

## **Civil War in a Nascent State: A Case Study on South Sudan**

**Mir Masudul Alam\***

**[Abstract:** Anarchy and severe subsidence of law and order is not a new phenomenon for a newly emerged country, especially those with a long history of civil war. Counter revolutions or the power struggle of the leaders may cause a complete disaster in the post-liberation period. But woes and sufferings of the South Sudanese people perhaps reach beyond all the precedence. The central East African country South Sudan seceded from the Khartoum regime on July 9, 2011. Before that, they have embroiled in civil war for many decades. Independence arrived with new hope and dreams, but all went in vain when in 2013, the scar of the civil war was reopened. Within a few years 400000 south Sudanese have been killed and another 4 million people displaced from their homes. At this time, several peace deals have been signed and also violated repeatedly. This article examines the nature of the post-liberation crisis in South Sudan and tries to understand whether the conflict erupted from the mere power struggle of Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) leaders or any other deep-rooted causes behind the violence.]

**Keywords:** South Sudan, SPLM, Salva Kirr, Riek Machar

### **Introduction**

South Sudanese leader Salva Mayardit Kirr proclaimed its Independence on July 9, 2011, after a referendum was held in January 2011. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005 between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the Khartoum Authority. Following the CPA, South Sudan became an autonomous region of Sudan.

Southern people were not comfortable during the Anglo-Egypt colonial rule. The entire south of Sudan remained on the periphery and was dominated by mostly militant tribalism. Sudan's independence from the condominium

---

\* **Mir Masudul Alam:** Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University, Bangladesh.

brought little change in the fate of the south. Instead of colonialist and local tribal lords, Khartoum-based elite class, and Arab people started to exploit the impoverished people (Malwal, 2015). South Sudanese were deprived of various state services like government jobs, education, health service, and business opportunities. The state budget allocation for the south was meager, and there was no significant infrastructural development. A unit of Sudan military consists of south people who mutinied prior to the Independence, which later resulted in a civil war. The situation worsens by Military coup happened in 1958, and this was not the last coup Sudanese people saw. Military coups and Junta rule become a regular phenomenon for Sudan. Though the first phase of the civil war ended by an agreement between Junta ruler Nimeiri and the rebel leader Jhon Lagu, the country soon faced the second phase of civil war, which was more devastating than the first phase. Religion was used as a tool of exploitation when Nimeiri regime tried to impose the Shariah laws and Arab culture on predominantly non-Muslim inhabitants of the south. In 1983, John Garang de Mabior, a southerner and other defectors, established Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), which had an armed wing often known as SPLA, started the war against the Khartoum regime.

Most parts of the southern elite class were sought a federal type of government where the southern region would be enjoyed more autonomy, but with time passed, the claim for southern secession became more popular. The intensity of civil war accelerated the death rate and displacement of the people. After a substantial international initiative was conducted by Inter government agency of development (IGAD), TROIKA (the USA, UK, and Norway), the UN, the warring parties convinced for negotiation, and finally, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed. The CPA allowed South Sudan self-determination, and an interim constitution has been enacted for Six years. After completing the period, South people cast their vote for secession in a referendum held in January 2011. By the mandate of referendum, Salva Mayardit Kirr, who has been the president of the autonomous south after John Garang's untimely death by a helicopter crash, declared South Sudan's Independence on July 9, 2011. But, the peace did not last long the very beginning of being an independent country South Sudan faced another violent civil war which killed hundreds of thousands of people, and nightmares of previous civil wars have been returned. The ongoing conflict erupted apparently from the power competition of President Salva Kirr and the Vice President Riek Machar. Very soon, the ethnic elements added with the conflict as Kirr represents the Dinka ethnic identity and Machar from the Nuer people. But these are the tips of the iceberg of crisis. The causes of civil war in such a nascent state are not merely the top leaders' power struggle or not solely the ethnic competition.

