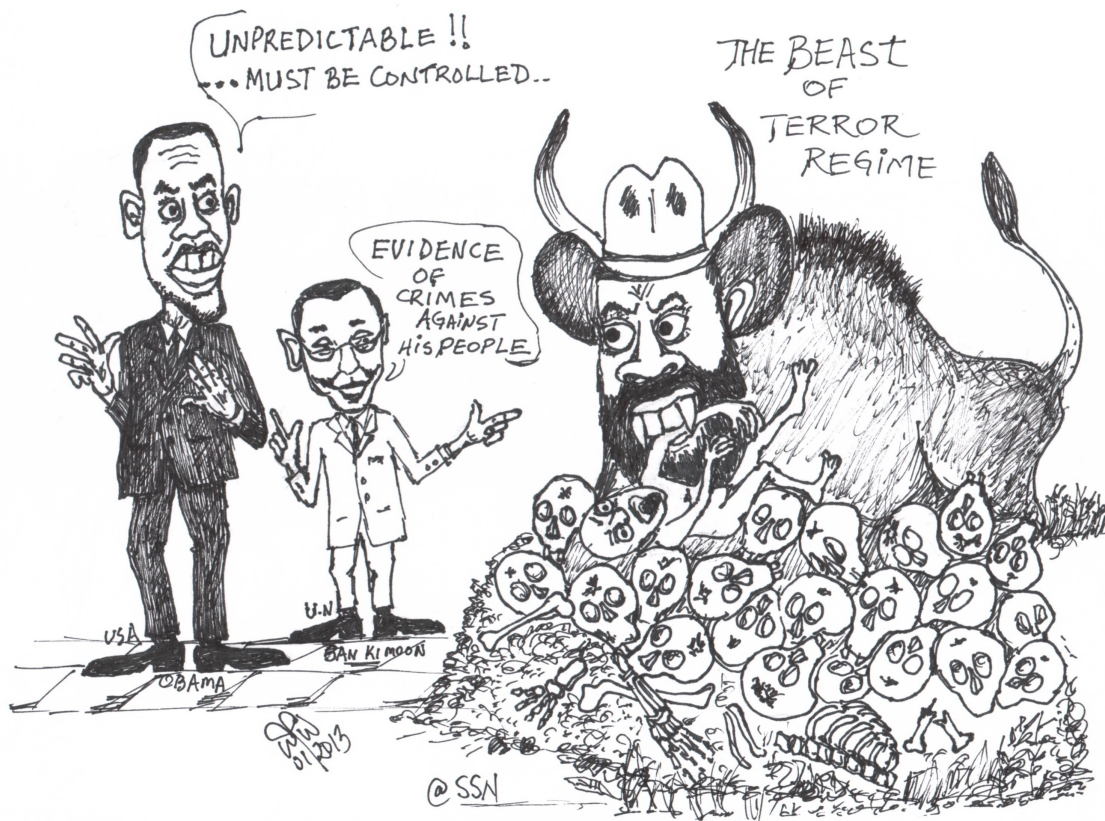# In search for an identity

The processes of identity formation of South Sudanese in two post-independence internal conflicts analyzed via electronic sources

Preface

Writing a thesis for your research master should be a satiating project. It combines everything you have learned in your area of discipline, all the theories and skills that you have gained through the years of the study and gives you one masterpiece which you can be proud off. It has to be like this, but things never go the way you planned.

My thesis was an ambitious project in which I put a lot of work. The original idea, to conduct fieldwork on the topic of national identity in South Sudan was something that was not done before in this context. Months of research and preparation for this fieldwork were almost literally flushed away when the civil war broke out in Juba on December 15, 2013. My ticket to Juba was scheduled on December 22, only one week later.

While the civil war could have motivated me to go on with my thesis because it more or less confirmed the relevance of my subject, it did not. It was a struggle to redefine my research and to regain the motivation and ambition that I had before.

While ending this thesis I felt relieved that this project had come to an end. At a certain point, it was hard for me to find motivation and the see the light at the end of the tunnel. But when I saw it, my motivation came back, and in the end, I am pleased about it.

I want to thank everyone who supported me through the process.

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Introduction

When the South Sudanese people went to vote for an independent state back in 2011, there was hope among them to get a vivid and solid state. After more than two years, this wishful thinking was gone after violence broke out in the capital Juba in December 2013. Since then, the country has to deal with a civil war and the prospect of a viable state has been far away.

Before 2011, South Sudan was part of Sudan, the biggest country of Africa at that moment. South Sudan itself is about the same size as France with around eleven to twelve million people living there. This is an estimation as it is hard to give exact numbers, given the high numbers of refugees just outside the country at the time of writing. A reliable census has never been made. The capital of the country is Juba, which is a stretched city where about one million people live. The rest of the inhabitants are living diffused around the country, most of them in areas that are barely accessible.

Most of the people in South Sudan are Christian, while there is also a Muslim minority[1] and a small minority that is practicing animism. Evans-Pritchard, a British anthropologist, has pointed out in his book "*The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*"[2], that religion is quite hybrid within the tribes of the Sudanese people. This is also visible in the work of Holy[3] where he notices that the Berti tribe regard themselves as Muslims, while they still have a lot of animism practices in their daily and traditional behavior.

The Berti people, however, do not traditionally live in South Sudan. Maybe a handful of Berti people is living in South Sudan, next to another hundred or more tribes. The Dinka (about 35 percent) and the Nuer tribe (about 15 percent) are the biggest ones, but also the Luo, Shilluk, and Bari people have a considerate amount of people among the population.[4]

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[1] About 10-15 percent of the people are Muslims, but this is hard to measure because of ongoing migrations, especially during the civil war.

[2] Evans-Pritchard, E.E., (1940) *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

[3] Holy, R. *Religion and Custom in a Muslim Society – The Berti of Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[4] CIA Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html, accessed at May 28, 2015

South Sudan was never officially represented in the government of Sudan, as we will see in the historical part of this thesis. During the reign of the British (which lasted until 1956), South Sudan was seen as an underdeveloped area, which became a subject for Christian missionaries. This did not change when Sudan became independent; rather, where the South had a special status among the British, it was victimized by the identity politics of the North, where Islam eventually became the official religion.

Islam has been interwoven with politics since the reign of Numayri in the 1980s. Islam played a role within politics after Sudan became independent in 1956, but it got a solid position in society during the 1980s. Since Numayri, and especially during al-Bashir and Turabi (at the beginning of the 1990s), Islam became not only the religion of the state, but also one of the most important aspects of Sudanese identity, along with Arabism.

The history of South Sudan is complicated and, politically, South Sudan never was one cohesive unit. In the 1880s, a rebellious faction in the South emerged, calling themselves Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (the political wing) and Sudanese People's Liberation Movement Army (the military wing). The SPLM/A fought for the people in the South during the two civil wars (of which the first one started in 1983), but never really formed a political unit before the secession. Because of the diverse backgrounds of the members of the SPLM, and the yoke of the past, self-rule became a real challenge for South Sudan.

The first chapter of the thesis will deal with the research objectives and theoretical issues. It will give an insight into the concept of national identity as described by Montserrat Guibernau to examine the processes of identity formation in South-Sudan. In this part the methodology will also be explained; why certain sources have been used and not others, and how the sources are connected to the theory.

The history of Sudan, specifically that of South Sudan, will be covered in the second chapter of this thesis. We will mainly discuss the history from 1956 onwards, the period after independence, but also a part from the end of the 19th century. It is necessary to give this information to get a clear and holistic picture of the complexity of the Sudan.

Chapter three will deal with the analysis of the events as covered by the different journalists in the media sources we will use. At first we will discuss the Juba massacre, which took place on December 15 and marked the start of the civil war. Secondly, we

will look into the articles that cover the peace talks in the months of June and July 2014; approximately half a year after the first blood was shed.

The final part of this thesis will be the conclusion in which a summary will be given about the analysis, which will be linked with the theoretical part of this thesis. We will discuss if there is a notion of national identity among all the different authors.

1. Research and theoretical framework

1.1 Research objectives

The goal of this thesis is to try and understand the processes of identity formation of South Sudanese people after the independence. We will look into the setbacks and concerns that caused splits in identity formation processes in South Sudan. To do so, we need to understand how national identity works and how this idea or theory is having its effect in South Sudan. National identity can be seen as a Western concept, though it is also working in other parts of the world, including Africa, where Westerners drew the borders during their colonial regimes and where no population is homogeneous. However, we have to be aware that most of the theories about national identity are working within Western societies and are invented there as well. Therefore, it is also important that we have to consider African theories and concepts about identity and nationalism to support the well-known Western theories. Next to that, we also need to understand what the history of (South) Sudan is and how this had its effect on the country and its people.

The thesis will focus on two case studies that will underline the hypothesis, as it is stated in the research question. We will use arguments from two different websites where South Sudanese, living in South Sudan and the diaspora, are mentioned in about 150 articles in total. These case studies, together with the theory, will give an argument in the discussion about national identity in South Sudan.

1.2 Research question

The central question of this thesis is:

What are the processes of identity formation and fragmentation of South Sudanese that can be observed in two post-independence internal conflicts?

There are a couple of elements in this question that need more attention. The first one is the concept of identity, on which we elaborate in the upcoming section. The second element is South Sudan. In this thesis we will talk about South Sudan as an independent nation since 2011. Before this period, we will talk about Southern Sudan as

part of the country of Sudan. The third element, namely the processes and fragmentation, will be discussed at the end of the theoretical part and contains the online articles.

1.3 Analytical framework

National identity is something that is discussed very often in scientific literature, and it is hard to give a comprehensive view on all of the literature that is written about it. What we need for this thesis is an encompassing concept that is also applicable to African countries and that encompasses all features that are related to national identity.

A lot of scholars have written about identity and the creation of identity. Smith, for instance, who wrote a book in 1991 called "National Identity", is focusing mainly on cultural factors. He is a follower of Rousseau and argues that "a nation must have a navel, or we should invent one."[5]

Smith's concept of national identity involves not only a 'navel', but it requires also a homeland, some territory that belongs to a group of people. Next to that, the people need stories or common myths and memories that give a common sense to their identity. Sharing those characteristics, which can be quite random according to Smith, is the start of a national identity.[6]

Sharing thoughts and concepts together is something Benedict Anderson refers to in his *magnum opus* 'Imagined Communities'. Anderson, a thoroughbred deconstructionalist, argues that ethnicity and nationalism are artificial. His argument is that you can only have a notion of a national identity if the nation has one, albeit imagined, identity. Therefore, he argues, "the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community."[7]

Peters is giving a combination of factors as a basis for national identity. Ethnocultural is a concept that is central to his view; a place where ethnicity, culture, and politics are coming together. It binds the ties from the ancestors, with the shared culture and customs together with a common (political) history to a form of national identity.[8]

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[5] Smith, A.D. *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991): 8.

[6] Smith, *National Identity*, 7.

[7] Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso Books, 1991): 6.

[8] Peters, B. "A New Look at "National Identity," *European Journal of Sociology* (2002): 4.

The conception of national identity that we are using in this thesis is the one from Montserrat Guibernau. In his book 'The Identity of Nations' he is the one that has the most comprehensive approach. His explanation of national identity is as follows:

National identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations. It is a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature.[9]

This definition has a couple of assumptions. The first one is that national identity is a "collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation". This is the hardest part of Guibernau's definition because it deals with something abstract: belief. Belief is something that is hardly measurable and often does not have a straight outcome; not always a clear yes or no, but it deals more with a grey area.

The definition of a nation looks quite simple in this essay. A nation is a country that is recognized as a nation by the United Nations.[10] In the case of South Sudan, it has been a nation since July 2011 and is therefore the youngest nation in the world. However, Benedict Anderson remarks that a nation is "an imagined political community". It is imagined, according to him, because most of the inhabitants of this nation do not know each other, but everyone lives in their own image of 'the nation'.[11] Although everyone living in a nation has to deal with the same political community that is put into power to rule this nation. Collins Could dictionary settles nation as "a community of people composed of one or more nationalities with its own territory and government".[12]

The second part of Guibernau's definition is more solid: "sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations". How does a set of attributes make itself distinct from other sets? If we take, for example, France, we can see that the French love their wine, but it is not something specifically French; the Spaniards also love their wine, as well as the Italians. These are quite superficial attributes, but more distinctive attributes regarding the French are the concepts of *liberté*, *fraternité*, *équalité*. Such

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[9] Guibernau, M. *The identity of nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007): 11

[10] Guibernau, *The identity of nations*, 10

[11] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 5-7

[12] Collins Cobuild student's dictionary (Glasgow, HarperCollins Publishers, 2005): 456

concepts are much more important and define an identity much more than the love of wine.

Technically, we should thus make sets of attributes of all African countries to distinguish what is typical for each country. Since this is not an option for this thesis, we will try to observe as many as possible attributes that are presented by different authors as typical for South Sudanese. This does not mean, though, that other people also share some attributes that can be defined as typical South Sudanese.

According to Guibernau, there are five ways to construct a national identity.[13]

1. There must be an image of the 'nation', mostly based on the creation of a set of symbols and rituals charged with the mission of reinforcing a sense of community among citizens.

2. The creation and spread of a set of symbols and rituals charged with the mission of reinforcing a sense of community among citizens

3. Advancement of citizenship. Establishing who are included and who are excluded from the community of citizens

4. The creation of common enemies.

5. Progressive consolidation of national education and media systems as key instruments in the dissemination of a particular 'image of the nation'. Hereby, rituals, values, principles, traditions and ways of life play an important role.

To define most of those attributes, Guibernau has made a distinction in five categories, or dimensions, as he calls it: psychological, cultural, historical, territorial, and political. All of these dimensions have their own dynamics and interpretation. We will discuss four of them; the territorial dimension will not be discussed in this thesis. There are two main reasons for this; first, territory is not discussed in the articles as we will see, and second, the events that are at the base of this thesis are not involved with territorial disputes. The other four dimensions will also function as themes on which we elaborate later on.

