general consensus from the residents of South Sudan was as follows:

*Trouble along the Sudan-South Sudan border is causing significant hardship across South Sudan, according to participants who want it re-opened quickly. They also believe South Sudan has a moral obligation to help resolve the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile conflicts as well as a duty to ensure Abyei becomes part of the new country, even if by force.* (Cook and Moro, 2012: p.8)

These views and perceptions are important for a number of reasons. Firstly, they underscore the seriousness of the border disputes and their significance in the consciousness of the people of the region. This in turn has a critical effect on the way that political leadership is perceived; which in turn influences the issue of future political stability in the region. Related to this is the impact that these disputes have on normal life and the running of essential services in the region. The closure of the borders also brings with it suffering for the residents of South Sudan in the form of reduced access to food, fuel and medicine, as well as currency shortages and increased prices of food throughout the country (Cook and Moro, 2012, p.8). This can have a detrimental effect on the economy, which increase political tensions and create a negative social atmosphere in the country in terms of stability.

Among the most crucial areas of conflict are the Abyei, South Kordofan and Blue Nile. From a political perspective these conflicts, and especially the Abyei issues, are important in that they evoke a great deal of sympathy in the residents of South Sudan, and therefore contribute to further tensions between the two countries. This is largely due to the fact that a number of these contested states fought with and supported the South Sudanese during their struggle for independence. However, the precise way in which South Sudan should become involved or assist in these border areas is not clear. "There are mixed views on whether South Sudan's assistance should focus on negotiating peace, providing humanitarian aid, engaging militarily through provision of arms and soldiers, or some combination of those"(Cook and Moro, 2012: p.8).

As has already been referred to, a major area of contention is the Abyei issue. Very Briefly, Abyei is an area of Sudan that has been claimed by both the North and the South. A central point of contention is the fact that it is an area surrounded by the oil fields. As noted above, in recent years tension and conflict have erupted in this region as a result of disagreements regarding oil as well as grazing rights. In this regard one could reiterate the May 2011 incident when there was an SPLA attack on a Joint Integrated United Nations troop convoy, and the retaliatory occupation of Abyei by Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) (Attree, 2012, p. 4). This incident led to the displacement of some one million people and destruction of property (Attree, 2012: p. 4).

In terms of perceptions in South Sudan and in relation to the issue of political stability, the resolution of the Abyei issue is seen to be of paramount importance (Cook and Moro, 2012: p.8). While the people of South Sudan are concerned about the problems surrounding South Kordofan and Blue Nile, these conflicts "...do not evoke the same intense emotions that arise

when Abyei is mentioned "(Cook and Moro, 2012: p.8). In political terms there is an almost universal consensus among the population and support for the South Sudan government to take action to resolve the Abyei issue. Many of the residents of South Sudan would even sanction the use of force to return Abyei to their country, which many see as the only just course of events (Cook and Moro, 2012: p.8). This fact has obvious political and social ramifications in terms of continued peace and stability between the two countries. Therefore, from a political stance it would seem that the resolution to this dispute and a solution that would be seen to be satisfactory to the populace of South Sudan would be an essential component in the future stability and democratic progress of the region.

The issues of South Kordofan and Blue Nile are also contentious and a possible catalyst for further conflict. As Herlinger (2011) states, South Kordofan state, which remains part of northern Sudan has a long history of support for southern independence (Herlinger, 2011:p.5). The Blue Nile state, similarly to South Kordofan, is also composed of a number of different ethnic and tribal groups which adds to the tensions and possibilities of further conflict (Reeves, 2011:p.165). The fear that people and groups will be marginalized in the region also adds to the tension in these areas.

As noted in Chapter two, South Kordofan is the only oil producing state in the Sudan region. This immediately makes it a very hotly disputed area and a prime source of future tensions and instability in the region. It is worth reiterating the view put forward by Reeves (2001) with regard to the intricate and complex situation that makes these areas so politically and socially volatile.

While geographically in northern Sudan, much of Blue Nile and South Kordofan - and virtually the entire Nuba Mountains area in the center of South Kordofan - identifies with the South culturally, politically, and militarily. Tens of thousands of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) soldiers are from the Nuba and southern Blue Nile; they refuse to be sent back to the South or disarmed - and if pushed by Khartoum, they will fight to save their lands and cultural heritage (Reeves, 2011: p.165)

Coupled with the above is the aforementioned fact that there are a large number of historical antecedents to the tensions in these areas – such as the fact of near annihilation or genocide of the Nuba in the 1990s by military action undertaken by the National Islamic Front/National Congress Party. However, from the point of view of political perceptions the issue of Abyei

remains in the forefront of the consciousness of the people of South Sudan. As Cook and Moro (2012) state,

*“...facts have in turn led to new escalations of human rights violations. This is a vicious circle that keeps Sudan from a new dawn”*

*Figure 4.3.1 ...unlike Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, there is no geographic difference in how participants feel about the problem of Abyei and its solution; those in the Equatoria states support the Abyei cause just as much as those in other parts of the country. Participants everywhere describe Abyei as part of South Sudan and as a territory they are not willing to cede. “Abyei is part of our country; nobody will take it away...”(Cook and Moro, 2012: p.38).*

### 4.3. Thematic Summary of Outstanding Challenges and Disputes from the Survey

#### 4.3.1. Internal Border and Regional Conflict in the Contested Areas

Some respondents mentioned that conflict has escalated in the past year in the Sudanese border states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile, between Sudan’s military and the SPLM-North, insurgents once formally aligned with South Sudan’s ruling party. One diplomat from UNHCR specifically mentioned that:

*“Fighting in these states is driven by local grievances against Khartoum and has severely affected more than half a million people and access by relief agencies is extremely limited”.*

Further to this, one political analyst from the great lakes stressed that:

