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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS IN SOUTH SUDAN: THE POST- INDEPENDENCE CHALLENGES^[1]

ABSTRACT

South Sudan attained its emancipation in 2011, after a long war with Sudan (Northern Sudan). Just three years after independence, it was pushed into a series of domestic civil wars. This article investigates the socio-political challenges in South Sudan, its main causes and the outcomes of the civil war crisis. It assesses the problem of the power struggle between major ethnic groups, the role of livestock in traditional and recent conflicts, the case of women and girls as the most victimized part of the community during the civil war, and internal as well as external refugee crisis. Apart from that, efforts of regional and international organizations such as the African Union (AU), United Nations (UN), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), their individual and collective involvement in the search for the last solution during the ongoing civil war will be explored. This research is based on qualitative data content analysis.

KEYWORDS: *South Sudan, independence, conflict, international, organizations*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

South Sudan is a country as large as Germany and France Together (Johnson, 2011, s. 4) Up to 2011, Sudan and South Sudan were one state. After years of civil war, the southern part separated and turned out to be one of the globe's most recent states known as South Sudan. The origin of the Sudan conflict is related to the colonial period. There is a general acceptance among researchers that the division between the North and the South was driven by the British colonialists, who encouraged social and economic investment in the North under the so-called Southern Policy applied between 1920 and 1947. After independence, the fundamental division was worsened by the northern elite that came into power and led to 17 years of civil war between the North and the South (Maystadt, et.al, 2014, Waal, 2014, p. 3).

Hilde F. Johnson writes that it is the sad truth waging peace is always much harder than waging war, fortunately, it is infinitely more rewarding. He further states, "*The Comprehensive Peace Accord that ends Sudan's second civil war in 2005 took almost three years to mature and would never have been signed had it not been for the dedication of a small number of individuals from Sudan and the broadest international community*" (Johnson, 2011: VI; De Waal, 2014, p. 347). For almost 2 decades Sudan's North-South conflict was one of those complicated troublesome problems that seemed away from solution without the larger policy environment were to change radically. Hilde indicates, that the tragic events of September 11, 2001, caused such a transformation and provided the momentum for Comprehensive Peace Agreement between Sudan and South Sudan. He argues that without the sense of urgency, the governing elite in Khartoum (North Sudan) would have agreed to the required negotiations. According to him, this was advantageous as external consultations, their very indispensability also helped to draw attention to the scale of the internal impasse in Sudan (Johnson, 2011. VI).

Sudan got its liberation on January 1, 1956, from the *Anglo-Egyptian Condominium*, the joint British and Egyptian government that governed Sudan. The post-independence state came with a rich variety of over 600 ethnic groups speaking more than 400 languages.

The northern part of the country, present-day (North Sudan) making up about 65% of the country, is predominately Muslim with a variety of mixed ethnicities that fall within the wider groupings of *African* and *Arab*. The southern regions, which now make up the separate country of South Sudan, are mainly Christian and animist with different ethnicities within the wider classification of *African*. From 1930 to 1953 the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium governed northern and southern Sudan separately, favorable to the already distinctive ethnic and religious disparities between the two territories (Operation Broken Silence, 2019). Sudan's constitution lacked two important matters in Sudanese culture. This has led to various conflicts ever since:

- A. it didn't clearly state whether Sudan should be a secular or Islamist state;
- B. the country's system of national governance failed to incorporate the majority of Sudanese and safeguard the rights of large minorities.

The Arab-led regime of Sudan based in Khartoum failed to fulfill its assurances to Southerners to build an inclusive federal structure (Operation Broken Silence, 2019).

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

The Initial Sudanese Civil War was a conflict between the northern and southern regions of Sudan between 1955 and 1972 for 12 years. The war began before the independence of Sudan from Great Britain. The major fighters in the war were the central regime of Sudan and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). Great Britain, Egypt, and the Soviet Union backed the central leadership of Sudan while the SSLM was supported by Ethiopia, Uganda, and Israel. Two-thirds of Northern Sudan were Muslims while Christianity or aboriginal religions were most common in the south. Ethnically, Northern Sudanese people spoke Arabic and associated with Saudi Arabia and North Africa while the Southerners looked to the recently-independent countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Southern Sudanese armed forces were in short of the structure to start a major attack against the north, so, they were forced

to launch a rebel war. The first uprising to recruit child soldiers have taken place by these rebels (Black Past, 2020).