In the last part of the definition of Guibernau, he is arguing that national identity has a fluid and dynamic culture so that it can change over time. People are identifying themselves with other aspects because of inventions, different demographics, or other reasons. However, it will never change fast; this fluid character has a slow dynamic.

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[13] Guibernau, *The identity of nations*, 25

The first dimension we will elaborate on is the psychological dimension. This dimension "arises from the consciousness of forming a group based on the 'felt' closeness uniting those who belong to the nation".[14] Guibernau points out that this feeling can be strengthened through an external or internal enemy. In this case, the enemy is Sudan.

If we are talking about a feeling, we are talking about something abstract. Feelings are hardly measurable, so it is hard to say if someone shares the same feeling about his identity and his nation as someone else does in the same nation. In the case of South Sudan, this is important, because the population is far from homogeneous. But, it is possible that since the secession, they all share some feeling about comradeship and identity. That they are bound together, a sort of kinship, like a 'fully extended family'.[15]

For instance, the imposition of the *sharī'a* (Islamic laws) in 1983, and the policy of Arabization in the Sudan, in general, have relegated people of the Southern Sudan to the status of subjects rather than citizens.[16] The power of the government has been associated, before the secession, with the politics of history and identity. The people of South Sudan were never (fully) part of the history and the identity of Sudan since it was exclusively for Muslims and Arabs or Arabic-speaking people. This (negative) psychological effect can be enormous and has its impact on a whole generation.

Every person has his own interpretation of his own history, the history of his family/tribe/village, and the history of his country. This interpretation is made by emotions and will in almost all cases not correspond with each other.[17] These emotions differ from person to person and depend on a lot of different factors. Therefore, as we already said, it is very hard to measure what someone's understanding is of his culture, his history or his current (political) situation.

Symbols and ceremonies contribute to this. The celebration of Independence Day, whether it is in South Sudan or the United States of America, will have its psychological effect on the celebrants. Normally, the ties between family, tribe, and people become

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[14] Guibernau, *The identity of nations*, 11-12

[15] Connor, *Ethno-Nationalism: The quest for understanding* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993): 202

[16] Idris, A. *Conflict and Politics of Identity in Sudan.* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005): 11-12

[17] Connor, *Ethno-Nationalism*, 202.

closer and they feel more united than ever. At that point, the 'imagined community' is at its height.

The psychological effect is also applicable to language. We will not go into detail with this argument, but it is worth mentioning. In Sudan, Arabic was, and still is, the national language and through history, it is also closely related to Islam. However, the official language of South Sudan is English. While people in South Sudan, especially in Juba and the border region, speak a dialect of Arabic as a lingua franca (mostly known as Juba Arabic) they all have their vernacular languages, like Dinka, Nuer or Bari. This language connects them to their ancestors and is, therefore, an important psychological tool in their conception of their identity.

1.3.2 Cultural dimension

The cultural dimension of a national identity is very broad. It includes concepts such as values, beliefs, customs, conventions, habits, languages, practices, and even more. There are two main categories in which those elements can be classified, namely on a group level and on an individual level. On the group level, the existence of a national identity provides the creation of solidarity bounds among the members of this group or community. Each member can recognize himself as a component of this identity. On the individual level, this is a bit different. Individuals have the tendency to bolster this identity with their own conceptions of symbols, values, beliefs, and customs and thus making a unique version of a distinct culture and an identity.[18]

Language can be an important part of the cultural dimension. Youth cultures, for instance, can be differentiated by slang. The language of South Sudan is a complicated issue. Since there are very many tribes, there are also very many different languages. Between 1930 and 1956 (before the independence of Sudan), the 'official' language was English in the southern part of Sudan, to distinguish it from the Arab North.[19]

After independence, Arabic became the official language in the whole country. This remained (and still is) the same until the secession. In South Sudan the official language

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[18] Guibernau, *The identity of nations,* 13

[19] James, W. "Sudan: Majorities, Minorities, and Language Interactions," in *Language & Identity in Africa,* ed A. Simpson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 64

became English, but all the languages spoken in the South were recognized as national languages and if necessary even as an official working language.[20]

1.3.3 Historical dimension

The historical dimension of national identity deals with how long a nation has existed, how proud the members are of their past and the ties they have with their ancestors.

This relatively easy understanding is more difficult than it looks at first glance. The Greeks, for instance, are proud of their philosophers and mathematicians who lived a couple of hundred years before the Common Era. Most African countries deal with a colonial past, which has a great influence on the historical dimension. More and more African countries, however, are aware of their past before the colonial period and try to emphasize that. We must take into consideration that countries exist out of many tribes and that not all the tribes have the same history. This is also the case in South Sudan.

The past of Sudan, and thus South Sudan, is quite complicated. Between the 7th and 16th century, there was a movement of Arab migrants from the Arabian Peninsula. Besides that, there were also migrant flows from India, Ethiopia, and Egypt. A couple of centuries later, migrants from all over Africa, the Middle East, and Europe were stationed in Sudan. Sudan has always been one of the most diverse countries in Africa, partly because of the migration, partly because of its large size and the accompanying diversity of the different tribes.

A large amount of cultural identities has led to different conflicts in the past, mainly because of the seemingly inevitable differences between them. This has a major influence on the political life and social level of Sudan. Assal emphasizes that this problem is so old and complicated, that it has not been settled hitherto[21].

The claim of the Sudanese government in the 20th century to have an Arab and Islamic identity did not acknowledge the diversity of the history of the country. The 'stratification and discrimination'[22] against the Southerners probably brought them closer, but it did not necessarily strengthen the awareness of a common historical

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[20] "The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011", July 9 2011, accessed January 6, 2013, http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4e269a3e2.html, 27-28

[21] Assal M. "The question of identity in the Sudan: New dimensions for an old problem." *The Maghreb Review* (2009): 181

[22] Deng, F.M. *War of visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 1997): 134

background.

One of the important things that make people aware of their history is education. South Sudan is not acknowledged for its advanced education. In contrast, the majority of the Sudanese people, especially women, is illiterate. The educational system had to be built from the ground up when the country became independent. For instance, no comprehensive history book for children has been written until now.

Guibernau points out that, "History makes us closer to our ancestors, and strengthens the subjective belief of being part of an extend family."[23] He means that a common sense of history, which can be implanted via education, is important for the creation of a common sense of heritage.

1.3.4 Political dimension

The nation state pursued the cultural and linguistic homogenization of an otherwise diverse population. The political aspect of national identity, when applied to a nation state, focuses on those actions of the state destined to construct a cohesive society through a set of strategies designed to generate a culturally and linguistically homogeneous citizenry. Examples of this are a national anthem, a national language, or at least a common language that everyone understands, a shared history, and national media that has a sense of patriotism. These are the tools that are often used by popular politicians to get more followers during election times.

1.3.5 Conclusion

We now have a framework to work with. We have a cultural, psychological, political and historical pillar that will indicate whether there is a notion of national identity. As we mentioned earlier, we do not go into detail with the psychological aspect of the theory. The other three pillars combined give us the notion of an abstract identity; something that is shared among the people of South Sudan in this case.

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[23] Guibernau, *The identity of nations,* 20

1.4 Methodology

To bring evidence to my case I will mainly use comments and analysis made by South Sudanese people. As I explained in the preface, it was not possible for me to travel to South Sudan, so I will try to be as close as possible to the society of South Sudan. Social media is a way to do this.

I will use two cases to vouch for my research question. The first case is the eruption of the violence in Juba, halfway December 2013. At that moment, December 15 at night, violence broke out in the barracks near the city center of Juba. The night before, Riek Machar, then vice-president, but also the biggest rival of president Salva Kiir, Pagan Amum, a high-ranking official, and Rebecca Garang, widow of John Garang, the former leader and founder of the SPLM, decided to boycott the congress of the SPLM because of leadership issues. President Salva Kiir ordered the Major General of the Tiger Battalion (the Presidential Guard) to disarm all troops and to re-arm the Dinka people, the tribe of Salva Kiir itself. While the Nuer questioned this decision, they took up their arms and started fighting. In a couple of hours, almost everything in Juba was involved in the conflict. The day after, president Kiir made a statement that a coup d'état had taken place and he tried to bring tranquility into society. This failed and ethnic violence broke out.

Afterwards, it turned out that almost 10.000 people had died during this incident and the weeks after. That is why analyses and commentaries mushroomed on the Internet. There were of course the journalists that already published on a regular basis, but after December 15, the influx of articles and new authors was enormous. This makes the event representative for a larger community than events before. It shows the political ideas that exist among the people of South Sudan; as well as in South Sudan itself as in the diaspora. In my conclusion, I will try to pinpoint whether there are differences in arguments between South Sudanese who live in the diaspora and those who live in South Sudan.

The second event is the negotiations between Salva Kiir and Riek Machar mainly in June and July 2014. There is about half a year between the first and the second event and the negotiation talks are an ongoing debate, particularly because the first round of talks failed. The negotiations were led by the Inter Governmental Authority on

Development, a bloc of eight East African countries, founded to support trade in the region. The talks started on June 11 and were cancelled on June 16 after both parties boycotted the negotiations. After that, there was a lot of critique on both sides and on the IGAD, also because the first talks about a ceasefire ended in failure. A lot of people talked about these negotiations because they were concerned with the (political) development of South Sudan and they wanted to express their political ideas and thoughts. But it also bothered many people because various events in-between worsened the situation in South Sudan: the Bentiu massacre in April, earlier negotiation talks that failed, large amount of people that migrated, an international evacuation, the presence of Ugandan troops in the country to preserve peace and the creation of an opposition party (SPLM-O).

Comparing and analyzing different articles about these two events can offer a representative view on how the processes of identity formation and fragmentation of South Sudanese that can be seen in two post-independence internal conflicts. First of all, both events interested the whole South Sudanese community. Secondly, both events were widely reported, not only in the South Sudanese media, but also worldwide. This gave more people the opportunity to form an opinion. The picture we get from all these articles remains random, but that does not mean it cannot be representative for the population, since people from many different backgrounds stated their concerns, their ideas and their motives.

1.4.1 Media

To evidence the hypothesis, we will use media sources. The intention was, in first instance to use social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. The advantage of these media is that messages about certain events can be put directly online and give a direct view of the events that take place. Another advantage of Facebook and Twitter is that it is uncensored, if not interrupted by a government, in a way that people do not overview their messages often when putting them online. So it is possible to create an image of an occurrence minutes after it took place via these media.

A disadvantage, both for Facebook and Twitter, is that the source is anonymous. Of course, a name and possibly a location are visible, but these do not necessarily have to be true. A name can be falsified or it can be a nickname. And even if it is someone's real name, it does not in itself tell you anything about the person; about his ideas, his

background, and so on. The same counts for Twitter, but this medium has the possibility of acknowledged profiles so that it is clear to the reader that the information on someone's profile is true or not.

Besides this, a lot of messages on Facebook are posted in groups. Some of them are open and easy to join, but more often they are posted in private and closed groups. Thus, one can only see a selected amount of messages in open groups. It is also possible to look on a profile page of a person, but still, you have to be 'friends'[24] with the person to see this information.

That is why we will not use Facebook or Twitter, but two leading websites with opinions and analyses that are telling us something about someone's vision on the events. Still, it remains a randomized picture we get from the population. We have to keep in mind that, especially in South Sudan itself, a lot of people are illiterates. And if they can read or even write, they are most of the times not capable of expressing themselves in a whole article where they explicate their thoughts and impressions. Next to that, the papers are put online by an editorial team. They can also decide not to put certain things on the Internet. As we will see, this is probably not the case, because we see proponents and opponents of some statements on the same website.

So, having made this choice to use these kinds of articles, we must choose which websites we want to use. Regarding South Sudan, there are more possibilities. It is important to get information from websites that put different views online, or websites which are opposites of each other. Personal blogs are thus not regarded as objective, because they give only one specific view, namely the one of the blogger. Another aspect that is important is that it is written, as much as possible, in the local language. Hence, the writers can stay as much as possible by the thoughts and feelings they have made up in their minds, in their own mother tongue. An advantage of South Sudan is that as well as English, Arabic is an official language and a lot of people understand it. Of course, they also have their own tribe vernacular, but because many understand more than one language (often three or four), English and Arabic are amongst their 'native' languages. For this research, only articles in English and Arabic were used.

A couple of websites were suitable for this research. The website nyamile.com is a typically South Sudanese website, with a large amount of news articles, encyclopedic

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[24] You can be a friend of someone on Facebook. You send him a virtual request to become each other's friend. If approved by the other, you can see each other's full profiles and messages.

pages, and a wide reach. They also have sections about South Sudanese in Canada and the USA. The only disadvantage is that their section with analyses was quite small in comparison with the rest of the site.

Two other websites that are quite extensive are southsudan.net and southsudannation.com. The first one is a little bit outdated and not often refreshed. It gives a considerable amount of links that are interesting for people living in South Sudan. It serves more as a platform than a website with opinions. The latter one calls itself 'the only and leading independent website for South Sudan since 2003'. It even has a section with editorial cartoons and a lot of comments and analyses, though all the articles on this website can also be found on another website: southsudannewsagency.com. The latter also has other articles that are not available on southsudannation.com. There is no clear reason that there are more articles on southsudannewsagency.com, but that is one of the reasons why southsudannewsagency.com is one of the websites that I have chosen.

The other website is sudantribune.com. Not particularly on South Sudan, because it also publishes articles on Sudan, but an authority concerning news and analyses about (South) Sudan. It has the most influential authors from all the websites and is therefore a good addition on southsudannewsagency.com, which is more of a container of different views.

1.4.2 Sudan Tribune

Sudan Tribune is a website based in Paris and run by some (South) Sudanese people and international journalists. The website focuses mainly on news articles, but there is also a large section named 'comments and analysis'.

