

Full Length Research

Resolution to Ethnic Conflict and Civil War in South Sudan

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South Sudan, one of the youngest country in the world born as result of civil wars, ethnic conflict between Arabs and Black Africans; religious issue between Islam and Christianity/indigenous belief; problem of not sharing economy particularly in North and South of Sudan, All these complex issues made South Sudan fight till independence; after secession from Sudan government, South Sudan was recognized by United Nations as a country in July 2011; even after getting independence South Sudan is still in civil war, ethnic conflict, sexual violence, and high rate of mortality, causalities, high level of corruption, dispute among South Sudan leaders which lead to mass killing targeting their tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer tribes, and displacement of population within the country and to neighboring countries, famine and humanitarian aid crisis, many opposition forces were formed. This paper analyses critically the case of ethnic conflict and civil war in South Sudan from different lenses; historical background, political system, diversity of tribes and religion, third party intervention during conflicts. Paper also suggests a lesson from Rwanda which led to success of overcoming all issues after genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda; Gacaca court, Rwanda traditional court used to reunite Rwandans, end conflicts among people and reconciliation after genocide against Tutsi of 1994; also negotiation, tolerance, good politicians and fight against corruption among government officers, military forces and civilians can bring hope and better future in South Sudan. The resolution to ethnic conflict, civil war, and diverse issues in South Sudan should be ended by South Sudan government by reconciliation and unity among ethnic groups, and standing as one country, to end corruption, and justice to criminals.

Key words: Ethnic Conflict, Civil War, Unity and Reconciliation, South Sudan

INTRODUCTION

Africa became the highest incidence place for civil wars in comparison to other regions for the last two decades, while the rate or trend has fallen in other regions. Civil war is estimated that 20 per cent of Sub-Saharan Africa's population now live in countries where are in ethnic conflicts and civil war (Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2000). Nowadays' ethnic conflict and civil war are particularly found in the developing countries, specifically in these two continents, Africa and Asia. Many countries in Africa have borders traced by European colonial powers during colonial period regardless of borders they had before colonialization; as a result of this, Africa is facing ethnic competition, civil war, and conflict among and within new states after colonialization; and also this makes Africa the first continent with many countries on the planet with complex diversity of ethnics, cultures and beliefs. Sudan government wanted to extend borders to include natural resources regions,

in addition to third party countries which intervene during peace agreement and talks but they also have their own interest; this is why South Sudan issues are not taking the end and all these lead the country to collapsing of the economy.

Scholars like Mokwugo Okoyo (1977), Bonny Duala-M'Bedy (1984), Ake (1985a, b) and Herman, (1995), think that the majority of conflicts on the African continent is in most cases based on Africa's colonial past. Okoyo (1977:93) stated that 'instability in political system is rooted in the colonial past'. He also said that post-colonial of Africa should be said that it has been fashioned for Africa by Africa's colonial past. Based on this idea, Ambassador Herman (J. Cohen, 1995) says 'colonialism had affected many African countries and it's the source of many internal conflicts in African states. According to Cohen, he said that many African states were created and given borders by colonial powers based on their interest and

they did not take into consideration to former borders, ethnic, and diversity of regions. This affected some African countries in terms of development, some territories lost their natural resources and after colonial period in some countries they are in civil wars, ethnic conflicts which make thousands of victims and refugees (Cohen, 1995:11).

South Sudan, one of the youngest country on the planet existed since 2011, after more than 40 years of war against Sudan government; civil war and ethnic conflicts did worse and lead to many deaths. Around 3 million were killed and more than 5 million of people fled their homes because of ethnic conflicts which lead to civil war. South Sudan was damaged by conflicts which hold back and destroy development of the country such as infrastructure, education, health service, human capital, and the economy of the country is in mess. South Sudan was world's first country to be helped by international humanitarian aid in 2013, high level of corruption, and oil still make this newest country instable ; endless civil war and ethnic conflict.