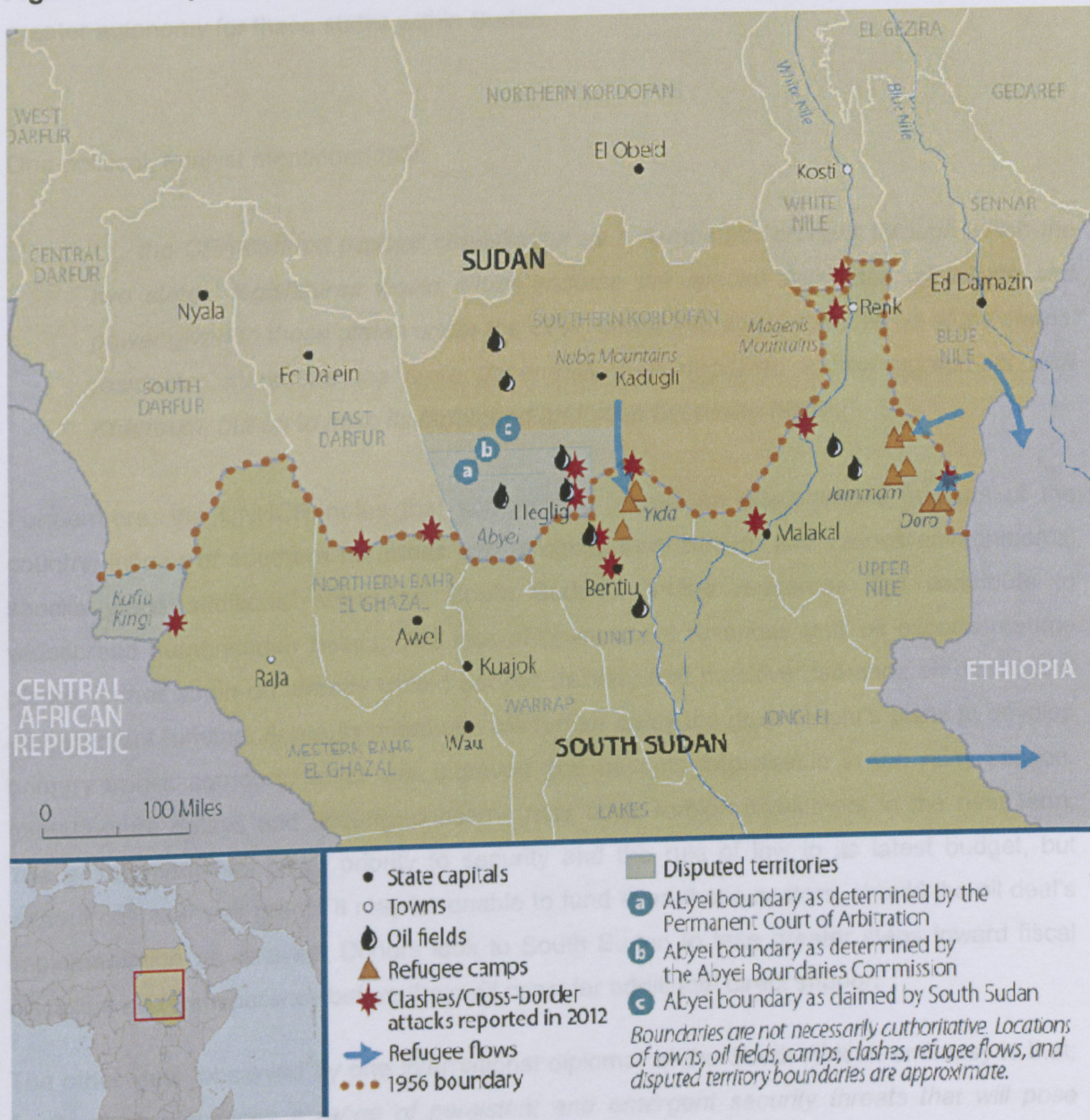
*“the current mediation efforts suggest that a piecemeal approach to Sudan’s overlapping conflicts has led to a focus on resolving one conflict at the expense of another, thus prolonging the violence”.*

This is to confirm the statement made by the U.S. Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan. Princeton Lyman outlined his view of the challenge in August 2012:

*“Sudan cannot deal with the ongoing troubles in Darfur, Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, the east, and elsewhere in the country with a system that does not meet the demands for greater political space, for greater sharing of wealth and opportunity and for greater*

democracy. Trying to suppress those demands militarily has led to continued conflicts. And the conflicts have in turn led to new accusations of human rights violations. This is a vicious circle that keeps Sudan from a new dawn"

**Figure 4.1 Disputed territories**



Source: Congressional Research Service.

Source: (Congressional Research Services 2013)

As revealed by figure 4.1, most respondents agree that South Kordofan and Blue Nile, like Abyei, are resource-rich, culturally diverse areas along the north-south border that received special administrative status under the CPA. The conflict that has plagued these states for

decades is emblematic of center-periphery struggles that have characterized most of Sudan's modern history. Unlike Abyei, however, the two states were not granted the option of self-determination under the CPA, given that both lie north of the 1956 border. Instead, the CPA proposed a "popular consultation" process, an ambiguous mechanism intended to offer greater autonomy for these states within Sudan.

One political analyst mentioned that;

This is "... the CPA defined popular consultation as a democratic process through which the two states' legislatures would either endorse the special distribution of wealth and power given to those states under the CPA, taking into account the views of the states' residents, or require the state governments to negotiate a new agreement with Khartoum, but up to now, its farfetched and soon becoming history".

Furthermore, the UNHCR notes that conflict and population displacement in parts of the country, inflows of southern returnees and refugees from Sudan, and various environmental shocks place additional stress on South Sudan's limited resources and contribute to widespread humanitarian needs. The lack of government revenues until oil exports resume places further strain on already limited service delivery and massive demands on diminished development funding. Austerity measures will further delay the government's plans to develop primary transit corridors, which are unpaved and become impassable in the rainy season. Infrastructure delays and security concerns may deter foreign investment in the near term. The government has given priority to security and the rule of law in its latest budget, but without new loans or grants it may be unable to fund even these sectors, should the oil deal's implementation be delayed. Donors look to South Sudan to take greater steps toward fiscal discipline and transparency before they will consider additional direct support.

The other view observed by one international diplomat at the South African embassy is that; "...South Sudan faces a range of persistent and emergent security threats that will pose challenges for years to come. The potential for localized insecurity in some areas is high. It is awash in small arms, and armed cattle raids and violent disputes over land and water rights are common. Inter- and intra-ethnic fighting claims thousands of lives annually".