Rys. 1. *Child Soldiers*



Source: Child Soldiers, First Sudanese Civil War, January 22, 2020, Contributed by Samuel Momodu, 21.06.2022 z <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/events-global-african-history/first-sudanese-civil-war-1955-1972/>

As the process of the struggle continued, Southern Sudanese rebels were divided into two groups. The first faction, the Sudan African National Union (SANU), was founded and headed by William Deng from the Dinka ethnic group. Another group was the Anya Nya, which was established and led by Joseph Lagu and was composed mainly of the Madi group. Ten years after the civil war began, interim prime minister Muhammad Ahmad Mahgoub suggested pardon to the Southern Sudanese rebels if they would lay down their weapons. The offer was refused by the insurgents, and the violence resumed. As a result of the 12 years of civil war, almost 500,000 persons have lost their lives, mainly from the South (Black Past, 2020).

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR 1983-2005

Numerous arguments have attempted to describe this dreadful battle that ended with South Sudan's liberation. The conflict and massacre in Southern Sudan have been defined as having racial and religious origins and roots in repressive ostracism. The principal cause for this conflict was the system of unequal and fanatical authority in Khartoum that began to emerge during the 1970s. The second civil war has been continued for consecutive 22-years. On January 9, 2005, the Bashir government and the SPLA signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). In line with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, a referendum was guaranteed to vote on southern Sudan's sovereignty after a provisional period of autonomy. On July 9, 2011, mass celebrations of independence were held throughout South Sudan as the newest state in the world (Operation Broken Silence, 2019).

In 1969, the Anyanya movement became a remarkable military threat to the Sudanese regime. Even though it had internal divisions, the Anyanya Movement controlled large areas of the south. After some inner upheavals, leadership modifications were completed in 1971, when the numerous Anyanya groups came together under a single command arrangement and concept. Separation from Sudan and the establishment of an autonomous state was the goal, at the time. The Anyanya became the South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). The conflict culminated with the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement between the SSLM and the Sudanese regime. In accordance with the peace agreement, southern Sudan was granted significant regional autonomy.

FACTORS OF POST-INDEPENDENCE CONFLICT INDEPENDENCE

South Sudan gained its independence on 2 July 2011. It became the newest nation-state to be recognized and admitted as a member of the UN. The post-independence political situation in South Sudan brought a quick collapse in December 2013. The immediate cause of the war was the eruption of conflict between armed forces loyal to President Salva Kiir

Mayardit and supporters of Vice-President, Mr. Riek Machar. In accordance with the language policies of South Sudan, political bodies and people cope with language diversity based on different principles and benefits (Manfredi, 2022, p. 210; Douglas, 2014, p. 300).

The political crisis relatively within the short period of independence happened on 15 December 2013 as the result of a series of differences among the top government members of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, in which thirteen political persons were jailed, suspected of attempting a coup on President Salva Kiir of led by Vice-President Riek Machar^[11].

Before the independence of South Sudan, the core problem of the long war between the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement Army in the southern regions of the country was based on the land issue. They had contradictory viewpoints regarding the land issue. According to the Sudan law, all land in the country was owned by the state; on the contrary, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army's (SPLM/A) position was that all land in Southern Sudan was thought to be the property of that community (Shanmugaratnam, 2008, s.1).

The origin of the civil war in South Sudan has intricate roots in neighboring traditions of cattle herding. The main question to be raised is, how this situation changed into extreme civil wars. One of the major factors mentioned by Krause J. 'was deliberately wrought by political elites to mobilize civilian raiders for their ambitions' (Krause, 2019). According to Krause, J., the Jonglei region is one of the world's most underdeveloped places and home to around 1.3 million people. Various ethnic groups inhabit this region including the Nuer, Dinka, Murle, and Anuak. Among these, the Dinka and the Nuer are the two main ethnic groups that have a strong influence to hold senior leadership ranks. Consequently the presidency position for Dinka and the Vice-Presidency for Nuer. As a result of the conflict, thousands have lost their lives. Following this problem, plentiful regional peace proposals by the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) and later UNMISS, had been launched. The Jonglei region including other areas also suffers from communal conflicts, for example, the intra-Dinka clashes within a single ethnic group. Most of the civil wars take place in rural and not easily accessible regions, and several of them have worsened into strong clashes (Krause, 2019).