President Salva Kiir of South Sudan accused his former vice president, Riek Machar of preparing a coup and making instability in the country, but Machar keep on denying preparing a coup against Salva; December 2013, because of South Sudanese leaders conflicts based on preexisting ethnic and fighting for power then this lead to killings of many people in Juba, the capital city of South Sudan. Thousands of civilian died are Machar's ethnic group, the Nuer then after revenge of the Nuer against Kiir's ethnic group, the Dinka (Lauren, 2016). Even if there was still peace negotiation, the fighting did not stop for more than 20 months, in intervention with Intergovernmental Authority Development (IGAD, an East African Regional Entity) tried to put together and reconcile two leaders and their ethnic groups but repeatedly violation on civilians continued (Washington Post, 2013). In May 2014, two leaders agreed to make transitional government, unfortunately failed agreement on its composition and responsibilities. Regional leaders, peace makers, international organizations intervened to implement peace agreement between both sides after missing many deadlines then finally the warring parties settled in August 2015. Kiir agreed the deal and finally two leaders agreed on implementation of peace agreement, but violation, killings of civilians continued before forming a new Transitional Government of National Unity in late April 2016.

Resolution to civil war and conflicts in South Soudan should be ended by the following central pillars; peace agreement between leaders, arranging carefully security in the whole country, Sharing of power in different institutions based on election process, making a national constitution by experienced and experts of policy makers, reform of government institutions in all levels based on country situation and need, Justice for all and reconciliation among ethnic groups, leaders, survivors and leaders.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The objectives of this paper are:

1. Describe effective way to end civil war and ethnic conflicts in South Sudan
2. Lesson of reconciliation from Rwanda after genocide of 1994 against Tutsi
3. Provide recommendations specifically to case of South Sudan

To find the solution of the problem in South Sudan, researcher used qualitative research method and the information from other researchers, practitioners in different fields; qualitative case study is an approach used to explore deeply the root or main reason of the endless war and civil conflict in South Sudan while using a variety of data sources. This is to ensure that South Sudan issue is not being explored through only one lens, but rather a different lenses another to provide potential solution to end conflicts in South Sudan which provide many facets of the phenomenon to be explored and understood. There are mainly two key approaches that guide case study methodology; first one was proposed by Robert Stake (1995) and the second one proposed by Robert Yin (2003, 2006). The two approaches both seek to ensure that the problem of the topic is well explored, and that the main essence of the problem has been revealed.

The problem of South Sudan cost United Nations and United States of America more than 20 billion US Dollars for peace intervention but still now the problem has not been resolved yet. One of the newest country in the world is posing a fundamental challenge to the whole world specifically to African Union and Western models of state-building, and to UN peacekeeping. The country received humanitarian aid, peacekeeping or security sector from many countries like Rwanda, China, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Kenya, and transition and reconstruction assistance to help the South Sudanese secure self-determination.

Conflicts and civil war in South Soudan made this country as one of the bloodiest civil war in last two decades, same as happened in Bosnia, Rwanda, Nigeria, secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan, and this left millions of victims and made worse than better during war; the problem of ethnic conflict followed by violence, the multiplicity of armed non-state actors, displacement of refugees, all these are putting countries in dilemma for future and how they may find solution to these conflicts is still a problem.

U.N. officials said that more than half of the country need aid which is more than 4.8 million of people; and many people are facing the problem of hunger. During the harvest in August, they may probably find food for few people and experts said they should be much emphasis on providing food and helping people who don't have food. And they predict that the problem of hunger should continue if the region is still in conflict and it is very hard even for World Food program to deliver food to people, because of ongoing insecurity in South Sudan, food is delivered by helicopter via air dropping them in region without security, The main of the World Food Program warehouse in Juba, was reportedly have been taken by government soldiers, during the fighting in July and this has resulted in the loss of

4,500 metric tons of food which would feed more than 300 000 people for one month.

Ending civil war and conflicts in South Sudan should be done by many actors and on national and international level, who can design new policy and clarify some weakness of currently government; at the point the government cannot protect their people from ethnic conflicts civil war and this should be done with serious consideration. The researcher used triangulation qualitative research method (Denzin, 1978) and (Patton, 1999) while putting all necessary information and analyzing them critically while providing better recommendations for this endless conflict of South Sudan, and this should be a better resolution to all other places in conflicts and civil war, like Middle East, other African countries.

