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**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**THE CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN: CHALLENGES TO THE IGAD-LED PEACE  
PROCESS FROM 2013 TO 2019**



**BY**

**ALEXANDER ADDAM BOGALE**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**JUNE 2019**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Political Science and International Relations in  
Partial Fulfillment for the Award of Masters of Arts Degree in International Relation and  
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**June 2019**

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**Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Alexander Addam Bogale

Candidate	-----	-----
June, 2019	Signature	Date

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate.

Dr. Fekade Terefe

Advisor	-----	-----
	Signature	Date

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Addam Bogale and Tsehay Gebre, who have been a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of graduate school and life. I am truly thankful for having you in my life.

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## **ACRONYMS**

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>ARCRSS</b>	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>AUCISS</b>	AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan
<b>AUHIP</b>	African Union High-Level Implementation Panel
<b>AUP</b>	African Union's Peace and Security Council
<b>CCM</b>	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
<b>CEWARM</b>	Conflict Early Warning Mechanism
<b>CGA</b>	Crisis Group Africa
<b>CoH</b>	Cessation of Hostilities
<b>COI</b>	African Union's Commission of Inquiry
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>EPRDF</b>	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FD</b>	Former Detainees
<b>FPD</b>	Former Political Detainees
<b>GNU</b>	Government of National Unity
<b>GoS</b>	Government of the Sudan
<b>GRSS</b>	Government of the Republic of South Sudan
<b>GOSS</b>	Government of South Sudan
<b>HoS</b>	Heads of State
<b>HLRF</b>	High Level Revitalization Forum
<b>ICC</b>	International Criminal Court
<b>ICG</b>	International Crisis Group
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IPF</b>	IGAD Partners Forum
<b>JEM</b>	Justice and Equality Movement
<b>JMEC</b>	Joint Monitoring and Evolution Commission
<b>LRA</b>	Lord's Resistance Army

<b>MVM</b>	Monitoring and Verification Mission
<b>NCP</b>	National Congress Party
<b>PDF</b>	Protection and Deterrence force
<b>PSC</b>	Peace and Security Council
<b>RARCRSS</b>	Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
<b>RSS</b>	Republic of South Sudan
<b>SAF</b>	Sudanese Armed Forces
<b>SLM/A</b>	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
<b>SPLM</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
<b>SPLM/A</b>	Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army
<b>SPLM/A-IO</b>	Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army - In Opposition
<b>SPLM-N</b>	Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North
<b>SSDF</b>	South Sudan Defense Forces
<b>SSDM/A</b>	South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army
<b>SSLA</b>	South Sudan Liberation Army
<b>SSLM/A</b>	South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
<b>TGoSS</b>	Transitional Government of South Sudan
<b>TROIKA</b>	U.S., UK and Norway
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID</b>	United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>UNSSPBSP</b>	United Nations South Sudan Peace-Building Support Plan
<b>UPDF</b>	Uganda People's Defense Force

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## **ABSTRACT**

*South Sudan became an independent state in July 9, 2011, following an internationally monitored referendum, which was held on 9 January. However, almost after three years of independence, the world newest state backslide into the horrific civil war on 15, December 2013. The 2013 outbreak of violence in South Sudan underscores the importance of a number of factors as critical to stable peace, including conducting a thorough analysis on the structural and triggering factors, the challenges of the IGAD-Led peace process and the role of external actors in peace and conflict dynamics since the onset of the armed conflict.*

*This paper argues that although ethnicity is a contributing factor to the crisis in South Sudan, the characterization of the conflict as an ethnic crisis is insufficient and simplistic, shortsighted and overlooks many of the underlying complexities of conflict dynamics. In addition to this, this paper argues that the problems and challenges that underlie the recent IGAD-Led South Sudan peace process have not been adequately dealt with, despite existing opportunities to address it. Moreover, the researcher strongly argues that when a country is in a state of flux, conflict offers opportunities for external actors to secure, protect or advance their own interests. Therefore, the overall objective of the study is to provide an overview of the relations between the genesis of the conflict, the mediation process and the impact of external actors on the mediated settlements in South Sudan since 2013.*

*To address these issues, the study employed qualitative research methodology. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of data collected through key informant interview to make use of its advantage in gaining detailed information about the issue, to examine reflections, understandings and knowledge of informants by offering an in-depth understanding of a particular problem and challenges. To substantiate and supplement the primary data, the thesis also used secondary data collected from books, journal articles, proceedings, newspaper, published and unpublished materials, governmental and non-governmental organization reports and remarks, magazines and other internet sources. Given the data gathered are qualitative, the study employed qualitative data analysis techniques.*

**Key Terms:** Conflict, Conflict Resolution, IGAD, Mediation, Regional Dynamics, External Actors

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## **APPENDIX 1: SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT TIMELINE: 1913-2018**

**2013 March** -Then Vice President Machar declares his intention to challenge the party leadership, indicating areas in which President Kiir has failed.