The peace accord took place in 2005, between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement Army (SPLM/A) formally ending the civil war that had been widespread since 1983. This led to the formation of the Government of Southern Sudan in the southern part of the country and the Government of National Unity in Khartoum. The Southern Sudanese voted in a referendum in January 2011, regarding the sovereignty of their region, which was massively endorsed by the citizens of that region. After six months, Southern Sudan became independent. Almost three years later, nonetheless, in the most recent state in the globe, situations deteriorated once again into conflict, causing a humanitarian disaster (Moro, 2017, s. 3).

HUMANITARIAN AID AND SUPPORT FOR A STATE BUILDING

The outbreak of violence between 2005 and December 2013 devastated southern Sudan. The international community provided billions of dollars for recovery, humanitarian aid, development and the building of new state institutions in the new South Sudan. The amount of official development assistance between 2012 and 2013 was around USD 1.5 and USD 2 billion. The main emphasis of state building concentrated on the infrastructure and bureaucracy to facilitate service delivery which helps to strengthen state legitimacy (Moro, 2017, s. 3).

The leaders of the armed struggle played a principal role in shaping people's understanding of the concept of state in South Sudan. There was a long history of oppression and exploitation of Southern Sudanese by Khartoum-based regimes. Like many postcolonial regimes in Africa, most of the former Sudanese regimes were led by the military. Since December 2013, insecurity has even become more problematic in South Sudan as many areas have been engulfed in fighting between government and rebel forces. But also the long-armed rebellion against the Khartoum-based regimes was important for most South Sudanese when legitimacy questions are raised (Moro, 2017, s. 3).

According to National Communication Authority (NCA), beginning in December 2013 South Sudan has been involved in a civil war that was ignited

by leadership clashes. The conflict was within the Southern Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM) party. This party led the region into freedom in 2011 after a brutal struggle with the Sudanese regime in the north. The conflict was led by President Salva Kiir with sacked Vice-President Riek Machar. Some elites later cracked away from the Kiir and Machar camps to form their separate armed factions. Even though the South Sudanese dispute has a multifaceted aspect, reports on the conflict have regularly accused the country's leaders as the commanders and beneficiaries of war crimes and crimes against humanity. There were numerous peace talks and agreements. Among others, the following agreements have taken place (Ani, 2018):

- the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) on 25 August 2015,
- a deal reached under the coordination of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

The Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) which was breached in July 2016, subsequently contributed to the eruption of hostility between the fighting groups. This incident happened three months after the formation of a transitional government. Tangible information reveals that the leaders of the warring factions often portrayed themselves as unworried about the outcomes of the damages of the peace accords. In line with the problem, the Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS) was constituted to be operationalized by the AU consequently with the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (Ani, 2018).

One of the side effects of the violence was famine. While South Sudan secured its sovereignty in 2011, the citizens' excitement and attitude were focused on the concept of land prosperity and political stability. A few years later the hope of a bright future immediately changed to violence and severe famine and other social and political problems, but this time only within the boundary of South Sudan. According to Oxfam, because of more than four years of civil war, the economic sector collapsed which ruined the country with devastating outcomes. In addition, 6.3 million people were battling to get sufficient food for consumption (Oxfam, 2021). A senior humanitarian policy advisor, Noah Gottschalk said, "*In over 30 years working in the affected*

areas, Oxfam has never witnessed such dire need, people have been pushed to the brink of surviving on what they can find to eat in swamps and so often in a crisis, women and children are those worst affected. We need an end to the fighting so that we can get food to those who urgently need it and provide them with support to rebuild their shattered lives” (Oxfam, 2021).

The World Food Programme has been alarming concerning South Sudan’s emergency food insecurity. This organization, revealed that South Sudan had reached the most extreme levels since independence in 2011. Famine has dropped after a substantial scale-up in the humanitarian reaction. Nevertheless, according to the World Food Programme, the situation remained severe throughout the country as 8.3 million people, that is 75 percent of the population faced serious scarcity of food (World Food Programme, 2021).