ETHNIC CONFLICT AND CIVIL WAR

One of the world youngest country, South Sudan, got independence and being known as a sovereign state since July of 2011; joined 129 United Nations member states. South Sudan is regarded as one of the world's most ethnically diverse countries, by having more than 60 different major ethnic groups and most people following traditional, tribal religions. South Sudan was separated from Sudan in 2011 after more than twenty years of silent genocide and ethnic war which was the main cause of separation. More than 1.5 million of people were killed during civil war within Sudan and more than 4 million people left their homes. Then since 2013 after South Sudan's independence, the country is in bloody civil war based on ethnic conflict, South Sudan is the highest world's fragile state, where the government completely failed to protect their people and each and everyday people are dying.

Since South Sudan was founded, everything hasn't been going well for the youngest country. Sudan and South Sudan the situation is not good and even within South Sudan they are in conflicts; Sudan has made the situation very tough for South Sudan to be able to sell oil. Disagreements on prices and fees have put down the oil production, which is collected in South Sudan but refined and sold in Sudan in the north because they have more facilities, international connections, and trade agreements.

Not only the oil conflicts, but also the greatest reason of conflict come from within the South Sudanese government itself, the ethnic conflict which is the essence of all things and root of war happened in South Sudan. December 2013, Salva Kiir, President of South Sudan who is from an ethnic Dinka, South Sudan's largest ethnic group, chased away Riek Machar, Vice President from the Nuer ethnic group, the second largest ethnic group, accusing him of corruption. This caused political instability followed by violence in Capital City Juba, and continued to other cities like Bor and Bentiu where ethnic group fight, kill each other's and many others fled the country. South Sudan has humanitarian crisis, and it is the first largest refugee crisis in Africa, and third in the world after Syria and Afghanistan.

Map 1 shows displaced people from South Sudan to neighboring countries, as of March 6, 2017 around 779 622 people fled to Uganda, February 28, 2017 around 345 687 refugees moved to Ethiopia, around 71 062 refugees moved to Democratic Republic of Congo, and around 1639 refugees fled to Central Africa Republic; March 1, 2017 around 332 885 refugees moved to Sudan, as of March 8, 2017 around 95 106 refugees moved to Kenya.

