

**UGANDA'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTS ON BOTH
COUNTRIES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, **SAIM CELIK** hereby declare that this dissertation as my own original work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

Signature.....

Date...../...../2018

APPROVAL

I confirm that the work in this dissertation is carried out by the Candidate under my supervision

Supervisor

Dr. Rogers Barigayomwe

Signature

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father Mehmet elik my mother Hecice elik, and my long-lasting friends Melih Kazdal and Servet Karagöz for the great contribution and efforts that they have put in for me to reach this level of education. Thank you very much.

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ABSTRACT

The study focused on the Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries. The study objectively thought to; investigate the root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan, analyse the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict and analyse the effects of involvement on both countries. The study used mixed method approach which is integration of qualitative and quantitative methods due to the number of advantages it offers, the study used Co-occurrence analysis is simply the counting of paired data within a collection unit. A questionnaire, with the responses to the questions as the elements; or a paper's bibliography, with each cited author as the focus of the analysis. The study also was descriptive/correlation in that it involved gathering information about an existing phenomenon to explain relationships and to prove theories. A sample of 52 respondents was selected, however only 43 respondents were reached and analyzed. Using purposive sampling and simple random data was analysed using the computer software package called SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientist) to generate tables and figures. The findings of the study were that President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état, Kiir's Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar's Nuer ethnic group have been accused of attacking the Dinka. The study concluded that military or peacekeeping intervention is typically seen as a last resort, however, if a country or organization already has forces on the ground from a previous conflict, they may be repurposed immediately to aid in civilian protection while regional or sub-regional organizations work to resolve the conflict. In the case of situations which have spurred stark humanitarian crises as in South Sudan the organizations are more likely to respond with targeted sanctions against the leaders of groups and governments which have stood in the path of peace creation. In all situations, dialogue and reconciliation are encouraged as the first lines of response. The study recommends that there is a need to integrate the various militias into the army. The international community should assist the government of South Sudan in reforming and creating a more integrated army. The elite groups should be mobilized with a constructive agenda to take responsibility for the future of South Sudan in order to ensure lasting dialogue and continued peace in the country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with introduction to the study, background to the study, problem statement, purpose of the study and the research objectives. It also gives the research questions, time scope of the study and significance of the study

1.1 Background to the Study

The background of the study was classified into four perspectives namely; Historical, theoretical, conceptual, contextual

1.1.1 Historical Perspective

Given the recent proliferation of intra-state conflicts, the role of third- party intervention has become increasingly important to the peace and security of the international system. However, the escalation of violence often attributed to military forms of intervention may have severe costs for both the target of intervention and the state choosing to intervene. Past literature has focused on the effectiveness of such intervention without properly evaluating the reasons why a third party chooses to commit military resources to such endeavours (Kapral, 2004).

In the post-Cold War era, one of Africa's central problems has been the emergence of military interventions in intra-state conflicts. The constitutionality of these interventions has presented a major challenge to both the role of parliament as an oversight body of the national/political executive and the international community at large. A great deal of commentary has been deployed to describe what spurs these conflicts. Little effort has been directed at understanding why these interventions have not been in conformity with the United Nations (UN) Charter. The UN Charter clearly stipulates that military intervention must be authorised by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The charter of the United Nations in its provisions, places much emphasis on the importance of social justice and human rights as the foundation for a stable international order. It is for this reason that the UN charter will be relied upon since it provides a framework for international order. It is important to note that both the UN Charter and the effectiveness of the UN in maintaining peace and security have been criticized (Agbor, & Taiwo, 2012).

External actors do not usually instigate internal wars; but, they can play a critical role. Outside support for the contending parties can increase the destructiveness, scope, and duration of these conflicts while potentially threatening to diffuse the hostilities across state boundaries. This diffusion can encompass refugee outflows, the potential for destructive reactions by an embroiled regime that perceives it is under siege, to retaliatory measures by conflict-ridden states that can range from providing support for opposition groups in the intervening country to cross-border raids and pre-emptive strikes. Tensions between a foreign state intervener and a country hosting a domestic conflict can ratchet up to the level of interstate war. The consequences of these regional instabilities are difficult to contain and often necessitate the involvement of actors such the great powers or regional and international organizations (Natsios, 2012).

The conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Zaire) that first began in the fall of 1996, but more importantly re-emerged as the second Tutsi rebellion in August 1998, illustrate the extreme effects of outside state involvement in domestic wars. During the first Tutsi rebellion against the corrupt Mobutu Sese Seko regime, no less than eight regional states supported the rebel Tutsis while South Africa and the United States attempted to mediate an early and orderly exit for Mobuto. The war ended in eight months. However, less than a year later a new internal conflict emerged with far more serious and destructive domestic and regional effects. This second rebellion by the Congolese Tutsis involved seven regional states taking opposing sides. There have been more than three million casualties due to direct combat or war-related effects such as disease and famine. This highly internationalized war is now Africa's most deadly conflict.

The two decade-long civil war in the Sudan between the Arab, Islamic northern-dominated governments and the African, Christian and animist Southerners has claimed more than two million lives (Natsios, 2012).

On the other hand, In spite of internal ideological and personnel disparity as well as block among the Southern rebel leaders, on April 5, 1993, the three rebellion parties declared a coalition of their groups called Sudanese People Liberation Army(here in after SPLA) united at a press conference in Nairobi, Kenya (Fiseha, 2013). After a long discussion the Sudan government and the SPLA signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (here in after CPA) on January 9, 2005. However, a complicated series of protocol that detailed an implementation process extending up to 2011. The critical events after 2010 election was a referendum in

Southern Sudan on self-determination whether to remain part of united Sudan, or to become independent. As a matter of fact south Sudan preferred independence.

However, because of this lengthy and brutal war, South Sudan emerged with extremely poor infrastructure and a population with limited human capital. Therefore South Sudan is faced up to several challenges. The challenge can be seen in two dimensions, the internal and external. More importantly, the country was born with weak institutions that were not suited to the delivery of sustainable economic growth and development. The internal problems of the country are composed of its historical, economical as well as social and political factors. The external being mainly the problem South Sudan has with its neighbouring state, the Republic of Sudan and the unresolved issues of CPA such as oil, boundary and security issues (Mebratu, 2015).

Furthermore, the country also lacks institutional capacity like the justice system since it's at its infant stage. And also lacks strong civil society organization that can assist the government gaps especially where women and children can best be served. Due to the long and expensive war, many people feel that they have been deprived of the basic governmental services such as protection, safety and security by the rule of law (Debay, 2012:4). The long and violent conflict also left for South Sudan a legacy of civil war. Civil war usually has the legacy of leaving a society socially marginalized; economically and politically unstable. An expert such as Collier (2003) also agrees that civil war has disastrous effects. A rebel leader might honourable accept the terrible cost incurred during war as a high but necessary price to pay for future improvements, but far from being a catalyst for beneficial change, civil war typically leaves a persistent legacy of poverty and misery.

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The study was guided by Neorealist Theory of Security Dilemma developed by Herz(1951) and Butterfield(1951); and the Conflict Theory propounded by Karl Marx(1818–1883).

Some scholars of international relations have argued that the security dilemma is the most important source of conflict between parties. Herz (1951) argues that predatory strategies can create, exacerbate, or take advantage of the security dilemma in yet another sense. That is, leaders often try to manipulate security concerns in order to solidify their positions and extract additional resources from society. To strengthen their hold on their followers, they may incite

conflicts that make the latter more vulnerable and entice or force them to join in the enterprise of collective “self-defense”. Policies which increase one state's security tend to decrease that of others) make it difficult for states to realize their common interests. (Kaufman, 1996)

Neorealist Theory of Security Dilemma was adopted to explain and understand the nature of the intra-state conflict in South Sudan. It helped researcher to examine relations between two dominant parties namely; SPLM and SPLM-IO directly involved in conflict also the factors that have driven actors to perpetuate the situation in the country. Moreover, it predicted the continuation of the conflict how it will be persuaded by the actors involved.

The Conflict Theory propounded by Karl Marx (1818–1883) that claims society is in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources. This is manifested in the conflict of South Sudan where the Khartoum government is in conflict with the South Sudan over the oil resources which has led to severe loss and displacement of more South Sudanese from their young nation. It holds that social order is maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. According to conflict theory, those with wealth and power try to hold on to it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor and powerless, and is further manifested in South Sudan conflict whereby according to the Marxist theory of conflict, structural disparities within society such as exploitation, marginalisation and exclusion are the basis for conflict within a polity (Adebayo & Nasiru, 2014).

National security is threatened when the groups within a polity feel that they are being marginalised from full access of national resources such as power and natural resources. The situation prevailing in South Sudan points to a struggle for the all-important resource that is political power. Structurally, power in South Sudan is dominated by the Dinka and their surrogate groups at the exclusion of equally powerful ethnic groups such as the Nuer, (Leonardi, Nelson, & Santschi, 2010). The Nuers feel ostracised from holding the influential levers of power at the government level. This has increased tension between the Dinkas and the Nuers. The personal conflict between President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar is a reflection of the tension between the two main ethnic groups in South Sudan. The national security in South Sudan has been undermined and the government is incapacitated to exercise power and control within the state.

1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective

Uganda's involvement: There are multiple and longstanding ties between Uganda and South Sudan. The current civil war in South Sudan has impacted Ugandan politics and economy, as well as relations between the two countries. Moreover, Uganda's support is needed for the implementation of the negotiated settlement reached in August 2015 between the parties in the war in South Sudan (Fanny, Tove & Østein, 2015).

Conflict: It refers to some form of friction, or discord arising within a group when the beliefs or actions of one or more members of the group are either resisted by or unacceptable to one or more members of another group.

Its Effects: Influx of refugees into Uganda and loss of lives and property, displacement of people and violation of human rights in South Sudan.

Intra-state conflict: Intra-State conflict occurs between a member of the international system and a political entity (not a system member) outside of its territorial boundaries. For simple explanation, intra state is: state versus independent non-state actor (Sarkees et al, 2003). According to Small and Singer (1972), Intra-state conflict involves sustained combat, involving organized armed forces capable for effective resistance, resulting in a minimum of 1,000 battle record related combatant fatalities within a 12 month period.

1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

Uganda was highly inclined and well positioned to intervene quickly by deploying the UPDF after the outbreak of civil conflict in December 2013. The most concrete and immediate drivers of the intervention were the protection of Ugandan citizens, Ugandan economic interests and its border. Immediately after the outbreak of conflict, Uganda deployed some three thousand troops to South Sudan to rescue trapped Ugandan citizens and protect key installations. (Murray, Mesfin & Wolters, 2016).

Uganda observers report that Uganda was also encouraged by the United States to deploy the UPDF to deter a mass killing of Dinka by Nuer seeking to avenge the December 2013 massacre of hundreds of Nuer citizens in Juba. The UPDF presence in South Sudan likely contributed to quelling violence within Juba and preventing further atrocities by blocking the movement toward Juba of the former Vice President Riek Machar's Sudan People's Liberation Army-In-Opposition and the majority Nuer White Army. These initial deployments and those that followed went well beyond what was needed to protect Ugandan citizens and economic

interests, reflecting that Museveni has heavily invested in preserving a regional geopolitical balance favourable to Uganda. The decision to go into South Sudan was taken by Museveni personally; he circumvented Parliament to quickly deploy the UPDF in South Sudan both to protect immediate Ugandan interests and to maintain a political status quo and counter the influence of Sudan. (Murray et al., 2016). Together with all these developments Uganda began emphasizing on importance 'peace talks' as well, and it's practised

The UPDF presence in South Sudan did successfully bolster Salva Kiir and thus counter balance the influence of Sudan. It also demonstrated Uganda's strength in the region and afforded Museveni enormous leverage in the negotiations. In this sense, Uganda achieved its primary objectives. However, Uganda misjudged the strength of Machar's rebel forces and failed to bring about a swift end to the conflict and a quick normalization of South Sudan-Uganda trade. Uganda and Sudan's shared interests in preventing further economic decline and refugee spill over from South Sudan may be contributing to Uganda's desire to encourage a regional solution to the conflict. Uganda has naturally defended Uganda's short-term interests, but it should also work towards longer-term stability by supporting President Salva Kiir's pledge to bring peace through ARCSS implementation, negotiations and national dialogue (Abdi, 2017)

Julious, (2015) also observed that there is high probability of casualty of civilian death as well as escalation of the pastoral disputes into other parts of the community or villages. Furthermore, in an environment where land rights are not well-specified and a huge amount of small arms are in circulation, violent conflict over grazing rights becomes pervasive. For example, violence broke out between the Murle and Nuer ethnic groups only a month after independence (Ibid). Since gaining independence in July 2011, South Sudan has experienced many inter-ethnic conflicts over resources, underscoring the need for well-defined property rights as well as a strategy for conflict anticipation and resolution (ibid).

In addition, as Debay, (2012) explains how too many people, particularly the young people in villages, are in possession of small arms. The presence and uncontrolled use of fire arms by civilians remains a serious concern. The issue of protracted war has brought a culture of violence and proliferation of small arms, which in turn is perpetuating more violence (Debay, 2012:4). As a cumulative result, in December 2013 there has been a political power struggle between the South Sudanese president Salva Kiir and former vice president Riek Machar, which resulted violent clashes between ethnic army factions. Since then fighting has spread across

South Sudan and it claimed the lives of around 10,000 people. Following the initial clash, Kiir accused Machar and other SPLM officials of attempting a coup against his government which Machar denied (Carlo & Gutschke, 2014).

1.2 Statement of the problem

South Sudan is home to many ethnic groups. Although it succeeded in attaining independence; there have been ethnic conflicts in different parts of the state. The marginalized groups have been seeking increased freedom and security from the government. (Debay, 2012). The recent history of the youngest nation has witnessed catastrophic consequences of the war.

Furthermore, since South Sudan's independence in 2011, the world has mostly received sad news from the country. Reports of ethnic violence, local insurgencies, widespread corruption, the autocratic practices of the dominant Sudan People's Liberation Movement (here in after SPLM), and border conflicts with the country's northern neighbour, Sudan, have been common in the headlines (Cilliers, & Schünemann, 2013). When the South Sudanese people voted for independence in 2011, many of them had hope of having a future of freedom, peace, development, and prosperity. On the contrary, many people have died in war and the catastrophe has created political, social, cultural and humanitarian chaos in the region. One of the most affected countries in the region has been Uganda. In regards to this fact, Uganda has been considered to have much interest in the South Sudan conflict in terms of military, resources and human resources (soldiers) (Douglas, 2014). This has been due to the fact that South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods. Furthermore, South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda. It is due to such a background that this study sought to investigate the interests of Uganda in the South Sudan conflict.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to examine the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict and its effects.

1.4 Research Objectives

- i. To investigate the root causes of the current Intra-State Conflicts in South Sudan.

- ii. To analyse the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict.
- iii. To analyse the effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What are the roots causes of the current Intra-State Conflicts in South Sudan?
- ii. What are the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict?
- iii. What are the effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda?

1.6 Time scope

Considering the time period of Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict from 2011 to 2016.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study will be significant in the following ways;

The findings of the study will play an important role for policy makers, politicians, academicians, civil society organizations as well as general readers towards understanding Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and also its political and humanitarian effects in the South Sudan and the region as well. This conflict broke out in recent years, and is still on-going; it is essential to address the root causes, effects of the conflict and the interests of Uganda in conflict. Keeping in mind that the conflict will have effects on surrounding countries in the region due to the geographical closeness of these countries.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the related literature review that have been explored and studied both theoretically and empirically on the existing literature on the Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries. This was done in line with the specific objectives of the study in order to identify the knowledgeable gaps. It was important to note that the greatest part of the existing literature on the works of other scholars, opinions, suggestions who have written about the topic of the study or those who have addressed similar issues as those of the variable that was available in the study.