The website is on a non-profit basis and was started in 2003. It has no connections with the newspaper Sudan Tribune that appeared in Khartoum and Juba. The website is in English, but since 2011 it also publishes articles in Arabic, as one of the few websites posting on South Sudan. While there are no differences between English and Arabic in the news section, the analyses are not always the same.

Sudan Tribune is a well-used source among journalists and is known as one of the best-known and reliable Internet sources for news from Sudan and South Sudan.

1.4.3 South Sudan News Agency

South Sudan News Agency is based in the United States and was founded in 2008 and went on air in 2010. According to themselves they have the best authors and scholars from South Sudan and also from other regions of the world.[25] The South Sudanese community in the United States is one of the biggest in the world, which is probably the reason that they started a website. Amr Idris and Jok Madot Jok, two well-known scholars form South Sudan who live in the United States and work as scientists, are both contributing to this website. Jok Madot Jok has even worked as a secretary for the South Sudan government.

They only have an English website and they publish nothing in Arabic or another language. They also have a clear mission statement: "To bring the latest, most relevant news and opinions on issues relating to the South Sudan and surrounding regions."

1.5 Conclusion

So, how will we catch the processes of identity formation and fragmentation of South Sudanese in the two post-independence internal conflicts? Looking into arguments as they are expressed during two events, the first one on December 15 2013, the start of the civil war, and more or less one month after it. The second event will be the negotiations between Salva Kiir and Riek Machar in the months of June and July 2014. The articles that are analyzed are published on the website sudantribune.com and southsudannewsagency.com, as they have the widest reach and the greatest amount of opinions that can be found on the Internet regarding South Sudanese issues. These visions, views and feelings from all different authors will be put into the framework of national identity as described by Guibernau in the final part of this thesis while focusing mainly on three pillars: political, cultural and historical.

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[25] See their statement on: http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/about-ssna

2. History

Sudan has, as almost any other country in Africa, a colonial past. The modern history started in 1821 when the invasion of the Ottomans and the Egyptians took place. They divided Sudan and its region into four states: the Fur (Darfur, Western Kordofan and parts of Chad and the Central Africa Republic), the Funj (the Blue Nile region) sultanates, the Azande (Equatoria, what is now largely South Sudan), and the Shilluk (between the Azande and the Funj) kingdoms.[26]

This situation lasted until 1899, when the Egyptian (at that time an independent part of the Ottoman Empire) and the British governments took over Sudan: the Condominium rule. The British took care of the South, which was mainly Christian, while the Egyptians ruled the North, where the elite was mainly Muslim.

The administration in the South was developed along 'African' lines instead of 'Arab' lines as could be read in the 'Southern Policy' of 1930. This is in line with the policy of the British for the rest of the East African colonies of England. The administration was, so to say, "conducted through indigenous structures of authority, employing indigenous law or custom, as far as this was consistent with British ideas of good government and justice".[27]

2.1 Slavery

The people of South Sudan have a long history with slavery. When the four states were created in 1821, the people of the South were condemned as slaves by the Ottomans. Around 1840, the slave raids from European merchants started at Gondokoro (near Juba). This continued until around 1924 when Ali Abdel Latif led an uprising against the Condominium rule, which finally led to a Declaration of South Sudan Policy in 1930.

While slavery officially did not exist anymore when Sudan became independent in 1956, the people of the South were not seen on the same social and political level as the people in the North. What played a role in this, is not only history, but also that Southerners did reject the Federation at the beginning of independence.

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[26] Natsios, A.S. *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 14

[27] Johnson, D.H. *The root causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2011): 11

2.2 Independence and the first civil war

The Sudan was the first African country that became independent. Right after the Second World War, the British worked for self-government. They were afraid that Egypt would claim the Sudan and because of that they became allies with the nationalist's movements. When in 1952 the king of Egypt was overthrown, the political situation changed. Egypt called the Sudan for self-determination and the bonds between the two countries were revised. This led to almost no room for maneuver for the British.[28]

In October 1954 southern leaders held the second Juba Conference. The first one was in 1947 about the future of the South. This did not work out in the end because they could not agree on the future of the South. They mainly disagreed on how to divide power and how to rule the different areas. At the second Juba Conference, they voted for independence from Egypt and agreed on two things that were only approved in 2005 with the CPA: a fully autonomous South Sudan and self-determination.[29]

When the British left Sudan, northerners took over the administrative positions in the South. In total, 800 posts were given to the northerners, while the southerners got only eight. This led to tensions and in July 1955, the first uprisings became a fact in the western Equatorian capital, Yambio. One month later, a mutiny occurred in Torit, also in Equatoria. Because of the ongoing unrests, the British hastily left in 1955 and on January 1, 1956, the Sudan became independent. The British left it with an unfinished constitution in which there were question marks regarding the issues of federalism and the role of Islam.[30]

Despite the unrest, elections took place in 1958. The two biggest Islamic parties in the North (archrivals in the past) won 89 of the 173 seats in the parliament. The results of this regime were unsatisfactory and the transitional government[31] was overthrown in November 1958. The leader of the coup, which was bloodless, was Major General Ibrahim Abbud, commander-in-chief of the Sudanese army.[32]

General Abbud installed a military government that focused on Arabization and Islamization in education in the South. These actions (especially against educated

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[28] Johnson, *The root causes of Sudan's Civil Wars.* 21-22

[29] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 40

[30] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 41-42

[31] There were parliamentary elections in 1953. The two Islamic parties formed a transitional government after the elections before a new parliament was installed.

[32] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 42-43

southerners) led to hostility against the government, which led to further repressive actions of the government. In the period 1960-62, a group of influential southerners and students went away to collaborate with the other mutineers that already left. In exile, they formed a political movement, the Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU), in competition with other East African parties. In the vernacular language of the South, the movement was called Anyanya, literally the poison of the snake.[33]

2.3 Anyanya

The goal of Anyanya was self-determination for the South. They knocked on the door of the Organization of African Unity to restore the colonial borders of the emerging states. According to Johnson, it is largely for this reason that they asked for self-determination instead of secession, but they did not get any support from Africa. One of the problems the movement was facing was the issue of leadership. Equatorians were the leaders in the beginning of the 1960s, but after that, Lotuko, Bari and Dinka people became leaders of the movement. This led to a loose movement without any coherent ideology.[34]

During this time, southerners fled to neighboring countries such as Uganda and the Congo. Some southerners then called the rebellion the Anyanya civil war, but it was nothing like a real war. They had approximately 5000 troops and caused some problems, but they did not become a real threat for the northern administrative control of the South.[35]

2.4 The Numayri era

In 1964, the regime of general Abbud collapsed. Civilians in the North overthrew the regime and they made a broad civilian government. In 1965 they organized a Round Table Conference in Khartoum to solve the problem of the South. The talks led to a failure and the Gellaba Arabs started the massacres against civilians in the South.

A group led by Numayri overthrew this 'civilian-government'. The group that took power was an incoherent body. It consisted of numerous radical factions that were united in their goal of overthrowing the regime of Abbud, but that were not on the same

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[33] Johnson, *The root causes of Sudan's Civil Wars,* 30-31

[34] Johnson, *The root causes of Sudan's Civil Wars,* 31-32

[35] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 44

line regarding ideology. Several important things happened during the forming of the new cabinet, which was officially installed in 1971. The former southern minister, Mboro, was imprisoned and a new minister for Southern Affairs was appointed, the communist Joseph Garang (no relation with John Garang). The Anyanya movement did also change. The new leader Lagu exiled some old leaders and started with a new name, the Southern Sudan Liberation Front (later renamed to the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement).[36]

However, Numayri was the first president that would thoroughly handle the 'southern problem'. He wanted peace talks instead of military victory and he figured out an idea of self-government in the South. Unfortunately, this initiative was impaired by political intrigue.[37]

In 1976 a coup was planned against Numayri. Cooperation between Libya, the Soviet Union, the Ethiopian government and the support of Sadiq al-Mahdi, the inheritor of al-Mahdi, the leader that was killed in the 19th century, tried to get Numayri down, but they failed. Numayri changed his views drastically and he adopted political Islam as his ideology. In the beginning of 1977 he started to release prisoners, he stopped to persecute Ansar members and issued an amnesty that was even valid for the members of the National Islamic Front (NIF) of Hasan al-Turabi (he was an influential Islamist ideologist).[38]

All these changes did not help to strengthen the position of the South. Due to a high illiteracy rate, physical isolation, tensions and a lack of infrastructure and institutional capacity, the development stagnated in the South. Numayri tried everything that he thought was best for the South, but in the end, it all worked against him.[39]

One of the most disputed issues between the North and the South was highlighted when oil was found in Sudan. The demarcation line between North and South was an unresolved issue in the Addis Ababa agreement (and still is nowadays) and oil was found in this disputed area. Numayri planned an oil refinery construction on the side of the North, without consulting any southerners. This led to furious reactions by the southerners, especially because of the promise to return those lands to the South[40].

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[36] Johnson, *The root causes of Sudan's Civil War,* 36-37

[37] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 47

[38] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 53-53

[39] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 57-58

[40] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 58-59

2.5 The second civil war

In 1983, Numayri abolished the Addis Ababa agreement because of internal disputes in the South. Discussions were going on whether the South would remain one block or that it would split into several provinces, each with a local authority. This was mainly a case of tension between the Dinka's and the Equatorians, where the latter was afraid that they would be dominated by the former. In June 1983, Numayri actually announced the split of the South in three different provinces (in a document called Republican Order Number One). Besides that, he eliminated the southern military faction and their equal proportion in the SAF and he changed the official language from English to Arabic. The agreement was fully turned around and Numayri chose the side of Hasan al-Turabi's view. In September 1983 he imposed *sharī'a* law on all of Sudan. A couple of weeks before imposing the *sharī'a* law on the South, a reaction came from the South. In the city Bor, there was a mutiny, also in reaction to a redeployment of southern troops to the North, with the ideology that this would reduce the risk of a new civil war. This was a miscalculation and the Bor Battalion launched the second civil war. John Garang was the leader of the 105th Battalion of Bor and had planned the civil war before it even started. In May 1983 Major Kerubino Kuanyin Bol was sent to this division to end the unrest, but he switched sides (something that he did constantly during the second civil war) and pushed back the SAF forces. He and Garang fled with the 105th battalion into Ethiopia to seek refuge and some 3.000 southern troops followed. Within two years, the group had 10.000 troops, with 20.000 still being trained.[41]

2.6 John Garang

John Garang was one of the most popular and influential southern leaders. He was a Dinka from the Bor County and went to school thanks to his uncle after his parents had died. He fled to Tanzania during the first civil war. He attended high school there and had the opportunity to obtain a fellowship for a college in Iowa. There he got the know-how about economics and development, what would be of great importance later on in his life. He saw in the United States how a society could be organized and how (legal)

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[41] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 61-66

institutions function. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1969 and returned to Sudan.[42]

Back in Sudan, he joined the Anyanya militia of Joseph Lagu and he acquired the rank of major. When the civil war ended and the Anyanya soldiers were combined with the SAF, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and was sent to the United States again to attend military school. He obtained a Ph.D. position in the United States at the Iowa State University in agricultural economics, focusing on the Jonglei Canal project. When he returned to Sudan, he got the task of organizing a military library and he got a teaching position at the University of Khartoum. During two years he created a network of southern officers who were angry about the developing unrest in the South.[43]

Garang had a vision for Sudan, as can be read in his book, 'John Garang Speaks'. According to Natsios, there were three central positions on which he formed his movement, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A), which he founded on April 6, 1983. The first one was that the Nile River Arabs took all the resources from the periphery of the country for their own goods. Garang calls this 'center versus periphery' as he tries to explain that everything from the outskirts was only used by the Arabs in a small center, the Arab Triangle. The second point of Garang was that Sudan could only exist as a multiethnic country with no state religion. The Arab Islamist state, as Sudan still is, could not function for the country with more than hundred different tribes, cultures, and languages. The last point that Garang focused on was a unified state in which everyone had the option to participate.[44]

During the second civil war, Garang became the face of the southern rebellion. He used the phrase 'New Sudan' to underline his vision. Thanks to his radio shows broadcast from the border with Ethiopia, he attracted many supporters from the North and even from the Three Tribes.