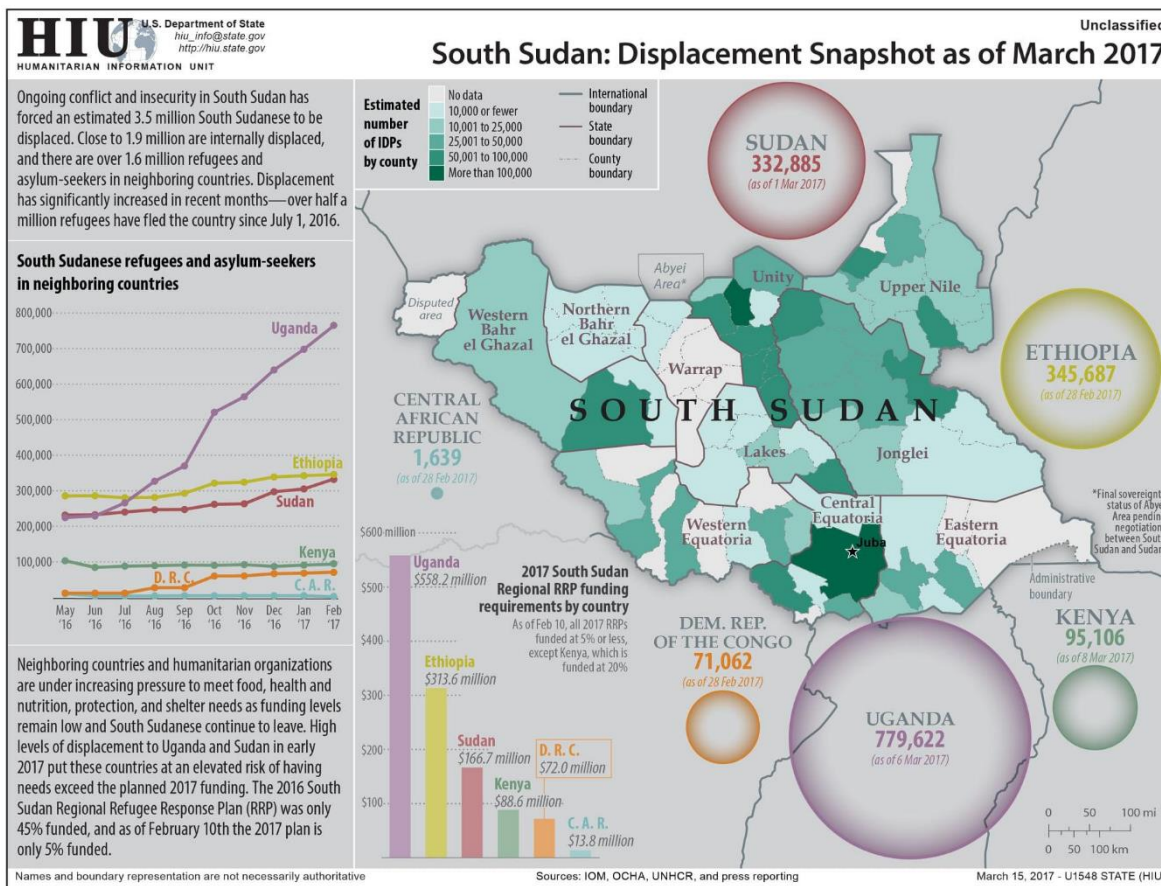
ROOT OF CONFLICT: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand more let start with Sudan which was fallen apart and became South Sudan and North Sudan. Its history was much influenced by the Arab world from VII century. Then in 651, Muslim Egyptians came to Sudan and settle down there, and after short period of time they signed a peace agreement with the Christian from Makuria governed by the Nubians, first inhabitants of the country. The agreement was based on mutual respect of each other's values and cultural integrity. The Egyptian dominated Sudan and imposed Islam to indigenous people basically in the north of Sudan where they also promoted development and slave trade. And Egyptians continued to impose Islam even in Darfur in 1874. It seems impossible to provide all information about Sudan government and South Sudan Conflicts in one single angle, because domination of Arabs to Black Africans, colonialism, race, religion, economic exploitations are somehow linked to civil war, and ethnic conflicts. The South Sudan suffered much because they refused to follow from the North Sudan on Islamization and Arabization, they do not have schools, hospitals, infrastructure, road, even simple service they cannot get it.

Late in 1820 Egyptian took the North Sudan, the leader was Muhammed Ahmad Al Madhi in 1880 with help of British and Egyptians military. Khartoum as a capital there was a theocracy, still held today as Sudan's capital city. But this did not last longer because Britain again took control on North Sudan and South Sudan and be ruled as two separate countries or regions because of diversity of culture, religion and ethnic groups. Then after World War II British lost territory in Africa and the North and South Sudan ruled and governed as one by Arabs who imposed Arabic as official language and Islam without complaint or negotiation with South Sudan which had many Christians and other religions.

First Civil War

The first civil war in Sudan happened 1955-1972. South Sudan did not want to be ruled by North Sudan by imposing religion and Arabic, they wanted and fighting for freedom without being ruled by Arabs. Then South Sudan Liberation Movement signed agreement of peace with North Sudan and the first civil war ended with this agreement named Addis Ababa Agreement with gave South Sudan freedom and autonomy and to have access to its natural resources. In 1978 Oil was discovered in



Map 1: Displaced people from South Sudan to Neighboring countries
 Source: Humanitarian Information Unit (2017)

South Sudan by the international oil giant Chevron. after few months oil discovered in 1980 Khartoum the capital in North tried to change their borders so that they can include the region with oil within their region and belong to the North Sudan, this made again conflicts between North and South Sudan because North wanted to take the region which has oil by force. During this time, North Sudan built strong relationship with Western Countries specifically to United States, and North Sudan started buying weapons.

