Chinese intervention in the second Sudanese civil war

- a case study of China's role as a third party and its effects on the second civil war in Sudan, 1989-2005

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Abstract

China is increasing its presence in the global South. This has not gone unnoticed by the world and China has experienced criticism for its engagement with 'rogue states' and its lack of transparency. Sudan is one of the cases where China has received the most criticism for its engagement. Sudan has experienced over 40 years of civil wars and conflicts. External actors like Ethiopia, Israel, the US, and regional and international organizations have been important supporters of the combatants. After the 1989-coup in Sudan during its second civil war, China increased its presence in the country as Sudan became more isolated. The literature on China's engagement tends to conceive China as merely an oil company or a weapon supplier. However, in this thesis I argue that China should be conceived as a third party intervener in order to fully comprehend the Chinese influence on the second civil war in Sudan. In spite of China's non-interference policy and respect for sovereignty, China's presence has become an influential factor in the Sudanese war. The dynamics of the civil war have politicized Chinese actions. Therefore, I argue that China should be conceived as a third party in the conflict. In general, third party theories assert that an intervener aims to end the conflict, either through negotiations or by supporting one of the parties. Since China's engagement was not motivated by such an aim, I will present spoiler theory as an additional tool and analytical framework to understand the effects of the Chinese engagement in Sudan. Because China has a different policy than most western actors, I will further apply Cunningham's theory of interveners with independent goals. To be capable of discussing China's role I will thoroughly present the causes and motives of the civil wars in Sudan to grasp the conflict dynamics, and point to the politicization which integrated aid, investments and oil in the second civil war. This thesis will test existing theories of third party intervention and develop a new concept – the notion of an *external sponsor* – that I argue can better explain China's role in Sudan and to promote a more comprehensive understanding the second civil war in Sudan.

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Ane Tosterud Holte

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Political map of the Republic of the Sudan

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EGYPT

LYBIA

CHAD

SUDAN

SAUDI ARABIA

RED SEA

ERITREA

Asmara

ETHIOPIA

Ādīs Ābeba (Addis Ababa)

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

UGANDA

KENYA

Lake Nasser, Administrative boundary, Halaib, Wadi Halfa, Selima Oasis, Semna West, Lake Nubia, Nubian Desert, Salala, Muhammad Qol, Laqiya Arba'in, Kerma, Abu Hamed, Wadi Odib, Nukheila, Dongola, Karima, Nile, Port Sudan, Suakin, El'Atrun, Jebel Abyad Plateau, Old Dongola, Merowe, Haiya, Tokar, Karora, Wadi Howar, Jebel Nagashush, Wadi el Milk, Atbara, El Damar, Gadamai, Abu Dulu, Meroë, Shendi, Miski, Abu 'Uruq, Omdurman, Khartoum, Halfa al Gadida, Kassala, Umm Badr, Sodiri, Dar Hamid, Wad Madani, Gedaref, Gonder, Al Fasher, El Obeid, Kusti, Sinja, Rabak, T'ana Häyk' Ābay (Blue Nile), El Geneina, Tekezé, En Nahud, Abu Zabad, Renk, Ed Damazin, Famaka, Nyala, Ed Da'ein, Al Fula, Nuba Mts., Kologi, Ābay, Djinder, Tullus, Buram, Muglad, Kadugli, Talodi, Paloich, White Nile, Radom, Bahr el'Arab, Abyei, Malakal, Kafia Kingi, Lol, Aweil, Bentiu, Kigille, Jur, Bahr ez Zaraf, Sobat, Raga, Por o, Fathai, Akobo, Pibor, Omo, Wau, Rumbek, Ukwaa, Towot, Kena uke Swam, Kobowen Swamp, Administrative boundary, Li Yubu, Amadi, Bor, White Nile, Maridi, Juba, Kapoeta, Ch'ew Bahir, Yambio, Torit, Lotagipi Swamp, Yei, Nagishot, L. Turkana (L. Rudolf), Albert Nile, Victoria Nile, L. Salisbury, L. Albert, L. Kyoga

SUDAN
- National capital
- State (wilayah) capital
- Town
- Major airport
- International boundary
- Main road
- Track
- Railroad

0 100 200 300 km
0 100 200 mi

(source: Nations Online Project)

Abbreviations

AU – African Union

BRIC – Brazil, Russia, India and China

CPC – The Communist Party of China

CNPC – China National Petroleum Company

CPA – Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

DAC – Development Assistance Committee

FDI – Foreign direct investment

FOCAC – Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNPOC – Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company

GoS – Government of Sudan

GoSS – Government of South Sudan

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGADD – Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development

IMF– International Monetary Fund

MOFCOM – The Chinese Ministry of Commerce

MNC – Multinational corporations

NCP – National Congress Party

NIF – National Islamic Front

OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

ODA – Official development assistance

OLS – Operation Lifeline Sudan

PAIC – Popular Arab and Islamic Congress

PDF – Popular Defense Force

PRC – People's Republic of China

SAF – Sudanese Armed Forces

SOE – State-owned enterprises

SPLM/A – Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

UNITA – Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UNMIS – United Nations Mission in Sudan

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1 Introduction

1.1   Background and research questions

China has increasingly made its way into the African continent. Over the last decades, Chinese aid, investments and trade have gradually supplemented or replaced Western engagements. Sudan is currently one of the African countries with the closest relationship to China. After Sudan's independence in 1956, China was the fourth country to recognize it, but the Sino-Sudanese relations had a slow start. In the context of the Cold War China sought for support against the capitalists, and the relationship to Africa was mainly political. In this period, Sudan received some aid from China, but the turning point in China-Sudan relations happened in 1989. This year was important to both actors in many ways: Omar Hassan al-Bashir took power with a coup. China was isolated after the Tiananmen Square killings and the Cold War was over. This made both countries highly isolated, and strengthened their relationship. China truly made inroads in Sudan in the 1990s through aid, trade, investments, oil explorations and political issues.

Sudan has experienced two civil wars, conflict and violence since its independence from Britain in 1956. The causes of the conflicts are disputed, but the economic and political inequality between the centre-periphery, corresponding to north-south in Sudan, is often cited as a major cause. Ethnicity is a more disputed source of conflict, but, however, the cleavages are stark between the Muslim Arab-dominated north, and the Christian/Animist African-dominated south.

External states have had a strong influence over the wars and conflicts in Sudan. The US provided enormous amounts of aid to the Government of Sudan (GoS) during the Cold War, while neighbor states have protected and supported the GoS or rebel groups. From the 1990s up to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, the US, Britain and Norway (the Troika) have provided substantial amounts of aid with the main objective being to encourage the parties to strive for peace. China has been one of many actors in Sudan in the same period, but has not

worked with the Troika to reach any agreement. One of the most important reasons to analyze the period before the signing of the CPA in 2005 is that in many cases, like Rwanda and Angola, the most devastating fighting occurred *after* the signing of a peace agreement.

China proclaims a non-interference policy which implies that it should not enter into the affairs of other sovereign countries. However, the nature and extension of the Chinese engagements in Sudan indicate a third party intervention in the civil war. Even though there is an increasing amount of literature on China in Africa being written, there are few theoretical considerations of China's role and presence in Africa. There is little or no literature addressing China using civil war theory, or more specifically, third party intervention theory. Many criticize China for its presence in Sudan and the fact that it has changed from a 'neutral' partner to an active third party in the conflict. However, the critics have not addressed China as a part of the dynamics of the civil war. According to third party intervention theory, China is not a typical third party who enters with the aim of conflict resolution. Never the less, I will argue that these theories can increase the understanding of China's role and give a deeper insight of the effects of the Chinese engagements on the second civil war in Sudan.

The research questions will therefore be:

How can third party intervention theories illuminate China's role in the second civil war in Sudan? How has China's engagement affected the second civil war? What is China's role in the second civil war in Sudan?

To answer these questions I will have to analyze the civil wars in Sudan and assess the motives for conflict, and discuss China's foreign policy with its engagement in Sudan. Other questions I will address are: What are the motives for the civil wars in Sudan? What are the motives for China's presence in Sudan? How and why has China engaged in Sudan in the second civil war? How can we analyze China's role in a third party intervention framework?

1.1.1　Delimitations of the research question

This paper will analyze the Chinese engagement in Sudan during the last 16 years of the second civil war until the CPA was reached in 2005. The time period I chose is from 1989 when al-Bashir took over power to the signing of the CPA in 2005. The reasons I chose this period is that China augmented its engagement significantly after the coup and Sudan was increasingly isolated which decreased the influence of other actors on the country.

Due to the scope of this thesis, theory development, it is important to have a thorough understanding of the case and the dynamics of the wars. I will, therefore, give a detailed account of the civil wars in Sudan, their motives, causes and actors. I will also study and analyze China to gain an understanding of its motives and whether or not both states are working towards similar or divergent goals.

1.2　Design and methodology

To examine China's role and its effects on the second civil war in Sudan, I have chosen a qualitative approach. I have used a case-study design based on an explorative and explanatory desk study.

Case studies are a difficult concept and there are divergences between disciplines. The case of China's role and its effect on Sudan the 16 years of the second civil war is arguably a large case. It still fits within Robert Yin's definition fairly well. A case study is defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are nor clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). According to Yin (2009, p. 9), questions with 'why' and 'how' are explanatory and lead to case studies, which deal with "operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence". The second part of the definition points to the use of triangulation which is the strength of case study due to its many sources of data. In addition, data collection and analysis is assisted by theoretical propositions which strengthens the case (Yin, 2009, p. 18).

An advantage of case studies is the role of theory development and theory testing (Yin, 2009, p. 35). The main part of the thesis is to test and develop theories of third party intervention to better explain the case of China in Sudan. When addressing the effects of China's role in the second civil war, I will use process-tracing which is a common method in case study design. Process-tracing "attempts to trace the links between possible causes and observed outcomes" (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 6). This implies that I will use the data I find and interpret the effects of China on Sudan and see whether the theories implications can explain in the data.

I have worked mainly inductively which is a typical approach when working with case studies. I will analyze the history of conflict in Sudan, the China's engagement and then use third party theories to see how far the existing theories can explain the case of China's role. The strength of inductive theory development is that it might disclose previously overlooked variables which could affect the outcome, this adds a new understanding of the case (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 111), which is the aim of the thesis.

1.2.1 Sources

To address the research questions I will mainly use secondary sources, for example books, journal articles, newspaper articles, and statistics. There are some problems with using secondary sources. First of all, the authors interpret the case and thus information is being constructed. Some information is left out and other information has been emphasized.

> No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought – what he thought had happened, what he thought ought to happen, or perhaps only what he wanted others to think he thought, or even what he himself thought he though. (Carr, 1962, p. 16)

Carr's quote is important and selection bias is crucial to have in mind when doing all types of research. My 'ocean' of facts, to use Carr's terminology, is mainly from America and the Netherlands and their points of view have affected the data, as have their 'values' as Hoyle, Harris, and Judd (2002, p. 4) say. Andrew S. Natsios, one of

the main sources of Sudan's history, is an American public servant who has served many years as U.S. Special Envoy to Sudan. He has worked towards peace and his writing might be more inclined to focus on the more positive aspects of US engagement and their peace work (George & Bennett, 2005, chaper 5).

There is not much information from Sudanese authors and this is a viewpoint that is lacking in the thesis, but one that is currently not available. External people though often get a good overview of the situation and have less political motives for their writings. Rolandsen argues that any autobiographies are deeply subjective and are motivated by other (2010, p. 17), and Rolandsen points especially to the locals in Sudan:

> The politisation of the history of the first civil war and Sudanese writer's inability to extricate themselves from the national discourse may perhaps be the only justification for a foreigner to study Southern Sudanese history. (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 24)

And Hoyle, Harris and Judd agree:

> Social science research can never (or hardly ever) be value free because it is an investigation of relations between people instead of between objects. (Hoyle et al., 2002, p. 8)

Another problematic aspect with the use of secondary sources, is the lack of control over the quality of data. To control this one must search for data in a multitude of places and read as much as possible to avoid biased data and get a broader perspective. I have used databases like Web of Knowledge, newspapers from China, Sudan, Europe and America, reports from organizations working in Sudan, official documents from a multitude of countries, and dozens of books concerning the topic to make the case as strong as possible.

There are many gaps concerning information about China, as well as divergent data and different interpretations. Finding good statistics and numbers on China's engagement in Sudan is almost impossible, but a complete collection of this data was not my intent. I have found it useful to see tendencies and the numbers I present must be viewed as such, and not as precise figures.

Authors writing about Chinese engagement in Africa have different opinions of the 'true' motives and actions. Deborah Brautigam is one example of an author who is more positive to China's engagement and argues that the motives for interference are in accordance with Chinese official policy. Her conclusion is a critique of many aid organizations and policies in general and does not isolate China's engagement policies. Daniel Large and Meine Peter van Dijk present China in a more negative light. They argue that China is heading in a neocolonial direction and has too much power whereas Sudan has little. The reason for the difference in opinions may be the way they compare Chinese engagement. Brautigam uses comparisons to Western countries and organizations and criticizes both. Large and Dijk use fewer examples from Western countries and focus more specifically on China, and thus portray China as a stronger and more cruel and resource-thirsty agent. In Norwegian media we are used to a headlines like 'How China conquers the world'[1], but in analysis of other Western states the picture would be more nuanced.

1.2.2 Validity

Validity usually refers to "(…) the extent to which a measure reflects only the desired construct without contamination from other systematically varying constructs", (Hoyle et al., 2002, p. 83). Since measurement is not a focus of this paper, I will use another definition of validity, where validity refers to whether "you are observing, identifying, or 'measuring' what you say you are" (Manson quoted in Bryman, 2008, p. 376). The scope is to identify and understand the effects of China's role rather than actually measuring them. The lack of clear data on Chinese engagement and on the war in Sudan at hand makes it even more difficult to measure the effects of war. I will take a broader view from military expenditure, GNI, trade and trade of weapons, political actions and policies, battle deaths and war deaths, oil, etc. so as to get a comprehensive picture for understanding the direct and indirect effects of China's role, while supporting my analysis with theory.

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[1] http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/uriks/Slik-erobrer-Kina-verden-7063454.html#.UX5hFrXIWSp

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Concerning internal validity, LeCompte and Goetz (in Bryman, 2008, p. 367) argue that qualitative research is especially strong due to the extensive research on this. This thesis is based on a diverse and large amount of data and I have studied several different aspects of the case with a basis in a theoretical framework.

External validity relates to generalization beyond the case. The scope of the thesis is mainly to provide a supplement to the understanding of China's engagement in Sudan and the course of the civil war in Sudan, but I argue that the theory development might be used in other similar cases as well. George and Bennett (2005, p. 110) notes that "(…) improved historical explanations of individual cases are the foundation for drawing wider implications from case studies, as they are a necessary condition for any generalizations beyond any case". Arguably, the findings of this thesis can supplement existing theories and can thus be used in future analysis.

1.2.3 Reliability

Internal reliability is put forward by Bryman (2008, p. 376) and indicates whether someone else close to my research agrees with my observations and findings. I have had two supervisors and during the process and they have followed and made sure that I have done thorough research. External reliability relates to the degree of replication which is difficult in qualitative research since "it is impossible to 'freeze' a situation" (Bryman, 2008, p. 367). Since I am doing a desk-study, replication is easier because the data I have accessed and used is outlined in the thesis.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The first chapter addresses the background, the research questions, methodology and problematic aspects of the thesis. Chapter 2 lays out the theoretical framework. Civil war theories are explained and I examine questions of motives and the debate of assessment of deaths in civil wars. In the second part in chapter 2 I take up the question of third party interference and its effects. Spoiler theory is presented as well to cast light on effects of China's engagement along with a discussion of spoiler

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theory. Chapter 2 ends with Cunningham's theoretical definition of intervener with independent goals.

The history of conflict in Sudan will be presented in chapter 3. A chronological assessment of the first and second civil war is offered to get an understanding of the motives, root causes and the course of the conflicts in Sudan, and the chapter ends with an analysis of the civil wars in Sudan and its motives.

In chapter 4 China's role in Sudan will be presented and the focus will be on China's foreign policy, in particular engagement in Africa. Lastly, China's engagement in Sudan will be assessed in more detail, and an analysis of the effects of such engagement will be carried out.

In chapter 5 I will analyze China's role in Sudan using third party theories. I analyze China in Sudan based on the theoretical frameworks before I attempt classify China's role. I will present a new concept – external sponsor – to gain further understanding of China's engagement in Sudan.

In chapter 6 I will conclude and sum up the main findings of my analysis.

2 Theory

"Those who wish to facilitate peace will be well advised to understand the nature of war" (Keen, 2001, p. 19)

Since the end of the Cold War, the numbers of intra-state wars have increased while inter-state wars have declined. Some scholars argue that the majority of these intra-state conflicts are ethnic or communal wars where people define themselves according to cultural lines, as language, religion, etc., while other scholars claim civil wars are founded in 'greed', or economic reasons. While the causes of war are disputed, civil wars have a tendency to be extremely violent, like those in Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and Sudan.

To understand China's role in the Sudanese conflict and to see the effects of such a role, an analysis of the internal dynamics in the Sudanese civil wars is important. This is because third parties influence war dynamics and the motives of the internal combatants, consequently altering power balances. First, I will look into the definition of civil wars before moving to the aspect of third party intervention.

2.1   How to understand civil war

2.1.1   What is civil war?

Internal conflict is defined by UCDP/PRIO "as any armed and organized confrontation between government troops and rebel organizations or between army factions that reaches the annual battle deaths threshold of twenty-five" (Cederman, Wimmer, & Min, 2010, p. 101). In accordance with Uppsala University the definition of 'war' is more than 1000 battle-related deaths per year, while a 'minor armed conflict' is more than 25 battle-related deaths a year, but less than 1000 overall. Accordingly, civil war involves more than 1000 battle-related deaths in a year (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2012). In Sudan, two civil wars have occurred between the north and south, and additionally, there have been many minor armed conflicts between rebel groups in

the south and in the west fighting each other, in addition there have been conflicts between the government and rebel groups all over the country.

2.2   Intensity in civil war

It is very difficult to assess the intensity of civil war, but I will try indicating some direction of intensity based on battle deaths and war deaths, GDP, policies pertaining the south, agreements, military expenditure, trade of weapons, and oil exports. None of these can itself indicate a change in intensity, but, arguably, a broad analysis needs to incorporate these aspects to understand the civil war without measuring.

