Ethnic Configuration as a Bane to Political Crisis in Africa with South Sudan in Perspective

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Abstract

The study undertook the historical back ground of South Sudan and their political history. From the two civil wars they fought with Sudan, before they were allowed to conduct a referendum which ushered them to independence. However upon independence they had issues with oil field sharing with Sudan which made them shut down their oil production for about six months. There were excess money which accrued from crude production and sell which went into wrong hands, to the extent that ordinary man on the street was dealing on oil through the 'back door'. However, a major catalyst to the crisis was the mutual suspicion and overzealous ambitions of political class, particularly between the President Kiir and former Vice President Bachar. Their ethnic cleavages did not help matters as they brought it in into a political crisis that ordinarily needed a political solution. Arms proliferations worsen the situation, as well as unprofessionalism in the army recruitment, as they recruited based on ethnic loyalty. Unfortunately International interventions did not help issues. Leading the great carnage committed in the cause of the war, with its huge losses in term of properties, public buildings, human lives, etc. The study took a critical and peculiar nature of this crisis and came up with hypothesis to mitigate future occurrence and how to bring a lasting peace to the environment bedeviled by this crisis. Secondary sources of data which are literatures from various sources were used. Group theory as well as Game theory was the major anchor of theoretical analysis. Various concepts were carefully analysed. The lesson from this study can be applied to the various parts of the world where similar crisis hold sway to find amicable solution to them.

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Introduction

South Sudan is located in Central African region. It is also reach in Oil. It is one of the poorest developed nations in the globe. Only 15 percent of its populace possessed mobile phone. Only few roads are tarred in the country. On July 9, 2011, the state of South Sudan had her independence. This was after a long battle and civil war with North Sudan, which is now known as Sudan, which started in the 1950's. In the preceding month to December 2013, Former Vice President, Riek Machar was fired, after he was accused by President Salva Kiir of coup plot against the government. Vice President Riek Machar has consistently denied this allegation. Also, the cabinet of President Salva Kiir was dissolved and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)'s leadership structure was dismantled. These actions by the government of Salva Kiir created tension.

 On December 15, 2013 a barely two years after her independence, a major military turmoil erupted. A group of the military was loyal to President Salva Kiir. The group was also against a breakaway faction of the Presidential guards of the army which backed the former Vice President, Riek Machar. The former Vice President, Riek Machar and his allies were accused of attempted coup by the President. Some of them were arrested and sent to prison. From the Capital city of Juba, the crisis spread to other parts of the State. By 2014, February to be precise, many of the fighter and civilians alike were killed. More than a million people have gone into exile because of this crisis. East African heads of States intervened to resolve the issue at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Yet all these interventions did not yield the desired results as fighting and violence continued unabated in South Sudan. The vast preexisting needs and developmental challenges of the country was compounded by the fighting of the Country's army and other militia forces loyal to President Silva Kiir against militia forces loyal to Vice President Riek Machar. After series of defaults by both parties of dates for cessation of hostilies by Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), an East African regional entity, they eventually signed an agreement on August 2015, which Kiir signed with much reservation more than a week after Machar, calling it divisive and an attack on South Sudan's sovereignty. Even

though both of them publicly declared that they will implement the agreement, however, progress on the implementation was stalled after signing the agreement. However fighting decreased but arms conflict continued. Both sides repeatedly violated the ceasefire agreement before coming together to form a new Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) which they initially disagreed on mode of constitution, in late April, 2016. This was six months behind schedule. Machar, the leader of opposition returned to Juba to assume role as the first Vice President, as the sharing formular stipulates, under the transitional government. All the efforts n made by the mediation team to demilitarize the capital city was to no avail.

Historical Back ground

After the emergence of South Sudan in 2011 as the latest country in the world, and among the least developed in the globe, for the oil rich South Sudan, it was a thing of joy. This is because the country was engulfed in civil war with its parent country, Sudan for almost 40 years. In the process, 2.5 million lives were lost, while 4.5 million people were displaced (Blanchard, 2016). On January 2011, the country organized a successful referendum, which ushered them to self governance. South Sudan inherited their oil fields back from Sudan after the independence. It is very pertinent to note that Sudan made 75% of its revenue from these same oil fields that South Sudan inherited from Sudan (Blanchard, 2016). Yet poverty became order of the day among its populace. Furthermore, there was wide spread and high level state corruption, which hindered development and slowed down post war recovery despite these natural resources inherited from Sudan.