Second Civil War

Between 1983 and 2005 there were Second civil war known as genocide targeting eliminating Black Africans done by Arabs in Sudan, all started late in 1970s, the North violated Addis Ababa Agreement, they wanted to take some regions from South, North again imposed Islam and Arabic to the South and they wanted to transform South into Muslim Arab State without taking consideration of many Christians and other tribal religions who live the South.

The civil war bust in mid of 1980s where North use military to conquer the South by force and killing of people, this time slavery back again and put into practice by North to South,

many people from South fled to Ethiopia and after few years some leaders rose to power in the South and wanted freedom and during this time there massacre of black people who live in South and violence increased at highest level.

Famine struck Sudan in 2001, affecting more than three million Sudanese because they country had been in conflict for long time. The silent genocide started in 2003 in Southern Darfur targeting to eliminate all Black Africans. Then there were Nairobi Peace Agreement signed by South Sudan and Sudan, giving South Sudan trial period of six months of autonomy. Beside the ethnic conflicts and civil war, there are many reasons which are fueling the conflict and making it endless (Box 1).

Almost all Countries in Africa were in conflicts are based on ethnic, tribal and religious causes, fighting for power and natural resources, etc. Typical example of Rwanda genocide in 1994 against Tutsi where almost one million people lost their lives in 100 days; Hutu fighting with Tutsi and fueled by the government and France; Civil war in Sudan, by Arab Muslim and Christian, Animist in the South; in Somalia, conflicts of clans.

The Table 1 shows direct conflict deaths in Africa and with all details by region from 2004-2007 where East Africa takes

Theorizing the Linkage Between Ethnic Conflicts and Outside Involvement in Sudan

Complementary Perspectives from Comparative Politics and International Relations

Sudanese Central Government Versus Darfur Ethnic Rebel Groups

1. Domestic factors

Fragmented state
 Primordial racial and ethnic categories
 Overlapping religious cleavage between Muslims and Christians/animists
 Government arabization policies
 Oil fields

2. International factors

Great power interests of China and the United States

Interests of energy corporations
 Illegal arms deliveries from third parties
 Spillover of conflict to neighboring Chad
 Support of Arab states for Sudan's government

3. Conflict resolution

Ineffectiveness of African Union/UN missions in Darfur
 Inability to operationalize international norm of humanitarian assistance to civilians affected by war
 International Criminal Court indictment of the president of Sudan

Box 1: Internal and External reason of endless conflict in South Sudan

Source: Raymond T (2009). *Understanding Ethnic Conflict*. 4th ed. Routledge: New York. 233-234.

Table 1: Number of deaths caused by conflict in Africa 2004-2007

Year	Subregion	Direct conflict deaths by region and subregion						Annual percentage of total direct conflict deaths				
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2004-07	Average	2004	2005	2006	2007	2004-07
Africa	East Africa	4,188	2,459	2,399	9,078	18,124	4,531	9%	6%	4%	14%	9%
	North Africa	7,783	1,603	2,793	2,154	14,332	3,583	17%	4%	5%	3%	7%
	Southern Africa	38	21	10	-	69	23	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	West and Central Africa	5,642	4,882	2,793	3,156	16,472	4,118	12%	11%	5%	5%	8%
	Africa total	17,651	8,965	7,995	14,388	48,997	12,255	38%	21%	14%	23%	24%

Source: Micheline C (2008). *Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Geneva Declaration Secretariat: Geneva. 16-17.

the first place with many deaths of people during conflicts it has 18 124 deaths. Conflicts in Africa, civil wars, and intra-state conflicts (Kaldor, 1999) they are mostly originated from domestic issue rather than politically, sometimes boundaries and other issues, also sometimes fueled by politicians.