In relation to the above, a political analyst in Juba noted that;

“... these conflicts are bound to go on for a long time and new ones are breeding. For example, a militia led by David Yau Yau in Jonglei, South Sudan’s most populous state is causing increasing concern. There has been counter accusations in all corners as the SPLM keeps pointing to Khartoum of providing the militia with material support, namely weapons”.

This is further echoed by one security expert from South Africa that;

“..... militias in Unity and Upper Nile states also remain a threat. The formerly Ugandan-based armed group, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), once also reportedly supported by Khartoum, continues to threaten and displace South Sudanese communities near the borders of the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo, although the threat it poses is localized in comparison to other armed groups. South Sudan and Uganda publicly accused Khartoum of resuming support for the LRA in 2012 and suggest that LRA leader Joseph Kony may be hiding in the border area between the Sudans”

#### 4.3.2. Political Considerations

This history partly explains the emergence of Northern Arab-Muslim domination. It also helps to understand how the imposition of Arabism and Islam has become a means of nation building and how those who do not identify with these pillars of ‘national’ identity have been politically marginalised and economically excluded. For instance one international diplomat asserted that:

“Northern prejudices against the South are pervasive and easily revealed in their collective identification of the Negro as an inferior race, the traditional source for the slave. While the Arabs have had the power to assert their political dominance and material superiority, southerners deeply despise them and look down on them. This mutual disdain, coupled with geographical and territorial separation, makes coexistence extremely difficult”.

It was this inter-group and inter-regional relationship that resulted in peripheral grievances during the preparation for independence, since the Northern elite exclusively inherited political control. In the case of Darfur, its poverty relative to the Northern riverine Sudan has also resulted in grievances, but the current rebellion has also an ethnic identity dimension.

In the view of some political analysts, developments in Sudan demonstrate that the issue of the relationship between state and religion as well as the sharing of power and wealth do not fall into the category of “unsaid” ideological practices of power in state. They have been “said” and negotiated in political conferences and alternative resolutions for them have been found and agreed. Yet the successive governments dominated by Muslim Arabs fail to respect such agreements by violating them and the crisis of national identity between the African and Arab identities continues. These claims are expressed that:

Another student states:

*“...every system under the control of the sons of our sisters, Muslim Arabs is bad; it applies classical marginalisation of the South in terms of equal development. In a political debate in Juba Conference for the issue of the relationship of the South with the North, British colonisers proposed that the South was undeveloped and was not necessary to be independent by then. When the Muslim Arabs heard that they reacted and shouted; no; no; we would develop it, but they fail to fulfil their promise. From that time until today, the South remains without roads, bridges, agricultural schemes, health centres and schools”.*

The Conference in question was held on 12 June 1947 in Juba, a city in South Sudan. The British Civil Secretary in Sudan James W Robertson summoned the Chiefs from the South and some prominent figures among Muslim Arabs of the North to attend it. During the opening session, Robertson reiterated that the policy of British regarding the South is to act upon the facts that the people of the South are distinctly African and Negroid. Only political geography and economic situation combined them with the North. This situation required assurance from the political force of the North that the South will be developed in the future, so that the two territories become educationally and economically equal.

This study argues that in Sudan power attracts the people of the South, during any political discussion that threatens the territorial unity and presents economic promises to attract the population of the South.

Furthermore, some Muslim Arab students at the University from other regions claim that the marginalised area of Darfur is undeveloped compared to other regions within the Northern Sudan. On the other hand, some Darfurian Muslim students argue that:

*“.....after the annexation of our region to the Nile Sudan, it has experienced systematically a serious marginalisation in terms of power and wealth. Many of us have witnessed ... the exclusive policies of Arabs in Sudan; our people know that the central Government of Sudan excludes our region”*

Another student states:

*“The perspective of wealth and power marginalisation ... stimulates the majority of our indigenous population to define themselves as outsiders in the territory of Sudan. Economic exclusion makes us feel not a part of Sudan; indeed, we are not part of... Sudan”.*

One Fur student concluded that:

*“...some of us never know that we belong to the territorial sovereignty of Sudan, instead, Khartoum is the Sudan and some know it, yet they want to be counted out from the territory”.*

### 4.3.3. Tribal Conflicts and Affiliations

Respondents tend to have a consensus that in parts of South Sudan, the number of deaths due to interethnic violence, sometimes related to cattle raiding, has increased dramatically in recent years, and the violence appears increasingly politicized. In Jonglei, retaliatory attacks between the Lou Nuer and the Murle ethnic communities have resulted in large-scale population displacement and humanitarian need in the past year.

The UNHCR particularly notes that;

“.....the conflicts are too tense yet the local authorities have limited capacity to address these conflicts. You recall that the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), which was established in 2011 and is smaller than its predecessor, and has faced major logistical challenges such as poor roads and a shortage of helicopters as it has worked to deploy peacekeepers to the area”.

#### 4.3.4. Religion

The ability and capacity for South Sudan to manage conflicts is also questionable. One administrator in Juba highlighted that;

“... here in Juba alone, the police service lacks the capacity to address many of these threats, leaving the SPLA to play a significant internal security role, and in so-doing, some SPLA stabilization and civilian disarmament activities have caused tensions with communities who claim that the SPLA is neither politically neutral nor well disciplined; some of these operations have reportedly resulted in displacement and deaths”.

Further, to this, a respondent from the State Department assert that they have documented various human rights violations by SPLA troops. Some, but not all, of those accused of serious abuses have faced military justice. He raises concerns that:

“.....the continued presence of senior SPLA officers at all levels of the South Sudanese government obscures the concept of democratic civilian control. Given the many years of war from which South Sudan is emerging, the development of truly civilian leadership may take time”.

Without repeating and representing some of the sentiments demonstrated by the literature, of which many respondents tend to agree upon, it is important to understand the long history of conflict and tension in the region has been resolved to a certain extent by the independence of South Sudan.

The complex issue of tribal and ethnic consciousness suggests the question of a national identity for South Sudan. This is possibly one of the most important and contentious questions facing the new country in terms of political consolidation. National identity implies national and social unity, which is a pivotal element in the growth and development of South Sudan and the region as a whole. Myers (2010: p.56) refers to the goals of national unity which been replaced by independence rather than national integration.