**Struggle against the Khartoum**

The word Sudan is a short form of the Arabic 'Bilad as-Sudan' which means 'Land of the Blacks'. The northern African state lay between Egypt on the north side and the vast Ethiopian mountain range on the south-east. Historically Sudan straddles the two prominent cultures-Africa and the Mediterranean (Britannica, n.d.). Two parts of the Nile drainage system (the White Nile and the Blue Nile) flow from south to north, and many tributaries and streams either derive from the Nile or fall into it. The surface of the northern part of the country is covered by sand or gravel. This part is very dry and not alluvial, but in the central and southern landscape is quite different. Alluvial soil seen from the central-south part onto southern region thankful to the overflows of the Nilotic drainage system. However, southern portion of the country has a rainy season.

The entire Sudan was known as 'Cush' to the Egyptian and 'Nubia' to the Greco-Romans (History World, n.d.). Egypt, as Sudan's northern neighbour always had been connected closely with Sudan and both share a common history. Precedence of first 'Cushite dynasty' dated back to the Eighth century BC (History World, n.d.). Sudan was divided into various feudalistic polities, until Egypt occupied and unified the region in the early Eighteenth century. Christianity started to become a dominating belief in north-eastern Africa since fourth century AD. Muslim political power began to rise in an area since the thirteenth century. During the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt, a Muslim ruler was placed in Nubia (History World, n.d.). In 1821 Sudan went under the control of Ottoman viceroy Mohammed Ali, and later his declaration of freedom, eventually keep Sudan under Egyptian control. Two British – Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon as part of Egypt's Khedive Ismail's administration contributed to bringing entire Sudan under Egyptian control and repelled the slave trade from Sudan at the eve of the modern age. However, Arab and Islamic culture was predominant in the northern part of Sudan, but the south remained characteristically tribal, and the Christian dominance was later established here (Britannica, 2021). In 1890 Britain entered Sudan as a political force, and the Anglo-Egyptian joint colonial (Condominium) era started (Briney, 2020).

Sudan started its statehood as a republic with an elected parliament. But the journey of democracy soon stumbled by the military coup of General Ibrahim Abboud in November 1958. Before the Independence, Sudan saw a mutiny of an army unit mainly composed of the southerners in Torit in 1955 (Malwal, 2015). Southern people were not happy with the 1947 British arrangement, which brought independence. Khartoum's authority reneged on their promises. They denied forming a long-expected federal system of government (Johnson, 2016). After the Sudanese independence in 1956, the southern scenarios remained as bad as the colonial period. Northern hierarchy and imposition of Arab culture and Islamic laws did not have acceptance among the southern dwellers. Power seizure of General Abboud exacerbated the southern crisis. His imposition policy

in South Sudan was very unpopular. He tried to spread Arabic culture and apply tried to spread Arabic culture and apply Shariah law on the mostly non-Muslim population of South Sudan (Britannica, n.d.). This strategy apparently made confrontation between Muslim identity and Christianity and the animist belief (Momodu, 2020). The rebels were primarily divided into two groups- Sudan African National Union (SANU) led by William Deng, composed of mostly primarily Dinka peoples, and the Anya Nya Movement led by Joseph Lagu, consisting of primarily Madi peoples (Momodu, 2020). The Seventeen years of turmoil resulted in the death of 500000 people, and one million became homeless (LeRiche, 2012). However, General Ibrahim Abboud resigned in 1964 amid a civil demonstration in North and South Sudan. After a concise period of civil government, Sudan faced another military coup led by Gaafar Mohammed el-Nimeiri in May 1969.

Various southern rebel groups, especially the Anya Nya and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) were united under General Joseph Lagu in 1971. Khartoum authority started a dialogue with General Lagu and its aftermath was the Addis Ababa agreement, which ended the seventeen-year-long turmoil in South Sudan in 1972.

The rise and spread of fundamentalism in north had brought a qualitative change in the northern political arena. This might make the Nimeiri regime more inclined to the religious groups and compel his political rivals in north, he became more rude and autocratic (Britannica, n.d.). Changes of Nimeiri's view and radicalization in Sudanese politics impacted the implementation of the Addis Ababa agreement. The Addis Ababa agreement eventually failed, and most of the promises offered by the Khartoum regime could not be attained (Malwal, 2015). Besides this there were allegations of corruption against the Nimeiri administration.