2.1 Theoretical Review

Neorealist Theory of Security Dilemma

A security dilemma is a situation in which each party's efforts to increase its own security reduces the security of the others. This situation occurs when geographical, technological, or other strategic conditions render aggression the most advantageous form of self-defence. It is often difficult to separate security-driven and predatory motivations, since long-term fears may drive security seekers to take every opportunity to exploit others in an effort to build up their reserve of strategic resources even when they face no immediate security threats and fears. (Herz, 1951)

The purest type of security dilemma is a situation in which security is the overriding objective of all of the protagonists, yet attempts by one party to increase its security reduce the security of the others. At the opposite end of the spectrum some conflicts may be driven entirely by the desire of one or both parties to exploit or dominate the other for reasons that would not diminish even if security were not in jeopardy. In between are a variety of situations in which security and no security motives are both present. They argue that the security dilemma often tends to turn even security-driven actors into predators, defined as actors who prefer exploiting others to cooperating with them, even when short-run security threats are small. Thus, the security dilemma gives rise to predators, and predation intensifies the security dilemma. (Butterfield, 1951)

Marx's conflict theory

This further focused on the conflict between two primary classes. The bourgeoisie represents the members of society who hold the majority of the wealth and means. The proletariat includes those considered working class or poor. With the rise of capitalism, Marx theorized that the bourgeoisie, a minority within the population, would use their influence to oppress the proletariat, the majority class. (Marx Weber, (1864–1920).

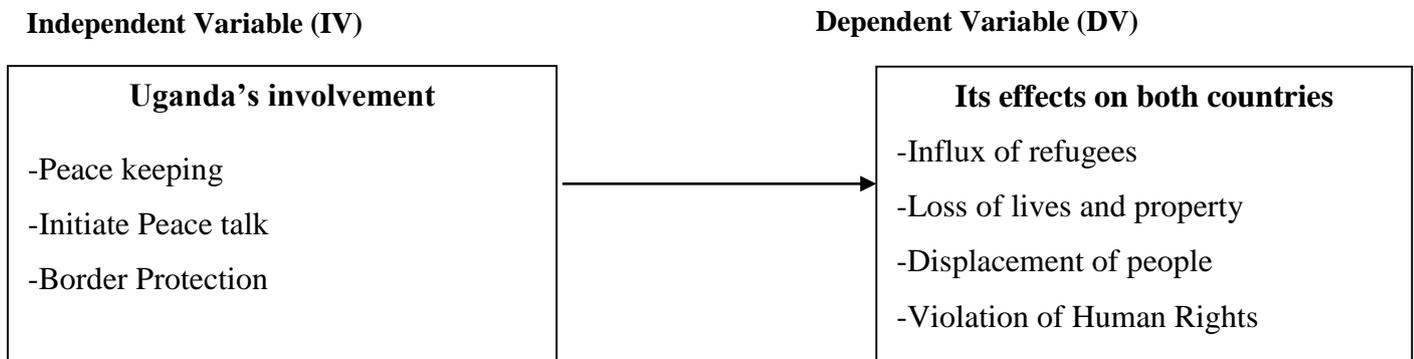
The uneven distribution within conflict theory was predicted to be maintained through ideological coercion where the bourgeoisie would force acceptance of the current conditions by the proletariat. Marx further believed that as the working class and poor were subjected to worsening conditions, a collective consciousness would bring the inequality to light and potentially result in revolt. If conditions were subsequently adjusted to address the concerns of the proletariat, the conflict circle would eventually repeat. (Chiwambo Ausi R, 2013).

Marx's ideas can be expanded by arguing that war and conquest are the basis of civilizations. He believed that cultural and ethnic conflicts led to states being identified and defined by a dominant group that had power over other groups. In addition to economic inequalities, inequalities of political power and social structure cause conflict. Different groups are affected differently based on education, race, and gender, and that people's reactions to inequality were moderated by class differences and rates of social mobility, as well as by perceptions about the legitimacy of those in power.

The conflict theory has been used to explain a wide range of social phenomena, including wars and revolutions, wealth and poverty, discrimination and domestic violence. It ascribes most of the fundamental developments in human history, such as democracy and civil rights, to capitalistic attempts to control the masses rather than to a desire for social order. The theory revolves around concepts of social inequality in the division of resources and focuses on the conflicts that exist between classes. Subsequent thinkers have described different versions of conflict theory; a common theme is that different social groups have unequal power, though all groups struggle for the same limited resources. (Bottomore Tom B.1975).

2.2 Conceptual framework

Figure 2.1 Conceptual frameworks showing the relationship between Uganda's involvement South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries.



Source: Researcher's conceptualization, (2018)

2.3 Root Causes of the Conflict

In December 2013, President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état. Machar denied trying to start a coup and fled to lead the SPLM – in opposition (SPLM-IO). Fighting broke out between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and SPLM-IO also known as the anti-governmental forces (AGF), igniting the civil war. Ugandan troops were deployed to fight alongside the South Sudanese government. The United Nations has peacekeepers in the country as part of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) (Diko, 2017). However much Diko writings were highlighting how President Kiir and former deputy Riek Machar accusing each other and them to be the root causes of the conflict, he left out the point of unequal distribution of resources in the states of South Sudan which this study brought out as one of the causes of the conflict in South Sudan.

Diko further praised the deployment of Ugandan troops to fight alongside the South Sudanese government, deployment of United Nations peacekeepers, however this has not ended the conflict and the fighting is still going on and because of this the study has come up with recommendations when the researcher believes can bring the conflict to an end.

In January 2014 the first ceasefire agreement was reached. Fighting continued and would be followed by several more ceasefire agreements. Negotiations were mediated by "IGAD +" (which includes the eight regional nations called the Intergovernmental Authority on Development as well as the African Union, United Nations, China, the EU, USA, UK and Norway). A peace agreement known as the "Compromise Peace Agreement" was signed in

August 2015. Machar returned to Juba in 2016 and was appointed vice president. Following a second breakout of fighting within Juba, the SPLM-IO fled to the surrounding and previously peaceful Equatoria region. Machar was replaced by Kiir as First Vice President by Taban Deng Gai, splitting the opposition, and rebel in-fighting has become of major part of the fighting.

South Sudan's ethnic divides; subsequent fighting has had ethnic undertones. Kiir's Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar's Nuer ethnic group has been accused of attacking the Dinka. More than 3.5 million people have been displaced in a country of about 12 million, with more than 2.1 million internally displaced and more than 1.5 million having fled to neighbouring countries, especially Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda. Fighting in the agricultural heart in the south of the country has soared the number of people facing starvation to 6 million with famine breaking out in some areas (Bujra, 2002). Well its of grate importance, that Bujra in his writing was able to expose how South Sudan's ethnic divides between Kiir of the Dinka and Machar of the Nuer has caused the displacement of more than 3.5 million people from the youngest country.

In 2010, after a disputed election, George Athor led the South Sudan Democratic Movement in rebellion against the government. The same year, a faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement, called the Cobra Faction, led by David YauYau rebelled against the government they accused of being prejudiced against the Murle. His faction signed a cease-fire with the government in 2011 and his militia was reintegrated into the army but he then defected again in 2012. After the army's notorious 2010 disarmament campaign with widespread abuses of the Shilluk people, who were alleging persecution by the ruling Dinka, John Uliny from the Shilluk people began a rebellion, leading the Upper Nile faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement. Gabriel Tang who led a militia allied to Khartoum during the Second Sudanese Civil War, clashed regularly with the SPLA until 2011 when his soldiers were reintegrated into the national army. Therefore this shows a lot of turbulence and escalation of misunderstanding between top government officials and leaders from other political parties such as the South Sudan Democratic movement. Whereas contrary to that, are the findings in this study were in response to the Gabriel Tang and George Athor leaders of South Sudan Democratic Movement acts which led to violation of Human Rights of the people of South Sudan.

It is not a surprise to say that South Sudan has almost the size of Kenya, Rwanda, and Burundi combined, but a protracted war with the northern Arabs made it to have one of the worst human development indicators in the world (Jok, 2011). This newly independent South Sudanese

republic is a home to around 64 ethnic groups on various demographic sizes with varying degrees of political participation, those ethnic groups include: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Latuka, Acholi, Toposa, Murle, Bondo, and Ondo, to name a few (Nasir, 2014). This makes it necessary to analyse the situation from the lens of presence of diverse ethnic groups that in turn determines the peace and stability of the nation. Having said so, analyses of the root causes of the South Sudanese conflict as in Political, Ethnical and Socio-Economic dimensions will follow. This study has gone on to state the causes of the conflict in South Sudan which Nasir had not tackled in his writing. Not only that, based on the findings in this study has gone ahead to suggest the possible measures to the causes of the conflict and this was captured in the recommendation.

Political Dimensions

Contention for Power

Even though there are a number of additional factors that have contributed to the current civil war that go beyond these two actors' individual contention, the current political crisis and the armed conflict between the government and rebel forces loyal to Machar can be partly explained by the personal motives of and struggle between Kiir and Machar. This study however brings other factors which previously were not focused on such as the presence of mineral resources and the areas the resources occupied which in the same way was claimed by the Khartoum government of President Bashir.

Long before the outbreak of violence in December 2013, political stability in South Sudan was threatened by the unresolved and protracted rivalries between President Kiir and former Vice President Machar, which date back to the 1990s. After being a major in Sudan's national army, Kiir joined the SPLM led by John Garang in 1983, and helped him to form the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). By contrast, Machar entered the SPLM and SPLA in 1984 after having completed a doctorate in the UK. Disapproving Garang's objective of a united Sudan with recognition of the South, and fighting instead for South Sudan's secession, Machar broke away and formed the SPLM/A Nasir dissident group in 1991. His movement evolved, and became the 'South Sudan Independence Movement/Army' (SSIM/A) in 1995. As a result of internal tensions within his group, Machar finally agreed to merge back into Garang's SPLA in January 2002.

After Garang's death in 2005, Kiir became SPLM's leader and Machar, Vice-President. After independence, in July 2011, Kiir became President and kept Machar as Vice-President, largely

to appease ethnic tensions and launch a process of reconciliation and national cohesion. However, political rivalries between the two men remained. Kiir and Machar have significant disagreements on fundamental aspects of the party and country's leadership, governance and directions. They believe in two different kinds of relations with Sudan. Contrary to Machar, Kiir is willing to keep good relations with Sudan and cooperate with Khartoum regarding their respective insurgents. Machar also disagrees with Kiir's way of running the country and has criticized his dictatorial tendencies. Article 101 of South Sudan's Transitional Constitution by itself, concentrates numerous powers on the President, who can run state affairs with very limited consultation, including removal of elected officials. President Kiir overused these powers, notably after Machar declared in March 2013 his intention to contest for the party chairmanship. The numerous dismissals of SPLM officials from any executive positions consequently express the result of a long-term struggle for power between Kiir and Machar (GIL, 2014). On the other hand, much as GIL was able to articulate the misunderstanding that existed between Kiir and Machar, how Machar accused Kiir on the fundamental aspects of the party and country's leadership, governance and directions to which he was taking the government of South Sudan. GIL on a serious note underestimated the weak institutional structures that have there for a long time which could not support the proper running of the developments in South Sudan.

Impaired Political System and the New Challenges for Leadership

Formally, the South Sudanese state is well designed. It features a classic division of powers (legislative, executive, and judicial branch), and the federal design takes into account the cultural and regional differences within South Sudan and in theory delegates substantial decision-making power to the federal states. The fact is, however, that the South Sudanese central state is largely under the control of the former rebel movement, the SPLM. Former SPLM officers or persons loyal to the group occupy most senior positions in all branches of the state, including the sub national levels. Formal qualifications have rarely been the key criteria for obtaining a specific government position, and the state's performance has suffered as a result. The SPLM's informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population's confidence in the state. The result is a weak state with limited institutional capacity, a lack of legitimacy, and an unhealthy symbiosis between the armed forces, the government, and the state (Koos & Gutschke, 2014). However much Koos & Gutschke, have

talked about how SPLM officers or persons loyal to the group occupy most senior positions in all branches of the state without formal qualifications. Koos & Gutschke did not talk about the weak education sector and curriculum system used by South Sudan, where the country's educational infrastructure is poor characterised by lack of schools to much the ever-growing population, qualified teachers and poor road networks in the country which this study has gone to expose.

According to Chester, et al, (2001) on the other hand, President Kiir and former vice president Machar were decorated generals during the civil war with the central government of Sudan. Under their leadership, rebels controlled most of the South Sudanese territory apart from Garrison towns and strategic oil fields. These experiences deeply shaped these men's leadership style and the way they deal with conflict. The challenges faced by South Sudan following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 demanded fundamentally different skills. The political leaders were given the task of building a state, with the assistance of the international community. This involved not only creating state institutions but also developing a national identity and reconciling a divided population. In a nation with dozens of ethnic groups and deep-seated ethnic identities, this required that the leaders bring these groups together and facilitate the creation of a South Sudanese identity that transcended ethnic boundaries (Koos & Gutschke, 2014). Much as Koos & Gutschke have blamed President Kiir and former vice president Machar of being decorated generals, this study emphasises also the weakness of the cultural leaders in this country who have got also the reasonability and the obligation of being involved in the state and the affairs of the community which they failed to do i.e failure to control the ethnic tribal clashes in the country which this study has found to be one of the root causes of the conflict in South Sudan.

Supremacy of One Party System

Adding from the aforementioned political factors, which might have possibly driven the current violence gripping the South Sudanese state, there is also Supremacy of SPLM/A that could explain the eruption of the conflict. Politically speaking, it is not an exaggeration to state that South Sudan is practically a one-party state. Following the appointment of the post-independence government in August 2011, the SPLM controlled 26 of the 29 ministries, 94% of the seats in parliament and 9 of the 10 governorships. Given this SPLM dominance, it has not been possible for any other political party to pose a strong challenge to South Sudan's ruling

party (Fiseha, 2013). Lack of a strong opposition to the SPLM from without ensured that power contest among SPLM leaders intensified, as getting the party chairmanship automatically guarantees one's aspiration to occupying the highest office in the land, that of the president. Since the signing of the CPA in 2005, economic and political power have been concentrated in the hands of the ruling class, and this undoubtedly by and large left the public susceptible and vulnerable to the whims and manoeuvrings of some political entrepreneurs who would do anything to get to or remain in power. On the other hand, based on findings in this study, no political party currently is competing with the SPLM in South Sudan. Considering government positions, strong business sectors (strong investments in the country) mega shares in the oil resources are control, governed by the SPLM which was revealed after conducting this study.

Challenges of Corruption

Corruption in South Sudan remains one of the biggest obstacles for development in the nation and has become the norm in South Sudan. Most of South Sudan's government officials who have been in power since from 2005 were using the nation's resources for their personal benefit and still they are using the nation's resources for their personal benefit and still they are using it. As a result South Sudan has remained as one of the poorest state in Africa due to corruption. Corruption is present in all sectors of the economy and at all levels of the new state apparatus. Corruption is manifested in various forms, including financial and political corruption, patronage, pervasive tribalism and misuse of power. Both petty and grand forms of corruption are prevalent in South Sudan (Mores, 2013). Much has been said on corruption by Mores, however he did not bring out the level at which corruption has affected South Sudan and also to on it is also responsible for the current conflict in the country, the way this study from the findings considered corruption as of the causes of conflict in South Sudan.

Ethnic Dimension

According to the Freedom House, (2012), the internal crises within the SPLM/A are as old as the institution itself. At the inception of the movement in 1983, there were disagreements over the vision as well as the leadership, leading to an internal fight between two factions. One faction was made up of separatists who purportedly expressed an outright independence of South Sudan to be the primary objective of the movement and the other faction was led by unionists who wanted to fight for the transformation of the old Sudan into a New Sudan (Nyaba, 1996). Although the differences were basically tactical and ideological, the fight that ensued between these two factions pitted the Nuer against the Dinka in the end, and this was the

beginning of the political rivalry. The SPLM unionists won eventually and the leaders of the separatist faction were either killed or absorbed into the SPLM/A. Many of the militia problems that confronted the SPLA throughout the liberation course, particularly in Upper Nile, were rooted in this history and are linked to the current crisis. However Freedom House, did not make it clear that SPLM/A as a party was composed of two ethnic group who were main made the party. And what people didn't was that the two groups that is Dinka and Nuer had or have always had different ideologies on as far as the government and the direction this party should take which after conducting this it was able to bring this to light.