This also suggests interaction and interrelationships between the two countries at various levels, including the economic. The issue of state-building therefore assumes a certain priority of importance in the future of both countries.

#### 4.3.4. Religion

Literature revealed that Sudan has been designated for over a decade by the State Department as a Country of Particular Concern for its serious and systematic violations of religious freedom. Blasphemy and defamation of Islam are illegal and apostasy (conversion from Islam to another religion) is punishable by death. Laws against indecent dress and other offences against morality and public order are applied. After an interlude of improved religious tolerance during the CPA period, reports suggest that religious freedom violations are increasing, and that state-sanctioned “hate speech” by Islamic clerics is on the rise. The influence of Salafism is reportedly growing.

Respondents all agree that attacks on churches and Sufi Muslim sites are of concern, and some Salafist groups appear to be specifically targeting opposition groups. Salafist imams have issued fatwas and heretical charges against Turabi and Sadiq al Mahdi, who is head of the Umma party and the Ansar religious sect.

Some political and security experts in the interviews suggest that;

*“... the government has ignored, if not encouraged, the violent rhetoric of Salafist groups, and Khartoum’s initial public response to calls for protests against Western embassies in September 2012 drew criticism from Europe and the United States”.*

Reporters suggest that;

*.....an estimated 4,000 people were involved in the protests, which occurred after Friday prayers as Protesters set fire to the Germany Embassy, and at least two protesters were killed by police in demonstrations on September 14 outside the U.S. Embassy.. Vice President Joseph Biden called his counterpart to assert the Sudanese government’s responsibility to protect diplomatic facilities and ensure the protection of*

diplomats. Bashir's government deployed additional police to provide security near the embassies, but rejected a U.S. plan to deploy Marines to increase security of the embassy facilities and personnel. Non-emergency U.S. diplomatic personnel were temporarily evacuated from Khartoum, but the situation has since appeared to stabilize.

A Muslim Nuba student argues that:

*...all the universal religions have a common source. They come from God, the Creator of the universe and most of us as African Muslims, particularly in Nuba Mountains understand this reality and we have no religious conflicts. Animists, Christians and Muslims co-exist, but Arab Muslim fundamentalists of the National Congress reject this tolerance and accuse us ... as pagans in the region.*

The claim that religious co-existence is interpreted as a promotion of pagan religions in Nuba Mountains represents a paradigm of racism in the public institutions of Sudan. It indicates that Islam in Sudan has not been regarded as a unifying principle. It involves racism, where some Muslims are defined as pagans due to their ethnic background. In response, Yusuf Kuwa Makki as a politician has sought a political dialogue in order to find alternative resolutions for religious compatibility in Sudan. He argues that the classification of the non-Arabs, whether Muslims, Christians or Animists as pagans in Nuba Mountains has affected his political attitudes and that dictated him to seek an alternative that might remedy the racial discrimination within the Islamic institution of North Sudan.

As a participant observer to the status of women under this law in Sudan, a number of the government official men constantly issue directives urging female students and women in government offices, universities and public places to attire themselves according to what they always prescribe as "an Islamic dress code". In fact, these codes entail only wearing a veil or a scarf covering the head without legal provision defining clearly the acceptable dress that fit women, beyond the veil or scarf. Instead, the law grants the PPO unit virtual immunity from prosecution, even though on too many occasions, the unit applies uneven treatment on the woman accused of immodest dress, before she could reach a criminal court to face flogging.

The absence of political vision among the political forces in power to address such religious and ethnic cultural differences as realities divides the Muslims in Sudan, but they have not

seriously set an open political dialogue in order to find a solution for this reality. Nuba Muslim leader Yusuf Kuwa Makki provides an example of the divisive experiences which originate from conflicting identities between Muslim Africans versus Arab Muslim traditions. He states that, while he was still a student a discussion took place in the class over the subject of women's rights in Islam. In the view of Muslim Nuba students in the class, Muslim women deserve the same equal status with men in public institutions by contesting and voting in national elections, but the Muslim Arab teacher opposed such views and reacted; "women's rights; why should they be given any rights?"

#### 4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide an overview of the central factors that impact and influence the political situation in Sudan and South Sudan. The focus has on a detailed exposé of each variable as well as how each variable influences and impacts the other. This leads to a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of the situation in the region.

A central thematic in this thesis is the interdependence and interconnection between different variables and factors that constitute the political and social life of the region. While oil and foreign involvement is one issue it is by no means separate from the various religious factors that play a central role in the country and its political structure. In fact and as has become clear from the above discussion, the different religious groups and the prejudices attached to these differences can be seen to have been created to a large extent by the influence and interference of colonialism in the past. Nevertheless, the present reality is that there are still many deep divisions in the society that are grounded on divergent religious views.

On the other hand, there are according to a number of sources signs that the two countries are attempting to move beyond old divisions and differences. As Badri states; "the bulk of Sudanese society, Christians and Muslims are tired of living under tensions and conflicts based on religion" (Badri, 2004: p.9)

While one may debate as to the actual causes of the conflicts and dissention between the two countries, what becomes increasingly evident from an analysis of the complex makeup and political structure in the region is that there are many areas, including the issue of religious difference, that need to be addressed in order for more positive political developments to occur (Badri, 2004: p.9).

The answer to the challenge the new nation faces is to urgently work for the all round improvement in the basic living condition of its citizens, who today live in a space ravaged by war, famine, drought, besides having lived for ages in the throes of a violent authoritarian state. Lifting the masses out of poverty, building the proper infrastructure, sharing of important resources like oil and water with its neighbours (especially the Republic of Sudan) have to be the priorities for the new state. And, as one of the first steps, the intrastate agents of insurgency will have to be won over to join the mainstream struggle for basic development in an atmosphere of peace.

as follows:

- Since the independence of South Africa, numerous of issues have become apparent and there can be seen to be related to a wide range of causative and influential factors.
- The historical and colonial history of South Africa and the region as a whole plays a very significant part in the complex process, being the social, political and economic realities of the region and South Africa in particular.
- The issue of oil is a central factor and one which defines the future interrelationships between the two countries.
- The issue of oil is also linked by outside influences and interference especially with regard to China.
- Ethnic and religious divisions also form a part of the causative and influential factors in the region.
- The disputed regions and access to fresh water seem to areas of contention and conflict that require an amicable resolution.