2.2.1   Battle-related deaths or war-related deaths?

The intensity of conflict is usually defined by battle deaths, but this might be too narrow a definition in cases such as Sudan. The distinctions between civilians and combatants are uncertain, and a multitude of other deaths related to the civil war are unaccounted for. Lacina and Gleditsch (2005, p. 148) came up with a wider definition, war deaths, which includes both battle deaths and non-battle deaths. The latter includes one-sided violence, like criminal violence, unorganized violence, as well as non-violent mortality, like death by starvation and disease, in addition to sexual violence, reduced life expectancy, displacement, loss of property etc. All these aspects are shown in figure 2.1 below, and war deaths is more thoroughly defined in the quote:

> An account of war deaths must record all people killed in battle as well as all those whose deaths were the result of the changed social conditions caused by the wars. (Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005, p. 148)

Figure 2.1: Sources of war deaths.
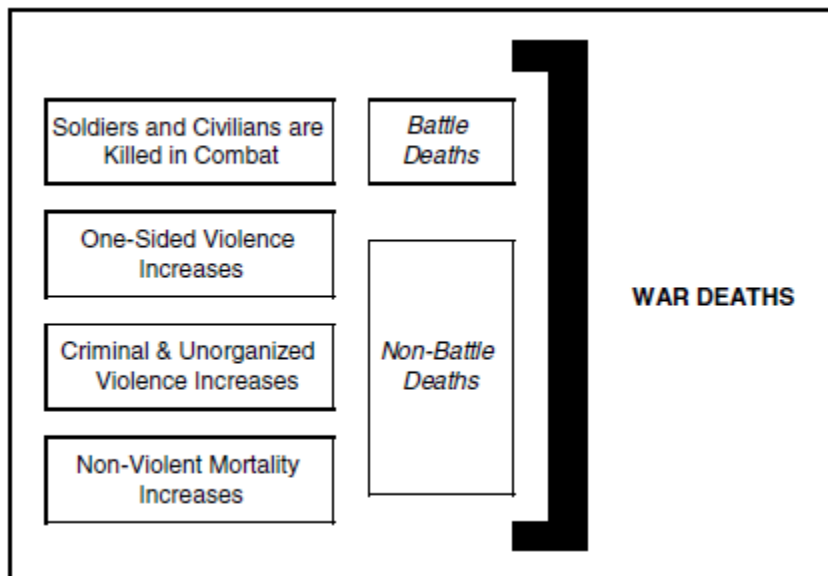
(source: Lacina & Gleditsch, 2005, p. 149)

Non-battle deaths must be emphasized here. There is a decrease worldwide in battle-related deaths and increase in non-battle deaths. Famine, forced migration, and rape are some of the 'newer' weapons of war, and are used to inflict hardship on a population.

2.2.2   What are the motives in civil war?

The motives of combatants are of special importance due to the dynamic of civil war. Civil wars related to ethnicity have a tendency to seek third party support, and this can alter the focus and goals of combatants due to changes in the power balance. In order to understand China's role in Sudan it is important to understand the dynamics, especially due to the politicization of policies and actions. In the next section I will look at some of the main motivations explained by civil war theory which I will later use to analyze the civil wars in Sudan.

One of the main areas of contention in civil war analysis is the debate over the motives and causes of civil war. The World Bank has argued for economic reasons or 'greed', whereas the UN has focused on grievance theories relates to ethnicity, marginalization,

discrimination, etc. Some newer contributions are related to ethnicity and horizontal inequalities.

But why is the discussion of motives important? A simple answer is that different types of conflict demand different types of policies, and to cure the 'disease', one needs to correctly diagnose it. If the wrong policy is applied, it can cause more harm than good. It is also necessary to understand the original motives as external interference might change those motives and thus the conflict itself.

Greed as motive for warfare
Economic theories state that greed is a stronger factor than grievance, and the basic argument is that people fight when it is less costly for them to fight than to pursue or maintain peace. Accordingly, the wars will continue as long as there is a positive utility from warfare. The implication is that civil wars can be curtailed or stopped if the utility of warfare declines.

Collier and Hoeffler are the most important advocates of these theories. Collier (2000, p. 1) argues that: "Conflicts are more likely to be caused by economic opportunities than by grievance". This statement came as a response to the earlier view, that civil war is driven by grievance. What Collier calls the 'narratives' of grievance are raw ethnic or religious hatred, economic inequality, lack of political rights, and government economic incompetence. Through his analysis he finds that these factors do not hold as motivations for combatants. On the contrary, he argues that a fractionalized society and political depression decrease the risk of civil war. Free-rider, coordination and time-consistency problems are arguments against the possibility of rebels being purely grievance-motivated (Collier, 2000, pp. 6-7).

The question is then, what can be done to reduce the incentives for civil war if greed is the motive? One way is to make the economy more diverse, because the more the national economy relies on a few primary commodities, the higher the risk of war. Aid is one means of diversification of the economy, but a common problem is that conflict is an obstacle to aid. Aid is usually only feasible during peace-time, but if aid is given effectively, it can reduce the conflict indirectly through a more diverse economy and

reduction of poverty. However, if governments adopt policies that discourage economic activity, then aid has little effect, but if the government encourage economic growth, aid can help increase development, which in turn decreases the risk of civil war (Collier, 2000, pp. 11-12).

There are many points of criticism of the economic analysis of civil war. One is that the proxies are not good enough to create valid explanations, e.g. the variable 'democracy' is rooted in the Cold War, using energy consumption which are outdated and do not measure correctly what they are supposed to. Emotions like fear, rage and grievance cannot either be directly measured in the economic literature (Hanlon, 2006b, p. 130). Another relates to low quality data and that there is a too strict definition of civil war which excludes many important cases. The results are therefore biased. The economic theories are too theoretically driven and thus do not contain the correct cases (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 35).

When it comes to external intervention, Collier notes that the international community has tried to stop civil wars, but in general it has had no effect. The international community is an impotent actor in maintaining peace after peace agreements are reached. In these cases 44% relapse into a new civil war within five years (Collier, 2003, p. 82). "External military support for rebels shortens conflicts" as well as squeeze the rebels financially (Collier, Hoeffler, & Söderbom, 2004, p. 268), while Regan (2002) finds that all third party intervention, military or economic, lengthens the war.

Grievance as motive for warfare

In grievance-based theory ethnic wars are one of the most important factors. Collier et al. claim that ethnic wars do not exist; others portray ethnicity as the crucial factor for understanding civil wars. Ethnicity is a difficult concept and is defined in different ways. Horowitz (quoted in Hanlon, 2006a, p. 95) says: "ethnic groups are defined by ascriptive difference, whether the indicum is color, appearance, language, religion or some other indicator of common origin".

Kaufman defines ethnic war as organized armed combat involving ethnic markers like language or "the status of ethnic groups themselves" (2001, p. 17). According to Kaufman, three key causes of ethnic war are important: mass hostility, extremist politics and a security dilemma. To make peace these three aspects need to be addressed in a comprehensive approach (Kaufman, 2001). One way is peacemaking through mediation, but ethnic wars are hard to resolve through negotiations. Other important tools are third party reassurance, as well as symbolic.

Kaufman claims that myths are an important cause of the long duration of civil wars. There are multiple reasons why people fight in ethnic wars, but according to Kaufman, it is necessary that the pretext must contain historical myths. Leaders thus mobilize people to fight by the manipulation of the historical myths (Kaufman, 2001, p. 45). Vetlesen (2005, pp. 148-153) shows the antecedents which laid the foundation for 'ethnic cleansing' in former Yugoslavia. One of which was a piece called 'the Memorandum' written by academics, journalists, economists arguing that the Serbs were threatened and therefore must act in self-defense.

The question then is why does violence break out? Many experience a security dilemma, but only rarely does it escalate into violence. According to Snyder and Jervis Fear, insecurity and ideology are important factors. They note: "The security dilemma is a situation in which each party's efforts to increase its own security reduce the security of the others" (Snyder & Jervis, 1999, p. 15). The people in the dilemma have many potential reactions according to their perception of the situation, the expected behavior of the others, the goals of the parties involved. Thus, it is important to address these goals and behaviors and not only the situations on the ground.

Two other prominent schools within this category are informational theory and commitment theory. Informational theory concentrates on the information given and received between the combatants. During the course of war information is revealed and a bargaining rage arises. The duration of war is therefore determined by the information asymmetries. Commitment problems form part of the second school. According to commitment theorists, the state of war is connected with high risks and

uncertainty, thus, wars last longer because parties have difficulties committing to peace and trusting each other in a war context.

*Beyond the debate of greed and grievance*

Cederman, Weidman, and Gleditsch (2011) claim that the grievance-based motivation for civil war is mainly dead, and conclude that "(…) in agreement with a broad conception of horizontal inequalities, we find that both political and economic inequalities contribute to civil war" (2011, p. 478). They argue for analyzing groups and not individual inequalities. The debate of greed-grievance makes little sense empirically. The ethnic politics relate to both material and ideological aspects, like access to jobs and contracts, and recognition of culture and ethnicity. "Because political domination by ethnic others also affects one's economic, legal and symbolic standing, it is pointless to try to disentangle these intertwined and mutually reinforcing motives" (Wimmer, Cederman, & Min, 2009, p. 324). Even though the argument sounds good, the question of motives can be addressed in a greed-grievance based continuum to further understand the situation. The debate in itself is inconsequential to the thesis, but understanding the diverse and intertwined motives should be addressed thoroughly and comprehensively.

Wimmer et al. (2009) argue that both the institutional design and the configuration of the design are indicators on when to expect armed conflict. Ethnicity is a dominant factor because the "nationstate itself relies in ethnonational principles of political legitimacy: the state is ruled in the name of an ethnically defined people and rulers should therefore care for 'their own people'" (2009, p. 321). Horizontal inequalities are the determents for the onset of civil war and include political, economic, social and cultural dimensions. A shared heritage or culture is the main aspect of an ethnic group (Cederman et al., 2011).

Cederman et al. (2010) find that excluded groups are more prone to conflict. Furthermore, groups with decreased access to resources and group size increase the likelihood of war. That implies that the more groups are included in politics the less they are prone to conflict. "Large ethnic groups that are excluded from state power or

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underrepresented in government are much more likely to challenge the regime's insiders through violent means" (Cederman et al., 2010, p. 114). This is shown in the figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2: The Polity Model with Included and Excluded Ethnic Groups, Tiller 1978
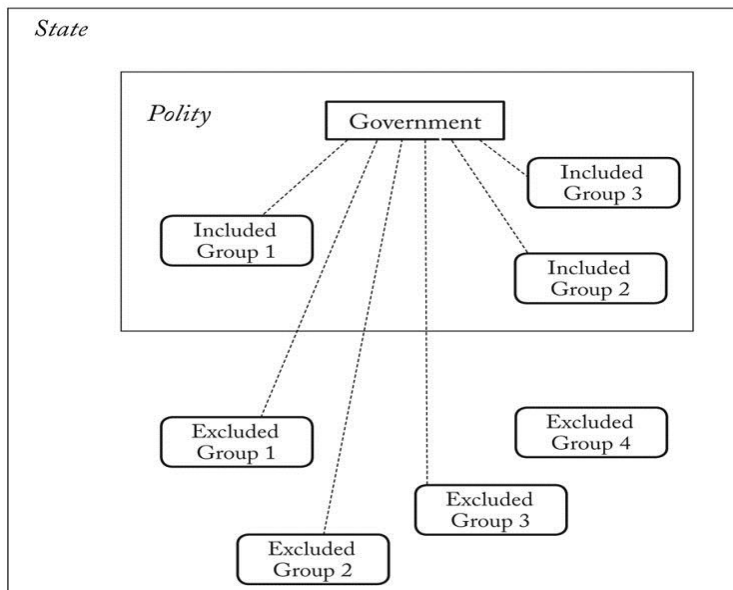
(Source: Cederman et al., 2010, p. 93)

2.3   Understanding third party intervention

In many civil wars there are external actors influencing the war, like in the cases of Libya, former Yugoslavia, Syria, and Sudan. In general, third party intervention theories propose that an intervener must have the aim of ending the civil war. It is important to understand the third party effects that can prolong civil war, if not, international organizations and policy-makers are prone to draw conclusions that do not identify the true dynamics of war and consequently the war might be prolonged or intensified. Cunningham agrees:

> The two-party assumption is problematic because it leads to a misunderstanding of the attributes of these wars. Multi-party conflicts have fundamentally different dynamics from two-party ones, because the presence of additional combatants change the incentives that groups have to negotiate and/or to fight. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 14)

Elbadawi and Sambanis (2000) claim that external intervention is one of the most important factors on the duration of civil war. The definition of external intervention, according to Elbadawi and Sambanis, is:

> (…) a unilateral intervention by one (or more) third party government(s) in a civil war in form of military, economic or mixed assistance in favor of either the government or the rebel movement involved in the civil war. (2000, p. 8)

There is a distinction between this kind of intervention and what they call "external agency", which is usually peacemaking or peacekeeping efforts made by a neutral and multilateral party. They claim that the impacts on the conflict are different for the two modes of intervention. A problematic aspect of this definition is the question of favoritism. In many cases states interfere in matters with motives other than to pursue an end to the conflict.

Regan (2000) differentiates between influence and intervention. He argues that it is important to see the difference between third parties trying to influence behavior in internal parties from those who want to intervene in the conflict. His operational definition of third party intervention implies "convention-breaking military and/or economic activities in the internal affairs of a foreign country targeted at the authority structures of the government with the aim of affecting the balance of power between the government and the opposition forces", while the conceptual definition "involves the use of one state's resources to in an attempt to influence the internal conflict of another state" (2000, pp. 9-10).

Some problems with third party intervention theory are the assumptions that the motive of the intervener is primarily to bring peace through negotiations or to make one party win militarily, and that the intervener is operating in a Western context and approach. China, with its diverse engagements and different motives, does not fit well into the third party theory. An example of this is Regan's rationalist approach: A state intervenes where the domestic opposition to intervention is minimal and where the expected time of presence is short (in Thyne, 2008, pp. 2-3). This is in many ways contrary to the 'neutral' Chinese policy and the long-term perspective of diverse engagement. Thyne and others point to 'neutral' interference, but I find it problematic

that they do not see that non-interference or neutral interventions do not equal non-impact, meaning that the intent of non-interference is not necessarily the same as the outcome of the interference.

2.3.1 Building on third party theories – using spoiler theory for clarifying some aspects on the third party's effects on civil war

Spoiler theory is a more policy-oriented theory which makes the theory better suited when it comes to the case of China's effect on the Sudanese civil war. Civil war and third party theories indicate the necessity of understanding the influences of different third parties. Spoiler theory has the great advantage of addressing how third parties might directly and indirectly influence the combatants. The influence might make the internal combatant capable of spoiling, rather than the third party being the spoiler or a combatant itself.

2.3.2 An introduction of spoiler theory - Stedman

Stedman (1997, p. 5) argues that the greatest risks of the breakdown of peace processes are caused by spoilers. Spoilers are leaders and parties that conceive peace as a threat to themselves, their ideas or worldview, and use violence to spoil the peace process. The international society has an important role in implementing strategies to protect peace and control spoilers. Where this has failed, the consequences have been horrific, e.g. the civil war in Rwanda and Angola, where hundreds of thousands were killed after the negotiations fell apart. Stedman (1997, p. 5) states that: "(…) the causalities of failed peace were infinitely higher than the causalities of war".

Stedman presents spoilers as part of the peace process, and not a part of war in general: "Peace processes create spoilers" (1997, p. 7). He argues that in war there are combatants, rebels, rouges, terrorists, etc. but not spoilers. "Spoilers exist only when there is a peace process to undermine, that is, after at least to warring parties have committed themselves publicly to a pact or have signed a comprehensive peace agreement" (Stedman, 1997, p. 7). I argue against this view and will use some of

Stedman's critics to state my point later in the chapter, but first I will present the remaining parts of Stedman's spoiler theory.

According to Stedman it is important to categorize spoilers in order to address them correctly. Spoilers are divided into groups according to their goals and their commitment to those goals. Stedman (1997, pp. 8-12) presents different dimensions of spoilers: their position, inside or outside; the number of spoilers; the type of spoilers; their locus, leaders or followers. The inside spoiler is within the peace negotiations, while the outside spoiler is not part of a bargaining process. A spoiler can as well be total, limited or greedy. Limited spoilers have few goals which are relatively easy to meet, greedy spoilers are demanding and opportunistic. The threat of these two can be curtailed by satisfying some of the goals or changing the circumstances to lower opportunistic behavior. A total spoiler does not change its goals and must either be totally satisfied or suppressed. The 'correct diagnosis' of a spoiler is important for choosing the adequate strategy.

The importance of third parties: custodians and external patrons
To prevent or curtail spoilers custodians have an important part in Stedman's spoiler theory. Custodians are those who oversee the implementation of the peace settlement, and the UN is the usual actor. The custodians pursue three strategies to manage spoilers: (1) they give the spoiler what it wants; (2) they impose a set of behavioral norms which all parties should adhere to; and (3) they punish or coerce (Stedman, 1997, p. 12). The custodians can make the difference in the success or failure of peace and are thus an essential part of peacemaking and -keeping.

Spoilers are in many cases dependent on external actors for the provision of arms, capital and sanctuary. Stedman (1997) names these external patrons, and, arguably, external patrons fit into the category of third party interveners. In addition to the funding of material needs, these external patrons tend to support the internal actors' legitimacy as well. Usually, if the patron is interested in peace, the peace process is smoother, but in cases where the external patrons do not realize or care that their client is a spoiler, the patron's support continues even though the client is responding

violently to the peace process (Stedman, 1997, p. 16). In cases where there were external patrons, peace was only reached when support from the external patron had been curtailed or halted (Stedman, 1997, p. 51).

2.3.3   Limitations and criticism of spoiler theory

Individual actors or structural factors?

Stedman's spoiler theory has been criticized for its focus on individual actors and not the structural components of civil war. M. J. Zahar claims that it is the context that needs to be analyzed, not the types of spoiler (Zahar, 2010, pp. 265, 267). In accordance, Greenhill and Major (2006, p. 8) argue as well that structural factors are underestimated in spoiler theory. The opportunity structure and relative power of parties are the most determent factors in a peace process, according to Greenhill and Major. Due to this, they present an alternative, a capabilities-based model. In this model the outcomes of the peace process determine the behavior of the spoiler, not vice versa as spoiler theory suggests. "Spoiling behavior is thus (…) more closely causally linked to strategic exigencies than to individual motives" (Greenhill & Major, 2006, p. 12).

Parties in a conflict change their goals in accordance to the opportunity structure because the power balance between them is the most important factor (Greenhill & Major, 2006, p. 12). This implies that external actors can have a greater influence by changing the balance through transfers of military equipment, food, aid, etc.

The question of whether a spoiler is 'born or made' is significant. Stedman is clear on this, reiterating his argument above that peace processes create spoilers (Stedman, 1997, p. 7). Greenhill and Major disagree:

> (…) a group does not 'become' a spoiler when it acts in ways that are contrary to the peace process – which is dictated by group behavior – but rather when the outcome of their actions spoils the process – which depends equally on the group in question and the other parties to the peace agreement. (Greenhill & Major, 2006, p. 10)

The point is that if one focuses on outcome and not action, one gets a more accurate picture of spoiling, and does not waste time on analyzing the elites and their

personalities. Secondly, traditional spoiler theory tends to overlook potential spoilers because it only focuses on groups and individuals who are considered important in the peace process and not the broader picture. The capabilities model points to the possibility of the power balance to alter and create new spoilers (Greenhill & Major, 2006, p. 10). Greenhill and Major argue that spoilers are made by circumstances. A change in the conflict context can create spoiling behavior of for example minor groups with little possibility of winning: A leader might find it better to fight and most likely lose than to bargain. In these cases it makes sense politically, but not militarily to continue fighting. And lastly, power redistribution can make leaders unable to make their factions follow their lead (Greenhill & Major, 2006, p. 13). They argue that spoilers are not driven by intention or a specific person, and the custodian can change the circumstances to limit the spoilers through heightening the spoilers expected costs of continued spoiling. "The phenomena [of spoiling] is more an issue of tactics, not actors" (Newman & Richmond, 2006b, p. 5). The capabilities approach of spoiling theory opens up a less direct form of intervention. Zahar argues that a spoiler needs someone to aid them to become spoilers: the actor must have a foreign patron or have lootable goods (Zahar, 2010, p. 170). Actors using violence must consider both the cost of fighting and their capability to pursue such strategy, and whether the opportunity structure is favorable, that is to see how other actors will answer to their violent strategy (Zahar, 2010, p. 270). The capabilities approach seems to useful to assess outcomes because it takes into account how the parties are being made capable. This makes it easier to trace the effects, and to comprehend why actors engage as they do.