Girma Kebede, (1999) pointed out that although it is difficult to quantify; it is safe to suggest that the majority of the Nuer appeared to have supported the breakaway group while the Dinka backed the mainstream. As time progressed, the SPLM Nasir faction was weakened militarily and so Riek Machar, its leader, decided to pursue a peace agreement with the Sudanese government, eventually negotiated and signed what was known as the Khartoum Peace Agreement in 1997. Part of what seemed to have pushed Riek Machar to reach a deal with Khartoum was a sense of frustration he felt after his alleged coup produced no tangible results and his faction splintered into over ten groups. Khartoum embraced Riek's decision to join the government in a bid to use him in what had been a relatively successful counter-insurgency tactic against the SPLA, the arming of South Sudanese to fight one another. The split led to serious internal conflicts between the Nuers and Dinka, culminating in massive displacement and deaths in the two communities. Girma Kebede, did a recommendable job in revealing the internal crisis SPLM, however he was not open and clear enough to mention the reasons why the Nuer broke off yet they were part of the founders of the party and in this study this was established after carrying out the study.

Socio-Economic Dimensions

Natural Resource and Poor Social Service

South Sudan has an abundance of natural resource, and a relatively small but growing population. Despite this abundance, controversies regarding ownership, control, management and benefits of resources have led to dispute and conflict and will continue to do so even in the future influence by both local and external demand (Lacher, 2012). However Lacher, did not hint on whether prior to the exploration of the resource companies responsible signed and complied with the government demands or may be the community is not benefiting from the resources. Conflict over access to resource at the community level pursuit in South Sudan today

increased by a growing population, the impact of climate change, and environmental degradation. The livelihood of rural people largely depend on their access to and control over land and natural resource, lack of water during the dry season as a root cause of local conflicts and insecurity. Pressure on grazing area has always been an issue of tensions (Girma, 1999). Lacher, further did not indicate why the indigenous people were not benefiting from the resources yet resources dwell on their land. And it is in this study that all is captured.

Furthermore, Kastfelt, (2005) urged that governments that depend largely on income from natural resource extraction often face a dilemma, popularly known as the resource curse. This applies by and large to South Sudan, which has the most oil-dependent budget in the world. Governments that do not depend on their citizens' taxes and by extension on their citizens' goodwill tend to do a poor job at policy making, the provision of public goods, and development policy. This has been true in South Sudan. The government has largely failed to improve the population's living conditions and appears to be much more concerned with internal competitions about rent-seeking and access to resources and power. The government's poor performance and its under provision of public goods is particularly critical in the federal states of Jonglei, Unity, and Upper Nile. Chronic insecurity in recent years has also hampered development efforts in these areas and increased the population's dissatisfaction with the government (Cormack, 2016). Though to a great deal Kastfelt, has been praised for alighting the reader how the South Sudan's government largely depend on the natural resources, he missed out on stating other option the country can get income such as farming used irrigation system, pastoralism, tourism among others in order to support the economy.

2.4 Interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

Relations between Uganda and what would become South Sudan were initially transnational. Since colonial times and the establishment of central governments, the two territories have shared a long border, traversing the home areas of several ethnic groups. The management of those people in the borderlands required coordination between the colonial governments. From the 1940s, the South Sudanese people attended schools in Uganda, and many fled across the border and sought sanctuary in 1955 following mutinies and subsequent government repression in Equatorial. This marked the beginning of two trends still evident today: South Sudanese searching for education in Uganda, and people in each country seeking refuge in the other (Fanny et al., 2015). Fanny gave the background of the two countries since world war and the colonial times, the cooperation that existed and probably what united the two countries by then.

Basing on the finding produced by this study, business, seek for better education many South Sudanese students are seen joining Uganda schools in big numbers, though of late its more displacement, influx of refugees also found out by this research.

Proxy warfare was pursued on a larger scale during the second civil war. Initially (1983–91), Sudan and Ethiopia armed each other's rebels, but animosity between Kampala and Khartoum escalated during the 1990s, and proxy warfare intensified. Uganda's President Museveni and his National Resistance Movement had close ties with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) under John Garang. Khartoum responded by arming and training rebel groups in northern Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). As a consequence of this mutual interference, Sudan–Uganda relations during the 1990s were frosty. The SPLM/A was allowed to operate inside Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese lived in refugee camps. With efforts to end the conflict in Sudan, relations between Khartoum and Kampala improved during the early 2000s. Sudan's President Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir allowed the Ugandan army to pursue the LRA inside Sudan, while Museveni contributed to the pressure on Garang to negotiate a solution to the Sudanese civil war (Hewstone, 2001). Besides Hewstone, view of Uganda pursuing the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) rebels, recent interest are boarder protection, African Union (AU) mandate, IGAD, East African Community (EAC) among others.

According to Apuuli, (2014), it has been argued that Uganda has strong links to the SPLM/A, including decades of joint military deployments. By the time the National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M) came to power in Uganda in 1986, the conflict between the Khartoum government and the SPLA/M had been raging for close to three years. The outbreak of a new civil war in the south and the formation of the SPLA/M was precipitated by President Gaafar Nimeiri abrogating the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement by dividing the south into three regions and imposing Islamic law on the whole country, including Southern Sudan (Apuuli, 2014). When the NRM government came to power, it faced an insurgency in northern Uganda. The remnants of the defeated Ugandan army, which had taken refuge in Sudan, subsequently launched attacks on Uganda from their bases in Sudan. While the NRA was able to defeat a number of these militia groups using military and peace-talk strategies, including the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) and the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) I and II, the most virulent insurgent group was the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony, which took root in northern Uganda. Much as Apuuli, has given enough history on what united Uganda

and the Khartoum government he did not show the current reason why Uganda went to South Sudan on same ideology of the last three decades which is contrarily with findings in this study.

According to Andrew Natsios, the Khartoum government armed and equipped the LRA and allowed it to maintain a permanent military base in the Kit Valley (Natsios, 2012). Kevin Dunn notes that the Sudanese government was instrumental in transforming the rag-tag group of rebels of the LRA into a coherent, well supplied military force, largely through training, sharing of logistics and the introduction of more powerful and sophisticated weaponry such as land mines and rocket propelled grenades (Apuuli, 2014). What prompted Khartoum's support of the LRA was the support that the NRM government had extended to the SPLA/M. Paul Omach has noted that the NRM government was sympathetic to the SPLA/M, (Omach, 2010:294). Natsios, writing based on Khartoum government armed and equipped the LRA and maintenance of a permanent military base in the Kit Valley. According to the findings this is quite different from the current interest which is based on Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan and South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students.

Mari Tripp states that on 29 March 1989, a secret military cooperation agreement was signed between Uganda and Garang committing Uganda to provide equipment and training to the SPLA, as well as passports for travel abroad (Tripp, 2010:158). Uganda also committed to provide the SPLA with free passage through the country while conducting its operations. Coming to the current intervention, when conflict broke out in December 2013, the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) was deployed beside the SPLA as part of a regional force to counter the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the one-time Ugandan insurgency that is causing chaos in the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan (Howes, 2012). However, Howes book talks about the relationship between Ugandan and South Sudan under Garang regime. How peace agreements were signed equipments and training were provided but he does not explain effects that were associated with that which is contrary with the current action of deployment that came with several effects of death casualty, displacement and so many others.

According to Howes, P. (2012), the alleged use of cluster bombs is particularly controversial, and in another incident in December, the UPDF reportedly bombed a peace meeting between Dinka and Nuer groups in Jonglei. In February 2014, Defence Minister Kuol Manyang Juuk

publicly stated that the South Sudan government was footing the bill for UPDF operations, but this was refuted in Kampala, where parliament passed a supplementary budget for the deployment. Uganda may have also played a role in mobilising forces associated with JEM (Justice and Equality Movement) in support of the government. As was the case with earlier UPDF deployments in South Sudan, the current operation has been criticised for its alleged economic motivation and its treatment of civilians.

The rebels wisely saw this as an opportunity to strengthen their position and so the withdrawal of Ugandan forces is now one of their many pre-conditions for the continuation of talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. But principally, Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan, so it had to ensure peace and stability for the good of its citizens. This is on top of the IGAD mandate enshrined in Article 6A (d) of the agreement establishing the regional organization, which stipulates that member states are committed to the principle of maintenance of regional peace, stability and security (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). This is in agreement with the findings in this study, that Uganda's presence in South Sudan is tribute to the IGAD mandate of ensuring peace and stability in the neighbouring countries.

Understandably, those in opposition see the intervention as one-sided, but that does not take away the fact that the relative stability seen in Juba and other parts of the country is in large part a direct result of Uganda's intervention. Above and beyond its regional obligation to keep peace and stability, Uganda allegedly was instructed by the UN to intervene in order to stop the bloodshed. Whether Uganda was actually requested to intervene by IGAD or foreign powers makes no much difference because it also has a lot of stake in the stability of South Sudan as aforementioned (Johnson, 2014). Study by Johnson corresponds well with the study findings in this research, which clearly states the mandate on UN, IGAD EAC and others, which sets the ground for Uganda to a safer position on as far as intervention in South Sudan conflict is concerned.

It is important to note that South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods. Second, South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda. South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students. This is in addition to cash transfers from Ugandan nationals working in South Sudan. The revenue

that accrues from real estate rents, school fees, visas and other related transactions directly pay for the running of Ugandan Government. Security wise, the SPLA is a key ally in Uganda's fight against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which is an internationally recognized terrorist organization (Awolich, 2014).

Above all, Uganda does not want to live in the neighbourhoods of the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan that are both unstable with deleterious spill over effects. Uganda's quick response could also have been prompted by historical experiences in the region particularly from Rwanda and Burundi where mass violence and genocide have occurred. These factors are important and could all have persuaded Uganda to respond militarily. Perhaps the last and by any measure not the least, is the relationship between President Museveni and President Kiir. The two men have grown close over the last few years and Museveni was not going to allow his friend and ally to fall (Awolich, 2014).

Commercial and socio-economic ties strengthened during the period after 2005. South Sudan annually received hundreds of millions of US dollars in oil revenue, while having no formal economy or commercial sector to absorb it. Traders and entrepreneurs poured in, mainly to Juba and other towns. From Uganda came petty traders selling foodstuffs and everyday articles, motorcycle-taxi (*boda-boda*) drivers, carpenters, masons and others seeking employment in construction. Although the value of Ugandan investments is probably surpassed by those of Ethiopians and Kenyans, the number of Ugandans in South Sudan was much greater. Some claim that before the current civil war, Ugandans in South Sudan surpassed one million, or about 5% of Uganda's population.

Because of large informal sectors and diverse interaction, it is difficult to estimate the total impact of South Sudanese petrodollars on the Ugandan economy. Estimates from International Alert suggest that in 2005–2008, official Ugandan exports to South Sudan increased from US\$50.5 million to US\$245.9 million, while informal exports jumped from US\$9.1 million to US\$929.9 million. Uganda's nominal gross domestic product is about US\$26 billion – so this rapid change had a significant impact on the Ugandan economy. Since much economic activity was related to petty traders and labourers, it was especially important to marginalised people in northern Uganda. Memoranda of understanding and trade agreements between the two countries promoted commerce and increased government revenue. It is, nevertheless,

debateable whether economic integration owed more to government policies or to individual Ugandans seizing opportunities.

2.5 Forms and nature of intervention by the Uganda state in South Sudan armed Conflict

The government of Uganda has been at pains to explain its current intervention in South Sudan in legal terms. In the next section, I explain the legal grounds that have been advanced. Later on, I elucidate on the more persuasive economic reasons for the intervention.

Legal grounds

Ugandan officials have justified the intervention in South Sudan by arguing that it was done in accordance with international law. In this regard they have inter alia argued that: Uganda was invited by the legitimate government of South Sudan to ensure order; Uganda needed to evacuate its citizens caught up in the fighting; Uganda was requested by the UN Secretary-General to intervene; and the regional organisation, IGAD, sanctioned the intervention. I test these reasons for their (il) legality against known international law principles (The East African, 2014).

Intervention on invitation Uganda has sought to justify its intervention in the current conflict in South Sudan by claiming it was invited by the constitutional and legitimate government. However, in order to legally justify the intervention on this basis, it is important to note the different phases of the UPDF's intervention in the conflict. The first phase entailed the deployment of the UPDF to protect the vital infrastructure of Juba in order to enable the evacuation of foreigners. The second phase entailed the UPDF fighting on the side of the Kiir government. The two phases raise different conclusions regarding the (il) legality of the intervention.

Regarding the first phase, in a letter to the Speaker of Parliament of Uganda on the intervention, Museveni stated: 'I decided to deploy... a small force to guard Juba airport with the agreement of President Salva Kiir.'⁴⁶ This would suggest that the government of South Sudan invited the UPDF on to its territory. The purpose of guarding the airport was ostensibly to aid in the evacuation of foreign persons caught up in the fighting (see below). Legally, a democratically elected government such as South Sudan has the legitimate authority to carry out state functions, including inviting another country's forces to come to its aid if its legitimacy is challenged. Many states have attempted to justify military intervention in other states on the

basis of consent (read: invitation). It must be emphasised that the consent, to produce any legal effect, must be ‘clearly established, [be] really expressed (which precludes merely presumed consent), [be] internationally attributable to the state and [be] anterior to the commission of the act to which it refers’ (The Guardian, 24 July (2013))

The only exception to the rule on aiding a government is when the recipient state (government) is forcibly suppressing the right of self-determination of a people entitled to such rights. The general rule is that a government may not authorise external military intervention against a national liberation movement opposing racist or colonial domination.⁵⁴ This scenario does not apply to the situation in South Sudan. The other issue that arises is whether Uganda was right to intervene in a civil war in South Sudan Interview with a Senior UPDF Officer, (2013). Doyle and Sambanis have established criteria that a civil war must meet: the war causes more than 1 000 battle deaths; the war represents a challenge to the sovereignty of an internationally recognised government; the war occurs within the recognised boundaries of the state; the war involves the government as one of the principle combatants; and the rebels are able to mount an organised military opposition to the government and to inflict significant casualties on it. Of course, it must be emphasised that this is not a legal but rather a political definition.

Rescuing nationals

The other reason with international legal connotations cited for Uganda’s intervention in South Sudan is that of rescuing Ugandans trapped by the outbreak of fighting. In his letter to the Speaker of Parliament on the intervention, Museveni stated that ‘... the deployment was to ... rescue trapped Ugandans’. This was supported by other government officials such as Kiyonga who, while addressing Parliament, stated: ‘we are in South Sudan to evacuate our citizens’.⁶³ This followed Minister of State for Defence Jeje Odongo’s presentation to the Parliament Committee on Defence where he stated that ‘following the [UPDF] deployment, Ugandans have been rescued and evacuated from Juba, Bor and Bentiu’.⁶⁴ He added, ‘other nationals who have been rescued and evacuated include: Kenyans, Ethiopians, Eritreans and Chinese’.⁶⁵ However, he did not state whether these other nationals had been rescued by the UPDF. According to Uganda’s Chief of Defence Forces (CDF), General Katumba Wamala, as of 14 January 2014 ‘at least 30,000 Ugandans had been rescued from South Sudan since the UPDF deployed there’ (BBC News, 2013).

In the case of South Sudan, Uganda's intervention seems to have gone beyond rescuing Ugandans caught up in the fighting. The announcement that the UPDF was fighting alongside government forces against the rebel troops supporting Machar⁷¹ clearly violates the requirement of proportionality, which demands that the action taken must not be 'excessive' (no more than is necessary to accomplish the stated objective). The UPDF fighting on behalf of one of the factions in the conflict points to an abuse of this state practice, which Terry Gill warned about.