Violent and conflict in Africa is a very serious problem, and this problem give hundreds of deaths and refugees. Africa regarded as "the most warring region on the planet" (Van Tongeren, 1999; Jackson, 2000). Where almost the third of Africa's conflicts have started in 1980s and indeed Africa is

Table 2: Africa bloodiest conflicts since 1970s

Conflict	Date	Estimated Deaths
Sudan Civil War	1983-Present	2 Million +
RDC Civil war	1996-Present	1 Million +
Rwanda Genocide	1994	1 Million
Mozambique Conflict	1976-1992	1 Million

Source: Author's Own

having much more conflicts comparing to other regions. Some African States are in conflicts and this is making 20 per cent of the whole continent unstable, suffer and many deaths. In 2001, serious conflict happened in Algeria, Chad, Sudan, Senegal, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Republic Democratic of Congo, and Congo Brazzaville, Uganda.

Table 2 shows civil wars, genocide and conflicts in Africa since 1983 until present; the above civil wars, conflicts and genocide are among the deadly and took lives of many people on the continent.

THIRD PARTY INTERVENTION DURING CONFLICTS

The African continent has been in conflicts, civil wars, and ethnic wars even genocide but when analyzing critically carefully always third parties were reported to be the main actors. Same of the case of South Sudan should have been resolved and the countries be safe but China and United States were many times reported that there are the main endless conflict in South Sudan (Thomas C., 2014). Peace keeper, media, United Nations, African Union, specialist have been trying to end the problem but the best suggestion third parties China and United States should be out of the case of South Sudan and everything should be done well and be accomplished.

China's oil companies have been in Western Sudan for so long, where they extract oil and send it through pipeline to coast of Red Sea to China. And China is willing to invest and have many other companies which extract oil. Even if United Nations warns China not supplying weapons to Sudanese government, China and Russia give military equipment. Also United States of America has companies which extract oil in the region, and after extracting the oil they send it to Atlantic Ocean coast then directly to United States. Bush himself welcomed one of the rebel commander in White House in 2006; and after this the silent genocide happened in the region. United Nations provided the largest numbers of soldiers to protect civilians this was called African Union–United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) but failed to protect civilians because still third parties are supplying weapons, trainings, and diplomatic aid.

The road to peace in South Sudan should be analyzed carefully and interpreted by experts on government level, local level and international level, because the whole country is in war, divided and there are so many oppositions and rebels and

this make displacement of people inside and outside the country, humanitarians crisis, famine, violence, economy of country has fallen.

LESSON OF RECONCILIATION FROM RWANDA AFTER GENOCIDE OF 1994 AGAINST TUTSI

Since April 1994, Genocide against Tutsi started and lasted for 100 days, around one million people were killed. Unforgeable days in history of the world specifically to Rwandans who live in Rwanda or elsewhere in the world. The root of this was ethnic conflict and fighting for power but going back this was developed by colonialists who tried to divide the country because Rwanda was peaceful, with unity and all Rwandans were regarded as one family and there were no ethnic groups before colonialism; there were all Rwandans, no ethnic, and no division. International court for Rwandans who participated in genocide in Arusha Tanzania was not able to manage and handle the problem of more than 120 000 killers and in March 1999 Rwanda National Unity of reconciliation started unifying Rwandans, providing good governance and reconciliation. Later in 2005 the government of Rwanda started using *Gacaca court*, Rwanda traditional court, to eliminate all bad issues about discrimination, divisions, human right abuse and judge all suspect of genocide in short time.

The Gacaca Courts was created specifically to resolve the problem of genocide suspects, to end huge number of prisoners, promoting community healing and social interaction; give a space to anyone who has testimony which can contribute to reconciliation; the word *Gacaca* is Kinyarwanda language which means 'grass'. Gacaca court were done in ancient Rwanda by a panel of judges mostly who are community elders while sitting on grasses and solving some issues in society like marriage issues, land issues, dispute and other problems in society and people gave their testimony about what they saw during the issue happening and people who are in that case have to speak what they did, how they did it and repent for what they did then after all information given the elders of community decided and make fair conclusion.