However, central to all of these general issues is the need of the above points should not be seen in isolation. A pivotal and central focus of this study will be in order for the problems in the region to be solved they must first be correctly perceived. This leads to the central assertion of this dissertation; for the various political and ethnic problems to be solved to any conclusive degree an integrative and holistic view that could lead to policy and attitude changes is necessary.

### RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 5.1. Recommendations

The above discussion and analysis of the situation in South Sudan leads to a number of general and important aspects that elicit certain conclusions. These can be briefly summarized as follows:

- Since the independence of South Sudan a number of issues have become apparent and these can be seen to be related to a wide range of causative and influential factors.
- The historical and colonial history of South Sudan and the region as a whole plays a very significant part in the complex problems facing the social, political and economic realities of the region and South Sudan in particular.
- The issue of oil is a central factor and will determine the future interrelationships between the two countries.
- The issue of oil is also linked to outside influence and interference especially with regard to China
- Ethics and religion divisions also form part of the influence and causative factors in the region.
- The disputed regions and access to these regions serve as areas of contention and conflict that require an amicable resolution.

However, central to all of these general issues is that each of the above points should not be seen in isolation. A pivotal and cardinal finding of this study is that in order for the problems in the region to be solved they should firstly be correctly perceived. This leads to the central assertion of this dissertation; for the various political and other problems to be solved to any conclusive degree an integrative and holistic view that could lead to policy and attitude changes is necessary.

Economics is of course intimately linked to the political arena (Stok, 2011). The issue of the oil transportation in the region was also seen and discussed as a central problematic, as the greater part of Sudan's oil revenues are to be found in the South of the country. These economic problems are closely linked to the political realities of the region. This also leads to the introduction of some key issues that are central present in the overall political and

## 5.2 Central Conclusions

In chapter one the concept of political relationships and affiliations in the region was explored. The ideas were put forward that any assessment of the political present and future of the emergent South Sudan could not be understood or summarized according to a few simplistic criteria. In other words, it was suggested that the issue of politics in the region should be seen against the complex and often intricate and convoluted context of the history of the region. At the same time the complexity of political allegiances and relationships in the region also offers scope for possible solutions. What becomes clear however from an in-depth analysis of the latest data and studies is that the future trajectory of South Sudan must take into account allegiances within the groups that it supports. One must also bear in mind the many predictions of a failed state in the region (Ghasemilee, 2001).

This introductory chapter also presented a number of historical aspects that influenced the This chapter also introduced the central areas of investigation in this thesis; which included the important aspect of the prior history of the region and the many ways in which this could be seen as a determining factor in the present situation. This refers to the ongoing tension and conflict in the region for the last two hundred years and to the further problem of reconciling the interests of more than 19 major ethnic groups as well as 600 sub-groups (Attree, 2012).

Chapter two introduced the various issues and problematic surrounding the CPA agreement of 2005, which was intended to provide an adequate framework for the movement towards peace and a form of reconciliation in the region, in that it catered for a structured and consensual agreement for arrangement for wealth and power sharing, elections and constitutional reform; as well as offering a framework for careful handling of dynamics in the 'three areas' of Abyei, South Kordofan and Blue Nile (Attree, 2012).

Throughout, the central point that was reiterated and emphasized was the multivalent and complex nature of the political landscape in South and North Sudan. This was also related to other variables, such as economics and the many unresolved issues that still exist between the two countries.

Economics is of course intimately linked to the political arena (Storø, 2011). The issue of the oil transportation in the region was seen and discussed as a central problematic, as the greater part of Sudan's oil revenues are to be found in the South of the country. These economic problems are therefore closely linked to the political realities of the region. This also leads to the introduction of another related and essential element in the overall political and economic picture of the region; namely, the influence of other countries, such as China.

Other influential variables were also introduced. These included internal tensions and groupings; such as conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and rivals in the south. Internal politics within each country was shown to play a role in the overall political picture and in the challenges that need to be met for the future. As UK Defence Forum Researcher Alasdair McKay states, the continuation of internal conflict in South Sudan would mean "an unwelcome continuation of a history of violence for Sudan" (McKay, 2011, p.7).

This introductory chapter also broached a number of important aspects that influenced the political trajectory of South Sudan. Social and cultural challenges were shown to be of extreme importance in determining the shape and stability of the country. This refers as well to the destruction of infrastructure and the decline of social equality that had resulted from the many years of civil war and conflict in the region. To reiterate Okello; 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).

Other concomitant factors that were seen to be significant and which contribute to the holistic view suggested in this thesis include the marked disparity in population composition and demographics, as well as many workforce issues. These issues raise a host of competing needs and demands that all require political sensitivity and management. Coupled with this is the issue of tribal affiliations and loyalties as well as the problematic of the separation of the Southern Sudanese tribes. This also includes various other social issues, such as challenges faced by the delivery of essential services, health care, education and sanitation. Contributing to these concerns is the fact that a considerable large part of the budget was spent by the government of South Sudan in the period between 2006 and 2009 on the military (Storø, 2011).

There are also particular social and health concerns that contribute to internal instability; for example the high child mortality rate as well as the low percentage of children vaccinated against prevalent diseases like malaria. Another significant variable is the low degree of social knowledge about HIV/AIDS. One could also include the issue of poor levels of education and extreme gender disparities in terms of social equality as factors that should all be taken into account in a more holistic view of the situation in the country. Corruption was also found to be a central factor that plays a large part in terms of political affiliations and perceptions in South Sudan. Many studies by experts and commentators on the region emphasized that the issue of corruption is extremely relevant in terms of the emerging expectations of the new South.

over the decades created a very difficult social and political situation in the region as a

Chapter two expanded on the introductory chapter by exploring the various problems and obstacles that face South Sudan and which affect the political stability of the region. What was emphasized is that the genesis of these problems could be traced back to the history of the region and to the misconception that the interrelationship between the two countries could be simplistically understood or analyzed on the basis of a more prosperous North as opposed to a more impoverished South Sudan. The reality of the complexity of the history of the region was examined, especially in terms of the colonial past. This included the history of slavery and the impact that this had on the perceptions of the North by the South; as well as the perception that the North considered the South to be little more than a satellite or an adjunct to the North.