I find it more useful to see spoiling as an action, rather than exclusively as an actor since potential spoilers change their actions, motives and strategies during the course of negotiation according to the circumstances. However, it is important to understand the motive behind the behavior, so even if the spoiling behavior does not result in ending the peace process, the intent to do so is of importance. Arguably, the motive and the outcome must both be analyzed to manage the conflict in the best possible way. Potential spoiling behavior must be assessed to reach peace and those can only be spotted if motives are analyzed. This because the motives of civil war are a blend of

reasons and therefore both the utility of fighting or spoiling must be analyzed, at the same time motives and reasoning for groups and leaders must be thoroughly addressed.

Problems with profiling

There are some problems with profiling in Stedman's spoiler theory. Stedman's typology does not address the issue of changes in spoiler behavior. Zahar shows that 50% of the spoilers have changing preferences, but Stedman's theory lacks tools for assessing the determinants of change. One example comes from the conflict in Angola: Savimibi, the leader of UNITA in Angola, switched types of spoiling several times during his leadership: in the beginning he was a non-spoiler, then a greedy spoiler, and later a total spoiler. The changes were in accordance to the shifting situations on the ground and changes in the power structure. Greenhill and Major assert a capabilities model to replace Stedman's theory, and argue that the advantage of such a model is that it can predict "… *ex ante* if and when spoilers might emerge and retreat" (2006, p. 23).

Custodians and external actors are of crucial importance here in many ways. They can force a ripe moment either by affecting the spoiler's capabilities of fighting or decreasing the window of opportunities. The motive of wanting to de-escalate the conflict is produced when the costs are unacceptable or the risk is too high. The party might see that victory is impossible and that further escalation of the conflict will "increase the already unacceptable costs and risks" (Pruitt, 1997, p. 241). I will use the capabilities model to on the case of Chinese effects on the civil war due its focus on power balance and context.

2.3.4 Building on third party theory: an intervener with an independent agenda

Cunningham (2006, p. 875) argues that the problem of civil war theory is that it mainly concentrates on two actors, the government and the rebel group. Civil war theories like economic, informational, and commitment theories, use this simplified

two-party system to generate a more comprehensive game-theoretic analysis, but then again leave out important aspects like third party effects.

Cunningham's theory is in accordance with the critics in previously discussed parts, and stresses the strategic component in spoiler theory. According to third party theory[2], the motives of the interveners are generally either to make one party win or to facilitate negotiations, both with peace as the main aim. He argues that states may intervene in a conflict with other agendas than the ones of the combatants. Cunningham (2010, p. 125) concludes in his article that when states intervene with 'an independent agenda', the civil wars tend to be longer, and therefore, it is imperative to develop a good framework for analysis of these cases. In general, a good diagnosis will provide the basis for decent procedures of peacemaking. The reason for this effect is that it makes the conflict complex and difficult to resolve. In addition, the information problem increases as more parties enter into a conflict. It is questionable whether or not the information theories can explain the duration of civil wars that are 'endless', decades long such like Sudan's civil wars (Cunningham, 2011, pp. 9,15). Walraven (2005) adds another aspect claiming that third party intervention seldom occurs when self-interests are not present, and the third party usually acts on its own initiative

Cunningham (2010, p. 116) argues:

> (…) that states often intervene in civil war not to end the conflict, but rather to pursue some specific objectives that are additional to the goals of the internal combatants.

To understand the duration and the termination of civil war an analysis of factors that influence the termination is necessary. According to Cunningham (2010, p. 116), civil wars generally end in two ways, either through a military victory or a negotiated settlement. Therefore, factors that affect the outcome negatively or positively will affect the duration. Accordingly, parties fight to strengthen their position at a possible

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[2] See e.g. Balch-Lindsay, Enterline, and Joyce (2008); Regan (2000)

bargaining situation and because of the high costs of warfare they seek to find a settlement with higher expected utility than what they would get in continuing warfare.

But why do some civil wars end after a few days and why do some last for decades? 8% of civil wars last longer than two decades, a quarter of the civil wars end after 8 months, and another quarter last more than five years (Cunningham, 2006, p. 875). Cunningham argues that external actors influence the parties' capabilities to either enter the negotiating table or to continue fighting, and accordingly, the duration of the civil war. Many scholars address this by showing that a one-sided intervention shortens the conflict, while others find that neutral interventions prolong civil war. But these scholars generally assume that the motives of the intervening actors are either to make one side win or to resolve the conflict. Cunningham (2010, p. 117) argues that since the external actors pursue different goals they must be treated as separate combatants. This implies that the external combatant must be defeated militarily or be satisfied and persuaded through a settlement. He notes that civil wars with external actors are harder to resolve for the reason that there are additional goals and motives to satisfy, and that external actors tend to gain more from fighting than a negotiated settlement. The expected costs for an external actor are lower because the fighting is not taking place within its territory (Cunningham, 2010, p. 117). Human beings are the primary cost in civil wars and for external actors this is reduced to mainly military personnel (Cunningham, 2010, p. 118). A point that Cunningham fails to see is personnel staying in the host country from the state intervening for other reasons, e.g. tourism or business. Some incidences of kidnapping and killings of Chinese workers took place, and have happened more frequently after the CPA. To illustrate, in 2007 alone China sent over 12,000 Chinese to Sudan (Brautigam, 2009, p. 155). One of the more effective means of pressuring the external actor is the international community[3]. Without sanctions or other forms of international pressure, an external actor has lower costs than internal combatants (Cunningham, 2010, p. 118).

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[3] This concept is very similar to the custodian in Stedman's theory

"Negotiations in civil war are affected by each party's subjective estimation of the expected utility of negotiation versus continue warfare" (Cunningham, 2010, p. 118). Cunningham (2006, p. 117) argues that civil wars with multiple actors are longer because the negotiation range is smaller and allows for fewer possible outcomes. In addition the lack and asymmetries of information is greater as the number of combatants is high, and there are incentives for combatants to endure in order to get the best outcome. I believe that Cunningham theory addresses this issue of indirect effect well and should be seen as an extension of third party theories.

2.4 What is presumed to be the impact of a third party intervention?

Regan (2002, p. 60) has done some of the most comprehensive work on how third party intervention affects the duration of civil war. According to Regan, both the rebel's and government's decision to continue fighting is a function of their expectations of future victory, current costs, and anticipated costs. Both the timing and type of intervention affects these decisions. Regan (2002) concludes that neutral interventions are likely to decrease the duration of war by distributing resources, rather than weapons. By affecting the underlying causes of the civil war, such as an unequal distribution of wealth, neutral parties increase the costs of rebel recruitment, which should lower the group's probability of victory and ultimately make them more likely to settle the conflict. As Regan (2002, p. 72) suggests, "If the objective of an intervention is to shorten the length of a civil conflict, then an outside military or economic intervention is not a terribly effective strategy to do so." And he concludes that neutral support is not an adequate strategy either.

Thyne presents other conclusions for why intervention is affecting the duration of civil war. Thyne (2008, pp. 4-5) argues that intervention makes civil wars longer because the third party aggravates the root causes of the conflict. He argues that unobservable factors are significant for duration: "Third parties may purposefully select themselves into certain types of conflicts based on factors that are unobserved in existing models" (Thyne, 2008, p. 26). Never the less, both positions claim the intervener to be either

the UN or states who want to achieve peace, and do not take into consideration other interveners with other goals which affect the civil war.

Many scholars argue that external intervention prolongs civil wars: Stedman argues that the external patron must be satisfied or curtailed to reach peace, whereas Cunningham discusses the extra sets of goals which complicate the conflict and consequently prolong the war. Later, I will analyze China's presence in Sudan to address the consequences using third party intervention, but the next section will mostly address the civil wars in Sudan. I will examine the motives, actors and important historical incidents during the civil wars to advance the understanding of the effects of Chinese engagement. I will use a wide and non-strict spoiler theoretical framework to the entire period, implementing aspects of the capabilities approach to further the insight on China's engagement and the civil war.

3 Sudan – from colonialism to the CPA

Sudan has the longest history of violence in Africa with two civil wars raging for nearly forty years. The civil wars, the first from 1956[4] to 1972, and the second from 1983 to 2005, have mainly been between the Muslim Arabs in the north and the non-Muslim Africans in the south. In addition to the north-south civil wars, south-south conflicts have been extensive. The west of Sudan, specifically the Darfur area, has also experienced years of conflict, with an increase in the last years. The scope of the paper is the last years 16 years of the second civil war, because Chinese engagement has been greatest at this point.

This section will address the issues of the civil war in Sudan. Some of the main questions are: How can we understand the Sudanese civil wars? What are the reasons for war? Is it an ethnical war? Are the rebels motivated by money or by discrimination and neglect? I will discuss thoroughly the civil wars because I argue that an analysis of China in Sudan is impossible without knowing the context. China has altered the parties in the second civil war and it is important to understand the dynamics of the war. I will mainly focus on the period after 1989 to the end of the second civil war, but the two wars are too interrelated to leave the first civil war out. First, I will look at the foundations of civil war and some historically relevant aspects.

3.1   The conflict history of Sudan until 1989

3.1.1   Pre-1955: The foundations for civil war

The first civil war erupted at the same time as Sudan's independence from Britain in 1955-1956. By then the northern Sudanese officials had already taken over the administration of the whole country. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium who were in power at that time, had in general sealed off the southern part to prevent conflict which

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[4] This is disputed and I will come back to the topic

had ravaged the region the previous decades. This relationship between the north and south proceeded the British and has lasted until the present day (Rolandsen, 2010, pp. 2-3). Large (2011, p. 95) points to underdevelopment of the periphery in Sudan, and in particular southern Sudan, during the British occupation, as one of the causes of the onset of civil war. The political and economic deprivation of these regions manifested itself in armed rebellion and conflicts from Sudan's independence until now. For the southerners the take-over of the state from the British seemed to change a only the appearance, and not the substance: they were both a colonial power for the southerners (Young, 2012, p. 3). The quick move to independence may be one of the reasons unrest and tension erupted, argues Rolandsen (2010). After months of political acidity, the southerners took to the streets and several northerners were killed. Rebel groups were formed and Anyanya[5] came to be the major one fighting for secession. As seen many times since, Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, quickly gained control and arrested and executed hundreds of southerners (Rolandsen, 2010, pp. 3-4). Rolandsen argues that the onset of the first civil war was:

> (…) the result of the Northern Sudanese assumption of power and the 1955 disturbances, was a state of emergency and a weakening of state control in several localities, which was combined with excessive violence and radicalized opposition. (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 61)

Herbst argues that the colonial states in African did not have a monopoly over their territory and clear boundaries, which are both criteria for state recognition. Many African stated had control over the capital city and focused on the urban population (Herbst, 1997). After the independence of this centralized African states, this legacy continued even though some efforts were put in motion to gain further control of the newly-made states. Natsios argues that the British followed this model of concentrating power and resources in the capital and the grievance they left behind was the root cause of the civil wars.

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[5] Also called Anya-Nya

Cederman et al. portray the center-periphery in figure 2.2 above. The government and the Muslim Arab population are parts of the included groups, while the Christians and Africans are excluded.

> (…) an important step in the direction of conflict prevention would be the acknowledgment that the political elites in a large number of African countries are oriented to the neo-patrimonial model: privileging themselves and their supporters, not taking care of national welfare, building clientelist networks, not formal institutions, in times of crisis excluding large sectors of society and political competitors, etc., while the official policy operates – often cynically – with a terminology of committed 'partner governments', 'sovereignty', and 'participation' where there is none of these. (Mehler, 2005, p. 105)

The cleavages between the people in northern and southern Sudan are economic, cultural, ethnic, and religious. The majority in southern Sudan is English-speaking, African and either Christian or belongs to animist/theistic religions[6]. In northern Sudan, it is mainly Muslim Arabs. Even though there are stark differences between the two ethnic groups, a closer look at the conflict reveals a more diverse composition of people. Young (2012, p. 4) argues that:

> (…) the ethnic character of the opposition to rate rulers did not follow from any innate tribalism, but as a response to the domination of the Sudanese state by a largely riverain core that used for it for their personal enrichment and that of their ethnic cohort.

Rolandsen points to the fact that the tribes are not even consolidated. "One cannot (…) speak of *the* Dinka tribe or *the* Nuer tribe" because these *peoples* are organized into different tribes, e.g. the 1.3 million Nuba peoples have 50 different languages and dialects" (Johnson, 2003, pp. xv, 131). Thus, the conflict line does not go only between the north and south, but south-south and north-west as well: Arabs are attacking Arabs and Africans are killing Africans.

The civil wars have been between the north and south, but Sudan is usually not only divided into two sections. The north constitutes mainly Khartoum and the surroundings, and the west or the east are parts of what is defined as north. The south

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[6] For more details see Johnson, 2003, p. xvi

is the southern area of Sudan with a border going from east to west. The map on page VII makes it easier to visualize.

The self-determination of the south was discussed as early as 1947 at a conference in Juba. Not much was achieved that year, but a second conference in October 1954 agreed on independence from Egypt if the south was given autonomy in a federal system or through self-determination. After Sudan's independence, the British left the south of Sudan vulnerable to northern aggression and domination (Natsios, 2012, p. 40).

1956: Sudan's independence

> What is history?, is that is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past. (Carr, 1962, p. 35)

The first Sudanese democratic election took place in 1956 and the two major Islamic parties, the Umma party and the National Unionist Party (NUP), won 89 of 173 seats in the National Assembly. The Umma party is an Islamic political party, led by Sadiq al-Mahdi from the mid-1960s, and NUP was a pro-Egypt party. The high expectations of the people were not meet and a coup by Major General Obrahim Abbud, commander-in-chief of the Sudanese military, took place two years later. The Major General and his men supported the union with Egypt and they had roots in the Khatmiyya sect. Soon, they started to Arabize the south, expelling missionaries, changed the Sabbath from Sunday to Friday, changed the language from English to Arabic, and promoted Islam through building of Quran schools (Natsios, 2012, p. 43).

Soon after independence the government began a divide-and-rule tactic which continues until today. There were many tribes in the southern Sudan which fought each other to achieve power. The Nuer and Dinka are the two principal groups and rivalry is ongoing. Khartoum provided food and weapons to groups on the north-south border to fight the southerners, which in consequence would increase the conflicts between the southerners. The government, thus, included groups of non-Muslim and non-Arab, if they would fight against anti-government groups.

Sudan's independence was affected by three major issues which laid the foundation for the wars and conflicts to come. The first relates to the relationship between Egypt and Sudan, where the Sudanese Umma Party argued for independence, while the Khatmiyya-based NUP party supported a union with Egypt. Secondly, the question of the south was important, and the two parties in the north tried to avoid any influence by the southerners in the process of Sudan's independence. Thirdly, there were conflicts over the relationship between the state and religion. Some supported a secular state, namely the non-Muslims in the south, socialists and secularists, while the two main parties in the north argued for an Islamic state (Natsios, 2012, p. 36).

3.2 The turning point of 1989 to the signing of the CPA in 2005

1989 has several aspects of importance: Al-Bashir came to power and turned Sudan into an Islamic state which arguably made the conflict more intense, and Sudan went into a period of isolation and a broken economy and thus turned to China and, finally, oil was further integrated in the conflict. The inclusion of oil made the conflict move along the continuum to a more greed-based war than it initially started out as. 'Finally we have something to fight over,' said a southerner.

3.2.1 1989: Al-Bashir takes over – the raise of the Islamic state

> "The new phase [after 1989] in political repression is the outcome of a history of the progressive exclusion of non-Muslim from full rights as citizens. (Johnson, 2003, p. 129)

Just as al-Mahdi was about to travel abroad, a new coup took place led by Brigadier Omar al-Bashir and the National Islamic Front (NIF). They were dissatisfied with the peace negotiations with the southerners, an unstable government and a decline in the economy (Young, 2012, pp. 30-31). Little was known about al-Bashir, but after a few months in power some signs of his radicalism became apparent: The internal security apparatus denied the readings of Western books and forced Sudanese women to end contact with Western women, new dress codes were enforced, and thousands of

women were removed from their jobs (Natsios, 2012, pp. 80,83). Turabi became al-Bashir's religious leader, and together they built an Islamic state.

"Turabi's ultimate objective was the reestablishment if the moral order of the ancient Islamic caliphate (…) which would recognize Sharia as the legal code and the Quran as the only source of truth" (Natsios, 2012, p. 92). Turabi sought early diplomatic ties with Iran, as did al-Bashir. Soon, Iran was the closest ally and main supplier of arms to Khartoum. Due to Turabi's idea of internationalization of Islam, the first Popular Arab and Islamic Congress (PAIC) was set in 1991. The delegates came from several Muslim organizations, like Hamas, Hezbollah, and, al-Qaeda, but the most famous group was Jama'at al-Islamiyah, an extremist group under the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. They had gained fame for killing Anwar el-Sadat (Natsios, 2012, p. 93). Al-Bashir and Turabi made Sudan a safe haven for Islamists from all over the world.

Al-Bashir had a troublesome start with his new regime. Khartoum experienced lack of water and electricity, and fuel lines grew longer. Al-Bashir turned to Saudi Arabia, Libya and Egypt for oil and arms to 'save the revolution', but due to Sudan's support for Iraq during the Kuwait-war, problems with delivering arms to Sudan and/or the lack of arms other Arab states declined to help. Al-Bashir turned to Iraq instead and received some help (Burr & Collins, 2010, p. 29). In the beginning of the 1990's, Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) had 71,000 men and the numbers increased as the conflict continued (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 180).

An assassination attempt on Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in 1995 directed even more negative light on Sudan. This is because Sudan was exposed as the origin of the plot. Sudan had also provided false passports and transported the weapons used. Senior officers in the Sudanese government had as well been active in the planning of the plot. A UN Security Council resolution condemned the assassination attempt and imposed sanctions after pressure from Egypt and the United States (Natsios, 2012, pp. 95-96)

As the isolation of Sudan increased due to Sudan's handling of the Kuwait-war, support for terrorist organizations and the handling internal conflicts and civil war,

Turabi saw that his power was decreasing and due to this he sought to oust Osama bin Laden, who had been living in Sudan for several years. In 1996, bin Laden and his family were transported to Afghanistan, and later al-Bashir dissolved the PAIC and expelled radical Islamist groups. Al-Bashir was not as radical as Turabi and during the mid-1990s, he banned some punishments in Sharia law, like limb amputation (Natsios, 2012, pp. 102-103).

Turabi discovered that he was losing his power as Sudan increasingly experienced difficulties, especially concerning Sudan's relation to Islamists. Turabi ran as candidate in the 1996. Al-Bashir saw him as a competitor to his power and declared a state of emergency and disbanded the National Assembly and called for new elections. The elections took place in 2000, and al-Bashir again made sure he would win and thereafter arrested Turabi and his followers (Natsios, 2012, pp. 104-105).

3.2.2   SPLM/A goals and support

The Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) would become one of the main combatants fighting the southern cause during the second civil war. SPLM/A was founded on July 31, 1983 by John Garang. He had studied in the US, and later managed to unite the militias and the political wing in the south. The first years of the second civil war, the SPLM/A tried to absorb or eliminate the Anyanya II, which had been increasingly active in the first years of the 1980s (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 5). The troops grew fast and in just a year and a half, Garang had taken power over most of the south, but not the garrison towns and cities. In 1986, the estimates of soldiers were 12 500, and a few years later in 1991, the number had rose to 60 000 (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 181). He wrote the 'Southern Manifesto' which showed ties to Marxism and dependency theory. The Manifesto's goal was to establish a United Socialist Sudan, and not a separate state (Young, 2012, p. 47). To draw attention to the cause, SPLA supported and helped organize an attack of Chevron's oil production area in Rub Kona in Western Upper Nile in 1984. The attack resulted in the deaths of three employees and Chevron closed down its operations (Young, 2012, p. 50).

From the foundation of SPLM/A the goals have been discussed internally. Garang had a vision of a 'New Sudan' which implied a united Sudan, an overthrow of the Islamic government and its replacement with a government representing all peoples and tribes in Sudan. They wanted some self-determination in the south but the main goal was to end the northern governance over the southern regions.

The SPLM/A got military support from Ethiopia, but after a military shift in power in Ethiopia in 1991 support was cut off. SPLM/A managed with help from Ethiopia to take control over the city of Kurmuk, which lies close to the border of Ethiopia. The Anyanya II and SPLM/A were approaching each other and by the end of June 1989, SPLM/A controlled the entire Sudan-Ethiopia border and Torit, Bor and Nasir (Johnson, 2003, p. 84). The military victory was blamed on Israel due to Israeli support to the southerners and Khartoum asked again for arms, support and other resources to regain its power, and both Iraq and Libya responded, providing massive amounts of military equipment (Burr & Collins, 2010, p. 30). Even though Sudan had supported Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war, al-Bashir managed to rally support from Iran and received both personnel and weapons. During the 1990s SPLM/A managed to get support from many of the neighboring states, like Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda due to Khartoum's support of rebel groups in these countries (Uppsala Conflict Data Program).

During these years, Garang developed four-point strategy to defeat Khartoum militarily or to force a negotiation. The strategies involved (Natsios, 2012, pp. 99-100): (1) Garang wanted to bring the war indirectly to Khartoum by threatening the highway linking Khartoum and Port Sudan. (2) Garang sought support and encouraged rebellions in the northern areas which would make the government redeploy its troops and, thus, Khartoum would have fewer troops in the South. (3) The increase in oil revenues was seen by the southerners as a threat to their security, as Khartoum used the money to strengthen the government's army. Garang sought to shut down the oil fields to weaken the possibility of Khartoum getting more resources. (4) The garrison cities on the border were important for Garang to get control over. These cities where the only 'footholds' for Khartoum in the south and were therefore strategically

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important. Garang saw the urgency of taking control before the money from oil exports would reach Khartoum.

Factions in SPLM/A and peace talks
The SPLM/A fought for integration and democratization of Sudan, while Anyanya II fought for secessionism. "Secessionism is an attempt by an ethnic group claiming a homeland to withdraw with its territory from the authority of a larger state of which it is a part" (Horowitz, 1991, p. 10). Horowitz continues stating secessionist victory is uncommon and for it to materialize assistance is necessary. SPLM/A would integrated many of the old Anyanya II and would later have difficulties with the factions opinions SPLM/A.

After the fall of Mengitsu in Ethiopia in 1991, refugees from inside Ethiopia fled back to Sudan and caused further hardship in the already vulnerable region. Garang did not reinforce the SPLA in the region, and thus the Upper Nile fell under Khartoum's offensive. The precarious refugee situation made many international organizations start talks with the Nasir-commanders, Riek Machar and Lam Akol, which empowered them to fight for their cause, a separate south (Johnson, 2003, p. 96).

Garang's 'overthrow' was announced in August 1991, by the newly made SPLA-Nasir[7] with support from the former Anyanya II commander, a Nuer named Gordon Kong Cuol. Fights started between the factions in SPLA, and the Nasir-faction received weapons and supplies from Khartoum and talked directly with al-Bashir and Turabi, which Garang had early on suspected: "(…) such activity was proof [for Garang] that the split had been manufactured by Khartoum from the start and had nothing got do with the internal reform of the Movement" (Johnson, 2003, pp. 98-99). The internal fighting in SPLA, let the northern army advance, but by 1994 the SPLA was revived and their position improved.

As the conflict went on between the factions, the fighting over policies seemed to be replaced by fighting between tribes. Especially the Nasir-faction which was Nuer-

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[7] Also called SPLA-united

dominated seemed to turn into an anti-Dinka movement (Johnson, 2003, p. 114). Due to this, the Nasir-faction disintegrated and fighting between the Nuers started. Peace talks made way for a partial reunification of the factions, but Riek maintained a 'parallel movement' and the Nuer 'civil war' continued (Johnson, 2003, pp. 120-121).

One of the reasons for the break-up in SPLM/A might be that the Nasir-faction understood that they would not get a seat at an eventual negotiation table. The motive is in line with spoiler theory that acknowledges that in the group of non-state actors it is the dominant one who usually ends up negotiating, and thus, minor groupings fight for position. The Nasir-faction got attention and the position they fought for, and in 1994, Riek signed the Peace Charter with al-Bashir, but the views and understandings of the Charter were diametrically opposed. Riek and his faction saw the Charter as a step towards independence, while the GoS's motive was to get further control over the south and in particular over the Nuer (Johnson, 2003, p. 122).

3.2.3   Further isolation: Attacks on US embassies and US attack of Sudan

In 1997, Sudan's relationship with the outside world soured. On August 7, 1998 al-Qaeda attacked two American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and soon it was discovered that some of the gunmen had Sudanese passports. Sudan had expelled bin Laden, but Clinton blamed both Afghanistan and Sudan for the attack and retaliated. A pharmaceutical plant outside of Khartoum was bombed few days later in response to the embassy-attacks. This was because of suspicion that the plant produced nerve gas (Natsios, 2012, p. 113). The US imposed trade and economic sanctions while they gave support to the south and donated food to the SPLA (Young, 2012, p. 88). Arguably, the US attack on Sudan made al-Bashir even more scared of an American military intervention.

3.2.4   The discovery of oil and its initial effects on the conflict

Oil has had a large impact on the conflict. Even though the conflict initially was started by other factors, oil would later become an integrated part of the conflict.

Arguably, oil made the Addis Ababa agreement fail and would later harden the conflict, as Natsios (2012, p. 111) writes in the case of the southerners: "Now, there was something tangible worth fighting over that would change the lives of whoever controlled it". For Khartoum, the oil changed the logic of war as well. Since the al-Bashir coup the reason and justification of war was the 'spread and consolidation' of Islam which was mainly based on Turabi's ideas (Natsios, 2012, p. 112). Later on, "Oil replaced religious expansionism as the reason for war, and since the war inhibited oil exploration, peace became a logical policy"(Natsios, 2012, p. 112). In the early 1990s the government sold areas in the Nuba Mountains to supporters of the regime, and 'cleared' the areas to make way for the buyers (Johnson, 2003, p. 133).

3.2.5 Comprehensive Peace Agreement - peace at last?

The signing of the CPA in 2005 was an end to a long and bumpy road. The US had decided that they wanted to end the conflict and elicited help of African states, and the rest of the Western Troika. During the 1990s Sudan experienced political and economic pressure from the US government. Khartoum denied that the US forced them to the table, but there are many indications of the opposite. Arguably, the 9/11 attacks pushed forward the talks (Rogier, 2005, p. 3).The Intergovernmental Authority in Development (IGAD) led the mediation between the GoS and the SPLM/A which started in Nairobi in the middle of the 1990s. In 1997, the principles of the Peace Charter was signed which included unity of Sudan, as well as a Coordinating Council for the southern states, and a referendum on unity or secession. The first agreement was the Protocol of Machakos, signed in Kenya on 20 July 2002.

> (…) the parties agreed on a broad framework, setting forth the principles of governance, the transitional process and the structures of government as well as on the right to self-determination for the people of South Sudan, and on state and religion. (UNMIS)

Salva Kiir, the next-of-command in SPLM/A, signed the agreement on behalf of SPLM/A, and the 'forthright commitment' on self-determination outraged both Garang and the US (Young, 2012, p. 94).

The next five agreements were all signed in Naivasha, Kenya and included the Protocols on security arrangement a year later; the Protocol on wealth-sharing in the beginning of 2004; the Protocol on Power-sharing and the Protocol on the resolution of conflict Kordofan/Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile States, and the Protocol on the resolution of conflict in Abyie, were all signed on the same in day in May 2004 (UNMIS). Missing from the agreements were a permanent cease-fire, an implementation of all protocols, and international and regional guarantees of upholding and funding the peace. The talks stalled after the signing in May 2004, but after intense pressure from international and regional organizations, and several phone calls from president Bush, the talks resumed and resulted in the signing of CPA in 2005 (Natsios, 2012; UNMIS, p. 169). The CPA did not include ownership, contracts or other aspects of the oil revenues in South Sudan and Sudan which could later cause many problems (Saeed, 2013, p. 96).

The CPA established the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) in 2005 which was based on a power-sharing model to prevent further spoiler behavior among the multitude of groups, tribes and armed factions in the south. All the main leaders were included; John Garang, Salva Kiir, Riek Machar and Lam Akol, which in accordance to spoiler theory decreases the possibility of spoiler behavior since they are all inside an agreement (Onyango, 2012, p. 178). By January 2011 the southerners would decide on possible secession, Sharia law applied only to Muslims, English became the official language, and half of the oil revenues in the South would be transferred to the GoSS (Natsios, 2012, p. 171).

So even though both the government and the rebel groups in the south used violence during the process, they did not manage to spoil the whole process. So, the question of "how much spoiling can a peace process absorb" is essential in the analysis (Newman & Richmond, 2006a, p. 2). For one actor the violence is adhered to 'reasonable demands', but for the other it might be considered spoiling. External actors can give leverage to the spoiler and empower actors resisting peace settlements. E.g. the US support to Israel has arguably made Israel capable of adopt more ambitious goals (Newman & Richmond, 2006a, p. 2).

3.3   What is civil war in Sudan?

Sudan has experienced two civil wars and dozens of conflicts, but it is sometimes hard to talk about the exact onset and end each conflict. Rolandsen points to the difficulties of isolating the moment where the southern region went from peace to war at the beginning. During the 1960s, no one talked about a civil war in Sudan, because there was not enough violence and there was no real challenge to the government (Rolandsen, 2010, p. 65). He argues that the first civil war started in 1962-1963 when a rebel group organized against the GoS which was a threat to the government. Rolandsen notes that contemporary wars in Africa are hard to define due to a phase of neither peace nor war rather a state of emergency (2010, pp. v,66). Violence has not ended after the signing of the CPA in 2005, but the civil war is over per se. The question of the onset of civil war is often political and becomes a part of the history of the combatants.

During the years of civil war, many aspects became politicized and thus a part of the conflict. The wars and political issues have restricted people from reaching food in areas either through forced migration or looting and burning of crops. Drought and famines were used as weapons of war to strangle the rebellion. Khartoum has in several occasions hindered and prohibited NGOs access to people in the southern areas during massive famines. Johnson (2003, p. 145) concludes: "The pattern of the war indicates that resource depletion and economic subjugation are the objectives of war, not just its incidental consequences".

Spoiler theory concentrates on the peace processes and the post-agreement period. During the 1990s peace processes took place and agreements signed in Sudan. The first initiative to make peace was done as early as 1993 by the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). Greenhill and Major (2006, p. 12) states that using the lens of bargaining is useful in a wider context and not only the time of peace process, because in principle all sides would at all-times prefer signing a peace agreement if the conditions were favorable enough. Cunningham writes: "At every point in the course of the conflict, then, each party compares the expected utility

from three options: ceasing the armed struggle, agreeing to some negotiated settlement, or continuing fighting" (2010, p. 116). War is costly and is mostly undesirable for all parties. But when actors do believe that they can achieve more politically, economic or culturally unilaterally, than through bargaining, spoiling behavior is a likely outcome.

3.3.1   Main actors

The main actors in the conflict are of course the government and armed groups in the south, mainly the SPLM/A which consist of tribes, religions, demographic groupings, etc. In general, the government, the SAF, northern militias and armed groups have had the same motive for fighting: Arab/northern/Muslim domination. It is important to clarify that the north constitutes of Khartoum and the areas around, and there are many other militias and rebel groups in Darfur, the east and other parts that do not support the government and might even fight it. The army is a key player and al-Bashir was trained in the military and thus had strong ties to it. The army was not always loyal to those in, e.g. during the period of Numayri's presidency. The government has used other militias and groups to harass and terrorize the south as a military strategy, and has in many ways succeeded in their divide-and-rule tactic. Consequently, groups hired, paid and trained by the government with the motive of weakening the southern peoples, and the military all go under the umbrella of the government (some groups were rather motivated by money than northern dominance). Even though the SPLM-Nasir came to get support from the government, it does not imply that the faction should be understood as a part of the government, since their motives are different than the ones of the government. The government wanted to weaken the southerners by fragmenting them, while SPLA-Nasir wanted support to fight the SPLA because of the internal problems of tribe/ethnic issues and the question of secessionism.

One might argue that ethnicity should be a determine factor, but I find it easier and more fruitful to divide the combatants in two groups according to their motives for fighting and political project, in accordance with the findings of Young (2012) and Rolandsen (2012). Identity is being constructed in accordance to the conflict lines, and

e.g. the black Muslims are defined as outsiders by the government and their supporters (Prunier, 2012). The north includes the government of Sudan, SAF, and militias supporting their case. The south can be defined as the Anyanya rebellions, SPLM/A, the SPLA-Nasir and other rebel groups who has fought against the northern dominance and aggression. Even though the goals have been disputed, secessionism or a united Sudan, I argue that these can be defined in the same category since all agree to the end of northern ascendancy. There have been Arab groups fighting the government, but these are not part of the southern rebellion due to other motives for fighting.

3.3.1   Fatalities in Sudan

The intensity of the civil war in Sudan is another difficult subject. The amount of civilians and non-combatants killed or that died of other war-related factors like famine, diseases is immense. Uppsala/PRIO divides the fatalities into battle-related and civilians.

Figure 3.1: Best estimates of battle-related deaths in the entire conflict in comparison to best estimates of civilian fatalities both caused by the Government of Sudan
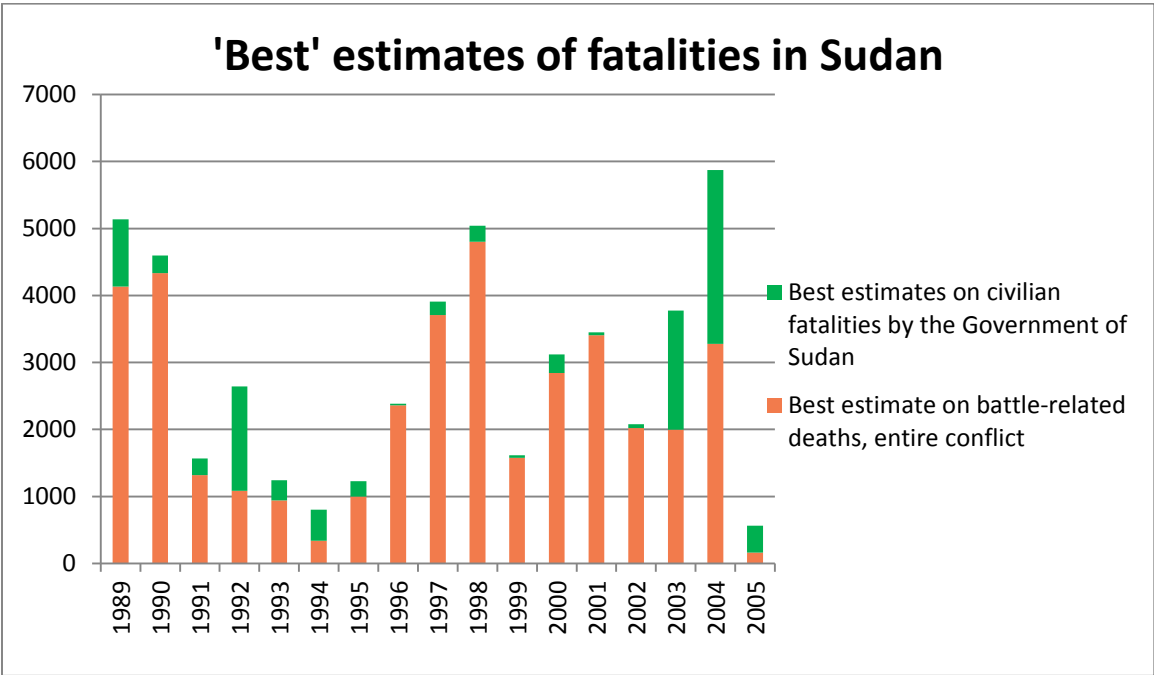
(source: Uppsala Conflict Data Program)

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Figure 3.1 shows mostly battle-related deaths in the conflict between the government and the SPLM/A, but includes the conflict with National Democratic Alliance (NDA)[8] from 1995-2001, from 2003-2005 the conflict in Darfur and Jem. The definition of the best estimate of battle-related deaths include only deaths in a conflict when the purpose is to 'realizing the goal of the incompatibility' (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2012). The tendency is clear and should be noted. During the first years of the 1990s there was low intensity warfare, while closer to 2000 the intensity increased. In 1994, great fighting between the southerners took place when SPLA-Nasir broke out. Khartoum supported the Nasir-faction to weaken the southerners and even though the fighting was internal, arguably, it was still within the context of the north-south civil war, but is not included in the numbers.

Lacina and Gleditsch (2005, p. 159) show that the battle deaths constitute only about 3-8% of the overall war deaths in Sudan. During the Anyanya rebellion from 1963-1973, Lacina and Gleditsch estimate a total of 250,000-750,000 war deaths and only about 20,000 battle deaths. During the first ten years of the second civil war, 1983-2003, they estimated only 55,000 battle-related deaths, whilst the wider definition of war deaths constituted 2 million. This is much higher than from Uppsala/PRIO, but Lacina and Gleditsch include more. There is a great uncertainty about these numbers due to the difference in definition and that the difficulty of calculating. Although there is a great disparity between the numbers it is a strong indication that war deaths ought to be considered and are indications of change over time. The problem is that changes in warfare like one which targets the civilians through burning of crops and forced migration, will not come up in the results in the Uppsala/PRIO and consequently hide an increased intensity in the civil war. However, the change over time can give us indication of the process and of the north-south dynamic, but does not grasp the more unconventional warfare. The humanitarian catastrophes in the late 1980s are clarifying examples. In 1988-1989, a humanitarian crisis took place in the south due to three

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[8] A coalition of several Sudanese political party which opposes the regime of al-Bashir, including DUP, the Umma party, SPLM/A, among others

factors. Firstly, the Arab Murahalin militia[9] who would later emerge into the Popular Defense Force (PDF), raided southern areas burning houses and crops and stealing livestock, leaving the locals with nothing to live on, they also killed and raped the civilian population. Some were kidnapped and held as slaves in the north (Johnson, 2003, p. 82). These areas had already experienced drought and famine the last years, and when 20 centimeters of rainfall came during 48 hours the crisis was a fact. The Nile flooded and a massive famine occurred. The al-Mahdi government saw the opportunity to break the SPLM/A and prevented food from UNICEF, Red Cross, etc., from entering the area (Natsios, 2012, pp. 74-75). After more than 250,000 had died, the executive director of UNICEF rallied support from African nations, resulting in the UN-led Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) which al-Mahdi finally let in. The OLS was supposed to be short-termed, but stayed in the south for 16 years. When al-Bashir took power in 1989, humanitarian aid was obstructed for the same reason, he believed he could starve out the southerners (Natsios, 2012, p. 76). Another famine took place in 1998-1999, killing between 50,000 and 100,000 people. Both al-Mahdi and al-Bashir "(…) used displacement, disease, and starvation as a weapon of war to kill off the southern population and their villages because they were the support base for Garang's army" (Natsios, 2012, p. 77).

The definition of PRIO/Uppsala is challenged due to the limited definition of deaths, and thus many conflicts can be trapped under the radar of international press and not get the attention needed. The reason these numbers are of special interests in the case of Sudan is the extensive use of unconventional warfare. GoS has used many strategies to suppress the southerners and if one does not take account of these, arguably, one might miss dimensions of the conflict China could have affected.