Request by the Secretary-General of the UN

Ugandan officials, such as Fred Opolot of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government spokesman Ofwono Opondo, have argued that Uganda's intervention in South Sudan is legal because 'the UN SG telephoned President Museveni and asked him to intervene by finding a political solution to the problem'. Under the UN Charter, the UN Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The UNSC is also mandated to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, any breach of the peace or an act of aggression, and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Authorisation by IGAD

In an editorial in its 16 January 2014 issue, The Observer stated that 'many people had hoped that the UPDF's intervention [in South Sudan] would be under the auspices of the regional group, the IGAD, which would have given such action more legitimacy'. In other words, the paper does not view Uganda's intervention as sanctioned by the region. However, according to Ugandan government officials, the UPDF's presence in South Sudan was sanctioned by the states of the IGAD. South Sudan's ambassador to Uganda, Samuel Lominsuk, has also stated that 'Uganda's intervention in South Sudan is justified under the IGAD'

Economic grounds

The most plausible justification for Uganda's intervention in South Sudan is economic. Since the signing of the CPA in 2005, peace and stability have led to a significant demand for expansion in South Sudan. Population growth from the resettlement of returnees and former refugees, as well as an increased business presence by foreign investors in South Sudan, has also contributed to the demand growth. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBoS), bilateral trade between Uganda and South Sudan appears to have grown by 1 000 per cent

between 2006 and 2008. For both formal and informal trade combined, South Sudan has been the single largest destination of Uganda's exports since 2007

2.6 Effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda

The eruption of this unconscionable military confrontation, which has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations, and certainly not to mention damage to property, showcases in great measure the inexcusable failure of collective leadership on the part of those entrusted, top-levelled stewards. Instead of managing their differences in a constructive manner, the country's political elites unwisely allowed carnage to freely roam the streets, and this has far greater effects in political, economic and humanitarian terms.

In conventional wisdom, one of the unpleasant realities of any war situation is that it divides communities, and this reality is felt severely since the conflict broke out. Now more than ever in the history of the South Sudanese people, the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable, and this situation in part, explains the unwarranted, cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side.

Political effects

In this heightened, polarized war, there are a number of potential political impacts that the South Sudanese society would have to grapple with. There is a possibility that some South Sudanese may find themselves most likely to identify politically along ethnic lines, and if this happens, the consequences in terms of instability political and otherwise, are great.

The Violation of Human Rights, Democracy and Fundamental Freedoms

States are responsible under international human rights law to guarantee the protection and preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms at all times, in war and peace alike. South Sudan has not yet ratified any core international or regional human rights treaty. However, South Sudan is bound by provisions of international human rights law which have attained customary status in international law and include many if not all of the rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

The most basic human rights obligations, in particular those emanating from peremptory international law (*Jus cogens*) bind both the State and armed opposition groups in times of peace and during armed conflict. In particular, international human rights law requires states, armed groups and others to respect the prohibitions of extrajudicial killing, maiming, torture, cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, enforced disappearance, rape, other conflict related sexual violence, sexual and other forms of slavery, the recruitment and use of children in hostilities, arbitrary detention as well as of any violations that amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide. The obligation of the government to respect, uphold, and promote human rights is primarily enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the Transitional Constitution of Republic of South Sudan (Constitution).

Humanitarian Crisis

According to the United Nations, the effects of the conflict of South Sudanese for the civilian population have been devastating. There have been attacks on hospitals, churches, mosques, and United Nations bases. There are reasonable grounds to believe that violations of international human rights and humanitarian law have been committed by both parties to the conflict. These include extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, rape and other acts of sexual violence, arbitrary arrests and detention.

Almost 2 million people have been displaced by the violence. About a quarter of these people have fled to neighbouring; Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. About 100,000 people have sought refuge inside UN bases and do not feel safe to return home. Although there is no official death toll, the International Crisis Group estimates the figure could be between 50,000 and 100,000 people. Within South Sudan most acute needs are found in the three states that have seen the most active hostilities: Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile.

The crisis has disrupted an already weak service delivery system, particularly in those three states most affected by conflict. Lakes State has witnessed persistent inter-communal fighting. Many of the 1,200 schools in Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile are closed due to the conflict. Water supply in towns, including major hubs such as Bentiu and Malakal, is no longer functioning or accessible to civilians. The combination of South Sudan's low level of agricultural productivity, human displacement through conflict, and poor transport infrastructure has increased the

likelihood of a humanitarian crisis. Reports by aid agencies suggest that as many as 4 million people, or close to a third of the population, face serious food shortages and the risk of famine.

The conflict that began in December 2013 in South Sudan continues to affect the lives of millions of people. It has been marked by brutal violence against civilians and deepening suffering across the country. Insecurity and active hostilities constrain civilians 'freedom of movement. The major humanitarian effects are widespread displacement due to the violence; high rates of death, disease, and injuries, severe food insecurity and disrupted livelihoods, and major malnutrition crisis.

2.7 Recommendations to neighbouring countries that experience political and social unrests, basing on given conflict

The leadership problem has been the source of conflict in many African countries which has resulted in the tremendous negative outcomes of political, social and economic crisis. Dictatorship, an addiction to power, cruel and inhumane acts of the rulers that signify the personal behaviours of the leaders which resulted in economical backwardness, which resulted that Africa widely known by crisis, full of conflict, famine and war torn continent. When one observes the recent conflicts, especially after 2010, all were created by their own African leaders. For instance the so called. The Arab uprising hasn't happened if not for the dictators of the region who were unwilling to step down. The Tunisian Ben Ali, the Egyptian Hosni Mubarak and the Libyan Gaddafi have stayed in power for more than 3 decades.

In the same way, the likes of Alassana Outara of Ivory Coast, Biles Comp ware of Burkina Faso and currently Pier Nugunzuza of Burundi find it very inappropriate to step down from power after losing an election or lapse their terms . Their actions have equalled the deaths, and migrations of thousands of Africans. The reason why the researcher mentioned the above African dictators is because their respective population has stood together to end their dictatorial rule. Apart from the very few African leaders, most leaders are still engaged in a totalitarian rule and in a fierce power struggle.

Building effective institutions

The major difference between the developed countries from the developing ones is the availability of established and effective institutions. Without the existence of properly built

institutions; bad governance, dictatorship, the emergence of few favoured groups over others, corruption will prevail. For example, when one takes the justice system of South Sudan, if it was effective and the respect for the rule of law was there, the conflict would not have developed in to a big war that has created a big humanitarian crisis. The party (SPLM) by itself lacks its own established institutions to resolve differences and conflicts. If there were a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law, the conflict would have stopped in its early days.

Concerning the legislative body; for instance, if the legislative body of Burkina Faso's government (the parliament) were strong, Blaise Compaoré wouldn't put an agenda to extend the terms of his power. To this effect, the legislative, Judiciary and Executive bodies in Africa should have a strong base of institution and have to function by democratic system not by an individual will. If the rule of law and a democratically elected government can't be achieved, the future of Africa will not be different from yesterday and today.

Being able to form one political community

Any country that follows any kind of government structure be it parliamentary or presidential, unitary or federal, its final goal is to create one political community. It is a situation where, the population in a country has different culture, language and identity, but intertwined together like one nation. Forming one political community means; keeping the culture, religions, and beliefs of the society untouched and unchanged but living with integrated under one umbrella. It doesn't necessarily mean everyone should have assimilated in culture, language and identity.

One of the major aims of the Ethiopian constitution is to create one political and economic society if this cannot be achieved; the hostility, conflicts and wars would continue giving problems for the country. If we again refer back to South Sudan, Salva kiir and Rick Machar's power struggle was conducted through their own ethnic groups of Nuer and Dinka to participate in the conflict. This happened due to the fact that they were not living under the umbrellas of one economic and political society. But instead, they were living under their own conflict-prone umbrella. For them, the state South Sudan is below Dinka or Nuer. They resembled to their own ethnic group by not willing to consider their country in big picture. They easily mobilized to the notion of ethnicity and are still leading the way for their country to be a failed state. As mentioned above; had it been one political and economic united society formed in south Sudan, the two big elephants wouldn't get followers that turned South Sudan in to a battle field. In

other countries like Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, and Somalia; considering the nature of their varying differences, not forming a united economic and political entity has resulted in torments, and many other painful consequences which unfortunately have been regarded the characteristics of continent.

Therefore, the diversified African community, detaching itself from poisonous ethnic based consequences of the colonization and organizing itself in a merit based tribal and ethnic groups under one political and ethnic community, will end the forth coming ethnic based conflicts and crisis. So, as a researcher, any concerned body weather an academician or politician has to enrich and develop these three ideas by conducting a deeper analysis and find a solution. If this can be achieved, the researcher is convinced that, African image of conflict in the global community will change significantly.

2.8 Identified Gaps

Although few scholars have written about conflict in South Sudan at least some of past studies have attempted to analyse Uganda's involvement in neighbouring conflict areas while others partly touched on relations between Uganda and South Sudan without presenting detailed knowledge regarding the interests of such involvement that is profoundly discussed in this study. Additionally instead of making empirical data analysis they rather focused on the causes of the conflict and omitted evaluating the reasons why a third party –in this case Uganda– chooses to commit its resources as a result of reaction to the given conflict.

Furthermore, their studies are criticized for lacking theoretical models, insufficient critical analysis of Uganda's foreign policy behaviour particularly towards South Sudan's on-going conflict the circumstance that ignored models could have been of importance to the scholars, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), policy makers and the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Especially variables of this study were not analytically pondered over in these attempts such as Tripp (2010) in her study titled as "*Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*" she reveals that she had conducted interviews with several personalities within Uganda but what was omitted is to have discussions with experts from neighbouring countries where Uganda's presence was truly felt while conflicts were going on in these respected areas. Although she applied mixed method approach but one of the important elements of this approach is to involve discussions with experienced people who observed Uganda's involvement through the lens of different nationalities apart from Ugandan as far as conflicts in neighbouring areas are concerned.

To take another researcher, who is senior policy analyst Awolich (2014) in his work “*The Question of Ugandan Troops in South Sudan*” he claims that Ugandan troops came on the invitation of the government. By arguing that, the significant factors of consideration behind involvement of Uganda were skipped. In this way discussion of the case became just simplification. And one of the reasons why it is perceived to be so is that theoretical models that would guide the study to be more profound and compassing were neglected while the matter was being discussed. As a result of that the study was subjected to deficiencies.

Lastly, Douglas (2014) who has focused on the context of South Sudan when it comes to conflict studies, wrote a work with title of “*The crisis in South Sudan*” which is perceived to have majorly concentrated on causes of the conflict without applying a theoretical model that would enable him to evaluate crisis in the country more comprehensively. To note it again, the study lacks theoretical models, insufficient critical analysis of Uganda’s foreign policy. By employing qualitative approach study variables were not critically analysed and advantages of mixed method were not considered yet it is well known that for the context of South Sudan, tools of qualitative method are inadequate to evaluate the conflicts in the country due to the short time passed over the emergence of the conflict.

Having identified this number of gaps therefore this work is qualified to address this particular area of the study by utilizing the advantages of mixed method, basing on its research findings and presenting required recommendations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and procedures that were used in sample selection, data collection, analysis and presentation. It included; research design, sampling techniques, data collection methods, study population, sampling procedure and sample size, data analysis methods, anticipated limitations of the study and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design and Method

The study used mixed method approach which is integration of qualitative and quantitative methods due to the number of advantages it offers to researcher such as providing broader perspective, helping researcher to produce more complete knowledge, it increases the span and variety of enquiry by adopting different methods for different inquiry components and giving the elaborations or the results acquired from one method with the results of another method. Further, the study used Co-occurrence analysis which is the counting of paired data within a collection unit. (Buzydlowski, J., White, Lin, X. (2002). To put it simply, data collected through tools simultaneously. To put this in the particular context of the research, a qualitative analysis of the conflict situation in South Sudan using relevant theoretical postulations (theory of Security dilemma for instance) in the light of the quantitative analytical method of the effects of the conflict provides a broader and complete picture of the conflict situation.

3.2 Population of the study

In this study, the target population was 60 experts/experienced persons. Specifically, top officials from embassies of both countries and opinion leaders who are involved in the conflict or with the knowledge about the study variables were targeted as far as interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict are concerned. Human rights officials, non-government organization officials, international organizations' officials of reputable organizations were as well considered in order to analyze the effects of the conflict and root causes of it.

3.3 Sample Size

The study has chosen 52 respondents and they were selected basing on the table for determining sample size by Krejcie and Morgan (1970, p, 608). Stratified disproportionate random sampling

was used to select the respondents from each stratum. Respondents comprised of both sex but of different marital status and age groups.

Table 3.2: Nature of respondents considered for the study

Categories of Respondents	Target population	Sample size	Sampling Procedure
Government officials	10	10	Purposive sampling
Politicians	10	5	Purposive sampling
Human rights officials	20	17	Purposive sampling
Non-governmental organization officials	10	10	Random sampling
International organizations' officials	10	10	Random sampling
Total	60	52	

Source: Primary data (2018)

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The study used both simple random sampling and purposive sampling procedures. Purposive sampling was used to select key respondents in the area of investigation such as the Government officials, Politicians and Human rights officials in order to get the required data and information. Random sampling was used because respondents have equal chances of being selected.

3.5 Data Sources

The study used both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was got from the field by assessing information obtained through interviewees and questionnaires used as tools. Secondary data was used to extract information the by referring to newspapers, journals, text books plus the already existing data on internet and magazines that have addressed study variables.

3.5.1 Primary Source

This involved use of first-hand information that was obtained from the field using interviewees and questionnaires. The type of data included the social-demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, gender, level of education among others) their perception regarding the Uganda's involvement in conflict in South Sudan.

3.5.2 Secondary Source

This included the already existing literature on Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries. The information was got from reports, published and non-published materials, electronic sources and magazines.

3.6 Data collection instruments

3.6.1 Interviews

This involved face to face interaction between the researcher and the participants and for this were the Government officials, Politicians and Human rights officials through discussion. The interviews were in two ways namely;

Structured interviews; in which the responses by the participants are brief and specific.

Un-structured interviews where responses are long, elaborated and not specific, the interviews were conducted in group, individual in order to get first-hand information from the key informants.

3.6.2 Questionnaire

This was the discussion in written form where by the responses of the participants were put on paper provided by the researcher; the questionnaire was in two forms; namely: the open ended questions in which the responses by the participants are free according to their understanding. The close ended questions in which responses were provided by the researcher and the participants choose one of them accordingly such as strongly agree, agree or strongly disagree.

3.7 Procedure for data collection

After approval of the proposal by the responsible authority at the faculty, the researcher got an introductory letter from the University to progress to the field for data collection. The researcher took the questionnaire to respondents proceed by briefing them about the purpose of the

questionnaire and ask them to fill them on their convenience to allow them more time and flexibility. Later the researcher made a follow-up and collects the filled questionnaires. Careful observation of respondents from the area of study was carried out by the researcher.

3.8 Validity and reliability of the instrument

3.8.1 Validity

Validity of the instrument ensured through expert judgment and the researcher made sure the coefficient of validity (Content Validity Index–CVI) was at least 70%. The researcher consulted his supervisor for expert knowledge on questionnaire construction. After the assessment of the questionnaire, the necessary adjustments were made bearing in mind of the objectives of the study. The formula that was used to determine the validity of the instrument was applied; According to Amin (2005) if this index was equal to or above 0.7, the instrument was declare valid.

$$CVI = \frac{\text{Number of items declared valid}}{\text{Total number of items}}$$

The rated findings were used to calculate content validity index (CVI) using the formula:

$$\begin{aligned} CVI &= \frac{K}{N} \\ &= \frac{40}{49} \\ &= 0.816 \\ &= 0.8 \end{aligned}$$

Where K = Total number of items in the questionnaire declared valid by both raters / judges.

N = Total number of items in the questionnaire

3.8.2 Reliability

According to Mugenda (2009) reliability refers to the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials.

A test is seen as being reliable when it can be used by a number of different researchers under stable conditions, with consistent results and the results not varying. Reliability reflected consistency and applicability over time. Furthermore, reliability was seen as the degree to which

a test is free from measurement errors, since the more measurement errors occur the less reliable the test (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003).

3.9 Data analysis

3.9.1 Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative data involved information from the questionnaires only. Data from the field was too raw for proper interpretation. It was therefore vital to put it into order and structure it, so as to drive meaning and information from it. The raw data obtained from questionnaires was cleaned, sorted and coded. The coded data was entered into the Computer, checked and statistically analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) software package to generate descriptive and inferential statistics descriptive analysis was applied to describe the primary variable and associated indicator items related to the study objectives. The Pearson product correlation Co-efficient analysis was used to test the relationship among the variables. The results were presented inform of tables and charts.