LIVESTOCK AS THE SOURCE OF CONFLICT

Livestock is the most important source of income and food for the greater part of the inhabitants in South Sudan. Even though there are great ecological challenges such as flooding, drought, and swamplands, this sector remains the dominant sector of the economy in this country. Livestock signifies social position and status. They serve as the means of payment, wedding gifts, reimbursement, and solving disagreements. Livestock also substitutes the banking system, because it gives a consistent way of saving properties. In South Sudan, it is believed that the number of livestock is more than the number of people. Animals are rarely killed for meat, instead, they wish to pay for imported meat. In this country, there has seen almost frequent tension for the past several years. This includes the civil war between the South Sudanese and the Government of North Sudan, then the civil war within South Sudan after independence in 2011 (gsdrc.org, 2019).

Following the wave of the latest conflict since December 2013, more than 4.5 million persons are estimated to have been dislocated in South Sudan. Because of the significance of the livestock economy’s role in South Sudan, there are also negative aspects related to the social conflict. Among others, the following factors are recognized as the most important issues which generate conflicts (Ani, 2018).

- A. The problem of cattle looting, a traditional exercise among pastoral communities, particularly between the Nuer, Dinka, and Murle communities.

Mostly this problem happens rarely and affects a small number of the members of the community creating negligible hostility. There are some reasons which lead to more extreme conflict, including greater brutality which could spread to greater scale and area in South Sudan. The consequence of this problem is further escalating relations between these communities. The uncontrolled modern weapon proliferation in South Sudan brought a higher stage of violence. The traditional way of cattle raiding which engaged spears, bows and arrows, and clubs, presently changed to modern guns and powerful weapons. In this case, the escalation of the conflict is raised to a far higher death toll as a result of the conflict. As in other parts of the globe during the conflict, women and children are the most affected.

- B. Deliberate manipulation of political elites to exploit ethnic divisions and rivalries between pastoral communities for their political goals – this happens by encouraging the creation of armed groups along line ethnic groups including the Nuer White Army (a semi-official name for a militant organization formed by the Nuer people) and the Dinka Titweng, founded on traditional communal security groups, who are involved in cattle looting, and conflict on the behalf their community or separately.

Efforts of political or military elites to eliminate what they saw as limitations on their ability to activate huge armed groups to accomplish their targets. Cattle looting is mainly an effective instrument of warfare since it affects targeted groups, and their most significant resources economically and socio-culturally. Cattle are considered a motivation to battle. In addition to that, insecurity situations in the country are manipulated by illegal groups to use for their interests. Cattle looting is also driven by increasing bride wealth costs, usually given in livestock. Generally, it is difficult for young men to marry without possession of cattle. There is a strong connection of extended fighting with the livestock economic sector in South Sudan.

- C. The impact of the collection of huge cattle flocks by elites – Political and military leaders have used properties acquired in the course of the war and post-independence to attain huge flocks. These resources, in turn, are utilized to create their prestige and to develop groups of backers. Supporters were influenced through the payment of bride wealth and acquisition of wives, payment of bridewealth for their soldiers to marry for the purpose of guaranteeing their loyalty. This problem shifted the process of cattle ownership, which is the main segment of the economy for the citizens of South Sudan (gsdrc.org, 2019).

WOMEN AND GIRLS AS THE CIVIL WAR VICTIMS

In the condition of a complete absence of protection systems or disrupted social and political norms as in South Sudan during the conflict, there are side effects of violence. Among others, rape, sexual, physical, and psychological violence, and the denial of basic human rights, such as the right to life, safety and security of the person, health, shelter, and education have particularly made women and girls, among other social groups, particularly vulnerable to suffering and diversified forms of violence (ReliefWeb, 2014). Women are the most affected as a result of violence in South Sudan. According to research conducted by M. Murphy, et al, *“a small proportion of the overall female population (15–22-year-olds), over 26% had already experienced an incident of non-partner sexual violence. This statistic is even higher than global estimates of sexual violence rates in complex emergencies, which have been estimated at 21% of women and girls of any age”* (Murphy, et al, 2019). Nearly half of the events of non-partner sexual violence were reported before 2013, which indicates that not only sexual violence was widespread in South Sudan but also at the beginning very early in the lives of girls. The research also shows reasons for these high rates of violence against women and girls in South Sudan. Among suggested reasons, given by researchers such as M. Murphy, et al, even though it was not the immediate cause of that recent period, patriarchal norms and practices throughout South Sudan are reinforced by extended armed conflict which led to raised rates of violence against women and girls. The main factor