While it was a big surprise to many at the speed at which the conflict in South Sudan unfolded. Many factors contributed to this impasse. The Greater Upper Nile Region that included Towns of Bor and Malakal has been at the middle of the crisis between SPLA soldiers and the rebels. The state of Jonglei to be specific has continued to experience crisis before and after the independence of South Sudan in 2011 (Zambakari, and Kang, 2014) Others factors were attributed to post independence curses which were evident in India, Haiti, South Americans among others. Furthermore, there were serious humanitarian needs, even after the independence, irrespective of the abundance natural resources which included oil fields (Blanchard, 2016).

South Sudan was the world highest recipient of humanitarian aids in 2013. In December 2013, political tension among key South Sudan leader led to violence. This political dispute was not based on ethnic identity of the leaders involved, rather it was traced to pre-existing ethnic and political grievances overlapped with ethnic identity of the leaders, which led to armed clashes that resulted to ethnic killings in Juba, the capital city and beyond (Blanchard, 2016). Hundreds of civilians that were killed in Juba were of Machar's ethnic group, the Nuer. In retaliation, the Nuers started killing the Dinkas, President Salva Kiir's ethnic group.

Continued fighting between elements of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and Sudan People's Liberation Army In Opposition (SPLA-IO) led by the ex-Vice President, Riek Machar, this was the biggest and multi ethnic opposition group, as well as other militia rebels continued throughout the country. (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2017) The number of rebel groups is on continuous increase. Six of them were indentified, which does not include local factions. However, the groups could be much more than the six identified. Apart from the first two earlier mentioned, others include, National Salvation Front (NSF), led by Thomas Cirilo Swaka and the third is the National Democratic Movement (NDM), led by former Agricultural Minister, Lam Akol. The rest are People's Democratic Movement (PDM), led by Hakim Dario and South Sudan National Movement for Change (SSNMC), led by Joseph Bangasi Bakosoro, the former governor of Western Equatorial (Tchie, 2017). Most of the fighting were by political and ethnic militia (Kishi, 2014). Thomas Swaka who was the leader of National Salvation Front (NSF) was the former head of logistics in the Military. He accused President Salva Kiir of tribalism by alleging that he has turned Sudan's People Liberation Army (SPLA) into an exclusively Dinka 'tribal army'. This is because the President is from Dinka tribe (Tchie, 2017).

The fighting was intense in Upper Nile area. It was alleged that the government of Sudan is sponsoring some militia to be fighting here in exchange of oil blocks in the future (Tchie, 2017). There were increased violence against mankind, particularly the civilian populace, such as killings, destruction of homes, sexual violence, looting of livestocks and property. There were famine. Also, starvation, gang rape and burning of villages were on increase. (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2017) Also wild spread extra judicial killings, torture, child abuse and abduction on both sides of the divide. The Country was devastated by the conflict, which

prevented the development of basic infrastructure such as formal civilian Institution, human capital among others.

Conceptual analysis

SPLM

This means Sudan People's Liberation Movement. It is a political party in South Sudan. It was initially founded as the political wing of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which was chief protagonist of the second Sudanese Civil War in 1983. These groups were banned in the Republic of Sudan. It is currently active primarily in the States of Blue Nile and South Kordofan, where its military wing is involved in active insurgency against the State of Sudan.

SPLA

Sudan People's Liberation Army. This is the army of the republic of South Sudan. This was founded as a guerrilla movement in 1983. It was a key participant in the second Sudanese Civil War. Throughout the war, it was led by John Garang. Following John Garang's death in 2005, Salva Kiir was named the new commander in chief . As of 2013, the SPLA had an estimated 210,000 soldiers.

SPLA/M-IO

Sudan people Liberation Army In Opposition or Sudan People Liberation Movement In Opposition. This is known as Anti Government Forces (AGF), is a mainly South Sudanese political party and rebel group that split from Sudan People's Liberation Movement in 2013as a result of political tension between President Salva Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar over the leadership of the SPLM. Tension grew between the forces loyal to Kiir and Machar and South Sudan thrown into conflict. They have vowed to continue to fight in South Sudan until there is a regime change in the country.

IGAD

Intergovernmental Authority on Development is an eight country trade block in Africa. It is located in East Africa. It was created in 1996 to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) that was founded in 1986, to deal with issues related to drought and desertification in the Horn Africa, the recurring and severe droughts and other natural disasters. It includes governments from the Horn of Africa, Nile Valley and the African Great Lakes. Its headquarters is in Djibouti city. It came into existence with a new name and organizational structure.