3.3.2   What are the motives in Sudan's civil wars?

The wars in Sudan are extremely complicated and there have been actors and groups entering the conflict scene and merging into existing groups continuously during the

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[9] An Arab militia created by al-Mahdi to fight the southerners

civil wars and conflicts. The conflict axis has not only been north-south, but as well south-south and north-north, in addition to major conflicts with the Darfur area.

The question of motive is difficult and there is no consensus in the theories of why some actors go to war and others do not. Rolandsen (2010, p. 28) argues that the theories on civil war, especially greed and grievance theories are too 'nomothetically' and that the civil war in southern Sudan needs to be analyzed with a wider theoretical approach, using a combination of case-studies, a multitude of theories and local context. I agree with this point and I will rather use the greed-grievance debate as a continuum to better understand the civil war, and not as clear-cut categories.

Arguably, the first civil war started as mainly grievance-motivated where the divide between the northern Muslim Arabs and southern Christian or animist Africans was reinforced by the governments' favoring of the centre in Sudan. The divide was in many ways territorial and those who were included in the centre-regions increasingly identified themselves with the Arabs, and the non-participating held an identity towards "not only as unbelievers, but as slaves, or as enslavable" (Johnson, 2003, p. 75). Kaufman argues as well for an ethnicity based understanding of the civil wars in Sudan. He notes that the ethnic war is rooted in "mutually antagonistic identify myths of North and South" (Kaufman, 2001, p. 45). The southerners constructed a threat from north building on the history the Arab trade of African slavery. Religion and ethnicity played an important part in identifying the conflict lines, but other structural factor like political marginalization were at least as important. Johnson argues that religion and ethnicity has been too much emphasized, he concentrates on the economic and political patterns that affect the country (in Rolandsen, 2010, p. 21). I agree with Johnson in my analysis and do not find ethnicity as the main divide, but ethnicity has been used in the constriction of identity and therefore used in the civil war. One example is the ethnic cleansing of oil fields. Sudan cleansed areas and gave them to the oil companies, for example China, and thus China became fast understood as a friend of the Khartoum, the enemy, and thus a legitimate target for the southerners.

Mengisteab (2013, p. 33) clarifies the regional cleavages in political power with some numbers.

Table 3.1: Regional Distributions of Political Power in Sudan, selected areas

Region	Northern	South
Population per cent of total, 1986	5,4	23,7
Ministerial positions, 1954-64 per cent of total	79	16
Ministerial positions, 1969-85 per cent of total	70	7.8

(source: Mengisteab, 2013, p. 33)

The northern region which includes Khartoum and its surroundings, is only a minor part of the Sudanese population while holding the definitive majority of ministerial positions from. The south region includes as well Upper Nile, Bahr Algahazal and Equatorial has a low and decreasing amount of political power. To demonstrate further, in 2002, the northern region enrolled over 80% in primary schools, while the south managed only a little over 11%. These numbers support in some way the more grievance-based theories, and Mengisteab (2013, p. 36) argues: "The conflicts [in the Horn of Africa] are thus primary rebellions by ethnic identities who find themselves in wrong states due to the creation of African states (…)".

There are many arguments for a more grievance-based understanding of the first civil war, but I argue that during the second civil war, a more economic-motivated understanding is in place. The discovery of oil and China's great engagement made the economy better and thus changed some of the goals and motivations of the actors. The logic of war changed as resources changed the power balance: War is costly and thus parties constantly tries to find a settlement that would give them "higher expected utility than continued warfare" (Cunningham, 2010, p. 116). The utility changed and made the war more 'valuable'.

Horizontal inequalities seem to grasp the actors' power balance in a more comprehensive matter. The southerners have been discriminated against politically, economical and culturally, e.g. most of the GoS expenditure has been directed to northern area and Sharia law has applied for all. The ethnic or the cultural aspect of Cederman, Wimmer and Min's argument is somewhat difficult since the power balance and the dynamic of the civil war changed the actors in Sudan: Groups who have not been a part of the conflict might suddenly enter the conflict due to economic, geographical or political reasons. This means that African southerners might fight on Khartoum's side due to a change in the local context. People usually have several identities which they belong to: gender, tribe, cultural heritage, religion, etc. are all part of an identity and might be in conflict with each other. The civil war dynamics and warfare might introduce aspects of an identity which have not been important before or alter the identity construction. E.g. in earlier Yugoslavia, religion was not an evident identity marker until the death of Tito and war broke out. Inter-religious marriage was not uncommon but suddenly a couple from different religions was turned into enemies in the context of war.

The government's spoiling behavior

Al-Bashir and his government wanted a united Sudan as did SPLM/A, but opposed SPLM/A's goal of a new government. Even though al-Bashir was less radical than Turabi, he still wanted an Islamic state with Sharia law which made the bargaining rage between SPLM/A and the government non-existent.

The post 1989-government did seem to be a total spoiler, in Stedman's terms, in the beginning of the 1990s; the goal was to Islamize all of Sudan. This fits well with Stedman's theory which defines total spoilers as actors with radical ideologies. Surprisingly at first glance, the government went through with some peace talks with a southern group and signed an agreement with the Nasir-faction in the middle of the 1990s, but this move was tactical rather than a step towards peace. Al-Bashir saw the fragmentation of the SPLM/A as a possibility to get the upper-hand in a situation which was extremely difficult for the government: the economy was declining and Sudan experienced further isolation from the outside world. Thus al-Bashir continued

his rule-and-divide tactic and supported the Nasir-faction making the southerners fight among each other instead of fighting the government army. This tactical move is in perfect accordance with Stedman's profiling of a total spoiler: "(…) any commitment to peace by a total spoiler is tactical – a move to gain advantage in a struggle to death" (1997, p. 11). This seems to be the case in several agreements. Al-Bashir has signed dozens of agreement, but few have been followed up and al-Bashir tends to violate the settlements. But the government changed its goals, or was forced to do so, so applying the capabilities approach is more useful than the term of *total* spoiler.

Later in the peace process, the GoS used the Lord Resistance Army (LRA), a Uganda-originated rebel group, to cause violence in the south during the implementation of CPA, but even though spoiling behavior took place as intended, the outcome of spoiling was not achieved, mainly due to the custodians (Onyango, 2012, p. 168).

The way I understand the civil war determines how I analyze China's role. The dynamics in the civil wars have changed and comprehension of the politicization dynamics is crucial. When analyzing Sudan several aspects must be addressed, like aid and oil as integrated part in the conflict due to GoS politicization of aid and their use of aid as a part of warfare. The concept of horizontal inequalities forces a group-based understanding of the civil war which is important to have in mind when addressing Chinese actions in Sudan. In the next chapter I will analyze China's foreign policy and Chinese engagement in Sudan with this analysis of the Sudanese civil wars as the context.

4 China 'going global'- engaging in Africa

This part of the thesis will address China's foreign policy and its engagement in Africa in general and Sudan specifically. It is crucial to get an understanding of China's scope and motives due to the concepts of aim and goals which is substantial for the third party theories. The chapter will start with a short presentation of Chinese politics, decision-making and their aid industry, and a brief introduction to China's actions in Africa in general. I present the two main perspectives from Brautigam and Dijk, and their difference in opinion of China's role in Africa. Lastly, I will present a more thorough picture of the Chinese engagement considering trade, aid and political relations with Sudan to address China's effects on the second Sudanese civil war.

4.1   China: state, power and actors – a brief review

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949 with Mao Zedong as chairman. China has been a single-party, authoritarian state for the last 60 years, but has become more diverse with an increasing number of actors influencing Chinese politics. The Communist Party of China (CPC) is in power and the Central Committee is at the top ("The Communist Party of China," 2006). A shift in Chinese politics has taken place after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 which gave way to greater transparency in decision-making and an advancement of political and economic reforms.

The idea of China as *one* actor having unified goals and motives is being increasingly challenged. Dijk (2009a, p. 11) presents the five most influential actors in China: the government; state-owned enterprises (SOEs); private Chinese companies; the Chinese embassy in the host country; and, the Chinese people. Wissenbach also rejects the idea of China as a single actor, and he sees many disagreements between the different actors within China. One example of this is the conflicting interests of the Chinese government and private companies and SOEs. The goal of companies is in general to

gain profit, whereas the government is more concerned about its international reputation and works towards a better image in the world (Wissenbach, 2011, p. 30). Even though the major oil companies in China like China National Petroleum Company (CNPC), Sinopec and China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) grew out of the ministries and are mainly state-owned, the companies are not fully controlled by the CPC. As these SOEs have grown more prosperous, they have gained more room to maneuver (Downs, 2009, pp. 74-76).

Before 1977, China was mainly a closed economy with little international trade, but when Deng Xiaoping came in power he initiated the opening-up policy. Under his leadership a more pragmatic stance towards foreign policy was undertaken. "Whatever appeared good for the Chinese domestic economic development became China's foreign policy" (Robinson, 1997, p. 568). Three decades later, China had become the largest exporter in the world (Lemoine, 2013, p. 11). China has seen incredible growth in its economy in the last years, and with the expanding economy, the need for natural resources like, oil, timber, metals, and agricultural products has increased. From 2000 to 2004 China was responsible for 40% in the global increase in oil demand (The Economist, 2006). The Chinese 'thirst of oil' China has frightened many, but Dent (2011b, p. 9) argues that this must be contextualized: In 2007, Africa exported 9%, 33%, and 36% of its oil to respectively China, United States and Europe.

The result of higher oil prices and higher production due to Chinese engagement, some African countries experienced an increase economic growth: Sub-Saharan Africa's GDP increased about 4,4% a year from 2001-2004, compare to only 2,6% the three years before (The Economist, 2006). Several countries, and especially the United States, are afraid that African countries would adapt the Chinese 'socialist market'-model and not the Western capitalist system (Dent, 2011a, p. 5).

4.2 Chinese foreign policy: why is the CPC engaging in Africa?

Today China is the most powerful state in the BRIC-group, which consists of Brazil, Russia, India and China, and has gained influence and power because of its remarkable economic growth. China has fostered deep relationships in Latin America and Central Asia, but its 'closest links' have been with Africa (Dent, 2011a, p. 3). While China and Africa have been in contact since the 10th century BC it was not until 1955 China gained a true presence in Africa. The Bandung Conference in Indonesia was an important milestone, 29 Asian and African countries attended. During this conference The Five Principles of Co-Existence were presented which included respect for sovereignty, non-interference, economic and technical cooperation, mutual benefits, the needs and rights of nations, and peaceful co-existence (Dent, 2011a, p. 5). These principles have been actively used and applied in China's foreign policy until today.

During the Cold War, China tried to gain support from African states against the capitalists. The issue of Taiwanese[10] independence was a driving force for the Chinese engagement. China rallied support against the recognition of Taiwan which they managed to prevent, and in 1971, China reclaimed its seat in the Security Council which Taiwan had held. By 1999, China had formed diplomatic relations with most of the African countries. The only countries that still have diplomatic ties with Taiwan are Burkina Faso, Chad, The Gambia, Liberia, Malawi, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal and Swaziland. Even though China has diplomatic and economic ties with nearly all African country, China has a larger presence in resource-rich countries, like Sudan, however, the deepest relation has been with South-Africa which is not rich on resources. Their presence includes economic involvement, aid, diplomatic ties and military support. I will first look at the involvement with a special emphasis on aid.

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[10] Officially called the Republic of China

4.2.1 Aid - China and OECD

Foreign aid amounting to more than a trillion US dollars has been given to countries all over the world. The biggest success stories can be ascribed to the Marshal Plan after the Second World War, but ever since the aid industry has undergone major changes. Western states have usually been the donors and the countries in the South have been the recipients. Still, Soviet was especially active in the African states during the Cold War, but the Russian influence has decreased after the end of the war. After African states gained independence a new form of aid arose, south-south cooperation which implies that aid-recipients empower of each other. The activities vary from technical cooperation to trade. One of the major actors in the South is China, still a developing country. Harry Truman said in famous speech from 1949: "Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge" (Truman). This is not far from the stated Chinese foreign policy today.

China states that its relationship to the recipient countries is different from the Western paradigm. China underscores its own developing status as an official development assistance (ODA)-recipient, and, thus, the relationship with other developing countries is not based on traditional donor-recipient hierarchy, but rather on 'mutual assistance', to quote the Chinese government (Chaponnière, 2009, p. 60). Arguably, China is not interested in publicizing the amount of aid it gives because of their own developing status. The CPC would encounter a legitimacy problem with their own population which might rather see the money going to the poor in China and not foreign countries (Banik, 2012).

Aid but not ODA?
Aid is an important part of China's strategy in Africa. It is much smaller than commercial engagements, but should be seen as an integrated part of Chinese foreign policy and practice. A major discussion is whether or not Chinese aid can be defined as aid, or in correct terms, official development assistance (ODA). China has no definition of aid and does not separate investments and aid, which makes comparison much more difficult. In addition, China has no statistics of the amount of aid they give

or a systematic evaluation of aid so determining the amount of China's aid to other nations and its effectiveness is extremely difficult.

The Organization on Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) contains the largest aid donors in the world which includes many of the European states, the US, Canada and Japan. The development assistance committee (DAC) is a sub-committee, and the DAC coordinates aid and works towards more effective aid. According to the DAC, aid, or more precisely, ODA must have three characteristics:

> (a) undertaken by the official sector;
>
> (b) with promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective;
>
> (c) at concessional financial terms (if a loan, having a grant element of at least 25 per cent). In addition to financial flows, technical co-operation is included in aid. Grants, loans and credits for military purposes are excluded. (OECD)

China's aid policy is in many ways in contrary to the OECD's. Firstly, I will look at "China's Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries" (hereafter referred to as the eight principles) from 1964 to get a better understanding of Chinese aid and arguably economic and political engagement. The eight principles encompass: the principle of equality and mutual benefit; respect of sovereignty; aid is interest-free or low interest loans; non-dependence policy; help complete projects in recipient country for quick results; provide best-quality material mainly from China; knowledge-transfer; and, that the Chinese personal are not allowed special treatment (Information Office of the State Council, 2011). One of the principles is of most interest:

> In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty of recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges. (Information Office of the State Council, 2011)

Arguably, the principles are not exclusively linked to aid, but are also important to other engagements like trade, investments and diplomatic relations. China has used these and the five-principles from the Bandung Conference in, for example, meetings with African countries.

When it comes to the distribution of aid from China, a foreign government will usually send a request to the China Export-Import bank (Exim), the Chinese Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) then evaluates the application and if approved, the Chinese government signs the agreement (Chaponnière, 2009). The China Exim bank has three major functions: (1) It is the official export agency looking after trade and investment guarantees, (2) it provides aid administration, and (3) it is a policy bank which deals with foreign aid that comes to China. It is the only bank that provides concessional loans and is therefore crucial in China's going global[11]-strategy and because of this it has close ties to the government. Concessional loans are used for equipment, material, technology and services, but 50% of the contract should be used in buying products and services in China. The loans have a maximum of a 20 year maturity with a 3-7 years grace period (Davies, 2010, p. 13). The distribution of loans from China is illustrated in figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of concessional loans from China by sector
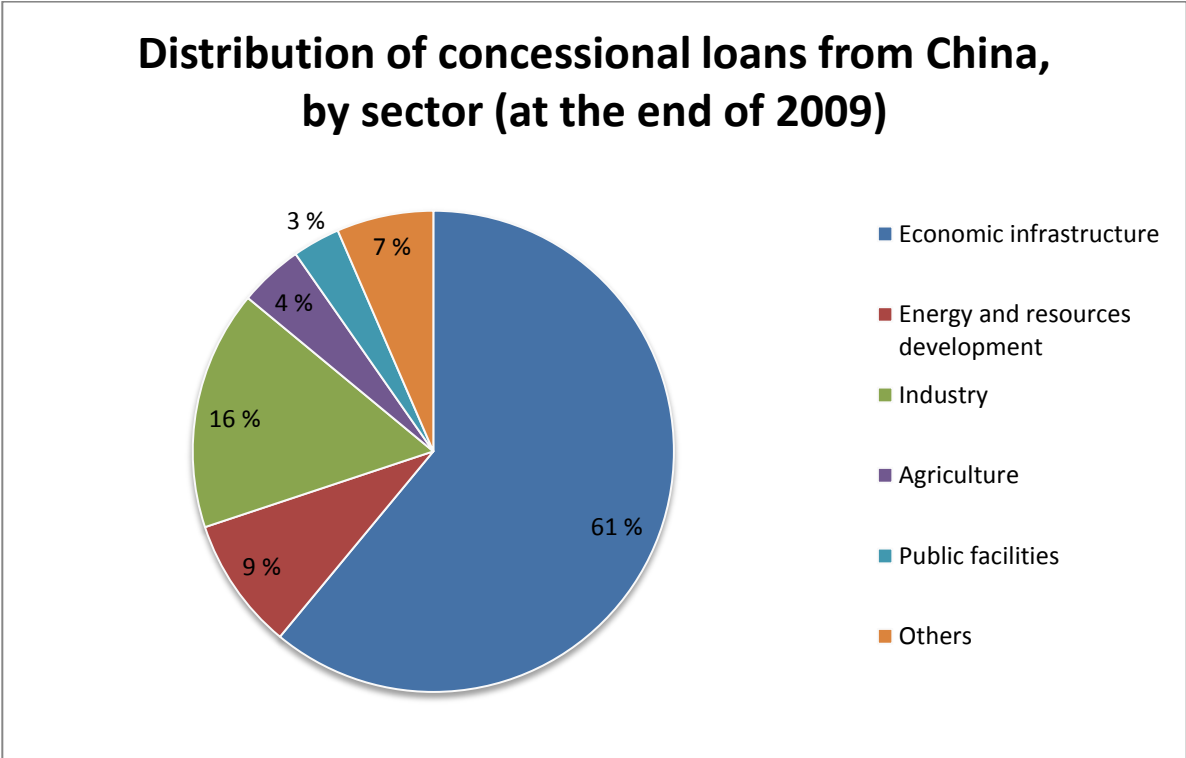
(source: Information Office of the State Council, 2011, p. 4)

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[11] Also called 'Go Out'- policy

Generally, China distributes aid through projects, usually turn-key projects[12], and seldom transfers money directly to recipient countries or budget-supplements. Most loans are going to infrastructure which is not focus for the Western countries. Energy, development and industrial development is of importance as well. This focus fits well with the Chinese saying: 'To end poverty, build a road'.

China has been criticized for not adhering to the OECD and UN's focus on employment-generation. Dijk claims that China is using mainly Chinese personnel and thus there is little knowledge-transfer (2009b, p. 22). However, the Centre for Chinese Studies of the University of Stellenbosch show the opposite: In four African countries Chinese companies hired 85-95% locals of the total amount of employers, but most of these were low-skilled (Chaponnière, 2009, p. 72).

Why 'engagement' and not aid, trade and FDI?
China does not have a clear divide between aid, trade and investments. Lack of transparency, no clear policies on each aspect, and little evaluation of projects makes the separation between these three functions difficult. I argue that the differentiation is not crucial for my thesis due to the scope of the thesis.

China does not differentiate due to several known and unknown reasons. One is that China learned a lot from its own experience as an aid-receiver. The West and Japan gave aid, loans and invested in China after the chaos and destruction Mao left behind in the middle of the 1970s. The Chinese saw how the mixing of aid and other economic activities benefited the Chinese economy, and that both the receiver and the donor could gain from it. "What they [G-8 and OECD] do not realize is that China's engagement in Africa often simply repeats patters established by the West, and especially Japan *in China*" (Brautigam, 2009, p. 13). During the 1980s, China experienced problems with some aid projects in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Corruption and other problems made China explore the relations between aid and investment, and

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[12] Turn-key, or turnkey, are usually projects constructed with minimal interference from the host government and given ready for use. Brautigam (2011) argues that turn-key projects can be effective in states with low capacity because it does not use state resources.

soon after they started to 'rescue' failing aid projects by leasing them instead. Due to difficulties with aid projects in the 1980s and its own experience, China saw the benefits of aid-related investment and started a fund to provide loans to Africa. These loans were modest with low interest and repayment scheduled at one to six years (Brautigam, 2009, pp. 62-63). China continued to blend the aid and investment and not separate them as the Western countries do. If the Chinese intention is to build local capacity, then they do not distinguish aid from investment or other economic cooperation (Power, Mohan, & Tan-Mullins, 2012, p. 862).

Mostly, China has sustained its non-interference policy and has not taken positions in the internal affairs of host countries. In December 1982, Chao Saying, the premier of China, visited eleven African countries and in a speech in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, he emphasized that *cooperation* with Africa would be a diverse undertaking with different projects. Ideologically, China compares the suffering of Africa during the colonial time with China's 'hundred years of humiliation' which is an argument to legitimize its presence in Africa (Sutter, 2008, p. 368).

4.2.2 Chinese motives and strategies for its engagement in Africa

"I don't' care if it's a white cat or a black cat. It's a good cat as long as it catches mice."

Deng Xiaoping, 1961

It is difficult to be sure of Chinese motives for many reasons, but mainly because of the lack of transparency in Chinese politics and internal affairs. Even though information is lacking, there are some general aspects of Chinese foreign policy are worth addressing. In general, scholars argue that the China's foreign policy under Mao was mainly ideological and politically motivated, and the amount of aid, trade and investment was not very high in the first period from the 1950s. It was especially low during the Mao-period due to China's lack of economic means. After the Cold War, the agenda changed and the motives of China have been increasingly debated. The economic engagement was low until the 1990s the when president at the time Deng

Xiaoping changed China's relations to the world. He focused on the economy and further development. The stability of the regime and economic growth have been the most important, driving force for the CPC (Sutter, 2008, p. 2).

The changes in Chinese leadership had different foreign policy implications, and the third-generation (Mao being the first and Deng the second) was more 'technically competent and less ideologically rigid', whilst the fourth generation with Hu Jintao is claimed to be more 'innovative' and 'pragmatic' (Sutter, 2008, p. 27). During the last period China adopted the going global-strategy and this increased drastically in the turn of the century. The going global-policy implied a further engagement in other countries and the CPC urged increased investments and trade outside of China. Chinese companies and enterprises did so, and the Sino-African cooperation went from 10 billion dollars in 2000, to over ten times that in 2009 (Tjønneland, 2012, p. 21). Between 1986 and 1995, China gave on average 57% of its aid to Africa (Brautigam, 2009, p. 54).

Motives in Africa

The discussion of the motives of China has concentrated on two aspects: That the relationship is asymmetrical and that China is choosing their 'partners' in Africa from a resource perspective and taking control over African resources. The other side argues the Chinese official motives are something more than rhetoric and that China has a different path to development than the Western world. Beule and Bulcke (2009, p. 44) claim that the motives are twofold: China is in need of natural resources and Africa is a great potential market for China. The fact that China is giving most aid to resource-rich countries in Africa, underscores their argument, but it is important that China is highly engaged with countries like South-Africa. Burr and Collins (2010, pp. 248-249) claim that China entered Sudan in the 1990s for oil purposes, because China expected to need huge amounts of oil once they started importing oil in 1993.

Dijk holds as well an economic view of Chinese engagement and presents eight objectives behind China's presence in Africa:

1. Assure the supply of raw materials for China, including agricultural products
2. Create a market for Chinese products and services
3. Obtain land for agricultural purposes
4. Channel migration of Chinese people to Africa
5. Gain diplomatic support from African countries
6. Present an alternative to the Western development model
7. Provide an alternative to Western development cooperation
8. Emphasize China's status as a super-power (Dijk, 2009a, pp. 11-12)

To summarize, Dijk seems to argue that China is getting the most of the relationship though he acknowledges that African countries will gain from China's activities as well. But China's objectives do not focus on the benefitting of the African countries. Shinn disagrees and tries to put China's engagement in context:

> Some critics argue that China is a neocolonial power that is simply using Africa as a source of raw materials, especially petroleum. It is true that African oil, minerals, and timber are important to maintaining China's economy and they constitute nearly all of Africa's exports to China. But the argument is disingenuous. The same argument could be made for the United States, Europe, and Japan. China purchased only 9 percent of Africa's petroleum exports in 2006 while the United States took 33 percent and Europe 36 percent. (Shinn)

China claims, on the other hand, that they act in a mutually-beneficial manner, with non-interference for the peaceful development of Africa through south-south cooperation. South-south cooperation grew out of the Bandung Conference during the Cold War as a response to the divide of capitalism and communism, but arguably, the cooperation has changed. Wissenbach (2011, p. 22) argues that Africa needs to create new strategies to meet China's new agenda after the Cold War. According to Wissenbach since 2000 the new pattern of south-south relationship has not been what it traditionally was based upon. Now, the relationship is driven by factors like "capitalism, global value chains, unequal economic relations and interdependence" (2011, p. 21). China changed from an ideological actor to an increasingly economically driven state which has joined global organizations like WTO. China focuses on trade and investment when engaging with other countries. Wissenbach argues that the reason behind the infrastructure projects done by China in Africa is merely the overproduction of material in China (Wissenbach, 2011, pp. 22-23). Sutter

(2008, p. 375) echoes the argument by stating that China's engagement was directed towards facilitating access to oil and other commodities, and not what China claims it to be.

Another voice in the debate is Brautigam. She argues that China is not a unique actor in its motives or actions. Brautigam (2009, p. 15) states: "Like the US, China gives aid for three reasons: strategic diplomacy, commercial benefit, and as a reflection of society's ideologies and values". Her argument is somewhere in the middle between China's own public statements and those more critical of China. Brautigam's study concludes that China is not engaging in Africa *only* for the resources, and is not an unreliable partner as claimed. She claims further that China has a different view of how to reach stability and development, and the main aspect to reach these goals is an increase in the economy: "Like the Japanese, the Chinese believe that the best antidote to conflict and instability is sustained economic development" (Brautigam, 2009, p. 21).

Sutter (2008, p. 5) argues that China is currently following a strategy related to four concepts: (1) Having good relations to the US and other international powers and to bolster the image of being a great power. (2) Creating a buffer in the neighboring region in case of problems with the US. (3) A growing tendency to interact with regional and international organizations which China considers beneficial for the Chinese economy, security, etc. (4) China is slowly and selectively taking on more responsibility internationally. Even though China has experienced great economic growth and has the largest population in the world, their military is not impressive in comparison to other important states. Conflicts surround China, and there are reasons to believe that China is eager to avoid conflicts.

> The goal for the Chinese is not conflict, but the avoidance of conflict. This is a doctrine that sometimes confuses U.S. thinkers, who are looking for signs of a China 'threat', but it reflects a deeply held Chinese belief that armed conflict is an indication of failure. (Ramo, 2004, p. 39)

Sutter (2008, p. 369) continues arguing that the Chinese political efforts were made in Sudan to gain access to oil and other commodities as well as portraying itself as a growing actor in the international arena.

The motives are difficult to assess, but it is important to draw some conclusion to have in mind analyzing China's role and engagement in Sudan. First of all, the literature and China's official statements does not define China's primarily motive to be peacemaking, even though they hope for war-reducing consequences of their action. Therefore, I argue that China has not been present in African states to increase the likelihood of peace. China has rather increasingly economically motives for engaging in Africa, however, they have a different view on how to achieve development in the host country. But what does this imply? The next section will look further at differences in Chinese and Western strategies.

Beijing consensus- the alternative strategy?
Joshua Cooper Ramo (2004) was the first person to discuss the Beijing consensus. He presented an alternative to the Washington consensus and implied a Chinese route to peace and development different from the Western one. He wrote an article presenting the new concept. He states that China has three theorems as "(…) how to organize the place of a developing country (…)" (Ramo, 2004, p. 11). The first addresses China's innovation which makes a country's development smoother, and the second relates to how the Chinese curtail chaos. Ramo claims that Chinese society is chaotic and unstable, and thus, the government focuses on sustainability and equality to manage these problems. The last is an emphasis on the self-determination of China. Development in China is innovation-led with a focus on sustainability and equality.

A more critical stance to Beijing's stated objectives is presented by Dijk. The main differences of Washington and Beijing in achieving economic development are: Washington gives loans under conditions, while Beijing has no conditions; Washington claims to generate local employment, while Beijing uses mainly its own workers; Washington works towards transfer of technology, knowledge and

experience, while Beijing does not (2009a, p. 22). Dijk concludes therefore that the Beijing consensus is not an alternative route to peace, but rather the opposite.

Deng Xiaoping generally avoided conflict in favor of development, with a foreign affairs doctrine of helping peace and development. Jiang had an evolved version of Deng: build trust, decrease trouble, develop cooperation and avoid confrontation (Ramo, 2004, pp. 38-39). According to the former Chinese president, Hu Jintao, the "very purpose of China's foreign policy" is "to maintain world peace and promote common development" (quoted in Butler & Wheeler, 2012, p. 2). It is argued that many Africans see China as a new opportunity, since the last decades of Western engagement as not helped pull Africa out of poverty or improve its economic marginalization. African states have in many cases rejected the Washington Consensus (Dent, 2011a, p. 13).

China is eager to portray its foreign development paradigm as different from the West's, but has signed the Paris declaration of aid effectiveness, and is moving towards a Western model in several aspects. The argument of China having a radically different approach to development is difficult to see, and with the decline in the importance of the south-south relationship the argument against this is strengthened.

However, the Chinese strategy is somewhat different from the Western strategy, and the Chinese presence in Africa seems to make Western politicians and academics concerned. 'Never too late to scramble'[13], and 'Chinese colonialism?'[14] are two examples of more recent articles talking of China's engagement in Africa. The main questions are about whether or not China is representing something new.

Chris Alden and Martyn Davies note:

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[13] http://www.economist.com/node/8089719
[14] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-18901656

> Chinese MNCs (…) are in many respects like other MNCs operating in Africa, for example France's Elf-Aquitaine (…). (…) Elf-Aquitaine has been highly politicized, building up or even defining France's Africa policy (…). The close proximity between French business and political interests manifested by the presence of oil company executives in the inner circle at the Elysee Palace as well as the circulation of the key political elites (…) has been a feature of France's post-independence African policy from the outset. (quoted in Marks, 2007, pp. 8-9)

China is clear about its intentions and work and says that the "Chinese Government encourages and supports Chinese enterprises' investment and business in Africa" (Marks, 2007, p. 8). But, importantly, the frankness of the Chinese government makes them no less responsible for their actions or the effects of their actions. But the quote points to the fact that China is not special in its government based policy-making.

China seems neither to follow traditional south-south cooperation nor a Beijing consensus. I tend to agree with Brautigam that it seems like China is doing a lot what the Europeans, Americans, and Japanese have done. China seems to be learning and is adjusting its engagement in accordance to the international environment. Downs argue that China has little knowledge of the outside world, and has not been that experienced when it came to risk analysis and country knowledge, and the companies thought that the Chinese government would help and protect when operating in a hostile environments (Downs, 2009, p. 87). Many of the old principles are fading away and China has even signed the Paris-declaration of aid effectiveness, but the perspectives and understanding of such the declaration is arguably somewhat divergent as China repeats its own way to peace and development.

4.3   China in Sudan – how has China engaged in Sudan from 1989-2005?

In 1989 there are two very important incidents that made the Sino-Sudanese relationship stronger. In Sudan, the National Islamic Front (NIF) with al-Bashir as its leader assumed power, and in China the Tiananmen Square massacre occurred. Due to these incidences and others to come, China becomes the most significant partner to Sudan during the 1990s.

4.3.1   The 'flourishing' friendship

Pre 1989

China provided some aid and investments before 1989. One of the most famous projects, the Friendship Hall in Khartoum, was built in 1972 just after the Addis Ababa peace agreement. This hall symbolizes the 'flourishing' relationship between the states in the 1970s (Large, 2007b, p. 2). In the 1970s, China gave 260 million Yuan (over US$ 40 million as of 21.01.2013) worth of aid, which included the Friendship Hall, but as well the Medani-Gandarif road, a fishery in Wadi Halfa, Rice development in Awei and a textile and weaving factory in Hassa-Heissa (Central Bank of Sudan, 2002). China has since the early 1970s provided medical missions to Sudan, and the China Foundation of Poverty Alleviation works to improve health care, while several other companies built schools, hospitals and roads (Attree, 2012, p. 24). During the 1980s, aid from China continued at the same level and three interest free loans of 223 million Yuan (over US$ 37 million as of 21.01.2013). The money was used to implement projects like Singa Town bridge, a cloth Factory, a hospital, a vocational center and for rice cultivation (Central Bank of Sudan, 2002). But overall the amount of assistance was fairly low.

The 1990s

Large (2007b, p. 2) portrays several trends in the Sino-Sudanese relationship from 1989 until today: First, the Sudanese civil wars and Sudan's foreign policy have affected its relationship with China. Turabi supported Saddam Hussein and Iraq during the Gulf War in 1991, and the NIF was associated with terrorism after the assassination attempt on Mubarak in June 1995. This isolated Sudan from the Middle East and the West. Sudan was also under sanctions from the UN in 1996 and from the US in 1997. During the first years of the 1990s, Sudan experienced hyperinflation at 80-100% annualized, and the currency had to be devaluated this way in addition to low or negative economic growth (Natsios, 2012, p. 108). Due to this Sudan turned to China in the beginning of the 1990s.

An Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation, and an Agreement on Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation was signed in respectively 1990 and

1992. These agreements made China provide some interest free loans for university laboratory equipment, irrigation equipment, etc. (Central Bank of Sudan, 2002). Trade has been important as well since the beginning of the 1990s and China has imported grain from Sudan. In 1993, Sudanese exports were US$30 million, but they were almost three-times higher in 1994 (Burr & Collins, 2010, p. 247).

Oil

Chevron was the first company to explore for oil in Sudan and other companies like Swedish Lundin and Canadian Arakis Oil, would soon follow. Due to Sudan's close relationship with terrorists and its bad humanitarian record, many Western and all American companies withdrew during the 1990s making space for China, India and Malaysia. In particular, the attack at Chevron which left four employees dead sped up the withdrawal. Chevron sold its shares in 1992 to Sudan, and in 1993 the US declared Sudan as a terrorist-supporting state. As early as 1994 the Sudanese government asked the Chinese to develop their oil resources. Further deals to finance oil development were completed late in 1995 just before al-Bashir visited Beijing. The sanctions from 1997 prohibited Americans to do business with Sudan, but other countries lined up for oil concessions, like Arakis, a Canadian company, who entered Sudan in 1995. Two years later, a Qatar-owned oil cooperation started exploration on the Upper Nile. International Petroleum Company, owned by Swedish Lundin began in the Adok-Ler region (Johnson, 2003, p. 162). A Dutch company was the first to be contracted to sell oil. In 1996, Arakis sold 75% of its shares to Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (GNPOC), and CNPC bought 40% of the shares in GNPOC, and China made an oil-pipeline to Port Sudan (Burr & Collins, 2010, p. 250). During these few years, CNP bought the major oil areas Heglig, Unity and Kaikang situated mainly in the southern Sudan. The first shipment of Sudanese oil left from Port Bashar, south of Port Sudan, on 30 August 1999. Oil exports made a huge impact on the Sudanese economy. Sudan's real GDP had only increased between 2,6 and 3,1 per cent from 1989 to 1999 but in 2005 it increased with 8,5% (Large, 2007b, p. 4).

During Sudan's isolation, Large argues that China was a "practical economic and developmental alternative" (Large, 2011, p. 89). China's role during the 1990s was

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largely to provide infrastructure, from energy projects to roads, which laid the preconditions for oil exploration and later export. "China's official approach appears to be founded on an underlying rationale of modernization that priorities outcomes, even at the expense of social impacts" (Large, 2011, p. 90). Burr and Collins (2010) echo this statement, by saying that China was a dependable arms and military equipment supplier, but China experienced a major oil shortage and could not supply oil to Sudan who also experienced oil shortage in the 1990s. Therefore, they made deals with Iran for the supply oil to Sudan. "The Sudan needed a friend in the UN Security Council and China served that purpose" (Burr & Collins, 2010, pp. 247-248).

Sudanese oil revenues increased by over 800% between 1999 and 2001. From 2000 to 2005 a high number of battle-related deaths occurred, even though Khartoum used less money on military equipment measured in relation to the share of GDP per capita (The World bank, 2013b). On the other side, Sudan's GNI per capita rose from US$690 to US$1480 GNI per capita in PPP (The World Bank, 2013a). This means that the military expenditure decreased in relation to GDP, but actually rose in absolute terms. Khartoum managed to double its military expenditure since 1999 and pull out of the economic crisis of the early and mid-1990s with external help, and China was crucial in this.

2000

There are several indicators of change in China's Africa politics around the year 2000, and perhaps the most important is the modification from what was claimed to be a 'real' south-south cooperation to China entering of the global economy. China stopped fighting against capitalism and Western dominance, and joined the capitalist market. Large (2011) argues that this year represents a clear shift in Chinese engagement, from benign developer to a more resource-oriented actor.

The year 2000, is especially important for the Sino-African relationship due to the establishment of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). " The purpose of the Conference [the first FOCAC conference] was to deepen mutual understanding, expand consensus, strengthen friendship and promote cooperation through equal

consultation" (FOCAC, 2012). It relies on what they call the "successful example of South-South cooperation" (FOCAC, 2012). Present at the First Ministerial Conference were 80 delegates from China and representatives from 44 African states, among others. The Chinese intensified their relationship, and in 2001, China wrote 63% of Sudan's debt of US$67.5 million (Askouri, 2007, p. 71). During the years 2002-2006, China provided Sudan with loans and grants worth US$ 1.1 billion, which is 37% of the total amount of loans and grants contracted by Sudan. A lot of the money went to the development of electricity, water projects, irrigation, drilling of wells, and solar energy, mostly in the northern area.

Large (2007b, p. 7) claims: "In terms of relative importance (…) the position of other external actors in Sudan does not come close to that of China". But even so, Sudan has in several occasions resisted further Chinese presence. In 2002, Talisman put out their oil-shares for sale and China was eager to buy, but Khartoum refused and sold them to India.

The amount of exports and imports is disputed and the numbers from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and from the Bank of Sudan are divergent. According to the IMF, 40,9% of Sudan's total exports went to China, which was mainly crude oil, and 14,2% of total imports were from China in 2003 (IMF numbers in Jenkins & Edwards, 2006). Whereas, Large (2007b, p. 7) presents numbers from the Bank of Sudan, which claim that Sudan's total exports to China rose from 65,7% of the value of all exports in 2002 to 71% in 2005. Since 2000, oil has made up over 98% of Sudan's export to China according to the Bank of Sudan.[15] Even though China is in need of oil import, Sudan has gone down in comparison to levels of importation from other countries. In 2002, Sudan contributed 9,26 % of China's oil import, and it decreased to 4,7% in 2004 (Large, 2007b, p. 7). The IMF notes that Sudan is probably the second largest recipient of Chinese FDI, and that the overall FDI to Africa has risen from almost nothing in 1996 to over US$800 million in 2007 (Attree, 2012, p. 23).This implies a deepening in the relationship at the same time many are worried by the lack of balance

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[15] For more details, see the annual reports from 2002 and 2005: http://www.cbos.gov.sd/en/node/906

in trade, China imports mainly oil from Sudan and China exports manufactured goods to Sudan.