**2013 April** -President Kiir strips all delegated power from Machar, a move widely perceived to be a reaction to the latter's declaration in March.

**2013 July** -President Kiir dismisses Machar from his position of Vice President and orders a decree dismissing all ministers and deputy ministers as well as the party's secretary Pagan Amum.

**2013 November**- President Kiir dissolves the SPLM political structure, including the highest body of the National Liberation Council, except the Chairman and the secretariat.

**2013 December** -SPLM/A holds its national liberation council in which Kiir attacks Machar, citing the 1991 division.

**2013 December** -Kiir orders the disarmament of the presidential guard suspecting an imminent coup. At midnight, fighting breaks out between the Nuer and Dinka members of the presidential guard, which led to the Juba Nuer Massacre.

**2013 December**- Machar splits from the SPLM/A, calls for an armed rebellion against Kiir and rejects Kiir's narrative of a coup plot.

**2013 December** -The Ugandan People Defense forces are deployed to Juba at the request of the government of South Sudan.

**2013 December** -The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) of Darfur is accused of supporting the government but the movement denies this claim.

**2015 January** -The SPLM/A factions agree to reunify the movement.

**2015 January** - A cessation of hostilities agreement is signed.

**2015 February**- The SPLM-IG attacks Machar's home town in a clear violation of the ceasefire agreement.

**2015 February-** The SPLM-IO as a collective body announces itself and rejects the second round of negotiations, on the ground that the cessation of hostilities agreement was not respected.

**2015 March** - The AU appoints a commission of inquiry on human rights violations.

**2015 March-** IGAD decides to deploy a protection and deterrence force to protect Monitoring and Verification Mechanisms (MVM) field teams.

**2015 April** - IGAD announces the deployment of the first MVM observers to monitor the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement.

**2015 May** - President Kiir and Machar meet in Addis Ababa and agree to commit to the cessation of hostilities agreement.

**2015 August-** The SPLM-IO accepts the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS).

**2015 August** - The SPLM-IG signs the ARCSS.

**2015 September** - The SPLM-IG and SPLM-IO hold a workshop on transitional security arrangements.

**2015 October** - President Kiir issues a decree aimed at restructuring the existing 10 states into 28 states within 30 days.

**2015 November-** The Joint Monitoring and Evaluation convenes for the first time in Juba.

**2016 January** - The SPLM-IG and SPLM-IO agree on ministerial positions for the envisioned transitional government.

**2016 January** - Machar withdraws his team from Juba on the grounds that the government has not changed its October decision of creating 28 states.

**2016 February-** President Kiir re-appoints Machar as Vice President as per the agreement.

**2016 April** -First Vice President (FVP) Riek Machar is sworn in Juba.

**2016 July** -Fighting breaks out between forces loyal to Kiir and those of Machar in Juba reportedly due to attempts by Kiir's supporters to arrest forces loyal to Machar.

**2016 July** -Through a presidential decree, Kiir appoints Taban Deng Gai as FVP, supplanting Machar.

**2016 August** -The UN Security Council authorizes the deployment of a Regional Protection Force (RPF) mandated to protect civilians, UN personnel and key facilities including Juba airport.

**2016 September** -The SPLM-IG agrees to the deployment of the RPF.

**2016 September**- Machar calls for armed resistance against the SPLM-IG and requests the international community to declare the government rogue and a spoiler to peace.

**2016 November** -Following the dismissal of Lt. Gen Johnson Mogo Kimani Ondieki as the commander of the UN peacekeeping forces, Kenya decides it will withdraw its forces deployed in South Sudan as part of UNMISS and declines to contribute forces that would constitute the RPF.