3.9.2 Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data was collected using interview guide during discussions with other authorized persons respondent category in meetings. Content analysis was used to edit the data and re-organize it into meaningful shorter sentences.

The data was analyzed and organized based on patterns, repetitions and commonalities into themes based on the study variables. The data then used to reinforce information got from questionnaires to draw conclusion and recommendations.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

It was important during the process of research for the researcher to understand that participation was voluntary; participants are free to refuse to answer any question and may withdraw any time. Another important consideration, involved getting the informed consent of those going to be met during the research process, which involved interviews and observations bearing in mind that the area bears conflict.

Accuracy and honesty during the research process was very important for academic research to proceed.

The researcher treated the project with utmost care, in that there was no temptation to cheat and generate research results, since it jeopardizes the conception of research.

Personal confidentiality and privacy was very important since the research was public. If individuals had been used to provide information, it was important for their privacy to be respected. If private information was to be accessed then confidentiality needed to be maintained.

3.11 Limitation of the study

In the process of carrying out this investigation, a number of limitations were met.

- Sensitivity of information; some respondents felt the information required was sensitive and could affect their working environment if revealed. The researcher however made an effort to convince respondents that the information exchanged would be very confidential.
- Delay in responding to set the date for interview and returning of questionnaires affected the completion of study; the researcher therefore endeavoured to keep in touch with the respondents. And eventually required number of respondents was reached.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of results from the field, these were in line with the objectives of the study whereby the raw data from the questionnaires was edited and interpreted which ensured uniformity, legibility and consistency. The data-filled questionnaires were copied and analyzed by tallying and tabling in frequency polygons while identifying how often certain responses occurred and later evaluation was done. The information was then recorded in terms of percentages, tables and figures. Also, interview results were presented in this study as illustrated below.

4.2 Response rate

Response rate (also known as completion rate or return rate) refers to the number of people who answered the survey divided by the number of people in the sample. It is expressed in the form of percentages (AAPOR, 2008).

Response rate= $\frac{\text{Total number of tools received}}{\text{Total number of tools given out}} \times 100$

$$\frac{43 \times 100}{52} = 82.6\%$$

52

Section (a)

4.3.1 Background Characteristics of the respondents

This subsection provides a description of respondents by age, marital status, education level, and the duration spent in the area of study which was vital to understand the extent to which the sample represents the different categories of respondents to ensure that inferences are drawn on a sample representing the population under the study.

Tabled 4.1; Respondents gender

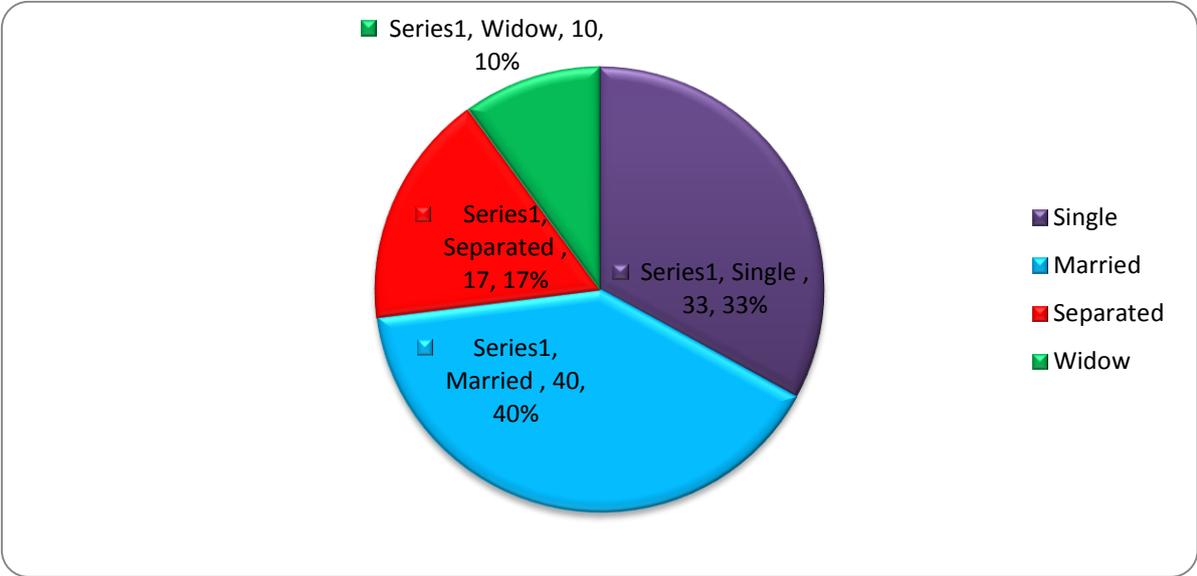
Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	29	67.4
Female	14	32.6
Total	43	100

Source; primary data (2018)

According to table 4.1 above, the biggest percentage of the respondent’s represented by 67.4% were found males whereas 32.6% of the respondents were found females.

4.3.2: Classification of respondents by marital Status

The figure 4.1; below presents the summary statistics of the respondent’s marital status



Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of the respondents 40% were married whereas 33 % of the respondents were single, 17% had separated lastly 10% of the respondents were widowed.

4.3.3: Classification of respondents by age

Table 4.1: Above displays the summary of statistics on the age of respondents.

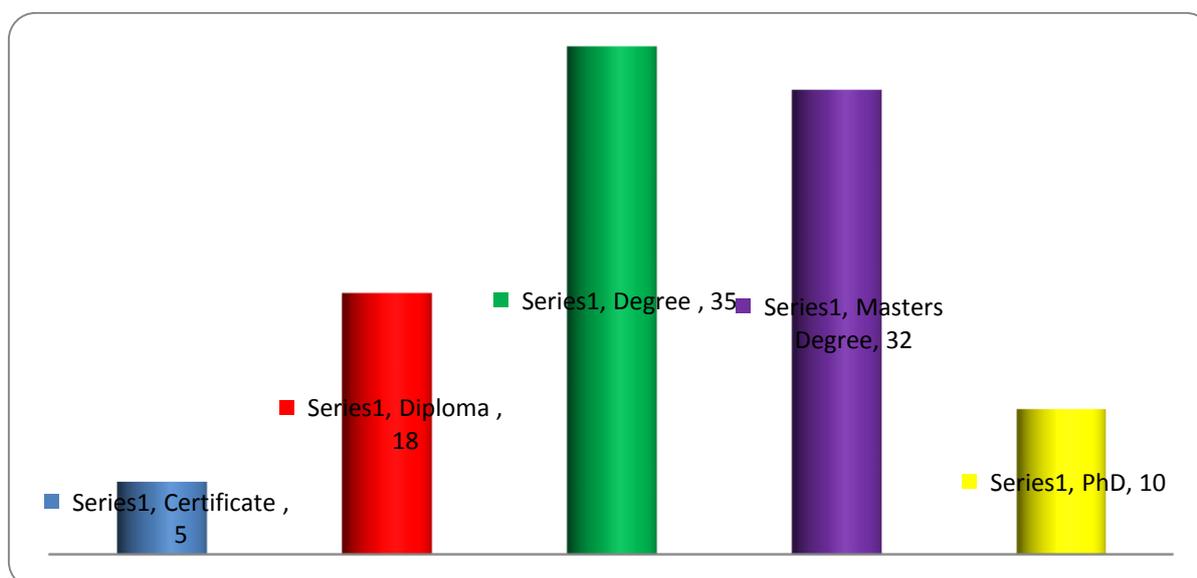
Age	Frequency	Percentage
Under 25	10	23.3
25-34	14	32.6
35-45	12	27.9
45 and above	07	16.2
Total	43	100

Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of the respondents represented by 32.6% were aged between 25-34 years followed by 27.9% of the respondents who were in the age bracket of 35-45 years, then 16.2% of the respondents were between above 45 years and lastly 23.3% of respondents who were under 25 years.

4.3.4: Respondents level of education

Figure 4.4 Below illustrates the statistics on respondent's level of education

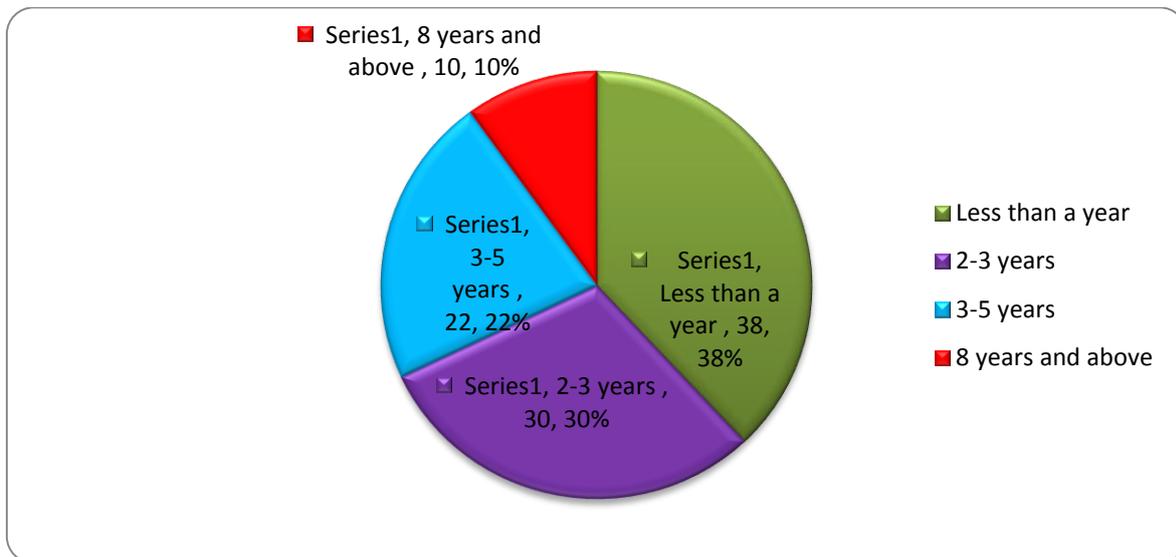


Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of respondents 35% were degree holders, 32% of the respondents were masters degree holders whereas 18% of the respondents had attained their diplomas, 10% of the respondents had qualified with PhD's, lastly 5% of respondents were certificate holders.

4.3.5: Period of time respondents stay in South Sudan

Figure 4.5 below illustrates the Period respondents stay in South Sudan



Source; Primary data (2018)

The majority of the respondents represented by 38% had stayed in South Sudan for less than a year followed by 30% of the respondents had stayed in South Sudan for 2-3 years, 22% of respondents had stayed in South Sudan for 3-5 years and lastly 10% of respondents stayed in South Sudan for 8 years and above.

Section (b): Root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan

The items were rated on the 5 point likert scale ranging between strongly disagree, disagree, not sure, agree and strongly agree. The findings are shown in table 4.1 below:

Table 4.3; Frequencies of the root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan

	Statement	Mean	Std Dev	Response mode
1.	President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état.	4.74	2.01	Strongly agree
2.	Political stability in South Sudan was threatened by the unresolved and protracted rivalries between President Kiir and former Vice President Machar, which date back to the 1990s.	4.65	2.10	Strongly Agree
3.	The SPLM's informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population's confidence in the state.	4.31	2.02	Strongly agree
4.	There is also Supremacy of SPLM/A that could explain the eruption of the conflict.	1.45	0.71	Disagreed
5.	Lack of a strong opposition to the SPLM from without ensured that power contest among SPLM leaders intensified	4.01	2.71	Agree
6.	Corruption in South Sudan remains one of the biggest obstacles for development in the nation and has become the norm in South Sudan.	4.39	2.06	Strongly agree
7.	Kiir's Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar's Nuer ethnic group has been accused of attacking the Dinka.	4.21	2.3	Agree
8.	Abundance, controversies regarding ownership, control, management and benefits of resources have led to dispute and conflict and will continue to do so even in the future influence by both local and external demand	4.32	2.04	Strongly agree
9.	Faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement, called the Cobra Faction, led by David YauYau rebelled against the government they accused of being prejudiced against the Murle.	4.22	2.0	Agree
10.	The Shilluk people, who were alleging persecution by the ruling Dinka, John Uliny from the Shilluk people began a rebellion, leading the Upper Nile faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement.	4.49	2.6	Strongly agree
	Average mean	4.09		Strongly Agree

Source: Primary data (2018)

Interpretation guide

5–4.21	Strongly agree
4.20–3–41	Agree
3.40–2.61	Not sure
2.60–1.81	Disagree
1.80–1	Strongly disagree

According to table 4.3 above indicates that, respondents strongly agreed that President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état as represented with (mean=4.74, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews by one of UN officials

President Salva Kiir is Dinka while the rebel leader, Dr. Riek Machar belongs to Nuer group. Since independence (2011), the Dinka has held key political positions dominating vital ministries and managing the oil proceeds in a manner that was perceived to favor the Dinka while marginalizing the Nuer and other minority groups in South Sudan.

“There after fighting broke out between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and SPLM-IO also known as the anti-governmental forces (AGF), igniting the civil war. Ugandan troops were deployed to fight alongside the South Sudanese government”

Respondents strongly agreed that there political stability in South Sudan was threatened by the unresolved and protracted rivalries between President Kiir and former Vice President Machar, which date back to the 1990s as represented with .(mean= 4.65, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews also another government official revealed;

“After being a major in Sudan's national army, Kiir joined the SPLM led by John Garang in 1983, and helped him to form the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

By contrast, Machar entered the SPLM and SPLA in 1984 after having completed a doctorate in the UK”

Responses on whether the SPLM’s informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population’s confidence in the state were as follows (mean= 4.31, strongly agreed)

During in-depth interviews with a human rights official;

“Our country South Sudan is characterised with limited institutional capacity, a lack of legitimacy, and an unhealthy symbiosis between the armed forces, the government, and the state”

He further adds that;

“The continued abuses of power disintegrated any hope of national unity as tribes eagerly and violently asserted their power at local, national and international levels. The long-standing simmering violence finally erupted, potentially destabilizing the Central and Eastern Africa region”

Also respondents on whether there was also Supremacy of SPLM/A that could explain the eruption of the conflict (mean= 1.45, disagreed).

During in-depth interviews with a politician;

“From the political point of view, it is not an exaggeration to state that South Sudan is practically a one-party state. Following the appointment of the post- independence government in August 2011, the SPLM controlled 26 of the 29 ministries, 94% of the seats in parliament and 9 of the 10 governorships”

An analysis on whether there was lack of a strong opposition to the SPLM from without ensured that power contest among SPLM leaders intensified was as follows (mean=4.01, agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the International Organisation officials;

“Since the signing of the CPA in 2005, economic and political power have been concentrated in the hands of the ruling class, and this undoubtedly by and large left the public susceptible and vulnerable to the whims and manoeuvrings of some political entrepreneurs who would do anything to get to or remain in power”

Responses on whether there was corruption in South Sudan remains one of the biggest obstacles for development in the nation and has become the norm in South Sudan was as follows (mean= 4.39 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one NGO official was quoted;

“Most of South Sudan’s government officials who have been in power since from 2005 were using the nation’s resources for their personal benefit and still they are using the nation’s resources for their personal benefit and still they are using it”

The official added

Accusing President Salva Kiir of encouraging rampant corruption, insecurity in the country, bad governance, bad foreign policy and economic failure, Dr. Riek Machar requested a National SPLM convention, convinced that he would lead the party and avoid a coup d’état. Failing to qualify to secure the position, Dr. Riek Machar attempted a coup resulting in President Salva Kiir swinging into a defensive action, thereby reversing ten years of economic progress across three states (Unity, Jonglei and Upper Nile).