Methodology

The major sources of data for this work were derived from secondary sources. These includes books, journals, articles, various media, both print and electronics. A careful review of these sata sources was ensured in order not to compromise the integrity of the data as well as to verify their validity.

Theoretical Framework

'Social scientists in the course of finding answers to social questions are confronted with the dilemma of approach and methods (Akinboye and Basiru, 2014) Hence Onah (2010) opine that we refer to existing knowledge concerning a particular issue or phenomenon as we undertake a new developments concerning the issue or phenomenon. Such existing knowledge is usually in form of theories or deductions base on existing data. According to Akinboye and Ottoh (2005) 'theory should have a universal applicability and one should be able to make generalizations on it.' Therefore for the theoretical framework of this paper, two theories will come to play. They are; Group theory and Game. Theory. Group theory is because of the ethnic connotation of the crisis, while Game theory is because the situation deteriorated to war situation. With proper theoretical framework, our analysis will be smooth and seamless.

Group Theory

This is one of theories use in political analysis. It is universally applicable both in local socio political situation or international event. This theory was propounded by Arthur Bentley and

David Truman. It originated from Sociology. It started from the earlier writings on pluralism. Pluralism is the recognition that a society is an aggregate of diverse groups or collectivity. Therefore Group Theory is rooted on the earlier writings on pluralism.

According to this theory, a society is composed of different groups or entities. There is no homogeneity in any society. There are various diversities in issues of tribe, ethnicity, religion, geography, landscape among others. They insist that everything that happened in the society is mainly concerned with the interaction of every group. Thus, the study of various component groups that make up the society is what the group theorist concerns themselves with. For instance, sitting a project, if that project is sited in a particular zone or region or area, and another project is about to be sited in the same zone, region or area, other groups within the country from other zones will protest. The protest is not that the project is wrong, but about concentrating it in a particular zone, while other zones are yet to have one.

Therefore a group is a collection of individuals with shared attitudes and interests on the basis of which certain claims and demands are made upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, and enhancing preferred values. Thus, a society cannot be made up of one group. Within Nigeria, there are many religious and ethnic groups. A group will not be relevant if the members of the group do not share same interest or common interest. Therefore this definition goes further to say that it is on the basis of the group interest that one group can lay claim on other groups. Hence groups are define or known by their activities, who are in turn define by their interests. Generally groups have their interests and their interests determine their activities. The term interest is central to the group we can say that every interest in the society have groups championing them. Therefore this theory insists that the society is made up of the group that composes it. Hence, if Nigeria is 180 million in population, it is assumed that it is total of the various groups in the country. Every society there is equal to the groups that make up the society. These theorists argued that political system is the arena through which the various groups play out the pursuit of their of their interests. All the interests are pursued within a political system. In this situation, government itself is both a group and a mediator of group interest. Each group will have no less that 11 demands. Government is a group because it has its own interest, for instance, fighting recession, inflation, unemployment among others. Therefore,

if the group demands are becoming too much, the government will transform from being a group to mediator of the group interest. In addition to government mediation, societal stability is maintained by number of actors, mainly crosscutting or overlapping group membership as well as the balance of group pressure. For example, if the membership of a society is sharply demarcated. Examples of overlapping situation or crosscutting is when someone from one tribe or religion, marries another of a different tribe or religion.. For instance in Nigeria, an Igbo woman who is a Christian marrying an Hausa man who is a Moslem. These serves as tools for maintenance of the societal stability

Causes of the Crises

A school of thought traced the causes of the crisis to independence curse. It alleges that as a newly independent nation, that available records and history were not always kind to post independent nations. In other words, new independent countries are always involved to one crisis or the other. It went further to give examples with post independent Haiti in 1804, post independent South America in 1827, post independent India in 1947, post independent Congo in 1960, and of a recent post independent East Timor in 2002. These are some of the examples with independence curse, as they went into serious political crisis after their various independence (Sangmpam, 2014).

There is this spillover effect of the civil war that South Sudan fought with the parent country, Sudan, which also affected the strengthening of Government institutions, which were very weak as at the time of the independence of South Sudan. The failure of the political competitors to take off from the table their irresolvable differences affected the smooth governance of the State. Hence, political competition does not allow compromise on institutional and policy framework. This has resulted to instability in governance (Sangmpam, 2014).