of oil was also explored in more depth as a central point of contention and a prime

obstacle in the way of political stability. This refers especially to the fact that while most of the The impact of British and Egyptian influence in the region was shown to be a powerful force that had shaped many of the enmities and conflicts in the region. As Holt (1961, p.11) states, "modern Sudan is politically and materially very largely the heir of these earlier regimes" (Holt, 1961.p.11).

writing. However the potential for cooperation and conflict is always present but this

is countered by the fact that both parties stand to benefit in an economic and geopolitical

The consequences of the struggle between the Mahdists and the Egyptians and British were also explored leading to the "condominium rule"; which was to result in many of the administrative and political differences between North and South. The period after the colonialist rule was a time of conflict and political tension as a result of the prejudices, misconceptions and social distortions created by colonialism. This situation was to lead to the various central contemporary events that shaped the present situation. These include the 1955 civil war as a result of the rejection of Southern autonomy; the Addis Ababa Peace Accord and the second civil war in 1983. These events were discussed in relation to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005.

and national identity play a crucial

role in the internal as well as the external political relationships and stability of South Sudan.

The complexity of the reasons for the civil wars was also emphasised in the discussion; which added further substance to the central thesis of this study namely that an integrative, inclusive and holistic approach is necessary in order to understand and find solutions to the political problems in South Sudan. Another factor that was also emphasised was the view put forward by Attree (2012) and others that the cost of these conflicts in terms of human suffering, dislocation and the political distrust that they engendered constitutes to a large degree the complex modern problematics of the region. To reiterate, as Attree (2012,p.2) states, "This conflict had a catastrophic human and developmental impact on Sudan that can only be summarised here" (Attree, 2012, p.2). One should also not forget that the wars and conflicts over the decades created a very difficult social situation in South Sudan and in the region as a whole. This had the consequence of increasing the tendency to use violent methods to resolve problems, as well as weakening traditional social and cultural structures that were intended to mediate tension and conflict (Attree, 2012, p.2).

This chapter also expanded on the various unresolved issues that hamper full political reconciliation between North and South. These include the issue of border demarcation and management as well the complex and pressing issue of citizen rights and debt and resource sharing.

The issue of oil was also explored in more depth as a central point of contention and a prime obstacle in the way of political stability. This refers especially to the fact that while most of the oil reserves are in the South, the only viable route by which the oil can be transported is through the North. This presents a problem of delicate diplomatic and political balance between the two countries, which is seemingly in the process of being amicably resolved at the time of writing. However the potential for dissention and conflict is always present but this is countered by the fact that both parties stand to benefit in an economic and geopolitical sense if they control the majority of the oil output.

The status of Abyei was discussed at length as a pivotal area of concern in the normalization of interaction between the newly independent South Sudan and Sudan. As was noted, the proximity of this region to the contested oil fields also poses a problem that further accentuates the need to resolve this area dispute. Similarly, the complexity of the disputed areas was elaborated on in terms of South Kordofan, Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains.

As was referred to in chapter one, the issue of citizenship and national identity play a crucial role in the internal as well as the external political relationships and stability of South Sudan.

This also led to an examination of the internal social dynamics as well as the vital question of leadership in South Sudan. Needless to say, governance and leadership in the region require very astute and flexible leadership skills; and a common assertion that many studies report was that this quality of leadership is lacking in both countries. This is also complicated by the application of various religious and ethnic ideals and perceptions, including the problem of the application of Sharia law, which is deemed to be unacceptable by some citizens. As noted, religion and religious prejudice are interlinked with poor democratic governance, which can lead to tension and the possibility of conflict.

From the initial overview of the situation in South Sudan and Sudan and the various factors and variables that constitute the complex tapestry of political, economic and social life in the region, chapter three provided an in-depth overview of the literature on the subject. This was intended to provide the groundwork for the more intense examination of the issues that were introduced in chapters one and two. This literature review was divided into a number of subsections. These included the following: background and history; literature on the issues of contention in the region; sources that provided insight into the various problems that had to be overcome for peaceful development and stabilization to occur and the issue of oil.

It was also noted that the literature, data and resources relating to the recent independence in South Sudan provides a number of differing and intersecting points of view. These sources also substantiate the central thematic that flows throughout the present study; namely the complexity of the present political as well as economic and social situation in the region. The literature also emphasized the wide range of obstacles and problem areas that need to be taken into account before true political stabilization can be achieved. It is worth reiterating the views put forward in an article entitled *The Future of South Sudan* (2011), which tends to reflect the general tenor of the studies and commentaries relating to the region and its future.

As experience has demonstrated in other post-conflict settings, new beginnings are often accompanied by growing pains, and while the South has had a head start since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, building a new state out of the rubble of a long and brutal civil war will be an arduous and lengthy process of the Government of South Sudan will have to face the challenge of managing the expectations of its people (*The Future of South Sudan*, 2011).

Chapters four and five discussed and analyzed specific areas of concern in more depth, while at the same time continuing the emphasis on the inclusive and holistic view of the problematic

of the region. Chapter four focused on the politics of the region in relation to the issues of oil, tribal affiliations and disputed areas. This chapter stressed the interconnection between different elements and factors in understanding the problem from a perspective that was integrated and cohesive.

In terms of general political considerations for both Sudan and South Sudan, in recent months there have been many positive signs of efforts to resolve a number of the issues and conflicts that have plagued relationships. This refers to, among others, recent agreements signed by Sudan and South Sudan, which are seen as being part of a positive trajectory towards peace and stability between the two countries. This refers in particular to the agreement signed between the presidents of Sudan and South Sudan in 2012 relating to a number of economic and security arrangements that go some way towards resolving a number of the areas of contention and bodes well for the future. (South Sudan-Sudan agrees on oil but not border). However, while these positive signs should in no sense be discounted, there are still many areas of political and social disagreement and discord. For example, there is still no final consensus between the two countries on how to deal with the issue of Abyei.

Central to the issue of a political resolution to the numerous areas of conflict between the two countries is the problem of trust; which in turn is linked to the relative perceptions that different parties have of one another. As Attree (2012, p.3) cogently states; "efforts to reach compromises have been held back by mutual suspicion and a dangerous tendency towards brinkmanship by both sides" (Attree, 2012, p. 3). This is a central facet of this research that will form part of the recommendations and future research section of this chapter.