The irony was that the Khartoum authority was very fond of the Arab culture and Islamic Laws, but they got back up from Israel during the entire war against the southern rebel. Perhaps that was the reward of Sudan's support to the Egypt-Israel accord (the Camp David accord). Sudan was one of the three Arab League members who supported the Camp David accord (USAID, 2021). Suppressive policy and ruthlessness of the Nimeiri regime caused immense misery in South Sudan. People were dying in armed conflict as well as malnutrition, disease, and hunger. Agricultural production almost stopped, leading to food shortage and famine in South Sudan. In this situation, the civil war resumed in the south part of the country—Violence breakout by the breach of the Addis Ababa agreement by President Nimeiri (Momodu, 2018). Nimeiri wanted to control over the oil fields inside the southern region. Egypt and Libya became core supporters of the Nimeiri administration (Momodu, 2018). Rebels were organized under the banner of Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement

(SPLA/M) led by John Garang de Mabior. However, the hardliner Nimeiri was overthrown by the Fourth military coup of the country in 1985.

After a short span of civil government from 1986 to 1989, Lieutenant General Omar Hasan Ahmed al-Bashir seized power by the 5<sup>th</sup> military coup in Sudanese history. Bashir took more hardlines towards the southern rebels. As President of Sudan Omar al-Bashir gave the suppression and cruelty a new dimension. He detained hundreds of his political rivals in the north and started to use Arab militia groups to plague the south rebels. Khartoum's authority tightened up South Sudan's control and imposed restrictions on international aid and rescue missions (Britannica, n.d.).

The southern situation deteriorated by the split in SPLA, which started fierce in-fights. Two streams in SPLA had been visible, one is the followers of John Garang and another is the followers of the rebel's leader Riek Machar. Garang's ambition was to become a national leader of unified secular Sudan whereas Riek Machar advocated for the complete separation of South Sudan from Sudan (Britannica, n.d.). As a result, the second wave of the civil war started in 1983, which was more devastative than the first one. At least two million people have died, and another Four million uprooted from their livelihood, causing great suffering among the Southern people (LeRiche, 2012).

### **Self-determination and pathway to independence**

South Sudan's total area is 644329 sq km and estimated population is more than 10 million. It is a landlocked country. Though 90 percent of people are followers of Christianity, the South Sudanese demography is divided into several ethnic groups. The Dinka is the largest ethnic group which covered 35.80 percent of the population, while the Nuer is the second-largest ethnicity (15.60 percent of the total population). Other significant ethnicities are: Shilluk, Madi, Azande, Bari, Murle, etc. (CNN, 2021). South Sudan is rich in oil reserve but being a land-lock country, South Sudan needs to depend on Sudanese pipelines to export oil.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Troika (the USA, UK, and Norway) were continuously trying to bring the enemies to the table. There were successes for the attempts for sure. For example, before 2005 several peace deals and agreements were signed, e.g.: the Machakos Protocol of 2002, the Naivasha security Arrangement Agreement of 2003, the Naivasha wealth Sharing Agreement of 2004, the Naivasha Power-Sharing Agreement of 2004, the Naivasha Resolution of the Abeyi Conflict Protocol of 2004, the Naivasha Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan Protocol of 2004 and the Blue Nile States Protocol of 2004.

Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was a multifaceted effort to secure peace and stability in South Sudan. Issues like power and wealth sharing, National constitution, maintaining peace and security, sharing of oil revenues all had been included in CPA. Even though measures had been taken for three

disputed regions- Abeyi, Southern Kordofan and the Blue Nile states. CPA arranged an autonomous administration for South Sudan. It enshrined the Christians and the Animist people out of Shariah laws. Moreover, the agreement stipulated a referendum over the partition or unity of the South Sudan region.