Another aspect of concern is the weapons trade. Khartoum received almost US$ 1 billion dollars in arms from the U.S during the last 20 years of the Cold War. "By the close of the 1980s, Sudan was among the largest overall recipients of U.S. military aid in the world and by far the largest in sub-Saharan Africa" (Human Rights Watch, 1998, pp. 14-15). The UN imposed an embargo on weapon transfers in 2004, but this was directed towards the conflict in Darfur (resolution 1556).

2005: The CPA

As time went by and it became more and more obvious that a separation would take place, China deepened its ties with south Sudan. In 2004, China approached SPLA, and in 2005 a high level meeting with SPLM from a delegation from Beijing came in March (Attree, 2012, p. 17). China did also publicly support the CPA. But the motive of the support is hard to grasp, but Large argues that: "The CPA has enabled further exploration and development of oil resources in Sudan" (Large, 2007b, p. 12). The regions with oil on the border of southern and northern Sudan are the most critical ones. Even though oil was integrated into the conflict, many aspects of the handling of oil resources were left out, like the protection of oil contracts. It appears strange when 98% of the economy of South Sudan is based on oil (Young, 2012, p. 11).

The signing of CPA has led a succession of fighting between the GoS and SPLM/A, but there are still substantial conflicts in the border areas (Uppsala Conflict Data Program).

4.4   How has Chinese engagement affected the civil war?

The importance of external assistance has been crucial in the Sudanese civil war. Arguably, the civil war in Sudan would never witness the same intensity or the duration if no external actors had been present. Neighbor states, other African states, regional organizations like the African Union (AU) and IGAD, Israel, the US, Britain,

Norway, IMF, UN, and later China, have all influenced the conflicts in some ways. One of the factors that has influenced the recurring civil wars is: "The interest of foreign governments and foreign investors in the Sudan's natural and mineral resources, especially water and oil" (Johnson, 2003, p. xvii). And China is substantial is this.

It is difficult to see clear indications of the effects of China's actions in Sudan. What we can see is an increase in battle-related deaths around the time of the coup, as well as in the beginning of 2000 after Sudan started to export oil and increased its income, but as discussed the numbers of war deaths ought to be included and these numbers are not annually over this period. There are indications that China has influenced the conflict, e.g. Attree is clear on the subject of Chinese intervention, even though he cannot state the level of influence:

> China […] has played an important role in changing peace and conflict dynamics between and within the now separated countries over the last two decades. (Attree, 2012, p. 16)

China sold weapons and developed the oil industry which gave the GoS an increase in income, in Regan (2002) empirical results show that third party interventions, whether on behalf of the rebels or the government, overwhelmingly decrease the likelihood that civil wars will end. According to Regan, China should in theory prolong the civil war because they enter with economic and military means to support the government. All of this implies that China should have a prolonging effect on the civil war, in addition GoS got legitimacy, and SPLA had more enemies to handle. The identity of the enemy is thus not only related to northern Muslim Arabs, but as well Chinese businessmen. This strengthens the point of a more grievance-based war, based on socially constructed identities.

The absence of ideological bonds between Sudan and China, expect the vague and disputed bond of south-south relations, is of importance when addressing the China's political influence of the NIF (Large, 2012, p. 160). NIF's ambitions of internationalization of Islam and the internal conflicts within NIF ended up with the fall of Turabi and a more moderate interpretation of Islam. Large argues that the

National Congress Party (NCP) which took over the power from NIF came to consolidate its power through the oil. Now, the goals of al-Bashir were more power and wealth than the internationalization of Islam, and China has been central in the formulation of NCP's internal politics.

4.4.1   Chinese engagements become politicized

> There is no evidence that any relief operation has helped to shorten the conflict, but the competition for relief resources has certainly directed it into new arenas. (Johnson, 2003, p. 166)

This quote is important in the aspect that many policies and actions in Sudan have been apolitical. Aid from the UN, AU, etc. has all been used by rebellions or tribes to increase its own people's fortune and gain an advantage. The SPLA were directly and harshly affected by the government's use of NGOs, and aid workers were targeted and killed.

> Last year [2000], the US Committee for Refugees (USCR) reports, the government launched at least 152 aerial attacks on humanitarian agencies and civilians throughout the south - eight in the first three weeks of 2001 alone. USCR also reported the increased use of helicopter gunships in the oil areas. (Christian Aid, 2001, chapter 2)

Johnson argues that the external aid has helped the governments survive during the 1980s. The US and IMF rearranged debts that Sudan had no possibility of repaying. The NGO's and UN agencies efforts in development projects and famine reliefs made the government less accountable and further distanced from its citizens. "Since 1989 the government has manipulated the international relief effort to further both its economic and strategic goals in the war (…)" (Johnson, 2003, p. 144).

Khartoum used 'scorched-earth tactics' to make way for oil exploration and among many, the Murahalin militia and later the PDF, were pivotal actors in the burning of Dinka and Nuer villages, they stole cattle, raped, kidnapped, and killed men who were suspected of possibly being or becoming a SPLA soldier (Natsios, 2012, p. 108).

> On the government's side, relief has become part of their development strategy, and population displacement, slavery and the exploitation of oil, often seen as separate issues by external observers, are inextricably linked in the war effort. In a reinforcing cycle, the economic strategy for the development of the country has produced the war was much as it has been a product of war. (Johnson, 2003, p. 144)

The weapons of war have definitively not only been conventional, but a wide range of techniques have been used to get the upper hand: forced migration, divide-and-rule, famine, scorched earth tactic, marginalization, rape, and slavery. The 'cleansing' of oil fields is as well important in the construction of identity. Sudan cleansed areas and gave them to the oil companies, for example those owned by China, and thus China was quickly understood as a friend of the enemy, and thus became a legitimate target and kidnappings occurred.

4.4.2   China - enabling spoiling behavior

Large argues that al-Bashir and the NCP had a pragmatic approach, which "combined to politicize China's role within Sudan and to incorporate Beijing into its foreign relations defense" (2009, p. 617). SPLM/A saw China as the enemy and thus the dynamic of the conflict altered some. China seems to have changed the balance of power somewhat and influenced the warring parties' decisions on whether to continue to fight or not. The amount of leverage is of course impossible to measure, but according to spoiler theory and third party intervention theories, external states do influence in some ways.

Some peace talks between the GoS and the southerners were reassumed in the middle of the 1990s in Nairobi. Arguably, China had increased Khartoum possibility of focusing on building its army rather than on relations with the southerners or its neighbors, and stood firm on the issue of Islamic nation which was one of the main issues. Several meetings took place, but not much came out of it (Burr & Collins, 2010, pp. 262-263). One peace agreement was signed in 1997, which included the principles of the Peace Charter: unity of Sudan, and as well as a Coordinating Council for the southern states, and a referendum on unity or secession. But the signatories did not have a lot of power and the government had little incentive to uphold the

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agreements, so both faded quickly. This fuelled the conflicts rather than decreasing them, as predicted in spoiler theory (Johnson, 2003, pp. 122-123). Arguably, China has influenced this by its engagement and its political support. If Sudan would have been totally isolated, the chance that GoS could continue warfare and decrease its spoiling behavior would have been smaller. In other words, China made GoS capable of both warfare and spoiling.

4.4.3   China - intensifying the root causes of the conflict

Thyne argues that the third party intervention might aggravate the root causes of conflict. One of the reasons for the conflict is the marginalization and discrimination of a population in the south. Arguably, Chinese actions have directly and indirectly supported the north and thus reinforced the center-periphery effect and the horizontal inequalities. Askouri notes that China is in particular relevant to the GoS' power:

> In Sudan, Chinese support for the government has undoubtedly undermined all the efforts of the opposition to effect change in the government, thereby extending its rule despite the clear political indications that the junta would be unable to rule the country without heavy Chinese economic and military support. (Askouri, 2007, p. 74).

Large is of the same opinion: "The Chinese government has cultivated effective, close political relations with Sudan's ruling elite" (2009, p. 616). The relationship became deeper and in the 1990s, China became the 'most significant international ally'. Never the less, China did seek contact and supported the soon to-be GoSS in the early 2004 (Attree, 2012, p. 16). China spoke in support of the NCP (Large, 2009, p. 616), and as spoiler theory puts forward, the intervener's political support may give legitimacy to the ruling party and thus strengthen the elite's position.

Chinese aid, trade and investments have resulted in hundreds of projects for the development of schools, hospitals, roads, power stations, etc. and Chinese officials emphasize conflict preventing aspect of the socio-economic developments of Sudan, since the lack of such is the cause of conflict (Attree, 2012, p. 24). But again, most of these projects are located in the north, and can therefore be an intensifying factor, rather than preventing conflict.

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So far we have seen that the government has had spoiling behavior, and China has been supplying goods, weapons and developing oil resources which increased the income of the GoS. The impact of China might be addressed by China's activities which makes the government capable of increased warfare and political legitimacy. These activities have been political support, transference of weapons and other military equipment, but as well a more indirectly through FDI, aid and investment. Johnson (2003) supports my hypothesis by stating that the external aid has helped the governments to survive during the 1980s. The NGO's and UN agencies efforts in development projects and famine reliefs made the government less accountable and further distanced from its citizens. "Since 1989 the government has manipulated the international relief effort to further both its economic and strategic goals in the war (…)" (Johnson, 2003, p. 144). Johnson argues that the foreign donors, like the US, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, as well as the IMF, the UN, and NGO's have all "been tied to the Sudan's national development strategy and committed to the government's survival" (Johnson, 2003, p. 144). Johnson does not talk about China in particular, but with the extent of Chinese engagement I argue that China should be a part of his critique.

The fact that China is an alternative to other states that tie further conditions to their engagement, China might even further the anti-democratic aspects of GoS and GoSS, and thus increase the conflicts because the states do not have to change their behavior to receive resources (Attree, 2012, p. 20).

4.4.4 The effects of Chinese oil development

Sudan reached out to China to produce oil, and in 1995 an agreement of joint-venture was signed, and CNPC invested $757 million in the $1.7 billion project (UNCTAD, 2003, p. 8). China has intervened in a distinct matter and the question must be addressed in other matters as well. The non-interference politics of China might be stated to not interfere, but the effect of China's actions concerning oil has spilled over into the civil war. "The development agenda of the Sudan government with regard to war-affected populations is directly linked to its military strategy" (Johnson, 2003, p.

156). One example is the establishment of bases for the return of displaced people which has made possible an increase in the military and thus strengthens Khartoum's position. "If development is political, so, to is relief" (Johnson, 2003, p. 146). The analogue is easy to draw to China's actions. Oil quickly became an integrated aspect of the civil war, and is one of the reasons that the Addis Ababa agreement broke down. The next sign happened just a year after when three Chevron workers were killed by southerners. To further my point, the main oil resources are situated on the disputed border and therefore are in the middle of the conflict. In 2004, two Chinese oil workers were kidnapped by an anti-government rebellion group, but later released (Sudan Tribune, 2004). Figure 4.2 below indicates the intensity of relations when it comes to the two states.

Figure 4.2: China's Foreign Oil Production in and imports from selected countries, 2007.
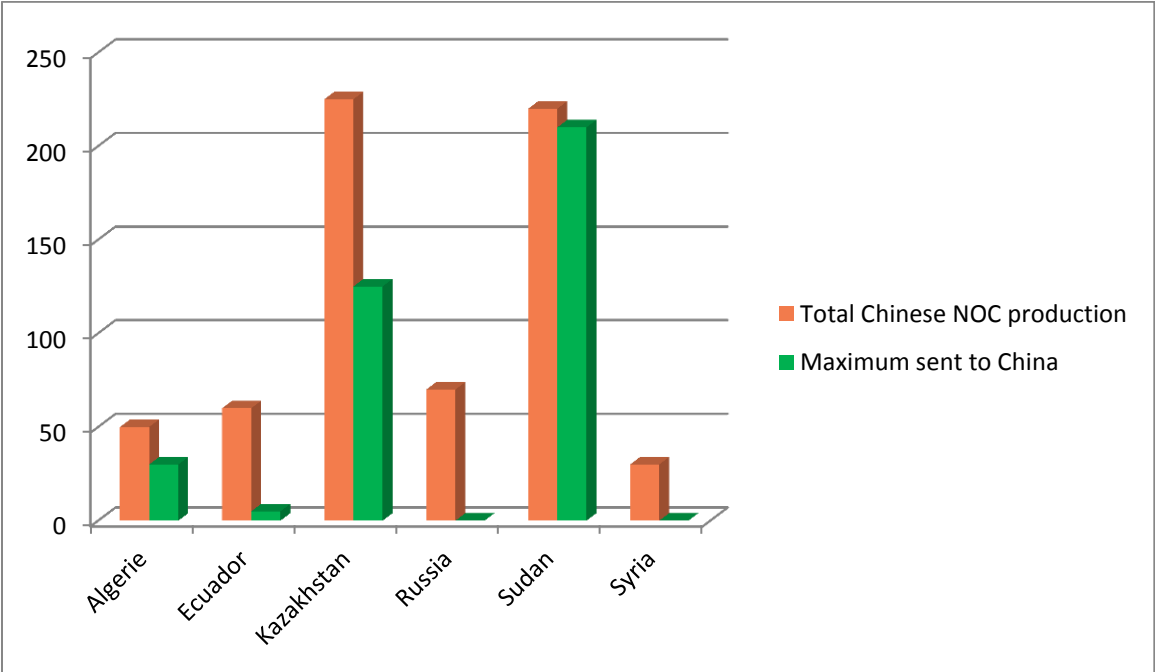
Barrels per day, thousands

(source: Downs, 2009, p. 88)

As the figure shows, between 2001-2004, up to 80% of the Sudanese crude oil went to China (Large, 2007a, p. 58), and it was even higher in 2007. Since then the amount has declined and it indicates that Sudan will sell oil to other countries that pay more and

China has no exclusive power over oil exploration in Sudan (Downs, 2009, p. 89). Japan has been a major importer of crude oil, and during some months in 2002 and 2004, Japan imported more oil from Sudan than China (Houser, 2007). Sudan supplied China with 29% of China's oil imports from abroad in 2007, only Kazakhstan supplied more with 30% (Downs, 2009, p. 85). But as we see in figure 4.2, Kazakhstan sold to a broader set of buyers than Sudan.

Multinational corporations (MNC) have spurred the economic development in Sudan, however, the consequences have been devastating, with only a few gaining from development. Patey (2007, p. 1001) argues that the duration of conflict is due to the desire of combatants to fulfill their economic interests, and that it does not necessarily imply the defeat of the opposition. As shown above, Khartoum has trained some of the tribes to be 'gunmen' rather than doing traditional work. Also the SAF operated actively in the south attacking the villages with bombs, armed militias, and these actions only grew as the oil revenues increased due to the increase in income. The international companies, and especially the Chinese, were seen as collaborators in the mass murders and mass displacement of people in the South. Soon, the oil production areas were the main targets of the SPLA (Young, 2012, p. 41). China did not consider itself 'qualified' to make judgment over African state's internal affairs, and argued in accordance with the statement from Malaysia and Canadian Talisman; that Sudan could benefit from the oil income and relive the suffering for the poor Sudanese population (Large & Patey, 2011, pp. 11-12). Arguably, Western interference has a mixed history of success, and this adds weight to China's non-interference politics.

The oil fields were cleansed to make way for the oil companies. The organization European Coalition on Oil in Sudan (2006) reports that in the area of Melut Basin hundreds of villages have been burned, and at least 15,000 displaced and hundreds reported killed. The destruction of villages peaked in 1999-2002 when the oil was exported for the first time. The pipe-line from the oil areas to Port Sudan has as well caused massive displacement and the government has used bombers, helicopter gunships, tanks, etc. to target civilian population in these areas (Coalition for international justice, 2006, p. 21).

Human Rights Watch links Chinese involvement to the abuses of the GoS, saying:

> CNPC and Petronas operations in GNPOC Sudanese oil concessions Blocks 1, 2, 4
> […] have been complicit in human rights violations. Their activities are inextricably
> intertwined with the government's abuses. (quoted in Attree, 2012, p. 30)

Other examples of other companies working in Sudan, are the Swedish oil company Lundin and the Canadian-owned Talisman. Lundin has not adopted any code of conduct or CSR[16], even though Amnesty International had released a report critical of the conditions of peoples living in oil rich areas in Sudan. The same applies for Canadian Talisman which denied that any displacement had taken place in their areas of operation. This was in contrary to the findings of Christian Aid and Amnesty International (Johnson, 2003, p. 164).

It is disputed the consequences of international oil exploration in Sudan. Norway has several projects in Khartoum both through an aid-program called Oil for Development and through regular oil companies. The aid-project is aiding the GoS with both oil exploration and development projects in Sudan. General Secretary Liv Tørres in Norwegian People's Aid is critical to the Norwegian government's engagement in Sudan, and urges the government to impose stronger demands to the GoS. Reidar Larsen agrees that conditions must be made by the Norwegian government but is claiming that it is already done. He further claims that the development projects are helping the GoS to create a sustainable economy which will have positive effects on the Sudanese politics (NRK P2, March 27th, 2013). Collier echoes the argument: "Hence, the results suggest some support for regarding equitable economic development as a way of reducing the duration of conflict" (Collier et al., 2004, p. 268). China justifies its presence in Sudan with the argument that development and economic growth contributes to peace and stability, but Large (2011) argues that the growth we have seen has only contributed to reinforce the regime in power, and I agree.

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[16] See e.g. http://www.ecosonline.org/news/2012/20120510_Ethics_did_not_count_at_the_Lundin_AGM/

The analysis so far indicates that Chinese oil exploration has only increased the conflict. The dynamics behind Sudanese oil-based growth have made the conflicts more intense and caused disturbances. Some argue that oil and peace have a connection, but Large (2012, p. 168) does not find any evidence of that, rather the opposite. The growth has gone to the centre, increasing the differences of center-periphery, and thus increased the level of intensity in the conflict. "The macroeconomic impact of oil has served to further reinforce the historic concentration of wealth in Sudan […]" (Large, 2011, p. 94). Marginalization of the south is one of the main causes of conflict, and oil has further deepened the economic cleavage between the center and the periphery and accordingly intensified the conflict (Young, 2012, p. 41). The cleavages became more apparent and would consolidate the conflict even further, leaving over two million southerners dead and four million displaced in a couple of decades (Burr & Collins, 2010, p. 232).

Weapons

With the rise in income, Khartoum was able to advance its military with new technology, more weapons and additional recruitment, and as well increase its government apparatus. Alex de Waal (Natsios, 2012, p. 110) shows that in 1990 Sudan used about 10% of GNP on government expenditure, but in 2006, it rose to 23% which gave Bashir means to increase his more of less 'patrimonial state' and hire new loyalist. The fact that China has been both supplying weapons and increasing the GoS income indicates an intensification of the civil war.

Weapon and oil are often analyzed together for the purpose of portraying the motive of China and the consequences of their engagement. Human Rights First lays forward a graph to see the relationship.