The issue of oil was once again addressed. The fact that Sudan had proven oil reserves of 6.614 billion barrels with 0.53 % of the world's reserves as of 2007 (Sudan Oil - proved reserves), was stressed. The point made in many studies and by numerous commentators is that the issue of oil is a central component in the conflict and continued tension between North and South Sudan. Furthermore, an analysis of the history of oil in the region clearly shows its links with the various conflicts and issues that make up the texture of Sudan's decades of internal tensions.

In this study the intention has not been merely to describe or draw up a composite picture of the political situation in South Sudan and its possible outcomes. Rather the central aim and intention has been to show the links and the interrelationships between the various factors, problem areas and points of contention that make up the often dense and convoluted texture

of the political terrain in the region; and which also include the way that politics is intertwined with social, ethnic and religious facets in the country.

Oil should therefore never be seen as being an isolated or separate factor in the present to future situation of the country – an understanding which becomes even more transparent when one considers the influence and impact of China. As Sanders (2012,p.1) points out, the allocation of resources between North and South has been the catalyst for tension and conflict, which is exacerbated by the fact that the oil fields are in the South, while the pipelines, refining and export infrastructure are located in the North. When one combines this fact with the economic reality of South Sudan (98 percent of the revenue for the Government of South Sudan's (GoSS) comes from oil), then the gravity of the situation becomes clear.

Tribal affiliations also form an important part of the political and cultural makeup of the country and the region. This also includes indissoluble links between tribal affiliation, ethnicity and religion, which all have an impact of the politics of the country. One also has to take into account that there are approximately 570 tribes in Sudan linked to 56 ethnic groups (Gatkuoth, 1995: p. 206). Understanding this complexity is also exacerbated by the different definitions of the terms "tribal" and ethnicity, as Paglia (2008:p.12) points out. Tribal affiliations therefore should realistically be considered in a multivalent context in terms of the many other factors that determine political affiliation and leanings – which increases the complexity of the cultural tapestry of the region.

In this regard Paglia (2008:p.12) also suggests a broader analysis and cognisance of the concept of the tribe and its impact on the structure and future of society in South Sudan. This important point is emphasized by Adeldong (2010:p.14). This is also aligned to a view put forward by a number of critics that the system of governance in South Sudan should be understood as a 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 ROSS. There are some ministries in the ROSS which look and sound like tribal gathering venues; for some tribal rituals to be performed therein" (Tombe, 2012: p.12).

There is also the perception to consider that tribal affiliations are linked the problem of crime and corruption in government – a factor that has serious implications for political stability and development. As one commentator notes; "the ROSS is proving ungovernable because all formal institutions of governance in the ROSS have been transformed into informal institutions of Tribocracy" (Tombe, 2012). Assertions of this nature need to be taken into account in

ascertaining the level of political instability in the region and the country. Tombe (2012) points out that tribalization of all institutions of governance is counterproductive and in radical opposition to the modernisation of the New Government. Governing South Sudan (2002) is a report on the findings from focus groups with men and women in South Sudan, found that tribalism was a pervasive factor in government in both Sudan and South Sudan and it is accompanied by evidence of preferential treatment, nepotism and bias that has a negative impact on perceptions of political equality in the country (Cook and Moro, 2012) This has led to the view that the issue of tribalism is a major stumbling block to political stability and the perception of fair governance in the country and in the region as a whole.

This in turn also leads to the very important but complex issue of national identity. As has been noted in the above discussion, the issue of national identity is possibly one of the most crucial issues facing the newly formed South Sudan. Note should also be taken of the view put forward by Meyers (2010:15) that the goals of national unity have been replaced by independence rather than national integration.

Chapter five explored the important aspects of outside influence and religion in more depth. In terms of outside influence it was decided to focus mainly on China as a central influencer in the region; while at the same time acknowledging the influence of other Western and Eastern countries. One of the reasons for this decision was that the influence of China was closely linked to other important factors, such as the issue of oil.

China has an extensive and relatively long history of association with Sudan. Since 1959 it has been an active and is in many senses a determining player in the oil sector. What becomes clear from an analysis of this association is the way that China has also been an influence in determining various political as well as social patterns in the region. This influence was also increased by the sanctions imposed by Western countries in 1997. This led to China owned multi-billion dollar investments in Sudan that were predominantly concentrated in Sudan's oil sector (Sanders, 2012: p. 8). Furthermore, in 2011 the Chinese government provided a grant of USD 31.5 million to South Sudan for development projects in the areas of water supply, education, health and agriculture (Sanders, 2012: p. 8).

However, the role that China has played in the region extends even further and includes more negative aspects such as weapons and military training and the protection on both a physical and political level for those enter into an agreement with China – which in turn has obvious political implications. There are various studies which cite documented proof of Chinese

influence in terms of the supply of military equipment; such as the sale of fifty Chinese-manufactured Z-6 helicopters to the Sudanese government, as well as the provision of technical repair services by Harbin Dongan Engine, a Chinese company (Goldstone, Hostetler, & Small, 2008:p.98). As will be discussed, this is a fertile area for future research and assessment in terms of the implications for the political stability of the South Sudan government and the region as a whole.

Religion is an essential factor in the holistic understanding of the politics of the two countries has been extensively examined in the present study. What also becomes clear from this analysis is that religion cannot be isolated from a multitude of other facets, such as ethnicity and political affiliation. What also becomes evident is that the religious complex of the region cannot be simplified in terms of an Islamic –Christian divide; although this divide does exist and is an intrinsic part of the complexity of the region. One also has to take into account the history of the region and the way in which religious sentiment has been linked to colonialism and other pressures over time. This also refers to the continued adherence to traditional religions in many areas. One has to bear in mind the fact that the Islam has been the dominant religion in the region, which resulted in actual and perceived marginalization of other religions: and which has had a decided impact on political affiliation. The issue of religious discrimination is therefore a sensitive and important aspect that forms part of any holistic understanding of the political and cultural situation in South Sudan.