**2016 December** -President Kiir issues a decree authorizing the South Sudan Dialogue process.

**2017 January** -South Sudan rejects additional peacekeepers, admonishing that security has improved.

**2017 February** -The UN and South Sudan government declare famine in Unity State.

**2017 May**- President Kiir announces a unilateral cessation of hostilities, reintroduces National Dialogue.

**2017 August** -First batch of RPF troops arrive in South Sudan.

**2017 November**- UN announces that President Kiir is using food as a war weapon.

**2017 December**- South Sudan government and rebel groups sign a cessation of hostilities agreement, breached the same day.

**2018 June** -President Kiir and Riek Machar meet face to face in Addis Ababa, two years after the July 2016 violence.

**2018 July** -UN Report states that over 230 civilians killed and 120 women raped by SPLM-IG troops and aligned forces between 16 April and 24 May.

**2018 July** -The South Sudanese presidency extends the tenure of President Salva Kiir until 2021.

**2018 July** -UN Security Council imposes an arms embargo on South Sudan and sanctions against two individuals.

**2018 September**- R-ARCSS signed

## **APPENDIX 2: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

### **RESEARCH PROCEDURES**

This research is being conducted to provide a fuller narrative of the causes of the South Sudan conflict and as complete as possible the challenges of the IGAD-Led peace process and the role of external actors in South Sudan since the start of the armed conflict in 2013. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to take part in one in-depth interview approximately ½ to 1 hours in length. The interview is composed of open-ended questions. Enclosed with this form is a list of questions that you may be asked during the interview.

### **RISKS**

There are no foreseeable risks, costs, or anticipated negative effects to you or any other party for participating in this study.

### **CONFIDENTIALITY**

The data in this study will be confidential. With your consent, the interview will be audio taped for purposes of accuracy. Your name will not be included on collected data (audiotapes or transcripts of interviews). All data will be destroyed at the conclusion of this research.

Specific data from the interview will not be attributed to you; however, with your permission, your name will be included in an appended list of participants. Though not expected, there may be a time when you will be contacted by e-mail for clarification or other purposes.

### **PARTICIPATION**

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party. Copies of the final report will be made available to you if you would like them.

### **CONTACT**

This thesis is being conducted by Alexander Addam, Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Social Sciences, at Addis Ababa University. You may be reached me by phone (0936-07-07-07) or email (marlegna21@gmail.com) with questions or to

report a research related problem. The thesis advisor is Dr. Fekade and he may be reached at ... or (...).

## **CONSENT**

I have read this form and agree to participate in this study

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Please mark your response to one Identification and one Permission statement below.

Identification:

I prefer that my name and the name of my organization NOT appear anywhere in the research project.

I prefer that my name and the name of my organization appear in the appendix on a list of participants of this research.

### **APPENDIX 3: INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO INTERVIEWEES**

My name is Alexander Addam and I am M.A. student at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting a research to explore, compare, and contrast the narrative of the causes of South Sudan's conflict and the challenges of the IGAD-Led peace process and the role of external actors in South Sudan peace and conflict dynamics since the start of the armed conflict in 2013. I hope that you will consider participating in this research project.

Participation in this study would involve meeting once with me for an interview approximately ½ to 1 hours in length. In some cases, we may choose telephone or email interviews, though this is not preferred. Nevertheless, you will not be required to provide evidence or referrals. Your participation will be confidential. Your name will not be included and no information that you give me will be attached to you or your organization. If you would like a copy of the study, I will provide one when the study is complete. The information will be used as part of my M.A. thesis at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University.

Your participation in this study is important both to this research and to the field at large. This study seeks to fill a gap in research by investigating the South Sudan conflict in order to provide insights into challenges of the IGAD-Led peace process and the role of external actors in conflict resolution. The thesis first outlines the background to the conflict in South Sudan. It then goes on to examine the latest important developments in South Sudan, namely the challenges of the IGADD-Led peace process. It also describes external actors' engagements in peace and conflict dynamics. It also offers recommendations for the way forward.

Enclosed are questions you may be asked during the interview. There is also an informed consent form to sign and return to me in the enclosed envelope if you choose to participate.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone at \_\_\_\_\_ or e-mail [marlegna21@gmail.com](mailto:marlegna21@gmail.com)

Yours truly,

Alexander Addam

## **APPENDIX 4: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

The semi-structured nature of the interview will allow for the possibility of altering the question sequence, following up unanticipated leads and asking questions not prepared in advance. However, the researcher will ensure that each of the following areas is covered.