Machakos protocol took an interim constitution and arranged a two-government system, one national government and another for South Sudan. Both the governments were directed to follow the interim national constitution. In northern states, 10 percent of seats would be reserved for SPLM/A, and on the other hand, in the south, 70 percent of the seats would be reserved for SPLM/A (Conciliations Resources, 2006). Three national bodies- National land commission, South Sudan land commission, and National petroleum commission have been set for wealth sharing. It enshrined a six-year interim government led by South Sudanese in South Sudan. It also included the participation of SPLM/A in the national government. One of the important leaders of SPLM/A John Garang has been appointed in two vital posts- the President of the Southern Sudan autonomous region and the first Vice President of Sudan. Shortly after taking office, he had died in a helicopter crash in the Nubia region. After Garang's death, senior SPLM/A leader Salva Kiir Mayardit was appointed in both the vacant posts.

According to the CPA arrangement, a referendum was held in South Sudan in January 9 2011. Ninety-nine percent of the voters chose to be separated from Sudan. Before the independence, tensions raised over the militancy of various factions of south rebels. Many of them were not happy with the CPA arrangement, and few were skeptical of SPLM/A dominance over the government of the South Sudan. In addition; there were some contentious issues that remained unresolved prior to the southern independent. Among them were the distribution of wealth and national debt, a mechanism for oil sharing, and border demarcations, which should have been solved before independence.

Unlike many other conflict-oriented or disputed secession, the international community widely accepted South Sudan's Independence. The United Nations formed UNMISS on July 8, 2011, the country soon became a newest member of the United Nations on July 14 same year. The African Union recognized South Sudan and took her as its member on July 27, 2011.

### **The civil war in post-Independence South Sudan**

Three basic principles: Justice, Liberty, Prosperity engraved on the Coat of Arms of South Sudan yet to be proved pragmatic after the ten years of independence.

South Sudan's northern neighbour is Sudan from where it seceded. It is bounded on the south by Kenya, Uganda; on the west by the Central African Republic and on the east by Ethiopia. Thankful to the Nile and its branches South Sudan is mostly green and its soil is alluvial unlikely to Sudan. South Sudan's

central part is a clay plain and contains a considerable swampland known as Al-Sudd.

The majority of the inhabitants of South Sudan, the majority of the inhabitants of South Sudan, mostly believe in Christianity and animism. Several ethnic groups (Dinka, Nuer, Shilluck, Madi, etc.) settled here between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the invasion of the Ottoman Viceroy Muhammad Ali, South Sudan became a centre of the slave trade. In 1899, a British-Egyptian condominium started in Sudan. Though the northern part of the country was occupied and unified by Egypt and later Anglo-Egypt joint venture, the south remained impoverished. The south part was home of many small and scattered tribes or ethnicities.

Sudan got independence from the Anglo-Egypt condominium on January 1 1956. An interim constitution ran the newly state. South Sudanese people were disappointed on two unresolved issues: whether the country would be a secular state, or run by Islamic laws, and the application of long awaited federal system of government (LeRiche, 2012). It should be noted that the Southern elite class/hierarchy split was as old as the Sudanese statehood. One of the southern factions was a follower of the federal system of government that would be granted satisfactory self-determination for the south, and another was the admirer of complete separation. Although the second stream was significantly weak during the start of the Sudan as a state, the faction contributed to igniting the in-fight later. South Sudan became an autonomous region in 2005 per the CPA, and later turned into an independent country on July 9, 2011.

Just after the two years of independence a fearful civil war has been breakout in South Sudan. Two warring parties are the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudan People's Liberation Army-In Operation (SPLA-IO). In December 2013, President Salva Kirr Mayardit claimed that Vice President Riek Machar has been trying to overthrow him (Kirr). Salva Kirr dismissed Machar from the post of Vice President and later canceled the entire cabinet. Violence erupted with the minor splitting in the South Sudanese Army composed of ex-cadres of the SPLA engaged in civil war against Sudanese force before Independence (Goldberg, 2020). Riek Machr left the country and organized Nuer soldiers of SPLA and form SPLA-IO.

The violence in civil war is so intensified that the death toll has been catching up with the number of deaths in conflict-ridden Syria. Around 400000 people died after the conflict outstretched in December 2013. Another 2.2 million people fled to neighbouring countries like Uganda Sudan and sought refuge there. Nearly 1.4 million people became homeless and in the bushes with great suffering (Bearak, 2020). In February 2017, the United Nations declared the acute food shortage as famine, where more than 40 percent of the total population needs urgent food assistance in South Sudan (CNN, 2021). Both sides have been committed severe crimes against the civil population, even crimes punishable

under international law. An Amnesty International report in June 2017 revealed that both the government forces and rebels perpetrated crimes against humanity. In the Equatoria State, men, women, and children were killed; they had been targeted with homemade weapons like Machetes, killed brutally and burned alive (Moschetti, 2018). Abduction and raping of women and girls and killing innocent unarmed people emerged as a regular phenomenon. Death, displacement, devastation of livelihood, hunger and famine tore up the country's socio-economic fabric. The illiteracy rate is agitating and five out of ten children are deprived of basic education (Ramos, 2020).

In August 2015 Riek Machar reappointed as the Vice President and the compromise peace agreement was signed. Nevertheless, very soon after his return with his personal security guards in capital Juba, the violence broke out, and he was sacked from the office a second time. Machar and Kirr signed another peace deal in September 2018, slowed down the fighting. After the dealing, the demilitarization process started, and rebels were preparing to return to the barracks. As the international pressure raised President Salva Kiir Mayardit and rebel leader, Riek Machar reached an excellent deal on February 22, 2020 which ended South Sudan's six-year-old deadly civil war (Bearak, 2020). There are three parties in the peace dealings: the SPLA, the SPLA-IO, and the South Sudan Opposition Alliance. They signed a power-sharing agreement and formed an interim unity government where Riek Machar has got back his office of the Vice President of South Sudan. Despite the top leaders of the conflicting parties reaching a deal, sporadic violence has been ongoing in several conflict-prone region of the country (Bearak, 2020).

### **Root causes behind the civil war:**

#### **1. Failure in state-building**

State building is one of the main challenges for the central east African country South Sudan. It has a severe lacking of state-building capacity, which is the most significant deficit among the African countries (Global Security, 2019). Since the CPA was signed in 2005, South Sudan has failed to attain features like a single political institution. Rather, it repeatedly broke itself on the basis of ethnic ground and power struggle. South Sudanese people almost lost a generation in civil war before they achieved independence. Simultaneously, they had to fight against hunger, natural calamities, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy, cultural oppression, and humiliation for a long time which mounted on stress, trauma, and psychological disturbance. These stress and mental harm rendered into intolerance on a mass level and create distrust among the ethnic groups. Just after the independence, South Sudan had to face formidable challenges. Humanitarian conditions remain at stake. A large portion of the population suffered from serious food shortage, and even some localised armed group did not put their weapons down.



The SPLM activities had a considerable gap with its own population (Vertin, 2019). The movement had no specific socio-economic agenda, which could have been a bridge between the civilians and the guerrillas. The struggle of SPLM against the Khartoum regime was militant in nature. The movement had failed to orchestrate a political fabric that could have been effective in the post-Independence state building process.

The interim period after signing the CPA in 2005 has been wasted due to the lack of proper initiatives to build a stable political sphere, making of political goals of a nation state and a national economy. The CPA (2005) has been considered merely as a "ceasefire to the warring militias" (LeRiche, 2012). The political Party Act and the National Security Bill raise colossal criticism. Human rights activists see these laws as oppressive and a threat to the democratic environment as well as a violation of the right of expression.

## **2. Failure of civil administration**

South Sudan has been suffering from acute human resources and expertise that only fifty percent of public servants possessed minimum early education. Only five percent of them have been graduated. Corruption has mounted in South Sudan for the last few years. There have been allegations of corruption against all ranks of the government services. Conditions of law and order is also at stake in all over the country. South Sudanese National Police members are mostly ex-cadres of the SPLM who are failed to ensure civil safety (Johnson, 2016). Looting, pillaging, abduction, and killing are the common scenarios in capital Juba and the countryside. Lack of physical infrastructures like schools, hospitals, office buildings, roads and highways hinders the routine works of the civil administration.

Amid the huge controversies, Salva Kirr's government increased the number of states (the highest regional administrative unit) from 10 to 32. To the November 2018 survey, 75 percent of the respondents did not support the decision (BTI, n.d.). It is assumed that this kind of regional restructuring was done to ensure Kirr's dominance over the oil rich region. However, the decision has been changed and decreased the number of states to its original figure in the latest power-sharing agreement of February 2020.