South Sudan is a subsistence economy, practically; all the government revenues are derived from oil. At this period, management of influx of oil money was very challenging. These hampered government control in general and rural communities in particular (Rolandsen, 2015). The ordinary people on the street prefer the informal sector economic interaction than the formal sector of the government, to the extent that ordinary people benefit from the oil revenues. The

weak nature of the government apparatus made the political power vested in the hands of the civil administration and the military. Hence control of government revenues are part of informal power. This has made the oil business all comers' affairs, because of the inability of government to effectively regulate the sector. The political class lacks credibility, thus making the political system fragile and lacking in stability (Rolandsen, 2015). For instance, from 2005 – 2012, state officials have stolen about $4billion from the State coffers. This has cause hyperinflation to the state as its consequences (Sangmpam, S. N., 2014). State funds were stolen by the elites or spent on the militia. (de Waal, 2016).

As a post colonial state, Sudan was factionalized into various ethnic and tribal divides which was carried over to South Sudan. Therefore South Sudan is more complex than Nuer-Dinka dichotomy. The people are heterogeneous internally and political divided as obtainable in many post colonial African states with multiple languages and religious groups (Sangmpam, S. N., 2014). The two main protagonists of the conflicts, President Kiir and former Vice President Machar, were overshadowed by their ethnic and tribal interest. Even the rebel fighters were recruited based on tribal allegiance (Sangmpam, S. N., 2014). Hence the military was not professionalized (de Waal, 2016). This is the main reason that the crisis turned from political crisis to conflict. Military were recruited based on personal loyalty to the commander, otherwise known in Nigerian term as 'man knows man'. Therefore the army was ethnically oriented (de Waal, 2016).

Individuals, professional groups and social classes had their own role in the conflicts. For example, both President Kiir, his former Vice President Machar, the bureaucratic officials and the military class all have personal and professional interests and ambitions that ignited the crisis to some extent (Sangmpam, S. N., 2014). Hence, the former Vice President Machar wanted power so desperately that was not willing to follow the procedure thus, his sack by President Kiir on the allegation of impatience which was the result of plotting a coup.

Another factor to the origin of the crisis is a combination of hubris arising from international indulgence post-independence and excess of money from oil showed that the political leaders of the country made colossal errors, which included shutting down their national oil production for six months after independence because of a dispute with Northern Sudan (de Waal, 2016). For a

politically unstable South Sudan, this was an ill advice and unwise decision. At independence, the hopes of international community were not what were on ground. Therefore the current crisis in South Sudan amounts to failure by international community to ensure democratic stability of the new state (Maru, 2015).

The mechanism for political management of state apparatus has collapsed, thus the implementation of President Kiir 'big tent' policy which in practice is the use of state funds to buy loyalty by licensing corruption required a large funding. Unfortunately the funds were no longer available. Furthermore the political competition within the ruling party intensified among all the members of the political class (Maru, 2015).

The confrontation between army officers loyal to President Salva Kiir and disgruntled soldiers in the presidential palace led to the deteriorated of the crisis to a conflict situation. While the African Union (AU) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have anaysed the development as a crisis situation, President Kiir claims that the orgy constitutes a military coup attempt. The President subsequently ordered the immediate arrest of the Vice President, Rick Machar, several former ministers, and veteran leaders of the SPLM, serving in his cabinet, such as Pagan Amum, Oyayi Deng, Deng Alor, John Luk Jok, Majak D'Agoot, Taban Deng, Kosti Manibe, Gier Chuang, Peter Adwok, Alfred Lado, Cirino Hiting and Chol Tong (Maru, 2015).

Another speculator to the crisis was the, despite that tension within SPLM has been brewing for some time, in recent years the schisms within the SPLM has been very conspicuous. In 2013, the public viewed President Kiir leadership style as autocratic and in some aspects unconstitutional, especially the dismissal of the entire South Sudan cabinet and two democratically elected State Governors. All these dismissals and suspension of key SPLM figures were seen as attempts to silence the critics of President Kiir and stripe them of public functions. This decision was seen as ill considered. However, on 14th December 2013 at the meeting of national Liberation Council, the top leadership of the SPLM brought about the waterloo of the latter (Maru, 2015).

President Kiir's October 2015 decree which resulted in his decision to create additional States, from the original 10 States to 28 States added impetus to the already tensed environment. Critics

opined that the new boundaries have altered the ethnic balance of the state and magnified local competitions over lands and resources (Blanchard,2016).