for the 2013 crisis in South Sudan was remarkable for its ruthlessness and the use of sexual violence as a policy of war. Evidence gathered on this issue, shows that sexual violence was especially widespread during the critical times of war from December 2013 to July 2016 in Juba.

Sexual violence was committed by soldiers or police officers when young women are away from their relatives' sites of protection to collect firewood or to go to the market. Apart from that as perpetrators non-conflict actors, such as family members, friends, neighbors, and classmates are also mentioned. However severe war may be a substantial motorist of this sexual violence through the duration of the conflict. The process of struggle against sexual violence is still recommended to continue. Preventive policies need to maintain even though the critical period of the crisis has gone" (Murphy, et al, 2019).

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The United Nations has helped to settle the conflict in South Sudan. After the eruption of fighting in Juba in December 2013, the violence spread throughout the country. There was a mass exodus from the conflict-affected areas to seek refuge at the headquarters of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). UNMISS relieved those looking for safety and rapidly arranged Shield of Civilians where persons could take shelter from the fighting. An estimated 200,000 people were inhabiting the site for the protection of civilians. The mission has unquestionably protected numerous lives by admitting these civilians to its centers (ReliefWeb, 2015). The arrival of people to UN bases was an exceptional task that put a colossal burden on the mission's reserves. According to ReliefWeb, the United Nations Mission base in South Sudan was not intended to house and protect such a large number of people over such a long period. Large numbers of people living together in a comparatively small geographic area are exposed to criminal activity which is particularly true within displaced populations, such as inter-communal fighting, abuse, and sexual violence which mostly happen in camps for internally exiled persons and migrants (ReliefWeb, 2015).

Investigations concerning the sites which were created in 2013 when thousands of civilians fled to UNMISS bases to escape brutal attacks, after September 2020, were re-designed protection of civilians sites in Bor, Juba, and Wau as traditional camps for internally displaced people (IDPs) under the primary responsibility of the government (Spink, Levine-Spound, 2020). The overall opinions of the people of South Sudan reflect that they support peace, elections, security sector reform, enhanced accountability, transitional justice, and concrete efforts to reconcile communities. Those elements were elements of parts of South Sudan's peace agreement. On the contrary, civilians have great doubts regarding the implementation of the peace agreement. The citizens indicated the problem of corruption, repeatedly missed deadlines for implementation of different provisions of the agreement, and lack of confidence regarding statements by politicians that undermine rather than underpin peace, and a general lack of political will from the parties to fulfill commitments made in the agreement (Spink, Levine-Spound, 2020).

Initially, the mandate of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) was planned to expire on March 15, 2021. Before its termination, the UN Security Council needed to approve a new mandate for the Mission to guide the work of its over 16,000 military, police, and civilian peacekeepers.

The Security Council decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. The Council approved resolution 2625 (2022) issued as document S/RES/2625(2022) under Chapter VII of the Charter. The United Nations, Security Council members passed the resolution by a vote of 13 in favor, none against, and 2 abstentions (China, Russian Federation) which enabled to prolong the command of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) up to 15 March 2023 and to continue its force levels with a maximum of 17,000 troops and 2,101 police personnel (UN Security Council, 2022).

On 26 May 2022, the UN Security Council strongly criticized past and ongoing human rights violations in South Sudan and stated profound concern at renewed fighting in South Sudan. It also decided to renew, until 31 May 2023, the actions on arms imposed by resolution 2428 (2018), which direct all Member States to stop the direct or indirect supply, sale, or transfer of arms to the state of South Sudan. Additional provisions extended the travel and financial measures

put in place by resolution 2206 (2015). In line with this, all Member States shall take action to suspend the financial assets of selected individuals and avoid their entry into or transit through their countries (UN Security Council, 2022).