2.7 The end of Numayri

The regime of Numayri lasted not very long, he got more and more discredited through the years and in April 1985 he was deposed by his own Major General Siwar al-Dhahab while visiting the United States. New elections were held one year later and the two

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[42] Collins, R.O. *A History of Modern Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 140

[43] Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 140-141

[44] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 67-68

biggest Northern parties, the Umma (the party of Sadiq al-Mahdi, the inheritor of the Mahdi-family) and the Democratic Unionist Party, got 67 percent of the votes. Sadiq al-Mahdi became prime minister of Sudan.[45]

Al-Mahdi had his own vision to end the civil war. In his eyes, the war must be fought in the South, where the problems were, and not in the North. Next to that, the government would support Arab tribes to fight along the north-south border. His third viewpoint was that Arabization and Islamization were of so much importance that everything that had to deal with other cultures and languages (read: the South) had to disappear. He let villages burn and ordered for mass murdering in the South. He had the idea of concentration camps where displaced southerners would hold and hear Qur'anic verses all day long, in order to Arabize and Islamize them. Besides that, al-Mahdi opposed using its resources to turn one tribe against the other. He did that with success, most of the casualties in this war came in the name of the Khartoum-backed group that fought against the SPLA.[46]

2.8 The Turabi years

Where Sadiq al-Mahdi got into power because his predecessor left the country for an official visit, Hasan al-Turabi did the same. When al-Mahdi was in Ethiopia in 1989, Omar al-Bashir, the leader of a group of officers, led a coup under the auspices of the NIF and Hasan al-Turabi. Their target was threefold: to stop the peace process, to create an Islamist state and to remove the regime of al-Mahdi. This succeeded and immediately after the coup, hundreds of people were arrested, including Turabi. This occurred to disguise the true nature of the coup and was part of the strategy because a couple of countries saw Turabi as a threat.[47]

Purification of Turabi's state did not stop. He replaced many judges and people at the University of Khartoum where he had once been a dean. Also, Islamic banking was more and more promoted, but it had been introduced ten years before the coup. This system allowed Turabi to finance Islamic scholars and Islamic NGOs that were in favor of his government. Young professionals and students who did not embrace the ideology of

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[45] Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 160-164

[46] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 70-73

[47] Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan,* 164-166

Turabi did not get any jobs. The whole society was only meant for Turabi's 'own' people.[48]

The state of Sudan became weaker and weaker under the reign of Turabi. The army had to suffer big losses in the civil war and Garang's forces became even stronger. However, the SPLA was dependent on arms that came from the Russian Federation via Ethiopia. When Russia decided to decrease its total arm shipments and when rebels overthrew the ally of Garang, Mengistu, his strategic position became weaker. The new Ethiopian president, Meles Zenawi, directly cut the transfer of weapons and supported Khartoum (as they were supported by Khartoum). In 1991, a group that was later called the 'Nasir Faction' (with Riek Machar, Lam Akol, and Gordon Kong) announced on the SPLA radio that Garang was removed as their leader. They asked support from the officers, but they did not get it. Instead of that, the SPLA split and the position of the southerners became even weaker. The Nasir Faction (which did not include any Dinka's) held a raid on Bor County, the homeport of Garang. Khartoum decided to support this faction and gave them weapons and money. This led to success in the first instance, where an internal war in the south was the outcome of that.[49]

However, Garang would not give up and he continued fighting. According to a personal conversation between him and Natsios, he had four pillars in his military strategy. The first one was to open a new front in Kassala, to threaten the highway between Khartoum and Port Sudan. The second one was to monitor northern rebellions, to make a bigger platform. The third one was to shut down the oil field so that their revenues could not support the war anymore. The last one was to surround or liberate more southern garrison cities. The main idea was to emphasize on the weakness of Khartoum and use it against it.[50]

2.9 The Bashir years

With al-Bashir in power, Sudan became more violent. In 2003 Darfur rebels announced their intention to fight against the government. They started to attack the airport of the capital of Darfur, al-Fasher airport, supported by Masalit people (a Darfurian tribe). This was, according to Natsios, the third Darfur rebellion, where the beginning of this was in

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[48] Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan,* 167-169

[49] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 97-98

[50] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur*, 99-100

1987 (the second one was in 1995).[51] However, numerous works are written about Darfur and we do not go in detail in this work.

What is important for us is that the SPLM backed the Darfurian rebels and fought with them against the government. The SPLM led the peace negotiations with the NCP in 2003 after the rebellion. This did not lead to a solution; on the contrary, the conflict collapsed. The Sudanese government recruited the Janjaweed (Arabic horsemen) to fight with them in Darfur.[52] This led to, what some would call, the first genocide of the 21st century: until now approximately 300.000 people have died and over two million are displaced.

2.10 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement

In 2005, the two leading parties of the North and the South (the government and the SPLM) came together in Addis Ababa to talk about a ceasefire and for an enduring form of freedom. This project started already in 2002 when they came together in Machakos, Kenya, where the eponymous protocol was signed.

The CPA provided a sharing of oil revenues, restored the power balances and gave the directions for a roadmap regarding the independence of the South. When it was signed in January 2005, it looked like a cautious step to some progress and an end to the second civil war that started in 1983.

On July 9, John Garang was inaugurated as the southern first vice-president in Sudan. However, this was just short-lived. On July 30 Garang died in Uganda in a helicopter crash after a secret meeting with the president of Uganda, Museveni. Until today it is not clear how this accident could have happened.

In 2007, two years after the signing, the South withdrew itself from the CPA because the government in Khartoum did not keep its appointments after; they did not give the South the space to develop itself and to create a form of self-rule. After a consultation, where the South had high demands, such as the retreat of all (northern) military forces from the South, the CPA was reinstated and the preparations for the referendum were taking place. That referendum took place almost four years later, in January 2011, as

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[51] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 116-138

[52] Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, & Darfur,* 138-143

was agreed in the CPA. Ninety-nine percent of the southerners voted a yes for independence and on July 9, 2011, the formation of South Sudan was a fact.

Salva Kiir became the first president of the newborn nation. He had succeeded John Garang in 2005 as leader of the SPLM and became logically the president since there was no opposition. Riek Machar, one of the key figures within the SPLM, became vice-president. Machar has a disputable history with SPLM: in the 1990's he left the party (together with some other key members) and made a move towards Sudan while rejecting Garang and the SPLM. He signed an agreement with Bashir and became the assistant to the president of Sudan. At the end of the 1990s, he came back groveling, after a consultation with Garang. There was no future for him in Sudan, so he took eggs for one's money. He tried to build up a new political career in the South.

2.11 The secession

The secession took place on July 9, 2011. The elections in January that year were quite clear: with a turnout of 96%, 95% voted for an independent South Sudan. After independence, they were recognized within a month by the African Union and the United Nations and almost all of the member states of the United Nations.

The government was formed by Salva Kiir; the predecessor of John Garang, and the expected president. Riek Machar, his rival, became his ally and was appointed as vice-president. The rest of the government was filled with high-ranking SPLM officials; 29 ministers in total. No democratic elections at all. The once rebellious party became now the ruling party of South Sudan.

Things got out of hand very quickly. Everything had to be built up from scratch; infrastructure, educational system, army, electricity, and so on. Very many Western companies came in to make a profit out of this opportunity. They came with big bags of money, bribed a lot of officials to earn more money, and left, without contributing to the country in the end.

The situation was unmanageable while the corruption flourished. In July 2013, Kiir dismissed his vice president Machar and the secretary-general of the SPLM, Pagan Amum, and he reshuffled the cabinet; 11 ministers were sacked and a lot of others replaced. The effect it had on the people of South Sudan was not the effect Kiir had in mind; it caused unrest instead of peace.

Machar and Amum criticized Kiir for being politically motivated. According to them, Kiir tried to build a more solid network of trustees, so that he had more power to do whatever he wanted.

2.12 Civil war

On December 14, 2013, an SPLM congress was held in Juba to talk about the leadership of the party, the role of the SPLM and the elections that were planned in 2015. A dispute emerged between the people of Salva Kiir and the opposition within the SPLM, led by Riek Machar, Rebecca Garang and Pagan Amum. This led to tensions within the SPLM and the day after, Salva Kiir ordered his Major General of the Presidential Guard to disarm all forces and to re-arm the Dinka only. This led to a feeling of distrust after which the Nuer (and also other tribes) picked up their arms and started to fight against the Dinka. They were only the minority and soon after the violence broke out, the Dinka people took over and started to fight the people in the city. Salva Kiir tried to restore the peace in the city, but it had suffered distress; a wave of violence swept through the country and the first civil war of the nearly 2,5-year-old country had begun.

3. Analysis

We will begin our analysis at the beginning of the civil war. A lot is written about the (internal) situation in South Sudan in the period before the war and since its beginning. We will start our analysis directly after the beginning of the civil war. Before we can begin the analysis, I must address that there are contesting theories in the literature.

In the around 75 articles per case there were a lot of arguments regarding the case and also regarding national identity. Of course, sometimes we have to interpret arguments by placing them into a broader context, since not everything is written down to use it straight away.

What we have to keep in mind is that the authors of the different articles did not intend to give us a clear view of national identity in South Sudan. They provided us with an elitist perspective of national identity, while living in South Sudan and living in the diaspora. As we will see, there is a difference between the people living in South Sudan and those in the diaspora in the case of national identity. But what is more important, is that these articles came from the elite: journalists, (former) ministers, and highly educated people. The illiteracy rate in South Sudan is quite high, namely 73 percent.[53] This means that about 27 percent of the people above 15 in South Sudan can read and write. For men, this percentage is 40 percent, for women 16 percent. This means that approximately one out of seven women can read and write. This explains why men have written most of the articles.

We also have to keep in mind that most of the authors have a political agenda. As we shall see, arguments differ and there are various backgrounds and ideologies that are coming to the fore. This is a good sign: it means that there is some sort of pluralism and that there is a debate. But the other side of the coin is that we cannot come up with a conclusion on which everyone agrees.

In the analysis we will refer to the articles and, if necessary, the backgrounds of the authors. In most cases this will not be necessary. In the appendix a list is made of all authors, including their backgrounds. While reading the arguments and the analysis, we have to keep in mind that the authors are part of a well-educated part of the population, mainly men, with some sort of (political) agenda.

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[53] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html, accessed on February 20, 2014.

3.1 The Juba massacre

The civil war in South Sudan started on December 15, 2013. On that evening, an alliance of people (Riek Machar, Pagan Amum, and Rebecca Nyandeng) voted to boycott an SPLM meeting. In reaction to this, President Kiir ordered his Tiger Battalion (his more or less private bodyguards, which were heavily armed) to disarm the troops, after which he armed his Dinka soldiers again, excluding soldiers from other tribes. It led to rumors within the barracks, and the Nuer soldiers started to re-arm as well, which resulted in a conflict. What Salva Kiir ordered next is open to speculation, but what happened was that many (estimates vary) Nuer civilians in Juba were killed that night.

The following days, the violence spread throughout the whole country, which led to anarchy and chaos. President Kiir told his people that Machar had tried to overthrow him. Machar could not directly reply since he was on the run with Pagan Amum, Rebecca Nyandeng, and others. Almost at the same time as the initial outbreak of violence analyses appeared on different media, starting with social media, such as Twitter and Facebook. The articles that will be mentioned in this analysis will deal with the period December 15, 2013, until January 31, 2014, a month and a half in which various people died, and many things happened about which a lot was written.

Before we move on to the analysis, it is interesting to discuss an article that Peter Gay Manyuon wrote four days before the civil war started. He is a journalist living in South Sudan who calls himself independent, and he writes a lot about South Sudan on the Internet as well as in the local newspapers.

Manyuon talks about a press conference held on December 10 in which vice-president Wani Igga stated that there is no crisis within the SPLM after meetings were held within the high ranks of the SPLM regarding leadership. Manyuon advised the SPLM on December 11 to democratize the party leadership since there was a scission looming between the leaders of the SPLM (Kiir, Igga, and others) and the opposition (Machar, Nyandeng, and others). Manyuon stated that, if this cannot be solved, "there might be a big problem that might either occur on the 14th of December, 2013 or the other day, if am [sic.] mistaken."[54]

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[54] Manyuon, P.G. "Analysis of the SPLM crisis." *South Sudan News Agency*, December 11, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/analysis-of-the-splm-crisis.

3.1.1 Political reasons

The first political question we can ask if it the civil war was started by a coup or not, as president Kiir said a day after the violence began. Ninety-five percent of the authors agree that no coup was pledged. Only two authors stated that there was a coup carried out by Riek Machar. The first one we find is Sabrino Majok Majok. On January 7, 2014, he reacted to an article that tries to make clear that the violence in South Sudan was genocide. Majok does not agree with this statement, talks about a failed coup, and sees President Kiir as the most uniting factor in South Sudan.[55]

The other article that does agree with a coup is the article of Joseph Ayok Anei. He notes that Machar is a rebel and that he is not willing to negotiate if he does not get what he wants. For that reason, he made the uprising possible.[56]

Those two articles are the only ones (out of 65) that are stating that there was a coup. Majok has a background as an employee of the government of South Sudan, and Ayok Anei is an ambassador and former president director of Research, Planning and Translation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in South Sudan. Among the others, there are also former Ministers, government employees, and high-ranking officials, but they are all agreeing that the statement of Kiir about a coup does not reflect the truth.

Something that is mentioned by almost everyone is that the root of the conflict has to do with politics. There is no agreement about what exactly the roots of the conflict are, but coup or no coup, politics is at the basis of the conflict.

Amr Idris is stating that the root cause of the conflict is politics and that it could have been prevented if President Kiir did react on Machars' call regarding the political leadership of the SPLM. Furthermore, he states that the political agreement made a change into ethnic hostility in the ongoing conflict: "Political demands were made in ethnic terms without regard to the national interests of the country."[57]

Those ethnic terms are something that comes up with other writers as well. Identity or tribal politics is a term that is frequently mentioned throughout the articles. Tongun

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[55] Majok, S.M. "Government and people of South Sudan must not get loose dr Riek this time." Sudan Tribune, December 23, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49277.

[56] Ayok Anei, J. "Justices must be served to save South Sudan." Sudan Tribune, January 13, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49557.

[57]Idris, A. "Can South Sudan follow the footsteps of South Africa." Sudan Tribune, December 24, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49300.

Lo Loyuong, who is referring to an article of Mahmood Mamdani, a prominent scholar on Sudan issues, says that the problem lies in the politicized ethnical roots of only two tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer. They both have the idea that they are the tribe that has to lead South Sudan to a better future. He states that a lasting peace for South Sudan lies in the political implications of the 'radically politicized ethnicity.' "Tribal politics rather than social and economic national policies have permeated the political and social fabric of South Sudan."[58]

So what we see by most authors is an aversion against these identity or tribal politics. It does not matter if an author is in favor of Kiir or of Machar; both sides are imposing the end of this to their readers. Solutions are not always there, but some authors touch upon some solutions, in one case even with a whole scenario to bring South Sudan back on track. However, one thing that is often mentioned is elections.

On the one side elections are mentioned in a negative sense. The orders of President Kiir came, according to a couple of authors, at the right time. General elections were scheduled in June 2015 (four years after independence), and a coup, professionally beaten down by a strong president, should have been good promotion for Kiir.[59] Conflict and chaos for good election results (or no elections at all) is something that has often happened in history.