The Political Crisis/Conflict

The crisis had resulted in clashes around the country, hence mass killings along ethnic lines. Machar's tribe, the Nuer were major targets as the government forces conducted house to house search to arrest and kill the Nuers. In the process, a Nuer journalist working for USAID was reportedly killed during the July 11 attack on Terrain, a residential compound popular with aid workers and expatriates. Clashes have continued mainly in the areas that used to be calm when the conflicts started (Blanchard, 2016). Both President Kiir and former Vice President Machar had strong loyalties and supporters, while forces loyal to Mr Machar had captured the key town of Bentiu, capital of the oil producing Unity State (BBC News, 2014). Violence in Wau, in western Bahr el Ghazal, the largest city in the country and in parts of the greater Equatorial region has created mass refugees in and around the cities (Blanchard,2016). Furthermore, a clash between a small number of government forces and opposition on 7th July increased the tension and probably contributed to several incidents that evening in which diplomatic vehicles in the city sustained gun attacks (Blanchard,2016).   In one of such incidents, a UN official was attacked and injured. Also two US embassy vehicles carrying seven US citizens were attacked by government forces at a road block; however, their weapons and bullets could not penetrate the bullet proofed vehicles.

The combatants were involved in general impunity. On the side of the South Sudan government, the forces were involved in a lot of impunities which were overlooked by the government because they are seen as good boys. Some of these impunities include rapes and beatings of aid workers and civilians by soldiers (de Waal, 2016). According to Blanchard (2016), a common feature of the conflict in the areas are the grievances expressed by the local communities, who have accused the military of non professionalism , hence such issues like land grabs, looting, predatory attacks on civilian, extra judicial killings of the perceived opposition supporters were

common. Furthermore, anti governmental elements in these affected areas seemed to exploit the tension situation to their advantages (Blanchard, 2016). Wide spread ethnic cleansing, burning of villages, looming starvation and gang rape had been the order of the day since the conflict erupted (William, 2017). US citizens were physically assaulted during the incidence, as several women were raped (Blanchard, 2016). In their investigations, the US accused the government forces as perpetrators. Furthermore the UN panel of experts concluded that that attacks were well coordinated, rather than an opportunistic act. The action attracted international condemnation and questions were asked on government control of its forces as well as UN's peace keepers' inability to respond to the ugly situation, as they were short distance away. The analysts claimed that US citizens were specifically targeted for abuse by some of the attackers. Even though the government internal security forces eventually rescued the many hours into the attack, however, President Kiir established a commission of inquiry into the incidence in August. Some indicted soldiers were arrested for looting at the premises. Meanwhile rape, assault and other serious offenders are yet to be brought to book (Blanchard, 2016).

The SPLA/M-IO threaten the key areas under government domain especially the Upper Nile oil fields, which will elude the government of South Sudan from all its benefits, such as the revenue from which to pay and sustain its army. Some analysts opined that as a result of increased fighting in Upper Nile State, that some local Shilluk militia were engaged to fight here in exchange of oil fields by Sudanese government. Furthermore, the protracted political crisis has increased in complexity as the key protagonists and antagonists fragment into factions and even form new alliances which led the change in the dynamics of the conflicts. Defections and counter defections had been the order of the day, making a peace deal very challenging and difficult to achieve (Tchie, 2017).

The humanitarian crisis has worsened as about 50,000 people have been killed while 2.3 million have been displaced from their homes which include 1.7million that were internally displaced (Blanchard, 2016). While 6 million people risked starvation (William, 2017). Furthermore 70% of schools have been closed because of the fighting. According to UN reports about 160,000 have fled to neighboring Uganda since the conflict started, 90% of who are women and children (Blanchard, 2016). Their movements are without threats from armed actors as they fled including

rape, killings, looting and child abductions. The repeated looting of aid workers stocks made has deterred aid agencies from pre – positioning supplies in many areas, also logistical challenges and ongoing insecurity have necessitated the costly delivery of food and other aids by air and times through air drops. Government soldiers repeatedly looted the world food program's main ware house in Juba, the capital city resulted in the loss of 4,500 metric tons of food, which on estimate would have fed about 220,000 people for a month. UN officials estimates that over half the country's population need humanitarian aids and more than 4.8 million people, roughly 40% of the population face life threatening hunger. With the commencement of the harvest season in August, it was assumed that there would be marginal improvement in food security in the near term, but experts observed that the extent of hunger would be unprecedented, with parts of the country already facing famine conditions (Blanchard, 2016).