Respondents also on whether Kiir’s Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar’s Nuer ethnic group have been accused of attacking the Dinka were as follows; (mean=4.21 agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of human rights official;

“As a result of the attack, more than 3.5 million people have been displaced in a country of about 12 million, with more than 2.1 million internally displaced and more than 1.5 million having fled to neighbouring countries, especially Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda”

From the respondents also it was revealed that there was an abundance controversy regarding ownership, control, management and benefits of resources which has led to the dispute and conflict and will continue to do so even in the future influence by both local and external demand as represented with (mean 4.32 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the politicians;

“Conflict over access to resource at the community level pursuit in South Sudan today increased by a growing population, the impact of climate change, and environmental degradation. The livelihood of rural people largely depend on their access to and control over land and natural resource, lack of water during the dry season as a root cause of local conflicts and insecurity. Pressure on grazing area has always been an issue of tensions”

Respondents also on whether there was faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement, called the Cobra Faction, led by David Yau Yau rebelled against the government they accused of being prejudiced against the Murle as represented with (mean 4.22 agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the government official;

“David Yau Yau faction signed a cease-fire with the government in 2011 and his militia was reintegrated into the army but he then defected again in 2012”

Lastly respondents on whether the Shilluk people, who were alleging persecution by the ruling Dinka, John Uliny from the Shilluk people began a rebellion, leading the Upper Nile faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement as represented with (4.49 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with UN official;

“Gabriel Tang who led a militia allied to Khartoum during the Second Sudanese Civil War, clashed regularly with the SPLA until 2011 when his soldiers were reintegrated into the national army”

The official went on to say

“The major challenge facing South Sudan is waiting for international actors to define the conflict. For example, Europeans and Africans are defining conflict in South Sudan claiming that the Dinka are fighting Nuer which he termed as unfortunate and advised international actors to acquaint themselves with the dynamics of the situation. Dr. Riek Machar as fuelling ethnic tensions, noting that the army, which is predominantly Nuer, is now threatening to overthrow the other 64 tribes of South Sudan. With regard to negotiations in Addis Ababa, the South Sudan government is willing to participate in the talks.

However, he noted that whereas the original talks saw Republic of South Sudan sign cessation of hostilities by Sudan People's Liberation Movement, Dr. Machar has now launched a new movement called South Sudan Resistance Movement. This presents major issues of concern moving forward"

According to table 4.3 the averages mean 4.09 strongly agreed which was a strong figure from the respondent's on as far as the root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan was concerned.

Section (c): Interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

The items were rated on the 5 point likert scale ranging between strongly disagree, disagree, not sure, agree and strongly agree. The findings are shown in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.4: Frequencies of the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

	Statement	Mean	Std. Dev	Response mode
1.	The SPLM/A was allowed to operate inside Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese lived in refugee camps.	3.45	1.23	Agree
2.	With efforts to end the conflict in Sudan, relations between South Sudan and Uganda improved.	4.74	3.01	Strongly agree
3.	Uganda has strong links to the SPLM/A, including decades of joint military deployments.	4.65	2.10	Strongly agree
4.	Uganda also committed to provide the SPLA with free passage through the country while conducting its operations.	4.45	2.32	Strongly agree
5.	Uganda played a role in mobilising forces associated with JEM(Justice and Equality Movement) in support of the government.	1.72	1.65	Disagree
6.	UPDF deployments in South Sudan, the current operation has been criticised for its alleged economic motivation and its treatment of civilians.	4.22	2.71	Strongly Agree
7.	Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan	4.33	2.19	Strongly Agree
8	South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods.	4.10	2.01	Strongly agree
9	South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda.	3.90	1.91	Agree
10	South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for	3.82	1.04	Agree

	the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students.			
11	Uganda's quick response could also have been prompted by historical experiences in the region particularly from Rwanda and Burundi where mass violence and genocide have occurred.	3.01	2.01	Not sure
	Average mean	3.85		Agree

Source: Primary data, (2018)

Interpretation guide

5–4.21	Strongly agree
4.20–3–41	Agree
3.40–2.61	Not sure
2.60–1.81	Disagree
1.80–1	Strongly disagree

The results shown in table 4.4 above reveal that, respondents strongly agreed that the SPLM/A was allowed to operate inside Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese lived in refugee camps (mean=4.45, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the UN officials;

“Uganda’s President Museveni and his National Resistance Movement had close ties with the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) under John Garang. Khartoum responded by arming and training rebel groups in northern Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA)”

The official further revealed that

The invitation from President Salva Kiir to intervene and evacuate Uganda citizens trapped in the conflict and assist in managing threats to both civilians and the legitimacy of the democratically elected government. He noted that on humanitarian grounds and for strategic reasons, Ugandan interests in South Sudan were too high for the UPDF to remain neutral. It was also observed that the Ugandan presence in South Sudan faced public and political criticism.

Uganda's deployment was being criticized as having been a pretext for military intervention devoid of legal sanctions and selectively deployed to achieve ambiguous ends. However, that by intervening with force, without advances authorization from the UN Security Council, Uganda invoked 'excusable breach', a technically illegal humanitarian intervention, according to the UN charter, but morally and politically justifiable in exceptional cases.

Respondents were not sure that with efforts to end the conflict in Sudan, relations between South Sudan and Uganda improved (mean= 4.74, strongly agree).

Also interview with one of the NGO officials

"During the 48th STON platform provided an opportunity for the Ugandan public to appreciate the crucial role the UPDF has and continues to play in preventing a humanitarian crisis in South Sudan. Presentations also provided an opportunity to the UPDF to explain its role in the conflict and how UPDF contributes to national and regional peace and stability. The rationale for the platform was to facilitate a deeper understanding of the nature, causes and actors in the South Sudan conflict to inform future conflict resolution interventions"

Responses strongly agreed Uganda has strong links to the SPLM/A, including decades of joint military deployments was as follows (mean= 4.65, strongly agreed)

During in-depth interviews with one of the UN officials;

"The Canadian 'responsibility to protect' doctrine where states are said to have a responsibility to intervene and protect the citizens of another state, especially in cases where that other state has failed in its obligation to protect its own citizens. The intervention, he said, would be done in three stages: prevention, reaction and rebuilding. Regional peace and security challenges included the difficulty and apparent gap in the law regarding human rights and intervention"

He further noted that;

"The UNSC (United Nations Security Council) has no legal right to authorize the use of force to prevent widespread deprivations of internationally recognized human rights.

In addition, without a regional framework for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, coordinating and executing joint regional peace support operations seemed to remain as a sole option for regional peace and security”.

Respondents also revealed that Uganda also committed to provide the SPLA with free passage through the country while conducting its operations (mean= 4.45, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the government official;

“By the time the National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M) came to power in Uganda in 1986, the conflict between the Khartoum government and the SPLA/M had been raging for close to three years”

An analysis on whether Uganda played a role in mobilising forces associated with JEM in support of the government was as follows; (mean=1.72, disagree).

During in-depth interviews with one of the international organisation official;

“The rebels wisely saw this as an opportunity to strengthen their position and so the withdrawal of Ugandan forces is now one of their many pre-conditions for the continuation of talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia”

Respondents on whether UPDF deployments in South Sudan, the current operation has been criticised for its alleged economic motivation and its treatment of civilians was as follows (4.22 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interview with a politician;

“This is on top of the IGAD mandate enshrined in Article 6A (d) of the agreement establishing the regional organization, which stipulates that member states are committed to the principle of maintenance of regional peace, stability and security”

Also on whether there Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan was as follows (mean 4.33 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the government officials;

“Understandably, those in opposition see the intervention as one-sided, but that does not take away the fact that the relative stability seen in Juba and other parts of the country is in large part a direct result of Uganda’s intervention”

The government official further revealed that

“There was a border dispute emerged in 2005 between communities in the Kajo-Keji county of South Sudan and the Ugandan district of Moyo. Tensions and incidents of violence along the border forced the suspension of a project to construct a road and a communications tower in the area. The presidents of Uganda and the South Sudan region met in November 2010 to promote the peaceful resolution of the dispute, but an agreement has not yet been reached. Surveyors from Uganda are expected to inspect the border in 2011”

Responses on whether there South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods was as follows (mean 4.10 strongly agreed)

During in-depth interviews with a politician;

“The revenue that accrues from real estate rents, school fees, visas and other related transactions directly pay for the running of Ugandan Government”

He further stated

“South Sudan has emerged in recent years as the largest importer of Ugandan goods. Over 150,000 Ugandan traders operate across the border, generating an estimated \$900 million in business. South Sudan relies heavily on its neighbors to provide goods such as construction materials and services such as skilled and unskilled labor. Approximately 1,500 Ugandans work in Southern Sudan in the construction industry, and 1,200 Ugandan professional are employed there with non-governmental organizations, ministries and industries.

The governments of Uganda and Southern Sudan have taken steps to strengthen economies ties, including a joint project to construct a state-of-the-art market in Juba, estimated to cost around \$850,000. Challenges to Ugandan trade and business in Southern Sudan include concerns over corruption and discrimination, poor road conditions, and language barriers. Construction is underway on a railroad line that will link Juba and parts of northern Uganda”

Respondents on the whether South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda was as follows (mean=3.90 agreed)

During in-depth interviews human rights official;

“These factors are important and could all have persuaded Uganda to respond militarily. Perhaps the last and by any measure not the least, is the relationship between President Museveni and President Kiir”

From the findings, it was revealed that South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students as represented with (mean=3.82 agreed).

During in-depth interviews human rights official;

“Commercial and socio-economic ties strengthened during the period after 2005. South Sudan annually received hundreds of millions of US dollars in oil revenue, while having no formal economy or commercial sector to absorb it”

He further noted;

“Over 100,000 students from Southern Sudan are currently attending school in Uganda and thousands more are expected to pursue undergraduate and graduate education in Kenya and Uganda in coming years. At the same time, many teachers from Kenya and Uganda have come to Southern Sudan to teach, given the region's shortage of professionally trained educators”

Lastly, respondents were not sure on whether Uganda’s quick response could also have been prompted by historical experiences in the region particularly from Rwanda and Burundi where mass violence and genocide have occurred (mean=3.01 not sure)

The results shown in table 4.4 reveal the average mean 3.85 agree which significant in the in the way that the motive of Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict was established with its respective reasons.

Section (d): What are the effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

The items were rated on the 5 point likert scale ranging between strongly disagree, disagree, not sure, agree and strongly agree. The findings are shown in table 4.3 below:

Table 4.5; Frequency of the effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

	Item	Mean	Std Dev	Response mode
1	Conflict has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations	4.78	3.01	Strongly Agree
2	The unpleasant realities of South Sudan war situation has divided communities	4.92	1.91	Strongly Agree
3	The war has increased the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable	3.23	1.11	Agree
4	There is cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side.	4.30	2.01	Strongly Agree
5	South Sudan is bound by provisions of international human rights law which have attained customary status in international law and include many.	3.95	1.05	Agree
6	The conflict has had a pronounced effect on South Sudan majorly compared to other neighbouring countries	4.14	2.67	Agree
7	Projections by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggest that real Growth Domestic Product (GDP) will decline by around 15% in 2015 in South Sudan and other neighbouring such as Uganda	4.15	2.34	Agree
8	The conflict has also imposed economic costs on neighbouring countries, notably Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.	4.00	2.76	Agree
9	The conflict has also impacted regional economic and political integration.	4.20	2.12	Agree
10	There have been attacks on hospitals, churches, mosques, and United Nations bases in South Sudan	4.21	2.50	Strongly Agree
11	The crisis has disrupted an already weak service delivery system, particularly in those three states namely; Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile most affected by conflict.	4.90	3.34	Strongly agree

12	Water supply in towns, including major hubs such as Bentiu and Malakal, is no longer functioning or accessible to civilians.	4.31	3.02	Agree
	Average mean	4.17		Agree

Source: Primary data, (2018)

Interpretation guide

5–4.21	Strongly agree
4.20–3–41	Agree
3.40–2.61	Not sure
2.60–1.81	Disagree
1.80–1	Strongly disagree

Frequencies in table 4.5 indicate that; respondents strongly agreed with (mean=4.78 strongly agreed) that conflict has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations reasons.

During in-depth interviews with a human right official;

“Instead of managing their differences in a constructive manner, the country’s political elites unwisely allowed carnage to freely roam the streets, and this has far greater consequences in political, economic and humanitarian terms”

He further revealed that;

“In June 2008, relations between South Sudan and Uganda became further strained when Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) soldiers were accused of posing as LRA rebels and killing and kidnapping civilians in the Nabanga area. Following this incident, Southern Sudan demanded that Uganda withdraw its troops from its territory. Nevertheless, in 2008-9 troops from Uganda, South Sudan and Congo launched the joint Garamba Offensive in the Democratic Republic of Congo in an effort to eliminate the LRA militarily”

Respondents also strongly agreed that the unpleasant realities of South Sudan war situation has divided communities (mean=4.92 strongly agreed)

During in-depth interviews politician was quoted;

“This is exactly what is happening in South Sudan following the outbreak of the current war”

Also respondents agreed that, the war has increased the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable (mean=3.23 agreed)

During in-depth interviews human rights official;

“This situation in part, explains the unwarranted, cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side”

Also there are cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side (mean=4.3 strongly agreed)

On whether South Sudan is bound by provisions of international human rights law which have attained customary status in international law and include many was as follows (mean=3.95 agreed).

During in-depth interviews with government official;

“The most basic human rights obligations, in particular those emanating from peremptory international law (Jus cogens) bind both the State and armed opposition groups in times of peace and during armed conflict”

Similarly, respondents strongly agreed that the conflict has had a pronounced effect on South Sudan majorly compared to other neighboring countries (mean 4.14 strongly agreed)

Also on whether the projections by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggest that real Growth Domestic Product (GDP) will decline by around 15% in 2015 in South Sudan and other neighboring such as Uganda was as follows (mean 4.15 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews human right official;

“Because much of South Sudan’s economic activity is informal, and therefore not (or imperfectly) captured in formal national accounts, the true costs incurred to date are likely to be considerably greater”

Respondents agreed that the conflict has also imposed economic costs on neighboring countries, notably Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia (mean 4.00 agreed).

During in-depth interviews with politician;

“Uganda, the society, as remittances from Ugandans working in South Sudan is an important source of income for their families back home”

Further findings revealed that the conflict has also impacted regional economic and political integration as represented with (mean=4.2 agreed)

During in-depth interviews NGO official;

“it has eroded South Sudan’s previously slim chance of being admitted to the East African Community in 2014”

Respondents revealed that there have been attacks on hospitals, churches, mosques, and United Nations bases in South Sudan as represented with (mean=4.21 agreed)

During in-depth interviews with a Human rights official;

“There are reasonable grounds to believe that violations of international human rights and humanitarian law have been committed by both parties to the conflict. These include extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, rape and other acts of sexual violence, arbitrary arrests and detention”

Also on whether the crisis has disrupted an already weak service delivery system, particularly in those three states most affected by conflict was represented with (mean=4.90 strongly agreed)

“An estimated 184 health facilities in the three conflict states have been either destroyed, are occupied, or are no longer functioning”

On whether water supply in towns, including major hubs such as Bentiu and Malakal, is no longer functioning or accessible to civilians represented with (mean=4.31 agreed)

“Lakes State has witnessed persistent inter-communal fighting. Many of the 1,200 schools in Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile are closed due to the conflict”

Table 4.5; indicate that the average means 4.17 strongly agreed which was a phenomenal response from the respondent on as far as the Political, Economic and Humanitarian effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

Section (e): Recommendations on effects of the conflict

The items were rated on the 5 point likert scale ranging between strongly disagree, disagree, not sure, agree and strongly agree. The findings are shown in table 4.4 below:

Table 4.6: Recommendations on effects of the conflict

	Item	Mean	Std. Dev	Response mode
1.	The government should ensure that there are established and effective institutions	4.32	2.34	Strongly agree
2.	There should be a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law; the conflict would have stopped in its early days.	4.31	2.32	Strongly agree
3.	South Sudan government should have a strong base of institution such as Judiciary and Executive bodies	3.65	2.10	Agree
4.	The government of South Sudan should create one political and economic society in South Sudan	4.42	2.32	Strongly agree
5.	There should be a long-term peace deal between President Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar	4.33	2.69	Strongly agree
6.	There is need for stakeholders involvement such as Faith Leaders, Women's Group, Civil Societies and Political Parties as well as other parties to the conflict.	4.43	2.71	Strongly agree
7.	There should be more support provided through funding and provision of logistical expertise	4.10	2.52	Agree
	Average mean	4.22		Strongly agree

Source: Primary data (2018)

Interpretation guide

5-4.21	Strongly agree
4.20-3-41	Agree
3.40-2.61	Not sure
2.60-1.81	Disagree
1.80-1	Strongly disagree

The results shown in table 4.6 above reveal that, respondents strongly agreed that the government should ensure that there are established and effective institutions (mean=4.32, strongly agreed) as one politician from the interview guide was quoted;

“Without the existence of properly built institutions; bad governance, dictatorship, the emergence of few favoured groups over others, corruption will prevail. For example, when one takes the justice system of South Sudan, if it was effective and the respect for the rule of law was there, the conflict would not have developed in to a big war that has created a big humanitarian crisis”

Respondents strongly agreed that there should be a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law; the conflict would have stopped in its early days as revealed by; (mean= 4.31, strongly agreed)

During in-depth interviews international organisation official;

“To this effect, the legislative, Judiciary and Executive bodies in South Sudan and other African should have a strong base of institution and have to function by democratic system not by an individual will. If the rule of law and a democratically elected government can’t be achieved, the future of Africa will not be different from yesterday and today”

Whereas responses on whether South Sudan government should have a strong base of institution such as Judiciary and Executive bodies (mean= 3.65, agreed).