On the other side, elections are mentioned as a solution to the problem. Many contributors see the SPLM as a problem. The SPLM signed the CPA; it was the only (political) party at the moment of the independence referendum and thus the only ruling party. A more pluralistic system will bring more democracy into South Sudan, and to do so, they need elections. We can say that elections are of the utmost importance for a lot of authors. Elections are seen as a way to bring South Sudan forward. Steve Paterno is one of the people that only sees the benefits of elections and he does see the conflict as a threat for the democracy in South Sudan.[60]

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[58] Loyuong, T.L. "Kiir and Machar remove the skeletons from the closet in South Sudan." South Sudan News Agency, December, 26 2013, accessed September 24, 2014,

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/kiir-and-machar-remove-the-skeletons.

[59] Kuth D.L. "Lt. General Salva Kiir Mayardit: The presidency's over ", South Sudan News Agency, December 19, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/salva-kiir-mayardit-the-presidencys-over.

[60] Paterno, S. "Taking stock of South Sudanese crisis." Sudan Tribune, December 19, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=49256.

Corruption

Something that closely relates to politics is corruption. Corruption is something that is mentioned quite often in the articles. In the summer of 2013, corruption caused a big scandal in South Sudan, when President Kiir sacked his entire cabinet. In the aftermath of these events, it came out that government officials stole at least 4 billion dollars. For this reason, it is not strange that a number of commentators are touching upon this issue. It is mentioned as the reason for political failure, but also as inevitable with the current government.[61]

The last thing we could describe as a political argument, are elections. Elections are mentioned a few times among the authors, but they do not use it in the same way, and this argument was mainly used in the first week after the start of the conflict. Afterward, no one mentioned elections implicitly. Pek Chol is stating that Kiir tried to arrest Machar, to secure the presidential elections in 2015.[62] Steve Paterno has a slightly different view: he says that the conflict was more or less a set-up to postpone the upcoming elections of 2015.[63] The other arguments were or in line with the one of Pek Chol, or with the one of Paterno.

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[61] Chuol, D. "The Dictator's Mentor." *South Sudan News Agency*, 31 December 2013.

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/the-dictators-mentor.

[62] Chol, P. "There was no coup attempt against president Kiir." South Sudan News Agency, 19 December 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/there-was-no-coup-attempt.

[63] Paterno, S. "Taking stock of South Sudanese crisis." Sudan Tribune, December 19, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=49256.

3.1.2 Crimes against humanity

The one thing where everyone focused on in their articles is the fact, there was ethnic violence during the first month of the conflict. Not per se, the root of the conflict was labeled as ethnic, there were more people labeling it as political, but the violence that erupted was ethnical.

People are referring mostly to the violence that broke out on December 15 when the army went from door to door to kill mainly Nuer people, as it is claimed. This is seen as a crime against humanity. Also, the acts of retaliation in other parts of the country are labeled as crimes against humanity, although these acts are mentioned less.[64]

Everyone agrees in the articles that the violence was ethnically loaded. In the first instance, Dinka's were fighting the Nuers, and subsequently, the Nuers were fighting the Dinka's. Also, other tribal entities were involved in the fight, whether they were willing or not. The fact that politics was behind the violence is clear for almost everybody, while the visions differ about the interpretation of the political agenda.

While some go even further and do not only call it ethnic violence, they even call it genocide. Stephen Par Kuol is even mentioning the meaning of genocide as used by the International Criminal Court, to underline his statement.[65] Others are just mentioning it as a possible genocide, while they refer (mostly) to the Rwandan genocide. The people are well accustomed to the concept of genocide, something that occurred 25 years ago in an almost neighboring country.

However, we did not only see a reference to Rwanda, but also Darfur is mentioned a couple of times. Stephen Par Kuol remarks that the same patron will repeat itself in South Sudan as it did in Darfur. The politicians are making promises and signing an agreement, without solving the real problems that are present. Although South Sudan became independent and the agreement was not violated by Sudan, (as it did happen in the Darfur situation), the ethnic lines are still visible, while that was one of the key issues that should have been solved.[66] In a couple of articles, the authors are already

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[64] Akec, J.A., "South Sudan: Making sense of December 15th, start of war – part 1.", in: "Sudan Tribune", 30 December 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49383

[65] Kuol, S.P. "South Sudan: Another Rwanda in the making." Sudan Tribune, December 27, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49351.

[66] Kuol, S.P. "The finger prints on genocide in South Sudan." Sudan Tribune, January 1, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49410.

referring to the International Criminal Court, indicating that these actions in Juba need to be internationally condemned. Justin Kwaje is one of the authors that are stating that Salva Kiir needs to be extradited as soon as possible.[67]

Gruesome details are also present in a couple of articles, to underline the arguments of the authors. J. Nguen Nyol is one of the authors that describe how killed (and rotting) Nuer people are being fed to still living Nuer people in some police stations during the beginning of the conflict. Whether it is a fairy tale or not, it is mentioned in different articles, and it may be put down in history books.[68]

Not only the violence in Juba is convicted, but also the clashes in other parts of South Sudan after the start of the civil war are convicted. John Akec[69] is one of the authors that are giving examples about hostilities in, inter alia, Jonglei, and Bor. He is stating that the urge for retaliation (most of the violence, if it does not come from the government) is only fuelling the conflict en causes more ethnical problems. The ethnical element has to disappear according to Akec, and they must find a long-lasting solution.[70]

This latter point, the search for a solution, is something that is coming up very frequently. Opinions differ about how to end the violence. One would argue that a cease-fire is the best start and that from that point onwards the rebels and the government can look together for a solution. Other ones are stating that the SPLM has to resolve, and the whole political field has to start from scratch again. Elections are also mentioned a couple of times as (part of) a solution, but generally, nobody has arguments how to end the violence (except for a cease-fire, but not explaining how to get this done).

3.1.3 Historic failure

Historical awareness connects people, as the theories of Guibernau[71] and Anderson[72] show us. If we take a look to the Netherlands, then we are still proud if we tell the stories

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[67] Kwaje, J. "President Kiir has new titles." South Sudan News Agency, January 8, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/president-kiir-has-new-titles

[68] Nuyol, J.N. "The Nuer massacre by president Kiir Militias." *South Sudan News Agency,* December 27, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/the-nuer-massacre-by-president-kiirs-militias.

[69] Akec, "South Sudan: Making sense of December 15th, start of war – part 1."

[70] Akec, J.A., "South Sudan: Making sense of December 15th, start of war – part 2.", in: "Sudan Tribune", January 5, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49353.

[71] Guibernau, *The identity of nations,* 19-21

about William of Orange or our former overseas businesses in the Golden Age. Although South Sudan has no long past as an independent nation, the region and the land of South Sudan has a history. This historical awareness is retrievable at a part of the authors.

A couple of commentators are looking back to recent history and specifically to Machar. They refer mostly to the 1991 debacle, when Machar split from, together with Lam Akol, the movement of John Garang. Machar made an alliance with the president of Sudan, Omar al-Bashir, to secure his own position. This did not turn out the way Machar had planned, and he returned groveling to Garang asking if he could be part of the SPLM again. Steve Paterno remembers this very well, because, at that time, violence broke out as well, just when Machar was back at the SPLM. This was also around Christmas, but then back in 1991.

Brian Adeba explains that there is a difference between the violence of that time and the violence in 2013. In 1991 the Nassir movement, led by Machar, demanded that Garang would renounce his position as leader. This is not the case at the start of the civil war in 2013. It was Salva Kiir who stated that he was a victim of a coup d'état, but it was never claimed by anyone, even not by Machar. Of course, there were some disputes regarding the leadership of the party, but there were no real demands. Adeba is also mentioning that it is time to draw lessons from the past and its event. With all the wisdom there is from both parties, he states, they should be able to get to a solution quite fast, and not turn into a bloody war that lasts for years. [73]

Kiir's public reference to 1991 is something that he should not have done, according to Justin Kwaje. He declares that it is a taboo to retrieve something from the past as a legitimate argument because it is believed that it is a bad omen. The fact that Kiir is using it means that he is quite desperate in his handling, according to Kwaje.[74]

But not only Machar is remembered, but also Salva Kiir has its history. There are references back to 1970s, as mentioned by Kuir ë Garang when Kiir was paid by the Sudanese government to eliminate Anyanya II. According to Garang, it was Machar that convinced Kiir in the end to return to the SPLM. If that did not happen, history would

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[72] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37-47

[73] Vanang, D. "South Sudan Conflict: where and when it all began." South Sudan News Agency, January 3, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/south-sudan-conflict-it-all-began.

[74] Kwaje, "President Kiir has new titles."

have made a different turn. Garang thus mentions that both key players in the political field of South Sudan have betrayed the SPLM and South Sudan.[75]

Old myth

An interesting argument that comes by in two articles is a reference to an old myth that circulated in the south of Sudan at the beginning of the 20th century.[76] It concerns a myth of a new leader, one with a diastema that would rise to guide the people of the South. Both articles are linking this mythological figure with Riek Machar and stating that he will be the best leader for South Sudan at the moment. This is, of course, an exemplary issue and unverifiable, but the fact that two articles seemingly independent from each other are dealing with this, it is worth mentioning.

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[75] Garang, K. ë. "SPLM in crisis: school boys on the school playground." South Sudan News Agency, December 15, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/splm-in-crisis.

[76] Malou, A.M. "Synthesis and analysis of the current crisis in South Sudan." Sudan Tribune, December 25, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49315.

3.1.4 Failure of SPLM/A and incompetent leadership

Many authors put the blame of the failure of Kiir's leadership with regards to the civil war, and, more in general, by the failure of the SPLM. Amr Idris, a professor of African and African American Studies at Fordham University, is stating that the whole conflict is about politics and that the politics have made the conflict ethnical. He sees a solution in democracy: by taking democratic steps to solve the problems of leadership, you can make a step forward towards democracy. Idris sees South Africa as an example in which this solution worked.[77]

That, not everyone is as nuanced as Idris is clear from other articles we have seen. Paul Elhag is one of the authors that have a clear and rigid opinion. He interprets the beginning of the conflict as a failure of the SPLM and states that the SPLM has copied the government of Khartoum when it comes to identity politics. His solution would thus be to abolish the SPLM and to start all over again. Not only because they are responsible for the civil war, but also because they are not willing to take any responsibility. Since they are the only political party which can be voted for, it has to be dissolved. According to Paul, "the party serves nobody's interest."[78]

This opinion is also shared by Jean C.B., an alias for an author with a working history for the government. He argues that the SPLM is based on tribal alliances and that democracy cannot work if these tribal lines are still visible and working. Because of this reason he sees that a military state is arising, which is lead by Kiir (and his followers) and not a democratic state with a party for the whole nation.[79]

Leadership

There is much criticism at the address of Kiir in the articles, more than that there is on Machar. It is alleged against Kiir that he is not, and never was, a solid leader. Some of the authors are claiming that he is not an elected president and thus not representable. The

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[77] Idris, A. "Can South Sudan follow the footsteps of South Africa."

[78] Elhag, P. "To achieve peace in South Sudan SPLM/A must be scrapped." *South Sudan News Agency*, December 29 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannation.com/to-achieve-peace-in-south-sudan-splma-must-be-scrapped.

[79] C.B., J. "The fabricated coup: a confession from a party insider." *South Sudan News Agency*, 30 December 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/the-fabricated-coup-south-sudan.

South Sudanese people have voted for an independent nation, but they never voted how to fill the political area of the newly acquired nation. Politically seen, there was no other choice, there was only SPLM, and there were also no elections about the presidentship. Kiir was and still is the leader of the SPLM and thereby also the President of South Sudan.

Something that is related to this, to a greater or lesser extent, is corruption. In August 2013, Kiir sacked his whole cabinet. Subsequently, he replaced the fired politicians with his own followers. This did not change anything with regards to corruption, and several authors are claiming that this event even worsened the whole political situation in South Sudan.[80]

Kuir ë Garang stated that there is no other country in the world where the leaders of the ruling parties are so openly criticizing each other and treated malignant in the media as South Sudan. This causes incompetent leadership and gives a bad signal to the outside world.[81]

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[80] Ajang, G.P. "South Sudanese Losing Fighting for Leaders." *South Sudan News Agency*, December 29, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannation.com/south-sudanese-lose-fighting-for-leaders.

[81] Garang, K.ë. "A message to Actualizers of Doom: President Kiir and Dr. Machar." *South Sudan News Agency,* December 25, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/analyses/a-message-to-actualizers-of-doom.

3.1.5 Fraternization

One would argue that arguments regarding fraternization would be present in almost all of the articles and that these arguments will show how strong national solidarity is in South Sudan. Not talking about quarrels between Dinka and Nuer, Bari and Shilluk, but only talking about fraternization. Unfortunately, it is not true at all. In barely 15 per cent of the articles, there is a notion of fraternization, and even this is not enough to put everyone on the same line.

Athiaan Majak Malou does not see any problems regarding ethnical lines, and he praises the diversity of South Sudan. For him, South Sudan is a place where a lot of different nationalities from the whole region (Ethiopia, Congo, Kenya) can live and work together.[82]

Living peacefully together is also something that recurs in the plea of Peter Gai Manyuon. In a series of articles, he has tried to summarize the obstacles of the conflict and he states that the people of South Sudan must show to the world that they are one people, that they love each other, can work together and that they are willing to do so to move the country forward. [83]

The last person that we will discuss regarding fraternization is 'Papa' Maury Clark, a former advisor to the government and at the moment living and working in the United States as head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for South Sudanese. He sees a role for the smaller tribal entities in South Sudan to work together for unity. He is arguing that Kiir has failed to make this country as one, but not only Kiir, he sees Machar as equally responsible.[84]

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[82] Malou, A.M. "When the Nile reversed its course." *Sudan Tribune*, December 23, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49292.

[83] Manyuon, P.G. "Analysis of the SPLM crisis: which group will win the party's leadership." *South Sudan News Agency*, December 11, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014,

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/analysis-of-the-splm-crisis.

[84] Clark, M. "An Uncivil War." *South Sudan News Agency*, December 21, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/an-uncivil-war.

3.1.6 Lacking systems

Not all the authors are agreeing on the cause of the civil war, but there are also contributors that see problems in external factors. David and Elisabeth Deng for instance are blaming the judicial system in their article. They are stating that if the judicial system would have worked, mechanisms would be available that could have prevented a civil war. According to them it is still available to build this system and it is really necessary to do this to avoid upcoming conflicts.[85]

Steve Paterno, Elhag Paul, and Makako Paul Gatyiel are blaming the Western world for their reprehensible behaviour. Paterno is the one that is most fateful about it. The UN and all the donors that put money into South Sudan to build it up from scratch, should have known that problems could occur during the founding of this fragile state. They have the experience and the knowledge (and also the money and the resources) and should have prevented it at all costs.[86]

Gatyiel does not necessarily stating that the Western world is directly to blame, but they are the ones that should put pressure on Museveni and the government of South Sudan to solve this issue. Interestingly to see is that he is not only pointing at the UN or the EU, but also the African Union.[87]

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[85] Deng, E. & Deng D. "An integrated response to justice and reconciliation in South Sudan." Sudan Tribune, January 9, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49489.

[86] Paterno, S. "Taking stock of South Sudanese crisis." Sudan Tribune, December 19, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=49256.

[87] Gatyiel, M.P. "The structure of the Kingdom in South Sudan." South Sudan News Agency, January 3, 2014, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/the-structure-of-the-kingdom

3.1.7 Diaspora versus South Sudan

It is expected that there are differences in arguments between South Sudanese living in South Sudan and those who are living in the diaspora. People in the diaspora cannot see the same as the people in South Sudan. They are dependent on what media is covering, what they hear from friends, relatives or acquaintances and what they see on social media. People in South Sudan also are dealing with this kind of information, but they also have first-hand insights; they are living and experiencing the conflict. Therefore, we see differences in arguments between those two groups, but there are also similarities. Differences are expressed as well in the content of the arguments, as in the use of words. Mainly none of the South Sudanese in South Sudan is using the word massacre to describe the violence, while a couple of diaspora South Sudanese did. The same counts for the word genocide, while with the use of words, the difference is not that big.

Corruption is something that is mentioned barely by diaspora South Sudanese, while the other group is making arguments about it in many articles. Only Gabrail Pager Ajang did mention it as a diaspora South Sudanese.

Another interesting thing to see is that fraternization is not proclaimed by the diaspora South Sudanese, only by Papa Maury Clark, a spiritual leader and former advisor to the government. There are just a few commentators touching upon this issue, and the articles mainly deal with the roots of fraternization are and what the possibilities are, but there is no one who gives any concrete solutions for the problem of the civil war.

Something else that is remarkable between the tow groups is the difference in historical awareness. There is probably enough historical knowledge in the diaspora group, but they do not use it as arguments in their articles. Only two times authors referred to historical facts, by J. Nguen Nyol[88] and Brian Adeba[89], while the other group used it in about ten articles. There is no clear reason why the diaspora group does not use it. It could have something to do with the fact that historical solidarity becomes

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[88] Nuyol, J.N. "The Nuer massacre by president Kiir Militias." *South Sudan News Agency,* December 27, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/the-nuer-massacre-by-president-kiirs-militias.

[89] Adeba, B. "Lessons to draw from the SPLM's internal wrangles." *Sudan Tribune*, December 31, 2013, accessed September 24, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49387.

stronger when one is actually living on the historical territory, something that is also coming up in the theory of Guibernau.[90]

The thoughts about the future of the SPLM also differ between the two groups. The South Sudanese are arguing more often to dissolve the SPLM (without giving any solutions for the political vacuum that is coming up), while we barely see it as an argument in the diaspora articles. This could have something do to with the fact that the South Sudanese are daily exposed to the SPLM and thus have to deal with it, while the diaspora group only reads about it.

Something that is also only coming back in the South Sudanese arguments is that the Western World (as a container concept) is doing too little to build up South Sudan. Although it is only three authors that are mentioning this, Paul Elhag, Makako Paul Gatyiel and Steve Paterno, it is noticeable that they are all writing from South Sudan and not from the diaspora. In other articles, the West is mentioned, but not always as explicitly and negatively as in the articles of those three men.

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[90] Guibernau, *The identity of Nations,* 20-21

3.1.8 Conclusion Juba

If we look to all of these articles we can conclude one thing, they are politically motivated. All authors have their own reasons to write about the situation in South Sudan, but it seems they all are in some way politically motivated. One is writing to convince others, while some others are writing to let others know how they think about the conflict. We have to keep in mind that all of the arguments thus have a political connotation, but that does not mean they will defend these arguments.

We can apply the theory of Guibernau on the arguments we have seen in this analysis. For the conclusion of this case, we will use the themes Guibernau has used in his theory and which are most important for us: politics, history, and culture.

Politics

On a political level, we see a lot of different (political) visions in the arguments. Despite (or thanks to) the fact that there is only one political party in South Sudan, there is a wide range of political views. The fact that there is only one agreement in the articles, whether it was a coup or not – in total there were two articles that stated that it was a coup, about 60 did not agree with that – means that we cannot see some unity regarding the ideologies we have seen. Of course, there are several authors that will be in line together, but since we only have tattered visions and not clear broad perspective of every author, of just one or some articles, we cannot yet speak of real solidarity.

History

History is something that is formed by the time and something that affects different generations. The moment of writing determines how history is experienced. The Second World War would be interpreted differently if the Germans had won. The same is the case with South Sudan. Although there is not much recent history (with, for instance, in comparison with Egypt), it is something that is vivid amongst the people, and it can contribute to solidarity. In the theory of Guibernau, we see history. It gives a group of people a handhold and an identity. The fact that, for instance, the year 1991 is often mentioned in the articles indicates that for many people, the events in that year did mean something and that they feel connected with it, despite the different views on it.

There will be a lot written about the beginning of the civil war, and these articles, in the first one and a half month after the conflict, will probably not give the most comprehensive views about it, given the diversity of it. However, these articles will be indicating a beginning of a history of the conflict and the conflict as a whole will contribute to the national identity of South Sudan. This part of history will be anchored in the daily life of the South Sudanese, just as much as the referendum of independence did.

Culture

As we mentioned before, there are dozens of different languages, hundreds of different tribes and a couple of million different people existing in South Sudan. We can thus barely talk about a real national culture. All of the authors we have seen have a different background, were raised in different parts of the country and lived with different people. However, we still see similarities regarding cultural arguments.

3.2 Federalism as the missing link

During the initial months of the civil war, there were a few attempts to search for a solution; not only a solution for the thousands of internally displaced persons in the refugee camps, but a solution that must put an end to the conflict.

In January and February of 2014, there were peace talks that were ending as fast as they began. The war continued and peace seemed far away, then in April, horrific violence erupted in Bentiu. In this small city, in Unity State, near the Sudanese border, the SPLM-IO caused a blood bath in and around the local mosque. They used the same methods as the Tiger Battalion did in December, 2013; they went from door to door, the SLPLM-IO went from church to mosque and back to kill the people of Bentiu.

This act led to much ado in South Sudan and caused a lot of trouble among the people there. Subsequently, it was decided that the international organization IGAD would be used as the spindle for the peace process. A month earlier, in March, IGAD also tried to bring peace, but the conversations stayed at that time. This case is about the attempts made in June that also failed and gave a lot of commentators, material to write about. The main reason for the failure of these talks was that there was no inclusiveness of the whole NGO-sector of South Sudan.[91]

The breakdown of these peace talks, the discussion about the inclusivity of the NGO-sector, the second attempt of the IGAD to bring peace to South Sudan and the fact that the civil war started exactly a half year before, are the main reasons to analyze the articles in the period June/July; a turbulent period in which a lot of articles were written, especially on the subject of nation building.

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[91] http://www.saferworld.org.uk/news-and-views/comment/175-whatas-happening-with-the-south-sudan-peace-process-nobody-seems-to-know

3.2.1 Federalism

As said in the introduction, a lot of articles were written on the subject of state/nation building. What is remarkable in all these articles is the fact that people are questioning the organization of the state and that they moot federalism as a solution for the political problems in South Sudan. Before we can say something about these arguments and federalism, it is important to explain one term that is politically loaded and important in this question: kokora.

Kokora

Kokora is mentioned by several authors, mainly alongside federalism. To get to know the concept of kokora, we have to go back to 1983, when South Sudan was decentralized. SPLM was just founded and there was a lot of violence going on in the South, mainly tribal violence. Mainly Equatorians were asking the former president, Numayri to end the violence that came mainly from the Dinka-tribe. Numayri decided to split the south of Sudan into three smaller areas, to get a better grip on the situation, and to separate inter alia, the Equatorians from the Dinka's. The three new areas were: the Greater Regions of Equatoria, Bahr al-Ghazal (where the Dinka tribe was the main population) and Upper Nile (where the Nuer was the biggest tribe). The redistribution of the South, only on an administrative level, was called kokora.

Thus, the idea was to bring the minds to rest. This solution was good for both the South as for Numayri. The latter had more control over the South at that moment, which meant politically, a step forward. It has to be mentioned that these areas did not obtain any self-control or autonomy; this was not even negotiable, at least not on an official level. It was discussed within the SPLM and therefore, became their ultimate goal.

This autonomy was achieved by the signing of the CPA in 2005, where a referendum for an independent South Sudan was promised. The independence came in 2011 and right after it Greater Equatoria opted for federalism in South Sudan.

After the national conference in 2013, Greater Equatoria spoke out for federalism, and also other provinces (ten at the time) were asking for federalism. Bol Khan Rom, who is also pleading for federalism in his article, mentioned these facts. He hereby states

that it is not so much (re}dividing the people, but more about spreading the power by decentralizing the power to prevent a civil war in the nearby future.[92]

Sindani Sebit, graduated at Juba University and living in Kenya, is the most comprehensive author regarding federalism. In a series of six articles, he gives a scheme of how to arrange a complete new state with regards to federalization. He talks about the rights of civilians, the separation of powers and how the justice system should be organized. He even goes back to the Juba Conference of 1947 and the subsequent discussions that were applicable for both the southern and the northern part of Sudan.[93]

Peter Kopling states that all the different tribes in South Sudan are already living peacefully together and that the violence and all the blood that was shed are only caused by politics. With a federal system, he argues, the problems are being solved. It is out of question that kokora has to do something with that, people can move freely; it is only about the re-division of power.[94]

The biggest issue in most of the articles that are dealing with politics is that there is too much power in the hands of the SPLM. The system in which the president has all the power, is actually an issue that is raised in almost all these articles, regarding if they are in favor of federalism or not. The biggest stumbling block is, in the current system, the military power that is too big for one (political) party. With a distribution of power, this problem should be solved.

Not only (former) citizens of South Sudan are expressing their dissatisfaction about the political system. The minister of Agriculture (during this period), Jacob K. Lupai, makes it very clear that he is also a proponent of federalism. He argues that the current system is not working, and tries to explain how federalism could strengthen national unity. He indicates that at this moment, fear is the only reason not to move on with federalism at, because it is often misinterpreted, which is not necessary. A salient detail

[92] Khan Rom, B. "Bravo Equatorians." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 12, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/bravo-equatorians.

[93] Sebit, S. "Proposed federal system for future South Sudan: let us serialize it (part 1)." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 12, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/proposed-federal-system-for-south-sudan.

[94] Kopling, P. "Peaceful Coexistence: how the Equatorians got it right." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 29, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/peaceful-coexistence-how-the-equatorians-got-it-right.

in one of his articles: in the more illiterate areas of South Sudan, people understand the least of federalism, thus Lupai.[95]

Regarding the latter argument, illiteracy, is mentioned in a lot of articles. Some of the authors are stating that precisely the elite of South Sudan are against federalism. They argue that federalism is causing disunity and that South Sudan is not ready at this moment for federalism. All of the articles that are mentioning this argument are stating that the people are ready and that they want it more than ever.[96]

Constitution

As already became clear in the six articles of Sindani Sebit[97], but also in the treatise of Jacob K. Lupai[98] is that there must come a new constitution in which federalism gets a place. A new constitution will give grip to the government and will provide national unity. Despite the fact that a new constitution was composed when South Sudan became independent, it seems that this constitution has no power and authority. According to a former army officer, Bramatali Wani Lo-Lipo Lo-Lisi, could a constitution ensures there will be enough space for the people of South Sudan to live in unity, equality, prosperity and happiness.[99]

It is almost impossible to get everyone in favor of federalism, and though there are some opposing arguments, they are very minimal. One of these is from Philips al-Ghai, and although he is an advocate of federalism, he thinks that people should not see it as the solution, but as a solution for the problems there are. He argues that there are too

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[95] Lupai, J.K., "Federal system of government strengthens national unity." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 22, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/analyses/federal-system-of-government-strengthens-national-unity.

[96] Emmanuel, E.K. "Wake Up Equatorian Man." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 6, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/wake-up-equatorian-man.

[97] Sebit, S. "Proposed federal system for future South Sudan: let us serialize it (part 1) and others.

[98] Lupai, J.K. "False rejection of federal system of government in South Sudan." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 9, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/analyses/false-rejection-of-federal-government.

[99] Lo-Lipo Lo-Lisi, B.W. "Transform the guns and bullets: A chance for federalism now." *South Sudan News Agency,* June 17, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/analyses/transform-the-guns-and-bullets-federalism-now.

many positive noises going around at this time, without giving some practical and applicable arguments that are needed.[100]

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[100] Al-Ghai, P. "We must be sober-minded about federalism." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 15, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/we-must-be-sober-minded-about-federalism.

3.2.2 The (non-)power of IGAD

Arguments about the role of IGAD cannot be ignored during this period. It has to be said that not many articles are dealing with IGAD, although it had quite an impact on the negotiations. The arguments are primarily dealing with the non-functional system of IGAD during the talks.

The biggest reproach concerning IGAD refers to the Ugandan president Museveni. Uganda is part of IGAD, but is also supporting Salva Kiir. Museveni has sent Ugandan troops to South Sudan to stabilize the country and bring some peace, but the opposite has happened. Uganda's role in South Sudan has a long history and it is clear at this moment that Museveni is on Kiir's side. Kuir ë Garang is one of the authors that is questioning how that it is possible that the institution IGAD is objective during the peace talks, if Uganda is around the table itself.[101]

Another reproach with regards to IGAD is about the finances. IGAD would mainly act out of financial motives, without having the peace process as a primary objective. Peter Gai Manyuon points out that, for example, in Ethiopia (usually the negotiations take place in Addis Ababa) a lot of jobs were created to enable these peace talks. This leads to a situation where people will extend the whole process, to capitalize on financial gain. They do not have any reasons to boost the process and let it end sooner.[102]

The comprehensiveness of the talks is another issue of arguing. In the first instance only, Salva Kiir and Riek Machar were invited to sit around the table and sign for a ceasefire and a peace treaty, which was signed at May 9 2014, but fairly quickly breached again. Mut Turuk Thok noticed that there is no other mentioned stakeholder in the conflict than Kiir and Machar, and Thok is arguing that it is necessary for the future of the country if other parties are also involved in a peace treaty, so that it can be more sustainable.[103] Another point is that IGAD has excluded a splinter group of the SPLM, the SPLM G11, from participation. By the permanent rejection of this group, there cannot be

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[101] Garang, K.ë. "The Pros and Cons of President Museveni's 'intervention' and the lessons we can learn from it." *South Sudan News Agency,* June 20, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014,
http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/analyses/the-pros-and-cons-of-president-musevenis-intervention

[102] Manyuon, P.G. "What is behind peace talks in Addis Ababa." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 10, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/what-is-behind-peace-talk-in-addis-ababa.

[103] Turuk, M. "Why South Sudan peace talks have been adjourned." *Sudan Tribune*, June 28, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article51506.

a comprehensive agreement, according to Bayak Chol Puoch. This G11 has to be at the table at a certain point, by agreeing to a treaty (or rejecting it) before it can be put into operation.[104]

Furthermore, the West (in the capacity of the Troika; the US, UK and Norway) is accused doing too little to help the peace process. They have withdrawn themselves from the negotiations by saying that African problems need African solutions, without giving any help whatsoever, while they were present for years as solid partners in South Sudan to help build up the country. Juma Mabor Marial remarks that it seems that the troika is done with South Sudan and does not see any salvation in building up the country. That would be the main reason for giving the task of initiating the peace process to IGAD, while they would know that these negotiations would not lead to any improvement at all. Juma notes, however, that the IGAD has too many 'specialists' employed who are only participating for their own good (not only financially, but also on a career and status level), that too many ideas and proposals arise that are causing only confusion and inefficiency, which will eventually lead to postponement and later adjustment.[105]

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[104] Chuol Puoch, B. "Nuer genocide in South Sudan is very typical to that committed in Rwanda in 1994." *South Sudan News Agency,* June 26, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014,

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/nuer-genocide-in-south-sudan-rwanda

[105] Mabor Marial, J. "IGAD and International Community (TROIKA) are not doing enough to end Conflict in South Sudan." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 8, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014,

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/igad-and-trioka-are-not-doing-enough-to-end-conflict

3.2.3 Kiir is not a legitimate leader, there is a need for a new leader

A lot of the arguments that we saw in the first case are returning in the second one, also those about leadership. Many authors are arguing that Salva Kiir is not the right leader for South Sudan and the SPLM.

One of the opinions in this case is that Salva Kiir is the one that violated the conditions of the agreement that was signed on May 9. One of his violations that are mentioned is that Kiir has not allowed one of the opposition parties (UDF) to Addis Ababa to talk about the treaty, while this was agreed upon. Elhag Paul is asking why this party didn't have the opportunity to sit around the table and talk with the other parties, while the SPLM G11 was there. Paul is arguing that Kiir is betraying the whole peace process by acting like this.[106]

What we already saw in the first case is the reproach that Salva Kiir is not a legitimate president because he was not elected. Some of the authors are pointing at this again, including Kuir ë Garang. He states that Kiir is a constitutional president that came into power after the independence was declared, but that was never democratically elected. He handpicked his ministers and his cabinet, without any elections at all. Garang states that this is the reason that South Sudan is still (politically) a mess.[107]

Outside the war, South Sudan is failed state number one, according to Tongun Lo Loyuong. He argues that the whole government and especially the president are not capable of fighting the famine in his country and they are not giving any solutions to the humanitarian crisis that is going on. Also UNMISS is responsible, thus Tongun, because they also fail to offer any help to tackle these major problems.[108]

The problem of leadership lies in the American approach, states Papa Maury Clark. He argues that the Americans have positioned a leader (Kiir) and that by the egocentric

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[106] Elhag, P. "President Salvatore Kiir violates the May 2014 Addis Ababa agreement." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 11, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/president-salvatore-kiir-violates-may-agreement.

[107] Garang, K.ë. "President Kiir is a 'Constitutional President', not a 'Democratically elected president!' *South Sudan News Agency*, June 29, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/president-kiir-is-a-constitutional-president-not-a-democratically-elected

[108] Loyuong, T.L. "South Sudan's Third Independence Anniversary: Re-imaging Peace?" *South Sudan News Agency*, July 9, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/south-sudans-third-independence-anniversary.

character of both the leadership and the whole political system, there has arisen a situation in which a dictatorial system has unfolded, causing many problems. Clark is asking why the 71 tribes of South Sudan are never asked about the question around leadership.[109]

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[109] Clark, M. "American leadership values are to blame for the world's chaos, the case-in-point: South Sudan." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 3, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/american-leadership-values-are-to-blame-the-case-in-point-south-sudan.

3.2.4 The SPLM dysfunctions

As we mentioned before, some critical arguments are returning in the second case. This is also the case with the critique on the SPLM, but, interestingly, it is much less mentioned in this case. There could be several reasons for it, for instance, because it is discussed so many times that the authors are tired of repeating themselves, but we can only guess about it. The articles are not giving enough information about the motives behind the decline in arguments.

One of the arguments we saw at the issue of leadership, is that it was designed in an American way; we do see returns concerning SPLM. Sirir Gabriel Yiei Rut is arguing that the SPLM is acting too much like a colony. It acts too easily with foreign powers that are interested in raw materials for instance. Money is the only motive, and self-esteem and long-term thinking seems irrelevant for this government. Yiei Rut is also mentioning corruption, which is unavoidable with the current system and helps mostly to worsen the problem.[110]

This is not the only critique that this author has on the whole situation. In a series of five articles during June/July, he spreads his dissatisfaction on the SPLM and the whole peace process. His economic arguments are the leitmotiv of his plea, but while elaborating on corruption, he also expatiates on egoism within the SPLM. He argues that everybody is trying to save his own skin and trying to get more and more money. While doing this, people get paranoia, afraid to get caught or get less than others. This combination leads to a situation that a transparent democracy is far from. [111] Yiei Rut is the only one that is quite firm with his arguments. Others are following his way of thinking, but are far more nuanced than he is, as it relates to corruption and anti-SPLM sentiment.

One last important argument that we can find in many articles is the division within the SPLM and all the splinter groups that have emerged. Elhag Paul reports that, in July 2014, four different fractions exist, next to the SPLM itself: SPLM-Oyee, SPLM-In Opposition, SPLM DC and SPLM G11. In the 1990s, there were two other groups, SPLM

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[110] Yiei Rut, S.G, "SPLM in Juba Should Avoid Acting like a Colony." *South Sudan News Agency,* July 31, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/splm-in-juba-should-avoid-acting-like-a-colony.

[111] Yiei Rut, S.G. "Fighting Egos and Paranoia in South Sudan" *South Sudan News Agency,* July 8, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/fighting-egos-and-paranoia-in-south-sudan.

Nasir and SPLM United, but they have dissolved. Elhag Paul believes that this is an untenable situation, with that many different factions, coming up as mushrooms. [112]

[112] Elhag, P. "SPLM, a curse to South Sudan." *South Sudan News Agency,* July 6, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014,

http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/editorials/splm-a-curse-to-south-sudan

3.2.5 Build up from scratch with the youth

What is remarkable is that a whole new argument is popping up in different articles, while it is a timeless argument: the idea that the youth has to take political responsibility and come up as new leaders. Sirir Gabriel Yiei Rut calls the youth to stand up and help rebuild the country. According to him, Kiir is not willing to create vacancies to recruit new people. Young people now have a chance to show the people of South Sudan what they are standing for and what they are capable of. Yiei Rut is quite pessimistic, stating that South Sudan only has a chance if the youth is grasping this opportunity, because they have strong hearts.[113]

Outside the more general remarks about the youth's opportunities, are a few articles that deal with certain communities. The Equatorian Nationalist and Emmanuel K. Emmanuel plead for the chances of the Equatorian youngsters, also because of the referendum that took place over there. The Equatorian nationalist is stating that the Equatorian youth have to split off from South Sudan and make a stronghold for their own community, fighting for equal rights and treatment for the people from Equatoria.[114]

Deng Turuk Liem is trying to do the same, but for the youth of Bahr al-Ghazal. Although they have already spoken out against a federal system, he believes that they have to show that they have capacities and bring a new sound that is unique.[115] From Bor County comes the vision of Daniel Mabior Achiek. He states that the youth must stand up for leadership and show the people of South Sudan that they are the future.[116]

Besides these arguments, there are some articles that implicitly refer to the youth. One of them is Papa Maury Clark, who is stating that the country and the politics have to

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[113] Yiei Rut, S.G. "Join the rebellion or leave the country." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 25, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/join-the-rebellion-or-leave-the-country

[114] An Equatorian Nationalist. "The Equatoria Declaration: a call to action." *South Sudan News Agency,* June 25, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/the-equatoria-declaration-a-call-to-action.

[115] Turuk Liem, D. "Federalism sufficiently not confederacy." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 12, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/federalism-sufficiently-not-confederacy

[116] Mabior Achiek, D. "To Bor County around the globe." *South Sudan News Agency*, July 12, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/to-bor-county-around-the-globe.

be built from scratch, and that it has to be done by young, fresh people.[117] Despite the fact that he is not explicitly mentioning the youth, it is clear that he means the youngsters of South Sudan.

[117] Clark, M. "American leadership values are to blame for the world's chaos, the case-in-point: South Sudan."

3.2.6 The need for national solidarity

This is an interesting argument, because it directly links to the central question of this thesis. In the first case, we already saw a similar argument (the demand for solidarity) and in this period, we also see a number of articles with the question of national cohesion. Peter Kopling is mentioning that there is already national solidarity. He points at the fact that a lot of different tribes are living together peacefully; only politics has to recognize how these people are living next to each other and why the differences between them are not leading to a destructive coexistence. [118]

Garang Achiek Ajak states that we must return to the manifest of John Garang (interestingly, he is the only one that is talking about this). In the manifest is a plea for national solidarity and peace. Ajak argues that South Sudan is the country where diversity has to be the power of the people and not the weakness. The future of the country is depending on the coexistence of all the different tribes and people, and that cannot be ended by corrupt leaders. He even tries to opt for a national South Sudanese identity that reconciles all the different identities.[119]

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[118] Kopling, P. "Peaceful Coexistence: how the Equatorians got it right." *South Sudan News Agency*, June 29, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/peaceful-coexistence-how-the-equatorians-got-it-right.

[119] Ajak, G.A. "The Ultimate solution to South Sudan Crisis." *South Sudan News Agency,* June 18, 2014, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/columnists/the-ultimate-solution-to-south-sudan-crisis.

3.2.7 Differences between diaspora and South Sudan

As expected, we are seeing differences between arguments from the people living in South Sudan and those living in the diaspora, as we also have seen in the first case. The biggest and probably most remarkable difference has to do with politics, as it was the case in the Juba event.

It is mainly the South Sudanese that are living in South Sudan, that are in favor of federalism, and are writing much more about it than the diaspora South Sudanese. The latter ones are mentioning it far less often, probably because they do not have to deal with daily politics, but watch the whole situation from a far and safe distance. The South Sudanese have to deal with it every day; the discussion is probably wide spread in daily life and newspapers are writing about it.

If we look to the reputation of the SPLM, as we have seen in the articles, then no author from the diaspora is explicitly negative about it. It is obiter mentioned, but no explicit arguments are made against the SPLM, and also not in favor, but we see several authors living in South Sudan that are doing that. In contract with this: more people out of the diaspora are arguing that Kiir is a bad leader. This is barely mentioned by the people from South Sudan. It stays unclear if this has to do with a different way of receiving information, or maybe a different kind of agenda setting. The first argument should be more logical; South Sudanese newspapers would probably not be explicitly negative about Kiir, since they will be banned or censored, while the people in the diaspora see different media, probably more internationally-orientated. However, it is said by the South Sudanese that the government is not functioning in the way it should functioning and that the position of Kiir is untenable after the first months of the civil war.

Regarding the malfunctioning of the IGAD, are the arguments between the two groups in balance. There are no particular differences in arguments, not in the amount and not in content. Both groups have probably enough (and maybe the same) access to information about the IGAD. Also in balance are the arguments regarding national solidarity; where we saw a difference in the first case is the second case in balance.

As it relates to rebuilding the country from scratch and with the opportunities the youth has to take, are the arguments divided equally between the two groups. Some smaller arguments, regarding corruption, economical changes and civil society cannot be necessarily allocated to a particular group. The differences are too small or the arguments are mentioned in only one or two cases.