### 5.3. Recommendations and Further Study

A central recommendation that has been the pervasive theme of this thesis is that 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. While it is a fairly straightforward process to isolate issues such as oil or ethnic discrimination and propose changes in political direction, this approach is essentially limited if one does not take into account the myriad other factors and affects that influence the situation. For example, the political situation between the two countries is linked to the issue of oil production and transport but this cannot be fully understood or resolved without taking into account other factors, such as the influence of outside countries and ethnic and tribal affiliations. In other words, an inclusive and integrative approach to the issues at stake is recommended.

The above view also leads to a number of important areas for further research and analysis. The present thesis has introduced and explored the problematic of political development in South Sudan from a holistic perspective and this in turn has led to the realization that there are a number of central areas that require further and more in-depth research and analysis. Possibly one of the most significant questions to arise from the research in this thesis is the following; how can the positive relationships between Sudan and South Sudan be facilitated? How will the future intersections between the two countries on a political as well as a social and economic level take place in a positive direction? These are very complex and weighty questions that lead to even further questions and problems that need to be analysed in depth.

Kimenyi (2010:p.21) notes the following points that are germane to the discussion in this thesis.

South Sudan was born out of a divorce that culminated from a clearly non- consensual marriage. For decades, the people of the South and North lived in a state of war as the South sought to separate from a union it considered oppressive and that disadvantaged its people. The demand for autonomy from the North was evidenced by the overwhelming support in the referendum that led to the creation of South Sudan. The people of South Sudan expected that the dissolution of the union would end many years of conflict between the two nations. However, now after almost one year since the separation, the post-divorce relations between the two Sudan's are on a downward trend; one that could easily result in escalation of war (Kimenyi, 2010:p.7).

The above is quoted at length as I feel that it summarizes the overall feeling or attitudinal complex that exists in South Sudan and which is central to understanding the underlying problematic that face future relationships between South Sudan and Sudan. The author of the above article also makes the following essential observation. "Without good relations, the high expectation of a better future will remain a mirage, In fact, unless the recurring disputes are resolved amicably and soon, it will be hard to talk about development in South Sudan at all" (Kimenyi, 2010: p.7).

This reflection is essential with regard to a full understanding of the present and future situation in the country. Kemenyi (2010: p.23) frames the above discussion in this thesis by an analysis of the central areas of contention that are the key to healthy future relationships between the countries. This leads to a number of important recommendations for further study. To reiterate, it is the contention of the present study that an holistic perspective is

necessary in order to achieve the required political, social and economic stability that the region requires to develop – and that if these factors are seen in an isolated light and not in relation to each other, then this ideal will not be achievable.

A cardinal factor that requires more input and research data is the issue of trust. Central to the issue of a political resolution to the numerous areas of conflict between the two countries is the issue of trust; which in turn is linked to the relative perceptions that different parties have of one another. This is an area that would require extensive data input and research across a broad range of variables and factors.

Another area that is pertinent to the contemporary situation in the country is the question of oil and the economy. This should be seen in a broader context and against the background of the future potential of the country.

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 Sudan region. One also has to take into account various closely related concepts such as ethnicity and religion in the practical consideration of problems and solutions.

There is also the perception to consider that tribal affiliations are linked to the problem of crime and corruption government – a factor that has serious implications for political stability and development. Possibly, one of the most neglected areas of research is the issue of national identity and the perception of citizenship in South Sudan. The reason for the importance of this aspect is that national identity implies national and social unity, which is a pivotal element in the growth and development of South Sudan and the region as a whole. One can refer to the study by Meyers (2010:p.12) in this regard who refers to the vital importance of the goal of national unity and national integration in the creation of an integrated and cohesive country. This also suggests the significance of state-building in the future of both countries – which is an area that is certainly deserving of more extensive research.

An issue that is ongoing and which also deserves close scrutiny is the impact and influence of foreign countries on the political trajectory of South Sudan and the region as a whole; this refers to China in particular but also to other countries such as India which also play an important role in oil and other investment opportunities in the country.

In conclusion, It is felt that this study has achieved its purpose – namely to understand the necessary factors that prevent or act as obstacles to political stability. Furthermore, this analysis has also revealed the many possible opportunities that are available for future growth, development and positive political intersections. However, it is felt that the present study has in reality only been a prolegomena to a more extensive study of the way in which these various factors, issues and variables intersect to create the unique political and social situation that we find in South Sudan.

In essence this study constitutes a beginning that leads to the obvious question; how this political rapprochement is to be achieved. The above recommendations can be seen to act as a basis for such a study, which would require a more intense and in-depth analysis of those facets that would be needed to act as catalysts for full reconciliation, leading to the achievement of a much-needed state of political stability and understanding in the region and in South Sudan in particular.

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## Appendix i: Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This form outlines the objectives of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant. This study is part of Masters Requirement at. Its purpose is to assess and analyse the current political challenges in the new state of South Sudan.

The information from this study will be used to write a thesis as requirement for the Masters Degree. The study report may be used as a reference for students for their dissertations. We guarantee that respondents' anonymity is fully assured and that your participation in this research is voluntary; and you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and any corresponding information will be destroyed.

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Please tick [] the appropriate box for your answers. RESPONDENT'S IDENTIFICATION

- 1 Please what is your gender?    [] male                    [] female
- 2 Please select your age group.  
[ ] below 20 yrs [ ] 20 –29yrs [ ] 30-3yrs [ ] 40 –49yrs [ ] 50yrs and above
- 3 What is your occupation?    [] Politician [ ] student [ ] Diplomat [ ] Journalist ] UN [ ] other
4. How long have your been a keen follower of the politics in Sudan and South Sudan?  
[ ] below 5 yrs [ ] 10 –20yrs [ ] 20-30yrs [ ] 40 yrs and above

Qn1. What do you think are the major challenges facing South Sudan?

Qn2. From the challenges above, how do you think each influences and shapes the political landscape of South Sudan?

Qn.3. In your opinion, what do you think can be done to all the challenges mentioned in 1 and 2 to create and move towards sustainable solution?

## Appendix ii: Informed Consent Information

### Informed Consent Form

- 1 I confirm that I have read and understand the purpose of the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions
- 2 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
- 3 I agree that the information I give can be anonymised in an academic paper.

..... Name of participant Date Signature

Researchers' contacts: