Conflict in South Sudan

Human Security Issues and Challenges for Conflict Resolution

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This research aims to find out the urgency and challenges of making conflict resolutions in South Sudan related to their impact on human security issues. The research method used is a qualitative research method with technical data collection in the form of literature studies using several previously journals with similar topic. For the approach, the theories and concepts used are human security and conflict resolution management. As a result, the impact of this conflict on aspects of human security has been threat to a lost generation in South Sudan, hence why the conflict resolution is very necessary. By reflecting on conflict resolution that had been made previously, two challenges that must be considered in making conflict resolution in the future are the commitment of both parties to the peace agreement and the absence of national identity in South Sudan. Therefore, efforts that can be made are using consistent international pressure to maintain commitment and increase the role of national institutions to bridge the absence of national identity in all conflicting ethnic groups.

Keywords: South Sudan, intra-state conflict, human security, conflict resolution, national identity.

From the early 1990s to the end of 1999 there were 118 armed conflicts throughout the world, with 80 states and two para-state regions involved, and resulted in the deaths of around six million people. (Smith,

2014). Before World War II, the main form of organised violence in international relations was inter-state conflict. During the Cold War and the following period, the main forms of conflict in international relations turned into intra-state violence and inter-community conflict (Hampson et al. 2007).

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One area where there are still many wars is the African region. This is partly due to the condition of countries in the African region which, after independence, have not been politically stable and underdeveloped in economic terms. Beside, the ethnic identity that is still very strong in the community creates tension between the ethnic groups. By 2020, almost half the countries in Africa and 20% of the population are affected by conflict. Also, according to British Government (2001), there are eleven major conflicts have resulted in more than a thousand deaths. This make the level of conflict is greater than in any other region in the world. One of these conflicts is the conflict in South Sudan.

South Sudan itself is the newest country in the world which is located in the middle of Africa and borders with six countries. This country is one of the regions that are rich in oil, but also full of civil war. Dessalegn (2017) in his article The Cause and Consequence of Conflict in South Sudan said that the conflict in South Sudan began with tensions between ethnic Dinka (the oldest ethnic group in Sudan) and Ethnic Nuer (the second oldest ethnic in Sudan). Starting from inter-ethnic tensions, in December 2013, violence between the government (that supported by ethnic Dinka) and the oppotition (that supported by ethnic Nuer) began to occur. So, we can say that even this conflict looks like a conflict between the government and opposition, but basically the main parties of the conflict are ethnic Dinka and Nuer. The war in the newborn country in 2011 then caused thousands of casualties and other problems such as poverty, hunger and increasing numbers of refugees (Dessalegn, 2017). Peace efforts and conflict resolution in the conflict in South Sudan have been carried out by the international community, both by countries and organisations such as the United Nations. However, until now the resolution that has been made has not succeeded significantly to end the dispute. The country's conditions that were not stable yet are one of the main reasons that made peace agreement in the civil war in South Sudan very vulnerable to collapse. But, the increasing of human insecurity in South Sudan has made international pressure to immediately stop the conflict even greater.

In this paper, we refer to several similar articles previously written about the impact as examined by Kircher, 2013; Dessalegn, 2017; and Wild et al., 2019. Those articles used the human rights approach, while we use the human security approach in analysing the impact of conflict. Our reason to choose this concept is because there are many negative impacts that caused by this conflict, such as poverty, economic condition, and others that are basically the issues of human security. The relation between conflict and human security itself were discussed in many literatures, some of them are in the Routledge Handbook of Human Security, 2014; Human Security: A Framework for Assessment In Conflict and Transition, 2001; and Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building, 2004.

Last but not least, we also refers to an article that discusses the challenges in the effort to resolve the conflict in South Sudan, such as written by Nyadera, 2018; Mutasa, 2017; Blanchard, 2016; and the Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, 2006. These articles mention that the challenge of the South Sudan conflict lies in the condition of unstable ethnicity and unstable government so that recommendations are given to overcome this. Therefore, in this paper we want to find out the urgency in the effort to resolve the conflict in South Sudan related to its impact on human security and, from so many challenges faced, we also want to find out what are the biggest challenges to be concern in making conflict resolution on the future.

Literature Review

According to the theories, conflict is consists of three components, that are action, incompatibility (difference of interests), and actors (parties). By combining all three, conflict can be defined as a social situation in which at least two actors (parties) try to get one of the same resources at the same time (Wallensteen, 2002). One form of conflict is armed conflict. Armed conflict defined as open and armed clashes between two or more parties carried out centrally, with continuity between clashes, in disputes about power over the government and territory (Dan Smith, 2004). Besides, the development of the times also led to a paradigm shift so that actors in the conflict were no longer just countries, but also non-state actors. Therefore, in addition to what is called inter-state conflict or interstate conflict, there are also so-called intra-state conflicts which include civil war. At least since 1945, which is after the cold war, internal conflicts such as civil war have occurred

more frequently than international conflicts between countries. Dan Smith (2004) in his article *Trend and Causes of Armed Conflict* assumes that this internal conflict is not only caused by ethnic factors (as is generally considered to be the main factor) but also has relevance to political and economic conditions. The need to understand this condition is due to civil war also having a close relationship with the distribution of power in its society (Peter Wallersteen 2002).

Douma (2003) describes four factors that influence the occurrence of conflict in his writing *Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War*. First, the trigger factor, which is the events that trigger the occurrence of conflict even though it is not the main causal factor. Second, pivotal factors, that is the root causes of conflict so that these factors must be resolved to stop the conflict. Third, mobilising factors, that is the actors in a conflict that influence the direction of conflict. Finally, the fourth is aggravating factors, that is factors that can influence pivotal factors and mobilising factors.

The South Sudan conflict as mentioned earlier is a conflict between ethnic groups (which means "non-state actors") in South Sudan. Therefore, the use of the concepts of armed conflict and intra-state conflict will be very relevant to explain this conflict. In addition, we feel that there are various factors that cause the South Sudan conflict, therefore, the explanation proposed by Dan Smith (2004) and Douma (2003) regarding the causes of conflict is also considered to be very relevant for analysing the causes of conflict in South Sudan.

Conflict itself is closely related to the concept of security, where conflict can occur as a form of resistance from threats to security or conflict itself which is a threat to security. Once again the development of the era again played a role in the shift of the concept of security which was originally traditional (only focusing on the military and the state) into non-traditional (focusing on humans). This then creates a new paradigm called human security. The term human security itself first appeared in the book entitled Human Security (1966) written by William E. Blatz. After that, this concept continued to develop until it was finally known globally when it was raised in the Human Development Report in 1994 published by UNDP. This report criticized the concept of security which only focused on external threats to regional security as the main national interest in foreign policy, but forgot to pay attention to common people who affected (King and Murray, 2005). Human security according to the report includes two things that is freedom

from fear and freedom from want. Freedom from want, in this case, means that humans can fulfill their needs, while freedom from fear means that humans are free from threats to themselves.

UNDP report also mentioned several aspects included in the concept of human security, which is politics, food, individuals, environment, health, community, and economy. Economic security includes freedom from poverty. Food security includes access to food. Then, health security, for example, is access to health care or protection from disease threats. Environmental security, for example, is protected from the dangers of environmental pollution, such as pollution or global warming. Personal security, for example, is security from war or physically threatening things. Community security, for example, is the security of traditional culture and ethnic groups physically and can sustain their lives. Finally, political security includes freedom in civil and political rights, including freedom from political oppression.

As we mention before on literature review, there so many literatures that discuss about the relation between conflict and human security. This relation caused by the fact that conflict is one of the factors that create human insecurity. Therefore, conflict resolution is very important because, in addition to resolving conflicts, the resolution also stops the impact of the conflict itself on human security. Wallensteen (2002) defines conflict resolution as a situation in which the conflicting parties do an agreement that resolves discrepancies between them, accepts each other and stopping violence between one another. He also mentioned that there are seven ways to make conflict resolution. There are shifting priorities, dividing contested interests, horse trading, ruling together, leaving control to a minority or third force, bringing issues to a conflict resolution mechanism, and the last is postponing issue. To determine what ways to use, the things that must be considered are the root of the problem and the conditions and situations of the conflict itself.

Methods

The method used in this article is a descriptive qualitative research method with data collection techniques in the form of literature studies. The data validation technique used is data triangulation from various reference sources such as books, journals, and related websites. This method was chosen because in this paper, the researcher will explain the phenomenon of conflict in South Sudan, what its impact is

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on human security issues, and what challenges need to be considered in making conflict resolution, so an in-depth explanation is needed by referring to various sources.

Discussion

Conflict Factors in South Sudan

South Sudan is a fractional region of North Sudan. The split of this region is part of a conflict resolution that never ends between South Sudan and North Sudan. The resolution was a Comperhensive Peace Agreement made in 2005, in which South Sudan at that time requested to secede from North Sudan (Nyadera, 2005). The independence declaration carried out by South Sudan on 9 July 2011 was a statement of the success of the referendum. This officially made South Sudan be a country, even though it was not yet fully stable due to unresolved ethnic problems. This is evidenced by only one month after that, in August 2011, the UN stated that at least 600 were killed due to ethnic disputes. This incident resulted in 200,000 people displaced from South Sudan to the Sudanese border country.

In analysing the causes of this conflict, we use four factors mentioned by Douma (2003), that is trigger factors, povital factors, mobilising factors, and aggravating factors. The trigger factor occurred in December 2013, with problems in the South Sudan government, which is between the President and Vice President of South Sudan. At that time, President Salva Kiir Maryadit accused Deputy President Riek Machar Teny Dhurgon and several politicians of planning to overthrow his government. The fact that President Kiir was someone with the Dinka ethnicity and Vice President Machar was someone with Nuer ethnicity made individual conflicts of interest expand into inter-ethnic conflicts. That made the social structure beneath them split and social relations deteriorated. Kiir and Machar who in this conflict were the mobilising factors have succeeded in mobilising ethnic groups to create ethnic polarisation in South Sudan. Then, fighting broke out on December 16, 2013 (Koos and Thea, 2014) which in a short time became increasingly severe and caused thousands of fatalities.

In January 2014, a ceasefire was signed, but it was also violated several times over the next few weeks. These frequent violations are aggravating factors of the conflict because every party who violates will make the other party do revenge. Further discussion in February failed to end violence and eventually increased the number of refugees to
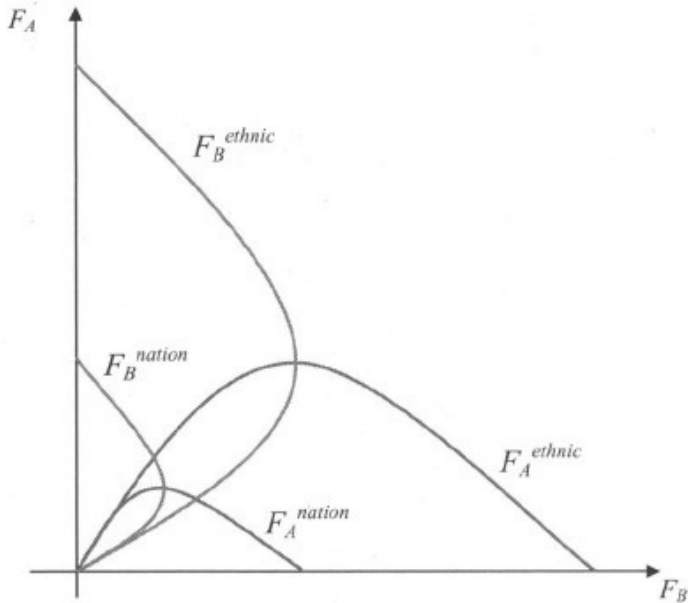
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one million in April. Circumstances that have not improved have led to further peace talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in August, but still fails. Then, from November to December Kenya and Japan sent peacekeepers to protect the people in South Sudan, but the uncontrolled situation made this effort so difficult. Finally, in December the UN Commission of Human Rights declared ethnic cleansing in several places in South Sudan, which did not recognise by President Kiir.

Based on the sequence of events in the conflict in South Sudan since 2013 Nyadera (2018) in his article states that ethnicity is an important variable in the politics of South Sudan. The large number of people in the dominant ethnic groups is an important instrument to be able to get power. The composition of the conflicting parties in South Sudan also related with ethnic mobilisation based on historical competition. One of the finding that state in his article is strong ethnic loyalty combined with a political system that allows winners to dominate government positions causes political fighting to increase to the level of violence.

Figure 1. Conflict under National and Ethnic Identification

Source: Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict, Shayo and Sabanis (2013)

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The findings from Nyadera (2018) were proven by Shayo and Sabanis (2013) in their research which explained the relationship between strong ethnic loyalty and the level of conflict in a country. He uses the example of two groups that identify themselves as part of a certain ethnicity or part of the country. The result, as the figure suggests, the intensity of fighting in equilibrium is highest when both groups identify ethnically, lowest when both identify with the nation, and intermediate when members of one group identify with the nation and members of the other group identify ethnically. In addition, Shayo and Sabanis also explained that the state condition factor also had a very big influence in this matter. Countries that are poor, unstable in politics (for example due to a lot of corruption), tend to make the intensity of conflict even greater.

Related with those explanations, we agree with the Nyadera (2018) assumption that ethnicity is an important variable, but we tend to feel that the povital factor causing the conflict is basically a political system and chaotic struggle of power in South Sudan. In accordance with the proverb "there is no smoke if there is no fire", then if nothing is contested as a trigger, there will be no conflict. In this case, something that is contested is power, the oil resources and weapons are an extension of this power. In simple terms, the president is the main authority in a country, meaning that he will automatically control resources, the military, the economy, and so on. Then, ethnic differences that are still very thick and loyal (as mentioned by Nyadera), tense, and want to dominate each other, are conditions that can be utilised by the two protagonists in this conflict, Kiir and Machar, to achieve their interests, which is nothing but the power. So, in other words, 'ethnicity' in this case is actually a mobilised weapon that used by both party to win in this conflict.

Impact of the South Sudan Conflict on Human Security Issues

The ongoing conflict in South Sudan cannot be denied has a very big impact on the issue of human security. The following are the effects of the civil war in South Sudan on the seven aspects of human security based on the UNDP report, which is economics, food, health, environment, individuals, communities, and politics.

Economics

Based on the UNDP report (2017), the civil war in South Sudan resulted in macroeconomic conditions deteriorating significantly. Oil produc-

tion, which accounts for more than 90% of revenue in South Sudan, collapsed resulting in a drastic drop in government revenues. In addition, the South Sudan Pound has also depreciated due to the decline in global crude oil. This then creates inflationary pressure, which based on World Bank data, annual inflation increased by 661.3% from July 2015 to July 2016 and 730% from August 2015 to August 2016.

Food
The UNDP report (2017) also states that as of September 2017, more than 6 million people (more than half the population in South Sudan) are reported to have food insecurity, with 1.7 million at level 4 IPC (emergency) and around 50,000 people at IPC levels 5 (starvation). Although the development of conditions of hunger in certain areas has been prevented by the presence of humanitarian assistance, the level and severity of food insecurity have continued to increase by 20-50% between 2012 and 2016. This is caused by the loss of more than 50% of harvests in areas affected by violence since 2013. In fact, this productivity fulfills most of the country's food needs and 85% of the population makes the agricultural sector a livelihood.

Health
Still based on the same report, that is the UNDP (2017) report, during this conflict, food insecurity, damaged and inaccessible health services, water, and sanitation resulted in significant malnutrition and disease. Humanitarian health services are needed by more than 5 million people estimated to be due to an outbreak of malaria (with 500 deaths in 2 million cases reported in 2016) and cholera (with 163 deaths from 5,000 cases reported since early 2017). Beside, the prevalence of Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) in all regions of South Sudan is estimated at 15% or above the emergency threshold.

Environment
According to a report from the UN Environment (2018), South Sudan is ranked fifth in the world, which is very vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Climate change will exacerbate the development challenges that have originated from political instability, poverty, and sustainable food insecurity. This should be the government's attention to be resolved, but unstable political conditions, conflict, and violence make this neglected and worsen the condition. One example is that

in the absence of conflict food insecurity itself has occurred in South Sudan. With conflicts that have damaged agricultural land, this food insecurity has become increasingly severe and will lead to malnutrition and disease for people in South Sudan.

Individuals

According to reports from the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (2015), on their escape to secure themselves civilians were often being the direct targets of attacks, including when they fled together with deserters. Civilians were also forced to flee several times when troops get into areas where they sought safety. Besides, rape and sexual violence also occur in South Sudan. According to UNMISS and humanitarian sources, in two months in 2015, 28 civilians were kidnapped and 35 women were raped by the SPLA (Sudan People Liberation Army) soldiers near the location of the Protection of Civilians (PoC).

Communities

The United Nation Mission in South Sudan (2015) also mentions that civilians also face various threats of ethnic and inter-communal violence, as well as crime and gender-based violence. In Juba on May 10, 2015, fighting between the refugees on the PoC-1 site and the PoC-3 site resulted in the loss of life and injuries. Other than that, in December 2013, in Juba, ethnic-based killings were carried out by military forces against civilians. This was replicated in the states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile which continued with similar attacks from the other side.

Politics

The situation and condition of a highly unstable political system will have a major influence on the stability of South Sudan itself. The condition of the inter-ethnic struggle of power in unhealthy politics like this will be a real threat to the entire community of South Sudan, moreover, ethnicity is in the position of an "opponent" from the government.

Based on the analysis of the impact on the seven aspects of human security that have been explained previously, we can see that both freedom from fear and freedom from want are not obtained or owned by the people in South Sudan. This shows that if this conflict does not resolve immediately, then the impact will continue or even worsen and potentially lead to a lost generation in South Sudan. This also ex-

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pressed by the UN official, "Seventy percent of children in South Sudan do not attend school, and the loss of generations in such a new country will complicate development after the conflict ends." The same was expressed by Henrietta H. Fore as UNICEF executive director, "Seventy percent of children in South Sudan do not go to school, and this is the highest in the world. There is too much violence there." He said, "If we do not give help … we will lose this generation and that is very tragic for South Sudan because a country will not be able to build itself without the young generation" (VOA, 2018). Those statements mean if we not stop this conflict immediately, the consequences is really huge.

The Challenges of Conflict Resolution in South Sudan

The first effort towards peace was pioneered by the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) in 2004 which received support from Britain, Norway and the United States (Nyadera, 2018). The last deadline for reaching a peace agreement in the South Sudan conflict that set by the committee is March 5, 2015, but the target is not realised. Besides, ongoing killings made many regional and international actors increasingly urge this conflict to end immediately. For that purpose, a new draft to end the conflict was made in June 2015. The Security Council also threatened to give further sanctions if on August 17, 2015, the parties involved did not sign the agreement. (Foreign Policy, 2015). The problem of this agreement is the slow of implementation. This can be seen from the failure to achieve the target of establishing the National Unity Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in January 2016.

In late July 2016, threats to the peace process re-emerged with an attack by government forces suspected of targeting a UN-protected civilian camp (Nyadera 2018). Insident that worsened this situation resulted in fighting returning across the country in the following weeks. The UN Human Rights Commission later published a report on March 11, 2016, which stated incidents of war crimes involving sexual violence (The Guardian 2016). This situation also marks the final collapse of the TGNU.

Nyadera (2018) in his article also quoted De Vries and Schomerus (2017) who explained that the lack of political goodwill both from the government and the opposition was the cause of the collapse of Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) in 2015. Although the agreement was signed by the two

conflicting parties, but their greater interest in the power they wish to obtain compared to implementing the agreement again makes the agreement not realised (De Vries and Schomerus 2017). Therefore, De Vries and Schomerus emphasised that the division of positions in government would not be a permanent solution if we did not use a more comprehensive approach to peace in South Sudan.

Several attempts have been made to bring leaders back to the negotiating table since the collapse of the 2015 peace agreement to stop the ongoing civil war. At first this effort seemed futile, but in early May 2018 peace talks were held again in Addis Ababa, although it ended without an official agreement. This is caused by the rejection of both parties on the division of government positions, government systems, and security arrangements proposed by the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). On June 25, 2018, President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar then met in Khartoum after continuing to get pressure from the international community. Both parties at this meeting then signed a new peace agreement that contains distribution of the government's position and a ceasefire. However, the ceasefire only lasted a few hours until it was violated in the north with both parties throwing accusations against each other as provocateur to the violation.

After many failed attempts, the peace agreement on September 12, 2018 in Addis Ababa was the culmination of the last attempt to end the conflict in South Sudan. In other words, this agreement became the 12th agreement signed by President Kiir and Rich Machar since this conflict began. Unlike the previous agreements, the agreement this time involved President Bashir from Sudan and Museveni from Uganda, who were new actors in peace efforts in South Sudan. These conflict resolution efforts seem quite good with the steps that are quite clear in its implementation. This resolution also addresses the commitment to make a functional republic and the refugee management, which have become a problem during this conflict (Gedamu, 2019). It seems that the two parties have a strong commitment in this agreement until the warring parties violated the ceasefire agreement with the latest case occurred on September 24, 2018, when opposition and government forces clashed in Koch Regency in the north of the country.

Through the above explanation, we can see that the resolution used so far is by dividing the two contested interests. We believe this method is indeed the right way because what is contested is power in government. But the majority of the factors causing the failure of each

conflict resolution made the lack of strong commitment from both the Kiir and Machar parties. This can be seen from the lack of trust and ownership of the agreement. Besides, there is very little discussion about accountability at the national level so that the two conflicting parties accuse each other of committing human rights violations (Mutasa and Virk, 2017). Therefore, we conclude that the main key to the success of conflict resolution in South Sudan is actually one of the main obstacles and challenges. In addition, we also agree with a report from The Center for Conflict Resolution (2017) which states that an unsolved national identity crisis in South Sudan because failure to organize differences that exist constructively is also another major challenge in creating conflict resolution. The absence of national identity and tolerance for differences will certainly make it very easy for parties to be triggered to conflict.

Therefore, in making conflict resolution there are several very important things to consider, one of which is the condition of tension between ethnic groups. For this, we agree with recommendations given by Mutasa and Virk (2017), which requires greater awareness of the pluralistic heritage of South Sudan with its ethnic and cultural diversity. For this reason, more effective coordination bodies are needed, such as the South Sudan NGO Forum and the Church Council of South Sudan. The purpose is to avoid conflict and competition and to be able to have greater influence at the national level. This is because neutral institutions based on shared interests will bring their identity as an institution of society and not a particular ethnicity.

The next thing to note is the guarantee that both parties will commit to the agreement that has been made. We believe that the international community plays an important role in this matter. We underlined several attempts to make a resolution where international pressure is a factor that has succeeded in forcing both parties to return to the negotiating table. Therefore, there is a need for mediators who not only mediate but also can guard the implementation of this conflict later. Also, international pressure must also always be given during this implementation and strict sanctions are needed for those who violate the agreement.

The contents of the agreement itself certainly need to pay attention to the interest of each party as well as the theory of conflict resolution management itself. We tend to stick to the distribution of power in inter-ethnic government or resolution by dividing the two contested things. One of these can be done by implementing a democratic

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system. However, once again this can only be done if each party both decreases their selfishness and is willing to commit to this conflict resolution agreement.

Last but not least, we also agreed with Mutasa and Virk (2017) who recommended that after the situation in South Sudan is stable, peace-building efforts must also be made, especially in improving economic conditions, including in the agricultural sector. Thus community resilience and food security will increase, and the vulnerability of South Sudanese people to conflict can be reduced. Of course, this is very important because, in addition to resolving conflicts that have an impact, we also have to overcome the impact itself. However, the impact is very miserable to the community so it must be resolved.

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Conclusion

The impact of this conflict on the seven aspects of human security shows that the people of South Sudan do not get either freedom from fear or freedom from want. If this continues, the biggest consequence is a lost generation in South Sudan. If this happens, then the condition of South Sudan which is still much needed to be built when this conflict ends will not have adequate human resources. Even with a large amount of international assistance, the younger generation in South Sudan remains the main key. Therefore, conflict resolution must be made immediately to end this conflict.

It was found that the failure in the conflict resolution that had been made so far was divided into two factors, that is both parties had no commitment in the agreement and the absence of a national identity of the people of South Sudan. Therefore, understanding ethnic conditions in South Sudan is necessary to do, one of which can be done by national institutions. Then, escorting and giving international pressure on both parties to maintain their commitment to this agreement is also very necessary because the commitment of each party is the main key in the Realisation of conflict resolution.

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