Regarding this case, we cannot see very important differences, only some remarkable ones regarding the SPLM and the completion of the political system of South Sudan. It is just not to say where these differences come from; it probably has to do with the discrepancy in the provision of information, but we cannot make any solid statements about it.

3.2.8 Conclusions second case

What lessons can we draw of the arguments that we have seen in this second case? We will try to analyze them by applying the theory of Guibernau on it.

Politics

In the political spectrum, there are many differences, although this period gives one particular argument that is often used: the preference for a federal system. However, this is a regime, and not necessarily an interpretation of substantive political thoughts. It becomes clear that a majority of the authors think that there should come a drastic turn over in South Sudan: with a whole new political system, with a different leader or with lifting the SPLM. About 90 per cent of all arguments can be ranked among one of these categories, which gives us a kind of similarity. This is, of course, far away from a solid base for a national identity, but the fact that the majority of persons (if we are allowed by pulling this line) want a drastic change and a way forward; thus, this is a beginning of this national identity. It started in the same way the Arabic spring did, and while that didn't carry direct effect the people wanted, it showed fraternization.

History

During this case, we barely say any argument regarding common South Sudanese history. As we previously discussed, it is hard to already speak of a solid (modern) history of South Sudan. However, there are some references to it, for example, to the manifest of John Garang, or some major events within the history of the SPLM. Despite the fact that there is no comprehensive history, the events that are important are well known to everyone and are just at times. We see the year 1991 – when Machar left the SPLM - coming by several times, and there were a few articles that were dealing with the events around the year 1983, when the South was administratively divided (kokora).

Culture

Culturally seen, there are a lot of differences in the arguments that were made. In this case, specifically, we saw many arguments concerning the people from Equatoria,

because a referendum had taken place and because people were explicitly outspoken about federalism, already for a longer period.

Furthermore, other tribal entities were trying to get more attention, such as the Bor community for instance, although this argument was made from the diaspora in the United States and Canada. Specific arguments about Nuers and Dinka's were also made, but conflict was politicized about these two tribes in the interim.

What we can also regard as cultural argument is the fraternization being projected in this case. Several times, unity and solidarity are mentioned as uniting a link between the different tribes in South Sudan. According to a number of authors, the different tribes can live together peacefully.

To continue with this argument, we don't see a lot of reproaches against other entities, as we have seen at the beginning of the conflict. During the Juba case, Dinka's en Nuers were blamed for a lot of violence, while the trend seems to have moved to a more political level instead of a tribal level. Of course, it is still used occasionally, but it can no longer be classified as a leitmotiv.

4. Conclusion

So, what can we conclude after we have read the articles by all the different authors in the two periods, December 2013-January 2014 and June-July 2014? Let's take the four pillars of Guibernau's theory to conclude: history, politics, culture and psychology.

Psychology

The psychological pillar of Guibernau's theory is not issued in this thesis for two reasons. The first one is that the analysis would have become too extensive, since we had to discuss almost every single argument in every article, and trying to explain how the psychology behind the motives would have worked out. The analysis would have become more qualitative than quantitative as it is now. Second reason is that it is too complicated to make a psychological analysis, but on the other hand, the main things we want to see regarding national identity were quite apparent in most of the cases.

Politics

We could clearly see, in both of the case studies, that many articles had a political agenda. People were expressing their opinions in such a way that they were trying to convince the reader about their arguments and their interpretation of the situation. There were just a couple of articles that were trying to give an overview of what has happened, but almost all of them had a (political) message. We also saw a shift in political messages. While in the case of the Juba massacre people were angry about the situation and were expressing their disbeliefs about the violence, in the case of the negotiations we saw more political content in the articles. National identity, or something that sounds familiar such as fraternization, is something that was put up in some articles. Interesting to see is that there are a lot of different political views present, but there is still one political party in South Sudan.

Culture

As we have seen already, South Sudan has a vast amount of different cultures. Numbers vary how many tribes and languages there are, but we know it is very diverse. Although

this diverseness, two major tribes are dominating the political scene of South Sudan, the Nuer, and the Dinka. The conflict is not about those two tribes and their differences, but between some old political/cultural disputes.

Fraternization is something that we have seen in both cases, but it is not widely propagated. Different authors are touching upon this issue and some are trying to convince the reader that fraternization is something that already exists and need to be worked out. However, there is no consensus in this issue.

Something that came up as well in both cases are accusations from one tribe to another. Sometimes specific allegations are made, but in most of the cases it was targeted against or Nuer or Dinka people.

History

There is not much recent history of the current state South Sudan, which is also impossible since it only exists for five years now. One of the things that will be part of the history books in the future is the first case that we analyzed, the start of the civil war in December 2013 in Juba. The authors are well aware that this event is necessary, as well for the future of the country as for its subsequent history. And since there is no recent history of South Sudan, Sudan has an extensive history, which is well known to the different authors. There are plenty of references to historical events, mainly regarding the SPLM, but also other influential events. History is an important notion in the theory of Guibernau, and as we have seen the articles, history would not be forgotten if they keep on writing like this.

General

If we combine all those four pillars, we can state that there is a notion of national identity among the authors that we have seen. We have analyzed all the articles that were written in the two periods; there were no other articles about, for example, other subjects. What we have is what there is. However, we have to be careful not to construct a national identity out of all the material we have, since we can only observe the arguments in the articles, which were probably never meant to show us a national identity.

We have tried to look into the minds of the authors, tried to explain their way of thinking and we tried to combine all these different reasoning patterns and (political) motives to find an answer to our question.

Of course, it is impossible to draw an overall conclusion about the processes of identity formation in South Sudan. Even with fieldwork, you will get just a part of society that gives you an image that is also a creation of the researcher. By doing fieldwork, your attitude and your questions are influencing your results, whether you are willing or not. By doing research about already existing articles, you do not have this influence, but you are dependent on the material, it is not possible to adjust them.

So, if we cannot make a general conclusion about national identity in South Sudan, what can we conclude then? We can conclude that there are signs of identity formation among the approximately 70 authors that we have seen. The experience a notion of national identity, in a conscious and unconscious way. These authors can read and write (in English), live or have lived in South Sudan, are mostly men, and almost all of them have some political agenda; they are intentionally publishing their opinions about South Sudanese issues.

Is it a problem that we only have such a small group that gives us a view of national identity? No, it is not. It gives us the knowledge that processes about identity formation are taking place in the minds of these people and thus gives us the indication that this issue is probably also present in the minds of other South Sudanese. Maybe not all of them are able to read and to write, and thus not able to give their written view on South Sudanese matters, but are feeling connected with South Sudan. This research gives us material to further research on identity issues in South Sudan, a country that has tried to be independent, but still has a long way to go.

4.1 Discussion

In my opinion, national identity is something that is quite important for a nation. It does not have to be fixed, but a notion of national identity, whether it is a Western concept or not, is important. It gives the people a handhold for their existence and it connects people with each other. My discussion point will thus be – and it does not only count for South Sudan – that national identity will become a greater issue in the upcoming years in Africa (and the Middle East) if people are trying to get rid of their colonial past and try

to redefine who they are. The people are having more access to the outside world than they ever had, and governments are increasingly unable to conduct a reign of terror. During the Arab Spring, we saw the first signs of this development, and it gradually moved to Africa. We saw uprisings in Kenya, Malawi, and Sudan, for instance.

The point of discussion I want to raise is to what extent will the self-awareness in Sub-Sahara Africa and the redefinition of national identity will bring change to the region and what impact will it have on the rest of the region/world?

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Appendix I

In this appendix we will give a short overview of all authors that have written the articles. The information comes from the authors themselves (as a note by the article) or via research.

Names Authors	Short biography
Abraham Deng Lueth	President of the Greater Bor Community in the United States of America.
Akoon Maker Maluach	Lives in Australia and has a Bachelor of Economics from the Australian National University.
Amir Idris	Professor of African History and Politics and Chair of Department of African and African American Studies at Fordham University, New York City.
Amjed Farid Eltayeb	Sudan Change Now Spokesperson.
Andrew Kun Pur	Living in the United States of America.
Athiaan Majak Malou	Former official in the government of Lakes State in South Sudan as County Commissioner for Yirol East.
Bayak Chuol Puoch	Is the chairperson of the Nuer community in Egypt.
Beny Gideon Mabor	Executive Director, African Centre for Peace and Humanitarian Dialogue and a member of Civil Society Delegation to the South Sudan peace process in Addis Ababa.
Bhang Riek	South Sudanese living in Australia.
Bol Khan Rom	South Sudanese, lives in Uganda and has a degree in public administration from the university of Lech.
Bramatali Wani Lo-Lipo Lo-Lisi	Lives in Juba, former officer in the army.

Brian Adeba	Associate of the Security Governance Group in Canada.
Daniel Mabior Achiek	President of Bor County Community in the United States of America.
David de Dau	Executive director of the Agency for Independent Media in South Sudan.
David Deng	Research Director for the South Sudan Law Society in South Sudan.
Delfiero Chuol	Lives in Juba, South Sudan.
Deng Mangok Ayuel	South Sudanese blogger and humanitarian aid worker. Lives in Unity State, South Sudan.
Deng Turuk Liem	South Sudanese living in the United States of America.
Deng Vanang	Journalist and an executive member of SPLM-DC.
Duol Wuow Rut	Former chairman of Nebraska SPLM state Chapter.
Elhag Paul	Author lives in the Republic of South Sudan and is a well-known author among the South Sudanese intelligentsia.
Elijah Samuel	Living in Juba, South Sudan.
Emmanuel K. Emmanuel	Author lives in Juba.
Ezekiel Kutjok	Former Secretary General of Sudan Council of Churches. Displace from Malakal and now living in Uganda.
Francis Nazario	Former Ambassador of South Sudan to the United Nations in New York and the Executive Director in the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Gabrial Pager Ajang	Is a political science and history instructor at Wright Career College in Nebraska, USA.

Gabriel Makuei Tor	South Sudanese living in the United States of America.
Garang Achiek Ajak	South Sudanese living in New York, United States of America.
J. Nguen Nyol	South Sudanese living in Canada and founder of the South Sudanese think thank South Sudan Debates.
J. Umunu	South Sudanese living in the United States of America.
Jacob K. Lupai	Former Minister of Agriculture in South Sudan.
James Mabor Gatkuoth	Leader of the opposition National Democratic Front Party.
James Okuk	Lives in Juba, South Sudan. Got a PhD from Nairobi University and a former diplomat.
Job Kiir Garang	South Sudanese living in Canada.
John Apuruot Akec	Vice Chancellor of the University of Juba. Chairperson of Academic and Researchers Forum for Development, a think thank in South Sudan.
John Clement Kuc	Former judge of the Court of Appeal in South Sudan.
Joseph Ayok Anei	Former Ambassador and president director for Research, Planning and Translation at the South Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.
Juma Marbor Marial	A trainee advocate living in Juba.
Justin Kwaje	Studied at the University of Kampala, lives in Juba.
Kuach Y. Tutkuay	Youth activist, active in different youth platforms. He is also a freelance journalist.
Kueth Yul Dieu	Masters in Administration of Justice.
Kuir ë Garang	Living in Canada and is blogging on kuirthiy.info.

Lam Akol	Leader of SPLM-DC and former Sudan's foreign minister.
Luka B. Deng Kuol	An Associate Professor at the University of Juba, global Fellow at Peace Research Institute Oslo and Associate at Harvard Kennedy School.
Luk Kuth Dak	South Sudanese former broadcasting journalist and a syndicated columnist.
Lul Gatkuoth Gatluak	Political commentator and a member of SPLM-O in Minnesota, United States of America.
Magok Alier Akuot	Master of Law Student at the University of Sussex.
Manyok Mabiel	Is one of the SPLA-chapter founders in Chicago, Illinois, and a former leader of the Red-Army of South Sudan.
Margaret Ukulia	South Sudanese living in Canada.
Martin Garang Aher	South Sudanese living in Australia.
Maury Clark	Papa' Maury Clark, former advisor to the government of South Sudan. Deacon in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Northwest Washington Synod.
Michael G.K. Gatwic	Lives in Jonglei State, South Sudan.
Mun Koang	Lives in Juba, South Sudan.
Mut Turuk Thok	A lawyer and advocate and secretary of the SPLM-O.
Pel K. Chol	Lives in Australia.
Peter Gai Manyuon	Has a bachelor degree in Journalism and mass communication. He is an independent journalist and writes mainly about democratization and human rights in South Sudan.

Peter Khor Malual	Lives in Juba, South Sudan.
Peter Kopling MD	Living in South Sudan.
Philips al-Ghai	Living in South Sudan.
Richard K. Mulla	Independent Member of Parliament in South Sudan's National Legislative Council.
Sabrino Majok Majok	Director-general, State Ministry of Finance, Trade and Industry.
Sarah Nyanaath Elijah Yongkier	Former high-ranking official in the government of Upper Nile State. Now a prominent member of the SPLM-O.
Sindani Sebit	Studied at Juba University, lives now in Kenya.
Sirir Gabriel Yiei Rut	Secretary for Information of Uror Youths.
Stephen Par Kuol	Former Deputy Ambassador of Sudan to the United Republic of Tanzania and former Minister of Education in the Government of Jonglei State.
Steve Paterno	Wrote a book "The Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure, A Romain Catholic Priest Turned Rebel". Lives in Washington D.C., United States of America.
Toang GatKuoth Buom	Studied Human Resource Management at Columbia College, Columbia, USA.
Tongun Lo Loyuong	Has a MA in International Peace Studies and Policy Analysis for Political Change, from the University of Notre Dame, Indiana and is currently doing a PhD in the United Kingdom.
Welrial Gatyiel Puok Baluang	Press secretary of Ruai Kuol Jal, member of SPLM and diplomat.
Zechariah Manyok Biar	Lives in Juba, South Sudan.