Figure 4.3: Sudanese oil for Chinese Small arms

Sudanese Oil for Chinese Small Arms
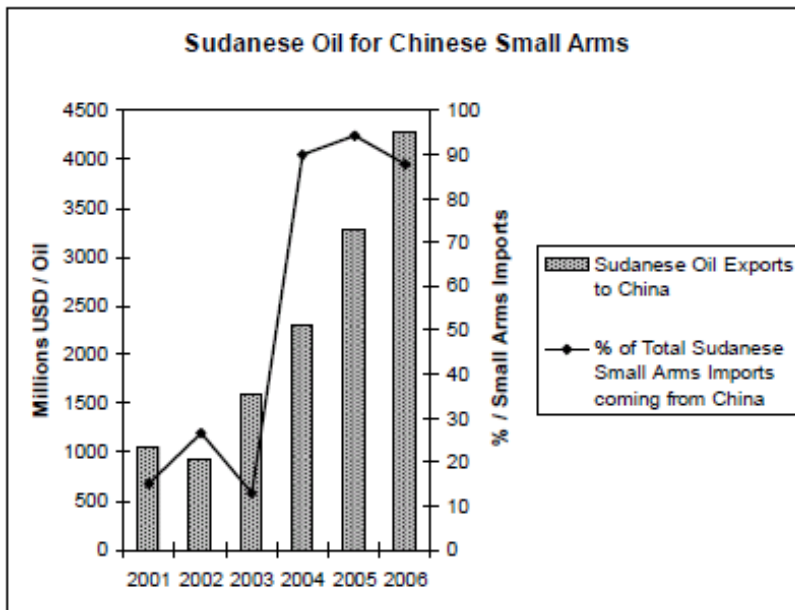
(source: Human Rights First)

The organization Human Rights First claims that China was the 'near-exclusive provider' of small arms in the years from 1999 to 2005 with an increase of 680 times from 1999. It was the profits from oil exports to China that made it possible for Sudan to buy the amount of weapons they did. China claimed that the arms transfer was minor and that it did not go to Darfur which was the area the resolution 1556 aimed at.

Figure 4.3 shows either way, the degree of relations concerning oil and weapons between the two countries. Sudan was in need of weapons, while China was in need of oil. The dependency went both ways, but Sudan is a special case for China due to the exceptional amount of oil going to China from Sudan as seen in figure 4.2.

China has influenced the civil war more or less indirectly. Weapons trade and the halting of sanctions in the UN Security Council and political support are aspects that are quite evident. Spoiler theory points to aspects that are less clear, like the Chinese economic engagement which increased Sudan's economy. This made the GoS more capable of warfare. The question is then, how can we understand China's role in the Sudanese second civil war theoretically? What type of third party is China in Sudan?

The next chapter addresses these questions through theory testing and theory development.

5 Understanding China's role in the second civil war in Sudan

"Influence without interference?" (Anshan, 2007, p. 77)

The literature on China in Sudan primarily focuses on Chinese oil companies and the weapons trade[17]. Some scholars choose to view China's engagement through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), but I find that the amount and diversity of the Chinese engagement calls for a more comprehensive approach. I argue that there is a gap in the literature of Chinese engagement in Sudan, and that China must be studied as a third party intervener in order to fully grasp its role. Large (2007b, p. 7) argues that China is the most important external actor in Sudan, but he does not analyze what type of actor China is. Tjønneland (2012, p. 39) argues that China changed from a passive, non-interfering actor to an active party in Sudan. Even though China is geographically far from the conflict, Newman and Richmond argue that "Actors far removed from the conflict zone can exert tremendous influence, of both positive and negative nature" (2006a, p. 5).

Stedman (1997, p. 6) notes in his article concerning development of theory:

> This research [the development of spoiler theory] is the first step to understand the spoiler problem (…). The findings that emerge are provisional. As more case studies (…) emerge (…), some of the findings will need to be reconsidered and revised.

In this part I will use the advantage of case study design to test the existing theories on third party intervention in the case of China's actions in Sudan. This will entail a development of the theories and a new definition which better fits China's role. First I will discuss whether China is an influencer or an intervener.

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[17] See e.g. Johnson, 2003; Young, 2012; Natsios, 2012

5.1 China's role in Sudan - influencer or intervener?

China partly complies with Regan's definitions presented earlier, but not entirely. To sum up, Regan stresses the aim of a convention-breaking change in the authority structure. Regan presumes aim as substantial for the definition, and the aim is primarily to end the civil war. There are no indications that China would gain substantially ideological, political or economically if one party were to win, and Regan's analysis indicates that China's aim will therefore not affect the balance of power between the combatants. Never the less, China's actions signal that they sought to influence GoS to clear oil areas, knowing that the consequences of this would affect the ongoing civil war (Holslag, Geeraerts, Gorus, & Smis, 2007, p. 45). Regan points to the aims of change in the 'authority structure', which implies an emphasis on intent rather than on the actual outcome. Regan does not underestimate the change in relative capabilities and notes:

> By authority targeted I am referring implicitly to the goals of the intervenor, in that the intervention 'is directed at changing or preserving the structure of political authority in the targeted society (Rosenau 1967, 167). Manipulating the relative capabilities of the combatants is essentially attempting to do just that. (Regan, 2000, p. 9)

Regan stresses the difference between influence and intervention, and presents two examples to clarify intervention: A change in aid programs must have the consequence of a direct change in the domestic political conflict, and secondly, the changes in aid programs must be convention-breaking (Regan, 2000, p. 9). He notes that in principle the line between influence and intervention is clear, but that in practice it is much more difficult. China's foreign policy does not *aim* at intervening as in Regan's definition. However, due to the dynamics of the civil war the Chinese engagement came to influence both the GoS and SPLM/A's goals and their capabilities to pursue them. Arguably, the consequence is therefore that they intervene in the civil war.

China has also given legitimacy to GoS and supported them internationally, in particular through opposing the UN's urge for sanctions and other coercive means.

China based these actions on their non-interference policy and respect for sovereignty policies, and not their desire to make GoS win the war.

Another question is whether cases where convention-breaking changes are not intended but never the less the outcome, and cases where such intent is present, should be addressed differently. In some ways they should, because if the intention is not to intervene in the civil war the intervener does not add extra conditions to a bargaining. If the intent is to intervene, this might complicate the bargaining, concurring with Cunningham's theory. However, regarding the effects of engagement the two cases can be treated equally, since the effects can be analyzed with the same tools. Therefore, I argue that the case of China in Sudan can be analyzed in the framework of third party intervention theories.

Elbadawi and Sambanis leave out the concept of aim in their definition of third party intervention, but include the aspect of favoring either the government or the rebel group. China did favor the GoS in the sense that the government was the only receiver of resources and goods, and in that China only had contact with al-Bashir and his government. The aims and motives of China have been discussed and concluded as divergent and complex. However, China has no ideological reason to support GoS and the Islamic state, other than the respect for sovereignty. Sambanis and Elbadawi have a less rigid understanding of intervention in the second part of the definition. They leave out aspects like convention-breaking changes, and define it as actions like military, economic or mixed assistance which strengthen my argument of China as an intervener.

I argue that China's 'neutral, non-interfering engagement' in Sudan did intervene and influence internal politics in Sudan. Arguably, this implies that intervention does not necessarily need to favor one side or aim at ending the war, as Regan and Elbadawi & Sambanis assume. The definitions clashes with the intent of official Chinese policy which stresses as non-interfering engagement. Arguably, China has affected the power balance and thus altered the circumstances for the civil war, and should therefore be

defined as a third party. However, the discussion indicates a need for further testing and development to better fit the case of China in Sudan.

5.1.1   China in spoiler theory

Spoiler theory also addresses the notion of third parties, and is useful in order to comprehend China's role. According to Newman and Richmond (2006b, p. 4) external states which support internal spoilers, are defined as spoilers. I do not find this definition useful in the case of China, since the engagement is not necessarily directed at spoiling the negotiations. Even though al-Bashir has said that the support of China has been substantial and crucial to the internal politics, which I argue has made GoS capable of spoiling behavior, the government still had the possibility of holding back and to some extent controlling the Chinese engagement. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to follow Stedman's theory and see whether China could be defined as an external patron. The concept of external patron is only briefly introduced in Stedman's theory even though he comments that 'the biggest potential liability in managing a spoiler are member states that are patrons of the spoilers' (Stedman, 1997, p. 16). Stedman has defined China as an external patron in the case of Cambodia, where China made it possible for the Rouge Khmer to survive, with the means of military assistance and diplomatic recognition (1997, p. 26).

I find the definition of external patron to be not fully satisfactory because it leaves out important aspects of the Chinese engagements. China has engaged in Sudan primarily for economic and ideological reasons, and not with motives related to the civil war. To solve this definition problem and get a broader understanding I will turn to Cunningham's theory of external interveners.

5.1.2   China as an intervener with independent goals?

Cunningham addresses an additional actor in the civil war arena; an external state that intervenes with other aims than to end the conflict and with other motives than the ones of the combatants. China makes more sense in this category. "China interferes deeply in the domestic affairs of its partners, but always to the benefit of the ruling

group" (Askouri, 2007, p. 73). Even though China did support the GoS, they did not do so for other reasons than that they were in power at the moment. According to China's official policy, China does not support one side in a given conflict. However, I argue that the engagements have had interfering consequences for Sudan's internal politics and the civil war. The extent of the relationship is revealed through a statement by al-Bashir:

> Our relation with China is built on mutual benefit. China has always supported the unity of Sudan. When our relations become problematic with the international financial institutions, we turned to China. Relations with China have enabled us to overcome economic difficulties. (quoted in Askouri, 2007, p. 74)

A difference between interveners with independent goals and those who support one side is that the first brings new demands into the conflict that need to be addressed. When such new aspects are integrated in the conflict, Cunningham sees it natural to view the external intervener as a separate combatant. In his theory combatants have to be either defeated militarily or satisfied through an agreement (Cunningham, 2010, p. 117).

The question is whether China has been such an intrusive party that it can be defined as an external intervener and therefore treated as a combatant? China cannot be defeated militarily in Sudan, but it can in theory be satisfied through a settlement. The next question then is of course, did Khartoum see it *necessary* to satisfy China or could an agreement lacking the goals of China be done without China being able or willing to spoil the agreement?

Khartoum used the Chinese engagements to further its own cause, and had some leverage over China. The GoS had the ability and the capability to resist further Chinese engagement in at least two cases as discussed earlier. Large (2009, p. 616) claims that: "China's importance to Sudan far exceeds Sudan's importance to China", and I agree, but I also find that Sudan has other partners ready to fill any void if China ceased its operations in Sudan.

Sudan was afraid of military intervention by the United States, but I do not find any reason to assume a similar fear of Chinese military intervention. China is eager to

stress its non-interference policy, and they have nothing to gain on an intervention in Sudan. The only outcome left is thus to withdraw from Sudan and halt engagements. However, it seems reasonable to argue that China has invested too much and has too strong relations with Sudan, to consider such an option. Additionally, China's need of oil and trade-partnership makes an extraction even more unlikely. China has never exited a country due to its bad humanitarian records. On the contrary, China has increased its engagement in Africa and there are no indications that a decrease in presence will take place.

5.2 China's role in Sudan – a new definition

It seems reasonable to expand the framework of Regan, Cunningham and Stedman's theories in order to grasp the engagement of China. The gap in the literature leaves out states intervening in a country with independent goals, and which influence the internal politics, without being combatants or seeking to enter militarily. The need for a definition that grasps this is not unique for the case of China in Sudan, but can be found in cases where countries are strongly engaged from a distance. A neighbor state will usually have more interests in intervening in a civil war, especially concerning security issues, making the case different. On the other hand, the external intervener/patron will not be affected negatively by security issues, other than for the external citizens present in the host country. China was directly targeted in Sudan during the conflict, but the civil war had no substantial effect or influence on China other than economic and perhaps symbolic.

Never the less, China has benefited from the civil war, because the GoS has 'cleansed' areas for the Chinese to settle and exploit oil reserves. This is arguably 'easier' in wartime due to the rhetoric of us/them and construction of identities in the context of civil war. Khartoum used and still uses rhetoric of superiority over the southerners. Slaves, under-dogs, insects and other derogatory terms are used to present the southerners as less worthy and thus legitimize the 'cleansing' of southerners. Additionally, the SPLM/A regarded China as the enemy because of the politicization

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of China's engagement (Large, 2009, pp. 618, footnote 636). This aspect must also be considered since the power balance is one of the factors influencing the peace process.

5.2.1   Introducing 'external sponsor'

I conclude that there is a need for a new definition of China's role in Sudan, and present the concept of an 'external sponsor': An external state engaging in a country with independent goals, sponsoring one of the parties in the conflict to meet those goals, thereby altering the power balance and intervening in an ongoing conflict. The word 'sponsor' is applied because it implies supporting someone in order to gain something for oneself. Analogically, a bank might sponsor a skier mainly to gain attention to the bank itself, not primarily to help the skier succeed. In the same manner, China has been a sponsor of GoS and thus both directly and indirectly intervened in the second civil war. An external sponsor is reliant on the actions and goals of the sponsored, but at the same time can affect the outcome independently. Three aspects are important to address; the aim, the level of engagement and the question of influence and intervention.

I argue that the question of aim is important in the defining external sponsors. If the primary aim is to make one party win or to make them negotiate, then one cannot be defined as a sponsor, but rather as an other type of third party intervener or external patron. The external sponsor must have independent goals and pursue these, but this does not exclude peace as one of the goals. The motive must not *primarily* be peace, negotiations or victory for one party. In the case of China, they urged for peace while the primary objective was rather mutually beneficial projects in Sudan.

What sort of engagement qualifies for the definition of a sponsor? There must be a change in the combatant's polices and in its utility of fighting. Regan calls for a convention breaking action, but I do not find that sufficient for the sponsor definition since many civil wars do not catch political attention which is necessary for sanctions to be imposed. In many cases, parties like China oppose sanctions and thus there are cases where the Security Council has its hands tied. The intent of the external sponsor must be investigated, but the main focus will be on how the engagement influences the

capabilities of the combatants. The capabilities approach is therefore useful to analyze the outcome of the engagement.

The importance of understanding the motives and dynamics in civil wars must be emphasized. In the case of Sudan's second civil war, aspects like oil, aid, and investment became political and an integral part of the conflict. Without a thorough study of the conflict at hand, important dynamics can be ignored. I argue that this is the case for parts of the literature on the Sudanese civil war, failing to address China as a third party in the conflict.

Another mark of the external sponsor is the substantial nature of the changes that follow from its engagement. China's engagement was political, economic and military and arguably significant for Khartoum's warfare capabilities. China has 'supported' Khartoum in the Security Council, traded weapons with Khartoum and increased Khartoum's income, all to the benefit of one side in an ongoing conflict. These actions have brought about significant changes in the capabilities and policies of GoS.

As Regan notes, in principle it is easy to categorize but in practice the picture is always more ambiguous. There are other actors like Malaysia and India who are also operating in Sudan, but who do not fit the definition of an external sponsor. China's scope of engagement has had a direct consequence on the civil war, while e.g. Malaysia engaged purely economically and could rather be analyzed according to CSR principles.

The spoiler theories and third party intervention theories predict that China must be incorporated into a peace process, satisfied through an agreement or defeated militarily to reach an end to the conflict. However, the external sponsor definition presumes that China did not need to be curtailed or satisfied, or dealt with as a traditional third party intervener. A sponsor's effect is dependent to the wanted effects of the one being sponsored, even though the external sponsor's political efforts have additional direct and indirect effects. Sudan needed a sponsor to be made capable of maintaining and increasing the warfare. Therefore, in cases where the third party is an external sponsor, it is natural to direct peacemaking efforts towards the internal combatants, keeping

conscious of the effects of the external sponsor on the conflict. Never the less, international pressure on the external sponsor may also be relevant.

Most scholars hold that intervention has a prolonging effect on civil war, and there is no reason to exclude external sponsor from this theoretical picture. China enabled more extensive and advanced warfare, increased incentives for spoiling behavior, thereby, making the war more intense and longer. "There are times in history when neutrality is not neutral at all, but complicity to crime" (quoted in Vetlesen, 2005, p. 271). The non-interfering policy of China became a part of the warfare of Khartoum.

5.2.2   The custodian's effect

Since the breakdown of the Addis Ababa peace agreement and throughout the whole second civil war, Khartoum has had a long record of spoiling behavior. According to Stedman's theory, Khartoum can be labeled a spoiler, because the goals of Khartoum were to Islamize and continue exercising control over the southern area without any will to negotiate. They also used violence to pursue this strategy. Arguably, China as a sponsor increased the incentive and capabilities of Khartoum as a spoiler, but history shows that China's effect was not the determining one in the last phase. The Troika with the US as the major power managed to act as well-functioning custodians and reached a peace agreement in 2005. These custodians managed to change the utility of fighting, making it less desirable for Khartoum to continue warfare. They imposed punishments in the way of sanctions and international pressure, as well as coercion. Khartoum was bitterly aware and afraid of the US capability of military intervention. China managed to sponsor Khartoum some, but in the end, Khartoum signed a peace agreement. The civil war ended without China as part of the peace agreement, thus supporting that China does not fit the definition of the existing definitions.

6 Conclusion

The intent of this thesis has been to apply civil war theory and third party intervention theories on the case of China in the second civil war in Sudan, to better grasp China's role and its effects. Of my knowledge, this has not yet been done. Many articles address the effects of different aspects of the Chinese engagement in the Sudanese civil war, but none theorize China as a third party. I argue that the use of third party theories have brought about new insight, both for understanding China's role and effects, and for the comprehension of the civil war in Sudan.

China's investments, arms trade, aid, oil exploration, and political support and legitimacy have been influential in civil war in Sudan. The analysis of China's actions in the second civil war through the perspective of third party theories and spoiler theory, has contributed to the illumination of changes in the war dynamics. Some examples of this are the politicization of oil and aid, and the intensification of the conflict lines. Without such a theoretical framework, these dynamics are hard to grasp. China has affected these dynamics through is engagement. Several aspects of Chinese engagement, like aid and oil exploration, became politicized in the second Sudanese civil war. Therefore, the Chinese engagement had a negative impact on the civil war, mainly because China made GoS more capable of spoiling and of warfare. In addition, China increased the war incentives and altered the goals and policies of the combatants. The capabilities approach illuminates the understanding of the situation, since it reveals and helps explain why GoS changed their goals and motives during the conflict. The capabilities approach addresses the power balance and dynamics of the civil war, rather than merely to focus on the leaders.

Chinese engagement has been linked with different aspects that have had a negative impact on the civil war. The root causes of the Sudanese civil war are arguably a mix of greed and grievance-based motives, and can more comprehensively be understood as horizontal inequalities. The southerners have been excluded economically, politically and culturally. China's engagement has increased these inequalities through sponsoring Khartoum exclusively. Without applying third party intervention theory,

the intervening nature of China's engagement is easily overlooked. The centre-periphery model of civil war theory manages to detect China's role in increasing the inequalities and accordingly inflecting the power balance in the civil war. Without a thorough theoretical approach it is easy to address China solely as an oil company, and therefore leave out 'real' Chinese influence on the civil war.

China is neither a peacemaker, nor enters militarily, nor has the same ideological motives as the combatants. The fact that China initiated talks with the GoSS supports the argument that China did not engage to support Khartoum's position, but supports whoever is in power. Because China's role does not fit into the existing theories on third party intervention, I have developed a new concept in order to better grasp the nature of China's engagement. As an external sponsor China has enabled the GoS to increase its warfare and spoiling behavior. Its actions have become integrated into different aspects and dynamics of the Sudanese civil war, ultimately altering the power balance and changing the dynamics. In addition, China has traded weapons and politically supported the GoS. The whole picture presents an actor which has intervened in a conflict and should therefore be addressed as a third party intervener, and in the case of China, more specifically an external sponsor.

The external sponsor definition is not limited to the case of China in Sudan, and is not a fully developed definition. More cases are needed to increase the understanding of such a role and to grasp its consequences. Asian states like India, Malaysia and China are entering areas where Western states have dominated for many years. There are indications that these states engage in countries without the aim of ending the civil war, but never the less with an intervening character, exemplified by China's intervention and its policy of non-interference and mutual beneficial agreements. The external sponsor definition cannot automatically be applied to Chinese engagement in African countries. China's actions are diverse, and China has even supported rebellions with the aim of making the rebel group win the war. There is a need for further research on this area, in order to improve the concept of the external sponsor, and to increase the chances of peace through better policies and management of civil wars.

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