After genocide of 1994 in Rwanda against Tutsi, the only way was to promote reconciliation and it was the time for Rwanda to rebirth and rebuild again from the ashes of genocide. The goal of Gacaca court was to know every truth during genocide, find criminals easily and quickly by testimonies, promote the culture of saying the truth what someone saw

during genocide, and strengthen unity among Rwandans. And Gacaca court was one of the success story of Rwanda after genocide across the globe. And finally Gacaca court ended up with solving around 1.5 million cases and the target was not to fill prisons but only letting people repent, reconciliation as Rwandans use to do in ancient time before colonialism. Criminals who killed people during genocide were judged and if given years in prison, he has to spend few years in prison then spend the rest of his punishment doing unpaid job to build better future and contribute to the development of the country.

April 2016, a delegation of 30 people from South Sudan came to Rwanda to visit Genocide Memorial Site in different parts of the country not only to give honor to victims of genocide but also to learn how Rwanda has come up success story of reconciliation and peace after horrific time of 1994 which made Rwanda one of the safest place in Africa now.

“There is no handy roadmap for reconciliation. There is no short cut or simple prescription for healing the wounds and divisions of a society in the aftermath of sustained violence. Creating trust and understanding between former enemies is a supremely difficult challenge. It is, however, an essential one to address in the process of building a lasting peace. Examining the painful past, acknowledging it and understanding it, and above all transcending it together, is the best way to guarantee that it does not – and cannot – happen again.” By Desmond Tutu (2013)

Rwanda’s experience of genocide made this one of the smallest country in Africa to find solution within themselves without expecting international organizations, every society should find their own way of reconciliation regarding to their current situation, and policy makers should be in the country as they are the ones who view the current situation, not from outside and be imposed to leaders to act and implement policies. This bring together communities, justice, testimonies, peace and mutual understanding based on history, culture.

In South Sudan, the road to find peace and make the country peaceful will require first the understanding the root of conflict on local, and national level and they should be many interpretations of peace makers and leaders on both side; the war affected the whole country and leaders, government, opposition and also international organizations should consider opinions from all these sides; and the tension of war. This should be analyzed carefully and taking into consideration that South Sudan was born as a result of endless civil war and ethnic conflict and the question is that why now still have war and conflict in South Sudan if the country wanted independence and got it but still in conflict? Then what is the story behind that the country should be stable and peaceful.

Mostly the story behind the endless war even if South Sudan got independence is discovery of oil, at the beginning the Sudanese government promised that the oil profits would be used to contribute to the whole country for project, schools, and hospitals. Then consequently the Sudanese government failed to spread the oil wealth to Southern regions, however,

strengthened the resolve of the rebel organizations (Fisher, 1999). After independence, the discovery of oil caused dispute and conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan government also raised the stakes for winning the civil war with many armed forces. The civil war wanted to make control over a large supply of oil reserves, making both of the two sides more resolved in their struggle (Glickman, 2000), (Fearon and Laitin, 2003).

CONCLUSION

South Sudan conflicts and civil war are still ongoing in this country, since the country got independence in 2011 there was conflict between South Sudan and government opposition forces; regardless of many peace agreements and peace talks but they all failed to have good impact on this situation in South Sudan. The country is facing many problems like attack on civilians, killings targeting ethnic groups, many children are being taken to join forces, women and small girls are facing sexual violence day to day and no one to save them; many workers from international organizations and humanitarian aid are facing violence and being killed, hundreds of deaths and casualties, hundreds of people displaced regions to regions and others decide to find shelter in neighboring countries; the whole country is facing starvation where people do not have enough food even the place to sleep is a problem.

Resolution to ethnic conflict and civil war in South Sudan should be ended by South Sudan government and its opposition forces first; it is clear that third party countries will not help much to end this situation and South Sudan government leaders and opposition leaders should not focus on international intervention as the mediator. The only way is to arrange peace talks between leaders, they can agree and accept sharing of power through election process, and bring justice for all, reconciliation and unity.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors have not declared any conflict of interest

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