## **3. Weak Legislature**

President Salva Kirr's mandate relies on the pre-independence election held in 2010 when South Sudan was the autonomous region of Sudan according to the CPA (2005) and Kirr was elected as the President of the South Sudan Autonomous region. From then there was no general election held in South Sudan. The SPLM's monopoly over politics and parliament is a great barrier to developing a healthy political sphere. The opposition parties hold only four seats

(out of 302) in parliament, which makes the whole scenario ridiculous. This monopoly of SPLM tried to influence all the institutions of the country. The political parties Act was considered as an evil will of SPLM to keep its monopoly and hampered the formation of the new political parties. Lack of expertise and education among the members of parliament affected the functions of the Legislature (Global Security, 2019).

Though South Sudan has multi-ethnic, multilingual demography, the constitution of South Sudan little reflects the inclusionary, pluralistic views. Instead of that, the SPLA's code of conduct (during the civil war) played a key role in developing the various legal institutions in South Sudan (LeRiche, 2012).

The scale and scope of political participation, are shallow in South Sudan. There has been no election since the 2011 referendum. The general election has been postponed several times. Slava Kirr's SPLM is the only dominant political party in South Sudan. Scope for the creation of a democratic opponent has been curtailed.

Constitution of South Sudan every favour of the President. Concept of separation of power does not work in South Sudan. President enjoys many powers that could have turned him autocratic in nature. President can dismiss elected government officials, even if dissolve or suspend the whole legislative body (BTI, n.d.).

#### **4. Formation of the Military**

There is a lack of professionalism in the Army though a big state budget has allocated for them each year. Though the SPLA has declared their loyalty to democratic principles and values prior to self-determination, the militant nature does not wash away from SPLA characteristic. Army's presence and in some cases intervention in civil administration and politics is very common in South Sudan. Military (former SPLA) continuously trying to dominate the civil administration, and even the elected legislature (BTI, n.d.). Moreover, the presence of several of armed groups all over the country deteriorated the situation. Political and military elite exploit the South Sudanese commoners. The same person holds a party post, a commander in the Army, and a public servant! There are strong allegations against the government force of abduction, looting and robbery.

#### **5. Weak Judiciary**

Judiciary does not work properly due to the lack of skill, monetary deficiency. The intervention of government and SPLM cadres in the Judiciary, is widespread, which is a significant barrier to ensuring justice (Global Security, 2019).

## 6. Ethnic Competition

The main protagonists of the civil war are the Dinka ethnic group and the Nuer people. The conflict has ethnic characteristics as the President represents the Dinka ethnic group and his main antagonist Riek Machar from the Nuer ethnic group. However, at the intra-group level, neither Salva Kiir nor Riek Machar is free from a challenge from the other group leaders. A small Dinka group is not loyal to Kiir and contrary, a group of Nuer people do not support Riek Machar, rather loyal to the government. Meanwhile, another Nine rebel groups have been emerged who are fighting against the Kiir led SPLA but not loyal to Riek Machar's faction (Moschetti, 2018). The entire South Sudan is an ethnolinguistic mosaic consisting of various sedentary and pastoral groups. There are 64 ethnic and 50 linguistic groups in South Sudan (Lijn, 2016). This scattered feature of the demography is obviously a challenge for the creation of national identity, especially under a nation state. The area contains smaller ethnic groups like Shilluk, Azande, Murle, similarly the large ethnic groups are also divided into several small clans, for instance, Dinka, the largest ethnic group of the country, divided into Agar, Malual, Bor, Ngok etc. clans (LeRiche, 2012).

## Conclusion

South Sudan stands 187<sup>th</sup> among the 189 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index in 2020. During the rebellion against the Khartoum authority, religious, regional, and cultural differences with Arab-dominated north were the main catalyst. The main focus was on north-south antagonism and conflicts, which the split and differences within the South Sudanese people and society keep out of sight. These dormant elements of conflicts came forward or unfolded after achieving their state.

The civil war caused massive deaths, displacement of peoples and acute food shortage in the newly independent country. Since the commencement of Sudan as a nation-state South Sudan had never been experienced an uninterrupted peace and good governance. The country is deprived of proper education, health service, basic human rights, justice and equity.

Fragile infrastructure and poor communication system hinder economic development, trade and commerce, and even daily administrative work. The militant nature of various political factions is also a barrier for civil administration and international aid agencies. SPLM, the ultimate warriors for freedom, could not turn their policy and nature towards a peaceful nation-building process instead they have been engaging in vicious power rivalries. The scattered demography and absence of 'uniform nationality' among various ethnicities exacerbated the situation. Moreover, the wide range of corruption and

mismanagement of civil administration deteriorate the post-independence grooming of the nascent state.

### References:

1. Malwal, Bona, (2015). Sudan and South Sudan: From One to Two, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
2. Britannica. (n.d.). Sudanese Independence and Civil War. Retrieved February 19, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/south-sudan/Resumption-of-civil-war>
3. History World. (n.d.). History of the Sudan. Retrieved February 19, 2021, from <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=aa86>
4. Sudan. (2021, March 10). Britannica. From <https://www.britannica.com/place/Sudan>
5. Briney, Amanda. (2020, January 17). Geography of Sudan. Thoughtco. <https://www.thoughtco.com/geography-of-sudan-1435609>
6. Johnson, Hilde F., (2016). South Sudan: The Untold Story from Independence to Civil War, London, I.B. Tauris.
7. Momodu, Samuel. (2020, January 22). First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972). Black Past. <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/events-global-african-history/first-sudanese-civil-war-1955-1972/>
8. LeRiche, Matthew, (2012). South Sudan: from revolution to independence, UK, Oxford University Press.
9. South Sudan History. (2021, January 21). USAID. From <https://www.usaid.gov/south-sudan/history>
10. Momodu, Samuel. (2018, December 23). Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005). Black Past. <https://www.blackpast.org/global-African-history/events-global-African-history/second-Sudanese-civil-war-1983-2005/>
11. South Sudan Fast Facts. (2021, January 31). CNN. From <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/10/world/africa/south-sudan-fast-facts/index.html>
12. A Summary of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. (2006, December 18). Conciliations Resources. From <https://www.c-r.org/accord/sudan/summary-comprehensive-peace-agreement>
13. South Sudan History. (2013, December 27). Global Security. From <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/south-sudan-history.htm>
14. Goldberg, Mark Leon. (2020, March 09). A Peace Agreement Ends South Sudan's Brutal Civil War. Will It Hold? UN Dispatch. <https://www.undispatch.com/a-peace-agreement-ends-south-sudans-civil-war-can-it-hold/>
15. Bearak, Max. (2020, February 22). South Sudan forges unity government in bid to end civil war that has killed 400000. Washington Post. From <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/south-sudan-forges-unity-government-in-bid-to-end-civil-war-that-has-killed-400000-lives/2020/02/22/4afea024-54f2-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09-story.html>

16. Moschetti, Fr. Daniele. (2018, April 16). A brief history of the civil war in South Sudan. Comboni Missionaries. From <https://www.combonimissionaries.org/a-brief-history-of-the-civil-war-in-south-sudan/>
17. Ramos, Melanie (2020, August 4). South Sudan conflict: facts and how to help. World Vission. From <https://www.worldvision.ca/stories/south-sudan-conflict-facts-and-how-to-help>
18. South Sudan-Governance. (2019, March 19). Global Security. From <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/south-sudan-governance.htm>
19. Vertin, Zach. (2019, June 14). The Old Gurad Are Killing the World's Youngest Country. Foreign Policy. From <https://www.foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/14/south-sudan-the-old-guard-are-killing-the-worlds-youngest-country-john-garang-salva-kirr-riek-machar-splm-zach-vertin-rope-from-sky/>
20. BTI (n.d.). South Sudan Country Report 2020. Retrieved February 19, 2021, from <https://www.bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report-SSD-2020.html#pos8>
21. Lijn, Jair van der, Dr. (2016). Scenarios for South Sudan in 2020, Stockholm, PAX SIPRI.