Dear Research Participants,

My name is Alexander Addam, a master student at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, at Addis Ababa University. I thank you for taking time to take part in this interview. At present time, I am working on my MA thesis on “the Crisis in South Sudan: Challenges to the IGAD-Led South Sudanese Peace Process since 2013”. This study is, therefore, an attempt to establish the relations between the genesis of the conflict, the mediation process and the impact of external actors on the peace and conflict dynamics in the post 2013 period. Thus, the researcher requests you for information and it appreciates your willingness to support his efforts. The researcher believes that you will find the questionnaire/interview guideline interesting and it looks forward to receiving your reply. The data the researcher gets from you is solely for academic purposes and will not be used for other purposes.

Thank you in advance of your kindly cooperation!!!

March, 2019

➤ Part I: - Questions on: Dynamics and Long-Term Drivers of South Sudan’s Violent Conflict since December 2013

- 1) How the world’s youngest nation so suddenly fall into a political crisis and descended into bloody civil war?
- 2) What sparked the civil war?
- 3) What are the structural causes of the conflict?
- 4) What is the military situation in the country at the moment? What is going on now?

➤ Part II:- Questions on: the Challenges of the IGAD-led mediated settlements and peacemaking efforts

- 1) Were there any peace initiatives before IGAD launched the peace process of South Sudan? If yes, what were those initiatives and what were their successes and failures?
- 2) How IGAD started the peace process of South Sudan conflict after the re-escalation of conflict in 2013?
- 3) How many peace talks were convened since 2013? What were their specific agendas?
- 4) What were the impediments to the IGAD-led South Sudan peace process?
- 5) How to ensure lasting peace in South Sudan?
- 6) What lessons learnt in mediation from South Sudan's troubled peace process?

➤ Part III:- Questions On: The Impact of External Actors on the Prospects of a Mediated Settlement in South Sudan

- 1) Why has the international community been unable to get a real deal for a long time?
- 2) Navigating the competing interests of regional actors in South Sudan, what was the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) role in South Sudan mediation process?
- 3) What is being done by external actors to achieve a real deal?
- 4) The leaders of South Sudan's warring parties have signed a final power sharing agreement on September 2018.
- 5) What role did regional and global leaders play in the mediation process? How have they influenced the peace negotiations?
- 6) How did the competing interests of external actors in South Sudan impact the mediation effort?
- 7) How have the latest developments in the peace process been influenced by political shifts in the region?

## **APPENDIX 5: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES**

The following people were either directly interviewed or otherwise consulted for this thesis:

- 1) Gach Goal- South Sudanese refuge living in Addis Ababa
- 2) Gatluak Lul- South Sudanese refuge living in Addis Ababa
- 3) Gatwech Tongyiek- South Sudanese refuge living in Addis Ababa
- 4) Gojjam Reath Tut- South Sudanese political analyst
- 5) Solana Worku- Political Analyst
- 6) Tiger Mun- South Sudanese Journalist
- 7) Anonymous - Communications Officer, AU Mission to South Sudan
- 8) Abubakar, Ahmed Rugai- Political analyst
- 9) Adane, A: - Lecturer at Addis Ababa University, Department of Political Science and International Relations
- 10) Andrew, M. - Senior Mediation Adviser
- 11) Fethawek Yetebarek- Independent Political Analyst
- 12) Anonymous: - IGAD Political Officer to AU (Addis Ababa)
- 13) Okello, Moses Chrispus: - Conflict Analyst
- 14) Anonymous: - Political Affairs Officer, UN Office to the AU (Addis Ababa)
- 15) Anonymous: - IGAD Policy Officer
- 16) Anonymous - Officer, Conflict Management Division, Department of Peace and Security, AUC
- 17) Anonymous- Political Attaché at the Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan

## APPENDIX 6: POLITICAL MAP OF SOUTH SUDAN



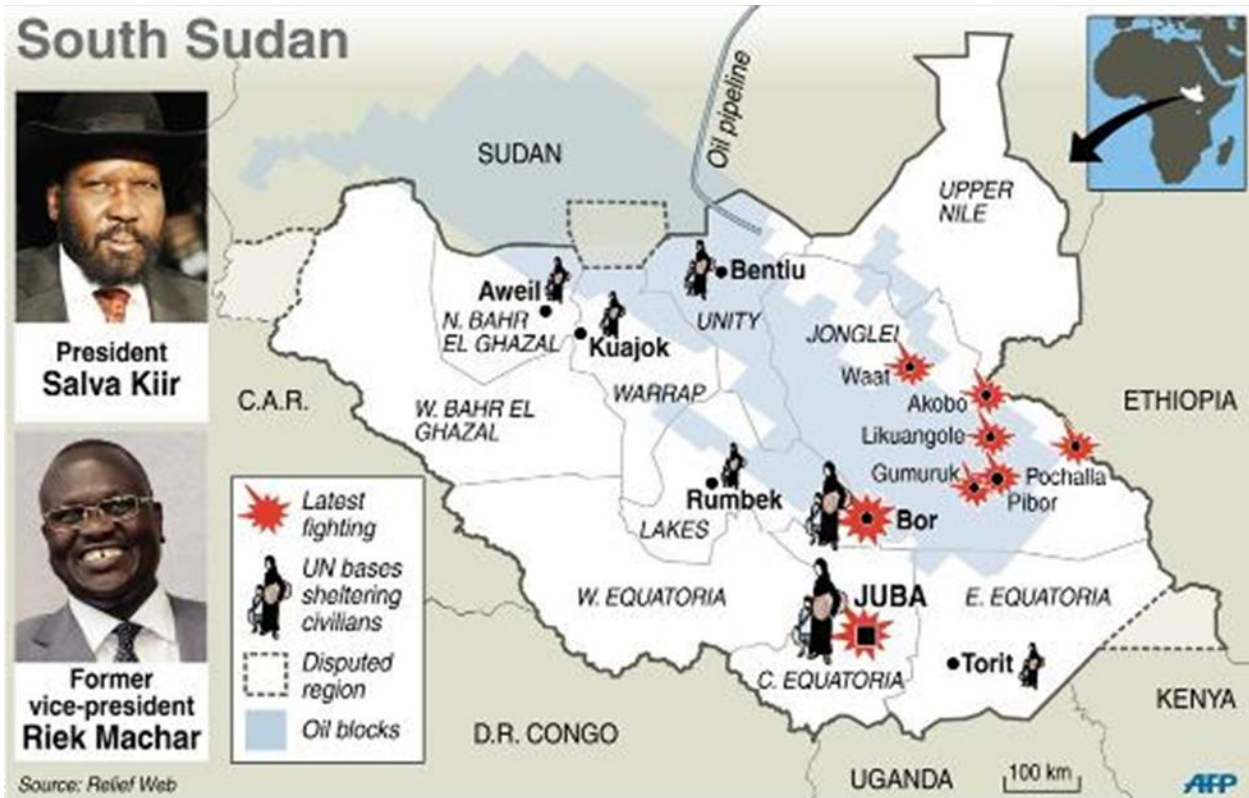
Source: - [www.mapsoftheworld.com](http://www.mapsoftheworld.com)

**APPENDIX 7: THE FORMER TEN STATES OF SOUTH SUDAN GROUPED IN THE  
THREE HISTORICAL PROVINCES OF THE SUDAN**



Source: - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Sudan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Sudan)

**APPENDIX 8: MAP OF CONFLICT SITES OF SOUTH SUDAN**



Source: - <https://www.google.com>

AFRICAN UNION  
الاتحاد الأفريقي



UNION AFRICAINE  
UNIÃO AFRICANA

**INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM**

**To:** Director, AHRM **Ref. :** PSD/105/15782-19  
**Through:** *A. Kambudzi* **Date :** 6 May 2019  
**From:** Ag. Director Peace and Security **Tel. Ext. :** 4157  
**Subject:** **APPROVAL OF RESEARCH IN THE PEACE AND SECURITY DEPARTMENT**

I wish to refer to your memo ref.: AHRM/22/2230.19 of 25 April 2019, requesting the conduct of research in the Peace and Security Department on the "Crisis in South Sudan: challenges to the IGAD-Led South Sudan peace process and peacemaking".

I have considered the request and have no objection to accepting the applicant for his research.

By copy of this memo, I request the Crisis Management and Post-Conflict Reconstruction Division (CMPCRD), as well as the PSD registry, to extend full cooperation to Mr. Alexander Addam.

I thank you.

**Cc:** - CMPCRD  
- PSD Registry

/my