Because of the deteriorating situation in South Sudan which continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council passed the following resolution. Among them, the next three points can be considered as the key elements of the decision, particularly regarding the protection of civilians (UN Security Council Resolution, 2022):

- A. Decided to extend the mandate of UNMISS until 15 March 2023;
- B. Decided that UNMISS's mandate is designed to advance the three-year strategic vision defined in resolution 2567 (2021) to prevent a return to civil war in S/RES/2625 (2022) 6/16 22-03832 South Sudan, to build durable peace at the local and national levels, and to support inclusive and accountable governance and free, fair, and peaceful elections in accordance with the Revitalized Agreement;
- C. Decides that UNMISS shall have the following mandate, and authorizes UNMISS to use all necessary means to implement its mandate: (a) Protection of civilians: (i) To protect civilians under threat of physical violence, irrespective of the source of such violence, within its capacity and areas of deployment, including in the context of elections, with specific protection for women and children, including through the continued and consistent use and deployment of UNMISS's Child Protection Advisers, Women Protection Advisers, and uniformed and civilian Gender Advisers, the positions for which should be filled expeditiously, and share best practices with relevant local stakeholders for the purpose of capacity building.

Regional organizations such as AU and IGA have contributed to the solution of the crisis in South Sudan. On 12 April 2019, the African Union Peace and Security Commissioner, Ambassador Smail Chergui, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Special Envoy for South Sudan, Dr. Ismail Wais, and the Special Representative Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) to South Sudan, Mr. David Shearer informed AU partners in Addis Ababa

on the current situation in the Republic of South Sudan (ReliefWeb, 2019). The AU, IGAD, and UN agreed to support the application of the Revitalized Agreement regarding the Solution to the civil war in the Republic of South Sudan. They also declared their commitment to increase their endeavors in assisting the Parties' implementation of the peace settlement. They also tried to change the course of the situation in South Sudan from that of conflict to facilitate a substantial decrease in political hostility and this respect, applauded the Parties for their courage to accept reconciliation. The AU, IGAD and UN unanimously encouraged all conflicting parties to adhere to the end of conflicts and devote themselves to the peace procedure (ReliefWeb, 2022). A high-ranking – joint delegation consisted of the Special Representative of the Chairperson and Head of the AU Mission in South Sudan, HE Amb. Prof. Joram Biswaro, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Mission in South Sudan, Prof. Nicholas Haysom, Special Envoy of IGAD for South Sudan, HE Amb. Dr. Ismail Wais, Interim Chairperson of the Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC) HE Maj. Gen. Charles Tai Gituai (rtd), organized two days of meetings with the Presidency of the Republic of South Sudan regarding current issues concerning the South Sudan. On 30 March 2022, the delegation met President Salva Kiir Mayardit and First Vice President Dr. Riek Machar Teny, and on 31 March 2022, met Excellencies Vice Presidents Mama Rebecca Nyandeng de Mabior, Dr. Wani Igga, and Gen Taban Deng Gai. The delegation reassured the endorsement by both the President and the First Vice President that they would not return the country to war and return to full implementation of the Agreement (ReliefWebe, 2022).

CONCLUSION

The conflict in South Sudan has affected every aspect of social life. Economic crisis, hunger, psychological and physical damages to women and girls as well as refugee crises are only some aspects of the consequences of the crises. The key to the solution to the problem is in the hands of the people of South Sudan, particularly the leaders of South Sudan. Better relations and goodwill between President Kiir and Vice President Machar, are crucial for the solution, who are responsible and have great influence in the process of violence and politics of ethnic confrontation. For the future development of South Sudan, peace and stability are essential. The implementation of the peace settlement concerning the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) accepted and signed by all parties must be respected. Political leaders are also responsible to control their armed forces and comply with the cessation of hostilities. Efforts of the international community, especially, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) the African Union (AU) and The United Nations (UN) to end the crises in South Sudan have relative peace and stability, for the last solution this organizations still have the significant role to play.

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ENDNOTES

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- [^{II}] C. Pinaud, "South Sudan: Civil War, Predation and the Making of a Military Aristocracy", *African Affairs*, 113 (451), April 2014, p. 192.