The fighting was so intense that on July 8, as the government and opposition forces are fighting, both sides sustained heavy casualties, to the extent that Machar's security details outside were all killed in the process. Hence, Kiir provided Machar security details that escorted him to his residence. After celebrating their independence on July 9, in a siren atmosphere allover Juba, on July 10, fighting started again and spread over the whole city. The fighting was so intense that it spread over the entire city up to UN quarters where their staff and civilians refugees are housed. Several civilians in the 28,000 quartered civilians' area were killed in the process. UN staffs were not left out, as many of them were wounded as well as two Chinese peace keepers were killed. UN peacekeepers, based at both government and opposition sites in the city did not go out on patrol as they were restrained by the fighting. Government also restrained the UN peacekeepers movements on patrol, because of the intensity of the fightings even long after the fighting ceased on July 11 evening when both Kiir and Machar issued statements of ceasefire (Blanchard, 2016). The opposition forces were overpowered by the government military which used helicopters, armored tanks, armored vehicles and other heavy weapons. The surviving opposition forces fled Juba, while some fled to the UN bases. Machar also fled as his residence was destroyed, he was pursued by the government forces for weeks. He eventually went on exile outside the country (Blanchard, 2016).

Consequences of the Conflicts

The conflicts have grave implications and consequences and implications for South Sudan and the horn of Africa. The SPLM is left with two options. These options are democratization- like that of South Africa after apartheid, despite facing similar challenges of a liberation movement, African Nationalistic Congress (ANC) remains a democratic party; or authoritarianism-like Eritrea which after independence became more authoritarian to the point of being considered as an example of a pariah state under Isaiah Afeworki's two decades of rule . The later would prove more difficult given that Kiir will find the struggle to monopolise state power much more difficult compared to Afeworki who has exercised absolute power for the past two decades. Previous efforts and current interest of international community in determining the fate of South Sudan would also make it almost impossible to maintain any authoritarian state in South Sudan (Maru, 2013).

With its record of successful and unsuccessful secessionist movement, the horn of Africa cannot afford another state failure. Potentially detrimental to the future ambitions of Somaliland, another democratic albeit not yet recognized as de jure state that has declared independence, the current South Sudanese crisis may indicate that secession is not a panacea for all divided nations. In view of the experience of Eritrea and South Sudan, Somaliland must be aware that secession is not a guarantee for peace and democratic stability. This may be used to suppress other secessionist movements in Dafur and other areas in African region (Maru, 2013).

The conflicts has disrupted farming circles, grazing patterns, and trade routes, as well as collapsed of local markets. Many of the displaced persons lost their means of livelihood. Food stuff prices have skyrocketed since the outbreak of the conflict, resulting to inability of many citizenries to meet up with their daily needs. The inflation rate rose to 730% in August 2016, with food cost alone rising to 850% (Blanchard, 2016).

The UN warned that about 6.4 million people in south Sudan will be facing serious food insecurity between January and March 2015, thus $1.81billion will be needed to combat the crisis during 2015. Nevertheless, war ravages are not only felt by South Sudanese 12 million population, but also by neighboring East Africa and other global economies. Other analysts opine that continuous conflicts over the next five years would cost Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan,

Tanzania and Uganda up to $53billion because of the increasing numbers of refugees, security concerns, and other spillovers these neighbors must contend with. For instance, a UN report said that 194,000 South Sudanese refugees have entered Ethiopia since the outbreak of the crisis in December 2013 (Mulupi, 2015). The agency estimated 2015 financial requirements to cater for the refugees in Ethiopia at about $345million (Mulupi, 2015).

Long term escalation of hostilities in South Sudan will make it a second failed state in the East African sub region. This worsens the negative effects the sub regions have faced since the out brake of civil war in Somalia in the 1990s. Furthermore, the reports warns that if conflicts persist for more five years, South Sudan, one of the most impoverished countries in the world, would up to $28billion and have to incur additional spending on security by $2.2billion, also the international community have to spend nearly $30billion on peace keeping and humanitarian assistance (Mulupi, 2015).

The human cost of the conflict includes death, hunger and diseases, which have significant long term impacts. While the effects of hunger on labour productivity could mean a further $6billion in lost GDP (in South Sudan), if the conflict continue for the next five years (Mulupi, 2015).

As successive report of the high commissioner for human rights, UNMISS, the AU and international organizations have documented, there have been numerous, repeated incident and patterns of serious and systematic violence against civilians, in many cases in circumstances in which people were targeted to their ethnic origin (Human Rights Watch, 2016 and Tewodros, 2015 in Aziza, 2017).

 International Response to the Crisis

The exodus of refugees fleeing conflict in South Sudan is a humanitarian tragedy that Uganda and other neighboring countries should not bear alone, according to the newly formed World Refugee Council. The council called on other nations to share the responsibility for protecting refugees, assisting host communities and providing robust support for solidarity summit on refugees, jointly organized by the UN Refugee Agency, the United Nations and the government of Uganda. The council convened for the first time in Geneva to consider the dimensions of and very importantly the solutions to global refugee crises. They will bring an independent voice to

one of the most difficult issues of our time. The situation of South Sudanese refugees is symptomatic of deeper problems in the refugees system that the council will seek to address (World Refugee Council, 2017).

The United States originally supported President Kiir and his promise to bring democracy to South Sudan. The Obama government later became divided on how to resolve the conflict. The former US Secretary of State, John Kerry had strongly urged the administration to utilize the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to limit or stop the flow of arms into the country. National Security Adviser, Susan Rice, however, has stated that the arms embargo would undermine the democratically elected government's ability to defend its self. Despite this internal disagreement, the US presented UNSC members with a draft resolution that would restrict travel and freeze the assets of individuals interfering with the regional security. The US carried out through with this process due to misgivings about the IGAD sponsored peace agreement, and its pushing the draft to a vote. Ultimately the US has stated that the problem will best be addressed with international and regional backing (Muse-Fisher, 2015). Also Russia and China, both permanent members of UN Security Council resisted calls for an arm embargo against the government in Juba.

The UNSC, Under Secretary General of Peacekeeping Operations Herve Ladsous presented bleak prospects for the conflict and the resolution process between the two sides (Muse-Fisher, 2015). Furthermore, International Community has repeatedly called on South Sudan's leaders to implement the peace agreement signed in August 2015. But it has failed to exert enough pressure to nudge things along. This matter both for South Sudan and for the world. Mass atrocities in any one place can undermine the entire international system of collective security by calling into question UN security council ability to live up to its responsibility as the authority tasked by law with maintaining international peace and security.

Summary and Conclusion

From the literatures at my disposal, we can see how the agitation from secession from Sudan later trigger a worse crisis turned conflict in South Sudan which ordinary should have been more united, because they are mainly of Christian background irrespective of their ethnic differences,

unlike Northern Sudan that differ in both religion and tribe. However the reverse was the case as the world has watched one of the worst internal Conflicts in South Sudan in the history of mankind. These were not unconnected with ethnicity and greed for power by the political furthermore, corruption in governance and by the political elite. Shutting down oil production for six months affected the young country very negatively. The abuse of crude production and sell as well as unregulated oil business transactions in a corrupt system worsens the already tensed situation. Nuclear arms proliferation did not help matters, as it worsen the conflicts situation. The subsequent humanitarian crisis that ensued was avoidable if the political class had played by the rule. Hence billions of dollars of loses were incurred by the government. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost, as well as public goods and properties. Despites all the efforts of international community to bring peace to the trouble area, yet the warring factions were defiant and not yielding.

Recommendations

Having seen ordeal of South Sudan in their new found country, it is pertinent to state unequivocally that separatist agitations does not necessarily lead to good governance, rather, restructuring which usher in true federalism should be vigorously pursued, where every zone, region, geo-polity or state will control what they have and pay certain percentage to the centre. This will make the centre not to be attractive enough to the extent of killing and maiming in order to gain ascendancy to the top.

International communities should discourage unnecessary secessionist agitations as it disadvantages can be very disastrous.

Often times Oil as a mineral resource has done more harm than good to the economy of the countries in the Sothern hemisphere as their political leaders often times fight for its control which makes them to ignore other vital aspects of economic development and well as economic diversification.

Furthermore, the two major protagonists in South Sudan crisis should have been arrested and prosecuted in World Court at Hague for offences against humanity.

African leader and other leaders in the South should vigorously pursue economic diversification in order to enhance their economies and create jobs for their teaming populace rather than pursuing mono economic agendum.

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