During in-depth interviews from an NGO worker;

“The party (SPLM) by itself lacks its own established institutions to resolve differences and conflicts. If there were a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law, the conflict would have stopped in its early days”

Responses on whether the government of South Sudan should create one political and economic society in South Sudan were as follows (mean= 4.42, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with one of the politicians;

“If we again refer back to South Sudan, Salva kiir and Rick Machar’s power struggle was conducted through their own ethnic groups of Nuer and Dinka to participate in the conflict. This happened due to the fact that they were not living under the umbrellas of one economic and political society and that what should be done”

An analysis on whether there should be a long-term peace deal between President Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar were as follows; (mean=4.33, strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with government official;

“Any country that follows any kind of government structure be it parliamentary or presidential, unitary or federal, its final goal is to create one political community. It is a situation where, the population in a country has different culture, language and identity, but intertwined together like one nation”

Also to note whether there was need for stakeholders involvement such as Faith Leaders, Women’s Group, Civil Societies and Political Parties as well as other parties to the conflict were as follows (Mean= 4.43 strongly agreed).

During in-depth interviews with a government official;

“They easily mobilized to the notion of ethnicity and are still leading the way for their country to be a failed state. Therefore there is severe need for some other entities apart from political parties to be involved to lay the ground for peace”

Responses on whether there should be more support provided through funding and provision of logistical expertise ranged from; (mean= 4.10, agreed)

During in-depth interviews NGO official;

“An academician or politician has to enrich and develop these three ideas by conducting a deeper analysis and find a solution. If this can be achieved, the researcher is convinced that, African image of conflict in the global community will change significantly”

Results in table 4.5; indicate that the average means 4.22 strongly agreed which was an outstanding response from the respondent on as far as the recommendations on effects of the conflict

Pearson Correlations

Pearson Correlations were derived by assessing the degree of variations in the independent variable (Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict) and the dependent variable (effects) vary.

Table: 4.4: Correlation analysis between Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects

		Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict	Effects
Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict	Pearson Correlation	1	.703
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	43	43
Effects	Pearson Correlation	.703	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	43	43

A strong positive relationship ($r=.703$, $p<0.01$) was established because $.703$ is close to 1, with a p-value of 0.000 which is less than 0.01 implying that a positive relationship that was significant at 0.01 level existed between Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects. Therefore an alternative hypothesis (H_i) was retained and it was concluded that there was a significant relationship between Uganda’s involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with summary, discussion of findings, conclusion and recommendations related to Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects all was being drawn from the findings and analysis made after conducting the study. This was aimed at investigating the root causes of the current Intra-State Conflicts in South Sudan, at analysing the interests of Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and also at analysing the effects of the conflict within the South Sudan and Uganda.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

From the field findings, it was found out that the biggest percentage of the respondents were males followed by respondents were found females and this was because male respondents.

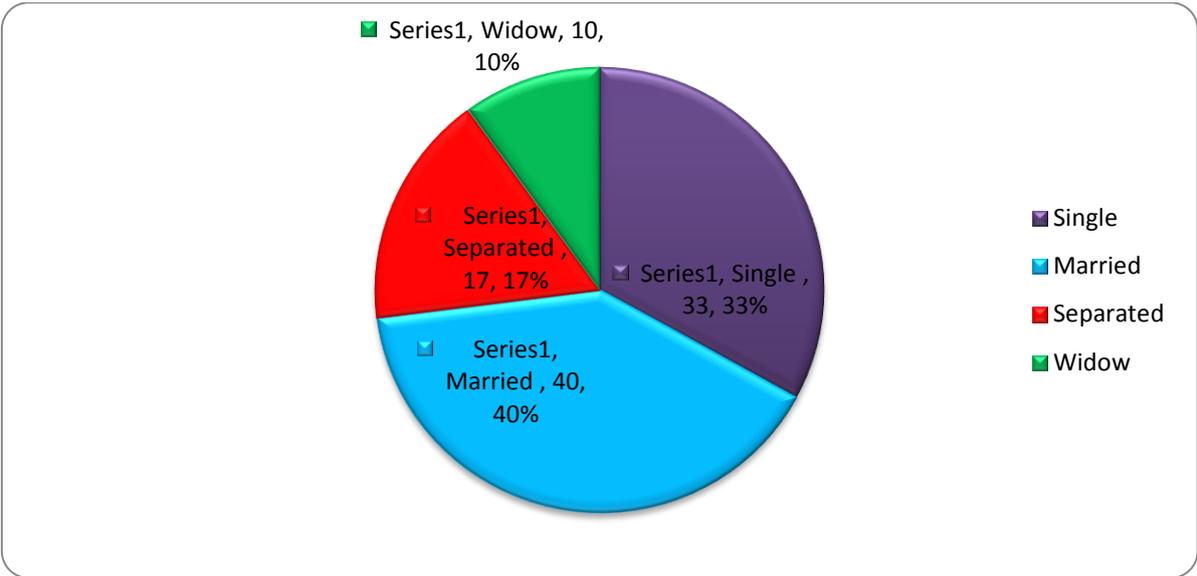
Tabled; Respondents gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	29	67.4
Female	14	32.6
Total	43	100

Source; primary data (2018)

According to table 4.1 above, the biggest percentage of the respondent's represented by 67.4% were found males whereas 32.6% of the respondents were found females.

The figure below presents the summary statistics of the respondent’s marital status



Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of the respondents 40% were married whereas 33 % of the respondents were single, 17% had separated lastly 10% of the respondents were widowed.

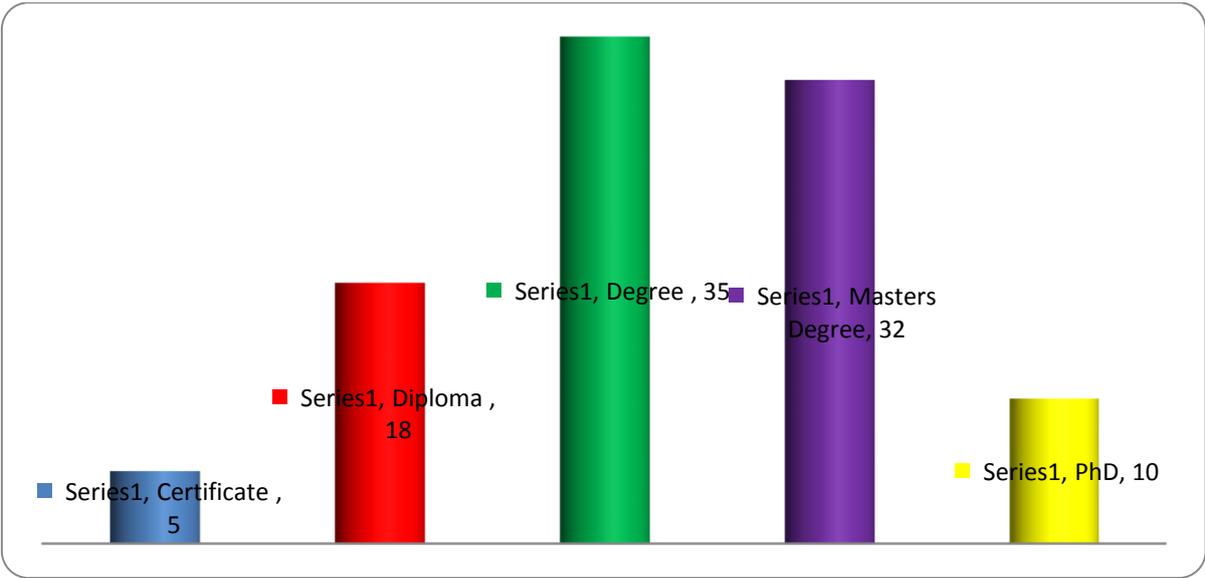
Table below displays the summary of statistics on the age of respondents.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Under 25	10	23.3
25-34	14	32.6
35-45	12	27.9
45 and above	07	16.2
Total	43	100

Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of the respondents represented by 32.6% were aged between 25-34 years followed by 27.9% of the respondents who were in the age bracket of 35-45 years, then 16.2% of the respondents were between above 45 years and lastly 23.3% of respondents who were under 25 years.

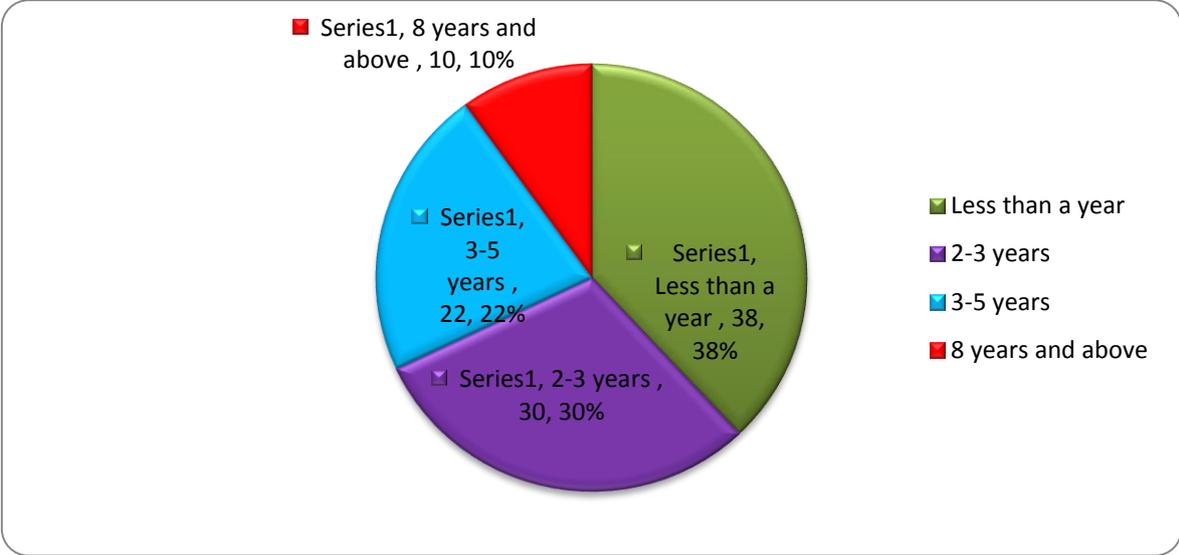
Figure 4.4 Below illustrates the statistics on respondent’s level of education



Source; Primary data (2018)

The biggest percentage of respondents 35% were degree holders, 32% of the respondents were masters degree holders whereas 18% of the respondents had attained their diplomas, 10% of the respondents had qualified with PhD’s, lastly 5% of respondents were certificate holders.

Figure below illustrates the period of time respondents stayed in South Sudan



Source; Primary data (2018)

The majority of the respondents represented by 38% had stayed in South Sudan for less than a year followed by 30% of the respondents had stayed in South Sudan for 2-3 years, 22% of

respondents had stayed in South Sudan for 3-5 years and lastly 10% of respondents stayed in South Sudan for 8 years and above.

5.2.1 The root causes of the current Intra-State Conflict in South Sudan

From the field findings, it was revealed that President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état that paved the way to the fighting that broke out between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and SPLM-IO also known as the anti-governmental forces (AGF), igniting the civil war. Ugandan troops were deployed to fight alongside the South Sudanese government. The United Nations has peacekeepers in the country as part of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).

In addition, the SPLM's informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population's confidence in the state. In a similar, Koos & Gutschke, (2014) revealed that the fact is, however, that the South Sudanese central state is largely under the control of the former rebel movement, the SPLM. Former SPLM officers or persons loyal to the group occupy most senior positions in all branches of the state, including the sub national levels. Formal qualifications have rarely been the key criteria for obtaining a specific government position, and the state's performance has suffered as a result.

Related to the above also, was also Supremacy of SPLM/A that could explain the eruption of the conflict. This was in line with Fiseha Moreda, (2013) that following the appointment of the post-independence government in August 2011, the SPLM controlled 26 of the 29 ministries, 94% of the seats in parliament and 9 of the 10 governorships. Given this SPLM dominance, it has not been possible for any other political party to pose a strong challenge to South Sudan's ruling party.

Further, corruption has remained one of the biggest obstacles for development in the nation and has become the norm in South Sudan. Similarly to note, Mores, (2013) who pointed out that as a result South Sudan has remained as one of the poorest states in Africa due to corruption. Corruption is present in all sectors of the economy and at all levels of the new state apparatus. Corruption is manifested in various forms, including financial and political corruption,

patronage, pervasive tribalism and misuse of power. Both petty and grand forms of corruption are prevalent in South Sudan.

On the other hand, Kiir's Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar's Nuer ethnic group have been accused of attacking the Dinka. Furthermore, Bujra, (2002) points out that more than 3.5 million people have been displaced in a country of about 12 million, with more than 2.1 million internally displaced and more than 1.5 million having fled to neighbouring countries, especially Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda. Fighting in the agricultural heart in the south of the country has soared the number of people facing starvation to 6 million with famine breaking out in some areas.

Away from that was abundance, controversies regarding ownership, control, management and benefits of resources have led to dispute and conflict and will continue to do so even in the future influence by both local and external demand. This was in line with (Girma, 1999) conflict over access to resource at the community level pursuit in South Sudan today increased by a growing population, the impact of climate change, and environmental degradation. The livelihood of rural people largely depend on their access to and control over land and natural resource, lack of water during the dry season as a root cause of local conflicts and insecurity. Pressure on grazing area has always been an issue of tensions.

5.2.2 The interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

It was also revealed that the SPLM/A was allowed to operate inside Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese lived in refugee camps. In the same way, Hewstone, (2001) revealed that Uganda's President Museveni and his National Resistance Movement had close ties with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) under John Garang. Khartoum responded by arming and training rebel groups in northern Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). As a consequence of this mutual interference, Sudan-Uganda relations during the 1990s were frosty.

Also to note was that, Uganda has strong links to the SPLM/A, including decades of joint military deployments. Similarly to note, according to Apuuli, (2014), the outbreak of a new civil war in the south and the formation of the SPLA/M was precipitated by President Gaafar Nimeiri abrogating the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement by dividing the south into three regions

and imposing Islamic law on the whole country, including Southern Sudan. When the NRM government came to power, it faced an insurgency in northern Uganda.

Findings also revealed that, Uganda also committed to provide the SPLA with free passage through the country while conducting its operations. This was in line with Howes, (2012) coming to the current intervention, when conflict broke out in December 2013, the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) was deployed beside the SPLA as part of a regional force to counter the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the one-time Ugandan insurgency that is causing chaos in the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan.

In addition, the UPDF deployments in South Sudan, the current operation has been criticised for its alleged economic motivation and its treatment of civilians. Related to this was that, Fearon & Laitin, (2003) revealed that this is on top of the IGAD mandate enshrined in Article 6A (d) of the agreement establishing the regional organization, which stipulates that member states are committed to the principle of maintenance of regional peace, stability and security.

Also Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan. Correspondingly, Johnson, (2014) whether Uganda was actually requested to intervene by IGAD or foreign powers makes no much difference because it also has a lot of stake in the stability of South Sudan as aforementioned.

It was also established that South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods. Related to this, Awolich, (2014) revealed that South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda. South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students. This is in addition to cash transfers from Ugandan nationals working in South Sudan. The revenue that accrues from real estate rents, school fees, visas and other related transactions directly pay for the running of Ugandan Government. Security wise, the SPLA is a key ally in Uganda's fight against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which is an internationally recognized terrorist organization.

Lastly on this, South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students. Similarly, Shankleman, (2001) asserts that commercial and socio-economic ties strengthened during the period after 2005. South Sudan annually received hundreds of millions of US dollars in oil revenue, while having no formal economy or commercial sector to absorb it. Traders and entrepreneurs poured in, mainly to Juba and other towns. From Uganda came petty traders selling foodstuffs and everyday articles, motorcycle-taxi (*boda-boda*) drivers, carpenters, masons and others seeking employment in construction. Although the value of Ugandan investments is probably surpassed by those of Ethiopians and Kenyans, the number of Ugandans in South Sudan was much greater. Some claim that before the current civil war, Ugandans in South Sudan surpassed one million, or about 5% of Uganda's population.

5.2.3 Effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

Findings revealed that conflict has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations reasons. It was also discovered that the eruption of this unconscionable military confrontation, which has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations, and certainly not to mention damage to property, showcases in great measure the inexcusable failure of collective leadership on the part of those entrusted, top-levelled stewards. Instead of managing their differences in a constructive manner, the country's political elites unwisely allowed carnage to freely roam the streets, and this has far greater consequences in political, economic and humanitarian terms.

It was also found out that the unpleasant realities of South Sudan war situation have divided communities. This was in line with Luka Biong Deng (2010) that now more than ever in the history of the South Sudanese people, the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable, and this situation in part, explains the unwarranted, cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side.

Field findings also revealed that the war has increased the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable in contrary to the above, Koos & Gutschke, (2014) pointed out that in this heightened, polarized war, there are a number of potential political impacts that the South Sudanese society would have to grapple with. There is a possibility that some South Sudanese

may find themselves most likely to identify politically along ethnic lines, and if this happens, the consequences in terms of instability political and otherwise, are great.

Also there are cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side. In the same way, states are responsible under international human rights law to guarantee the protection and preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms at all times, in war and peace alike. South Sudan has not yet ratified any core international or regional human rights treaty. (UNMISS, 2014).

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations on the root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan

Address governance issues: The government of South Sudan should address issues of rampant corruption among government officials. There is biting poverty among the general population, heavy reliance on foreign investors, and the local people are generally not involved in the affairs of the country. Therefore, moving forward, the government should involve the local communities in the affairs of their country.

Invest in security sector reform: There is a need to integrate the various militias into the army. The international community should assist the government of South Sudan in reforming and creating a more integrated army. It was advised that South Sudan should borrow from Uganda's experience in building a strong army and instead of relying on it in times of trouble.

5.3.2 Recommendations on the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

Focus on state building: As a new nation emerging from the war, South Sudan was bound have challenges. It is necessary for the government to be broad based and inclusive, bringing all actors into the process of building a lasting peace in South Sudan.

Mobilize the elite groups: The elite groups should be mobilized with a constructive agenda to take responsibility for the future of south Sudan in order to ensure lasting dialogue and continued peace in the country.

Neighboring states should be motivated to respond for similar reasons or concern of the conflict in South Sudan. Borders in Africa are soft and porous, meaning that anything can quickly spread from one state to another from political crises to humanitarian crises, from insurgents to refugees. It is difficult to shut down an African border to all potential threats.

The region should have a strong incentive to respond to a conflict within their neighbors' borders before it expands and threatens the peace and stability in their own state. This becomes particularly important when the state in crisis has an economic or trade relationship with the other states in the region, as it elicits a stronger military reaction.

The personal relations and aspirations of the neighbouring nations' leaders should play an important role, as was so obviously seen in the case of Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict.

5.3.3 Recommendations on the effects of the conflict

From the field findings, government should ensure that there are established and effective institutions. Also there should be a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law; the conflict would have stopped in its early days.

Findings also recommended that South Sudan government should have a strong base of institution such as Judiciary and Executive bodies. The mentioned institutions should have both moral and financial support from the government of South Sudan and the international community and should as well have qualified staff, which is dedicated to serve, efficient and corrupt free. Similarly, the government of South Sudan should create one political and economic society in South Sudan.

There should be a long-term peace deal between President Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar. And there is need for stakeholders involvement such as Faith Leaders, Women's Group, Civil Societies and Political Parties as well as other parties to the conflict.

President Kiir should intensify efforts at ensuring full democratization of the system. This will facilitate equitable distribution of resources and income, accountability and transparency. The feeling of discord been experienced is itself a catalyst for the on-going crisis. Once government is accountable, transparent and open, citizens are not likely to take up arms against the state.

5.3.4 General Recommendations

There should be reaction from international organizations (on global and regional levels) when a crisis breaks out. In this thesis, the UN and the AU are the two such organizations under consideration. In these cases, it is the tendency of the organizations to allow for organizations on lower hierarchical levels to respond first. For the UN, this means non-intervention until the AU has had the opportunity to attempt to resolve the issues. This reaction is based in the legal context of the UN Charter and on the length of time that it actually takes to mount a UN mission and is as such an expected response. For the AU, however, no such legal stipulation exists in the AU Constitutive Treaty or its corresponding Protocols. The AU and sub-regional organizations are bound in text to work together to resolve situations. It is typically only when those groups are unable to respond due to financial or logistic shortcomings that the AU has stepped in to de-regionalize the response.

5.4 Conclusion

5.4.1 The root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan

The South Sudan Peace Talks have tested the integrity and unity of the region and its institutions. Although one can observe the resurgence of some as leading contenders in the peace process, it should be noted that each country in the region has its own importance and leverage to pull. Yet, based on the findings in this study, there would always be one that has a more predominant role than the other. Nevertheless, the South Sudan Peace process has proved that there cannot be a solution not only without the contending parties but the region as well. Regionalism was thus an important mobilizing factor in the reaching of a consensus between President Salva Kiir Dr. Riek Machar. To the contrary of regionalism however, hegemony hinders mediation in the region, especially in the case of South Sudan.

5.4.2 The interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

Military or peacekeeping intervention is typically seen as a last resort, however, if a country or organization already has forces on the ground from a previous conflict, they may be repurposed immediately to aid in civilian protection while regional or sub-regional organizations work to resolve the conflict. In the case of situations which have spurred stark humanitarian crises as in South Sudan the organizations are more likely to respond with targeted sanctions against the leaders of groups and governments which have stood in the path of peace creation. In all situations, dialogue and reconciliation are encouraged as the first lines of response.

5.4.3 Effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

This thesis has taken a careful look into the crises which have broken out in South Sudan since 2012. By analysing the nature of these crises and the response of the international community, one can draw conclusions regarding a pattern of response behaviour in the event of such outbreaks of violence and chaos. While such a pattern cannot be considered conclusive based upon, it can provide a springboard from which to analyse other conflicts and to seek further proof of such a pattern.

5.4.4 General conclusion and contribution to the knowledge

In recent years various studies have been attempting to analyse involvement of different parties in given conflict but these studies did not comprehensively address to the motives of immediate neighbour country's involvement, the country that has experienced decades of instability both within its soil and in the region and reacted to these instabilities directly by all means possible. On the other hand, in the studies that have focused on this context of South Sudan, methodological approach -primarily mixed method- was not applied properly with suitable techniques of data collection. As well as using cross-sectional study many findings and outcomes can be analysed to create new theories/studies or in-depth research which was achieved in this study.

Furthermore, when it comes to the theoretical aspect of the study researcher has figured out that although Theory of Security Dilemma has been referred in order to analyse relations at international level, it can be academically useful while addressing intrastate conflicts. Because factors that drive actors at international level to create conflicts and make the situation dilemma can as well lead parties of an intrastate conflict to perpetuate the situation in conflict.

It is worthy of notice that despite the fact that 'conflict theory' has applicability in this case, most apparent weakness of given theory was manifested in the context of the study. Because the theory claims that division between social classes is ultimately a power struggle, a competitive force in which one group seeks domination and control over the weaker group. And also it tends to comprehend the people that are rivals or competitors and it does not live room for conflict resolution, peace integration or cooperation by laying ground for agreements between/among parties of conflict, it rather offers that 'Revolution' is necessary to alter society to make it "just," whereas it's been testified by many incidents that 'peace talks' pave the way for stability and peace integration which is profoundly discussed in this work. Therefore this

work addresses to this particular area of the study by utilizing advantages of mixed method, basing on its research findings and presenting required recommendations.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH SUDAN

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is **SAIM CELIK** a student at Kampala international university Kampala, Uganda a Degree of Master in International Relations and Diplomacy. This questionnaire is designed to collect information aimed *at examining the Uganda's involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries*. The information obtained will be strictly for academic purposes and it will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I kindly request you to fill this questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation

Section (A): Bio Data

1). Gender:

1	2
Male	Female

2). Marital status:

1	2	3	4	5
Single	Married	Divorce	Separated	Widow/Widower

3). Age Group:

1	2	3	4
Under 25 Years	25 – 34 years	35-45 Years	45 Years and above

4). Level of education:

1	2	3	4	5
Certificate	Diploma	Degree	Master degree	PhD

5). Time spent serving in South Sudan?

1	2	3	4
Less than a year	2-3 years	3-5 years	8 Years and above

Section (b): The root causes of the current intra-state conflicts in South Sudan

S/No	<p>The root causes of the current Intra-State Conflicts in South Sudan</p> <p>Please tick the scale as appropriate.</p>	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5
1	President Kiir accused his former deputy Riek Machar and ten others of attempting a coup d'état.					
2	Political stability in South Sudan was threatened by the unresolved and protracted rivalries between President Kiir and former Vice President Machar, which date back to the 1990s.					
3	The SPLM's informal networks have sidelined the formal democratic institutions and processes provided through the South Sudanese constitution, which has reduced the population's confidence in the state.					
4	There is also Supremacy of SPLM/A that could explain the eruption of the conflict.					
5	Lack of a strong opposition to the SPLM from without ensured that power contest among SPLM leaders intensified					
6	Corruption in South Sudan remains one of the biggest obstacles for development in the nation and has become the norm in South Sudan.					
7	Kiir's Dinka ethnic group has been accused of attacking other ethnic groups and Machar's Nuer ethnic group has been accused of attacking the Dinka.					
8	Abundance, controversies regarding ownership, control, management and benefits of resources have led to dispute and conflict and will continue to do so even in the future influence by both local and external demand					
9	Faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement, called the Cobra Faction, led by David YauYau rebelled against the government they accused of being prejudiced against the Murle.					
10	The Shilluk people, who were alleging persecution by the ruling Dinka, John Uliny from the Shilluk people began a rebellion, leading the Upper Nile faction of the South Sudan Democratic Movement.					
11	There were disagreements over the vision as well as the leadership, leading to an internal fight between two factions					

Section (c): Interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict

S/NO	Interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict Kindly indicate according to your opinion	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The SPLM/A was allowed to operate inside Uganda, where hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese lived in refugee camps.					
2	With efforts to end the conflict in Sudan, relations between South Sudan and Uganda improved					
3	Uganda has strong links to the SPLM/A, including decades of joint military deployments.					
4	Uganda also committed to provide the SPLA with free passage through the country while conducting its operations.					
5	Uganda may have also played a role in mobilising forces associated with JEM (Justice and Equality Movement) in support of the government.					
6	UPDF deployments in South Sudan, the current operation has been criticised for its alleged economic motivation and its treatment of civilians.					
7	Uganda has the moral responsibility, security, and economic interests in South Sudan					
8	South Sudan is the largest trading partner of Uganda in the region, especially for its manufactured and agricultural goods.					
9	South Sudan employs a significant number of Ugandans, particularly in the service sector providing essential revenue for Uganda.					
10	South Sudan supports the Ugandan economy largely through the transfer of hard currency for the upkeep of South Sudanese families living in Uganda, including students.					
11	Uganda's quick response could also have been prompted by historical experiences in the region particularly from Rwanda and Burundi where mass violence and genocide have occurred.					

Section (d): Effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda.

S/NO	<p align="center">Effects of the conflict</p> <p align="center">Kindly indicate according to your opinion</p>	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Conflict has clearly inflicted countless suffering and destruction on innocent citizens in terms of lives lost, their way of life, individual and social relations					
2	The unpleasant realities of South Sudan war situation has divided communities					
3	The war has increased the level of distrust and hatred is simply unimaginable					
4	There is cruel and indiscriminate killings of innocent, unarmed civilians that both sides to the conflict meted out on those suspected of supporting the other side.					
5	South Sudan is bound by provisions of international human rights law which have attained customary status in international law and include many.					
6	The conflict has had a pronounced effect on South Sudan.					
7	Projections by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suggest that real Growth Domestic Product (GDP) will decline by around 15% in 2015.					
8	The conflict has also imposed economic costs on neighbouring countries, notably Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.					
9	The conflict has also impacted regional economic and political integration.					
10	There have been attacks on hospitals, churches, mosques, and United Nations bases.					
11	The crisis has disrupted an already weak service delivery system, particularly in those three states namely; Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile. most affected by conflict.					
12	Water supply in towns, including major hubs such as Bentiu and Malakal, is no longer functioning or accessible to civilians.					

Section (d): Recommendations on effects of the conflict

S/NO	<p>Recommendations on effects of the conflict Kindly indicate according to your opinion</p>	Strongly disagreed	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5
1	The government should ensure that there are established and effective institutions					
2	There should be a free and an organized justice system which is essential to people remind everyone to be under the law; the conflict would have stopped in its early days.					
3	South Sudan government should have a strong base of institution such as Judiciary and Executive bodies					
4	The government of South Sudan should create one political community.					
5	Create one political and economic society in South Sudan					
6	There should be mediating the peace deal between President Kiir and Vice President Riek Machar					
7	There is need for stakeholders involvement such as Faith Leaders, Women's Group, Civil Societies and Political Parties as well as other parties to the conflict.					
8	There should be more support provided through funding and provision of logistical expertise					
9	The government of South Sudan with support from other stakeholders should continue to deploy more military force inside and along the borders of South Sudan					

Thank you very much for your cooperation

APPENDIX II:

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO THE KEY OFFICIALS

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is **SAIM CELIK** a student at Kampala International University Kampala, Uganda a Degree of Master in International Relations and Diplomacy. This form is designed to collect information aimed *at examining Uganda's Involvement in South Sudan conflict and its effects on both countries*. The information obtained will be strictly for academic purposes and it will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I kindly request you to fill this form. Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

Section (A): Bio Data

1). Gender:

1	2
Male	Female

2). Marital status:

1	2	3	4	5
Single	Married	Divorce	Separated	Widow/Widower

3). Age Group:

1	2	3	4
Under 25 Years	25 – 34 years	35-45 Years	45 Years and above

4). Level of education:

1	2	3	4	5
Certificate	Diploma	Degree	Masters degree	PhD

5). Time spent serving in South Sudan?

1	2	3	4
Less than a year	2-3 years	3-5 years	8 Years and above

- 6) What are the root causes of the current Intra-State Conflicts in South Sudan?
- 7) What are the interests of Uganda in South Sudan conflict?
- 8) What are the effects of the conflict within South Sudan and Uganda?
- 9) What are the recommendations on effects of the conflict?

Thank you very much for your cooperation

APPENDIX III:

Sample size(s) required for the given population sizes (N)

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	266	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	346
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	354
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	191	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	370
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	230	144	550	226	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	254	2600	335	10000	384

SOURCE: Krejeie and Morgan (1970), Determining sample size for research activities, Educational and psychological measurement, 30,608, sage publications.