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A STUDY ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY: FOCUSING ON THE SUDAN CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION PROCESS 2005 TO 2016

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ACRONOYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU: African Union

CHO: Cessation of Hostilities

CAR: Central African Republic

CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement

COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

DRC: Democratic republic of Congo

EU: European Union

ECOWAS: Economic community of West African States

EAC: East African Community

GOC: General Officer Commanding

GNI: Gross National Income

ICGLR: International Conference of the Great lakes Region

IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IMF: International Monetary Fund

KNBS: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

MOFEP: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

PPP: Purchasing Power Parity

SPLA: Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLM: Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SADC: Southern African Development Community

THEC: The Transnational High Executive Council

UN: UNITED NATIONS

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for refugees

UNMISS: United Nations Mission in South Sudan

UNESCO: United Nations Educational scientific and cultural organization

ABSTRACT

Analysis of the conflict in South Sudan concentrating on the origins and the search for solutions is what constitutes this research. The analysis focuses on examining explanations of the conflict and previous attempts at settlement. Theoretical approaches are introduced in the conflict resolution theories and the analysis of the different conflict resolution approaches in line with the evolution and dynamics of the conflict.

The South Sudan conflict traces its roots to the period after independence in 1956 which was followed with tensions between the north that is dominated by Arabs and the south that is dominated by African tribes.

It's the longest civil unrest in Africa and has lasted for almost sixty years and has impacted heavily on the social and economic development of not only South Sudan but the neighboring countries in the East African community and the Great lakes region that include Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.

The conflict has also led to porous borders between south Sudan and her immediate neighbors such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and the DR Congo.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the impact of conflict on the development of the East African Community between 2005 to 2016 and justify the significance of the stability of South Sudan to the region.

Keywords: East African community, Economic development, conflict resolution, regional integration, Ethnicity, Economic inequality.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The East African community lies within the great lakes region of Africa and is endowed with tropical rain forests, mountains, savannah grasslands, national parks, some of the deepest and largest inland lakes in the world such as Lake Albert in Uganda, the Lake Tanganyika in Tanzania and Burundi then Lake Victoria that strides the three countries of East Africa (Uganda,Kenya,Tanzania).

That region has vast natural resources that include oil, gold, copper, tanzanite, uranium, coal, diamonds, natural gas, phosphates, fertile lands and soils that enhance agricultural production.

It is also blessed with the longest river- the Nile in the world whose source in Uganda has many other feeder rivers in the region that include river Katonga, the Kagera in Rwanda and Tanzania, the Blue and white Nile in Ethiopia and South Sudan. The region is also interlinked through cultural and ethnic similarities among its indigenous people. The Dinka and Nuer of South Sudan have cultural and linguistic similarities with the Lugbara and Kakwa of Uganda and the vast water sources of the great lakes region and rivers interlink the

countries. However such interconnectedness has not fully translated into cooperation that can lead to economic development among the countries in the region. The East African Community comprises of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan that was admitted as a new member in March 2016.

With many conflicts and security challenges engulfing the countries of the region in Burundi, Uganda, South Sudan and Kenya, this study seeks to explore the conflict resolution process of the Sudan conflict and its link to economic development of the EAC.

South Sudan's territory was curved out of the southern territory of Sudan and is a diverse region with over sixty different ethnic groups who follow traditional religions.

The territorial area of this research will be majorly centered on South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania.

Prolonged conflict in South Sudan created a spillover effect to the neighboring countries since the borders of the countries such as CAR, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and DRC became porous. The conflict further affected the neighboring countries from a social, political and economic perspective. Militia groups and regional rebel groups from countries such as Uganda, CAR and DRC created

bases for their operations in the areas that lacked centralized authority from South Sudan's government administration. Rebel groups profiteered from illegal trade in South Sudan's natural resources such as forestry, minerals such as gold, diamonds, illegal arms trade and wild life was also killed for its ivory and Rhino horn.

The refugee spill over has also put enormous pressure on the social services of neighboring countries and created a security risk since some refugees arrive with violent behaviors and conflicts based on ethnicity and fail to integrate with the locals. There has been a rise in conflicts over land for both grazing animals and farming with local communities especially in places like Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia thus putting a large strain on the social services of the border communities. This research will also further seek to explore the origins of the conflict in South Sudan and analyze it through international relations theories such as constructivism and neofunctionalism. By drawing comparisons with the success of previous divided nations whose conflicts have been solved peacefully such as the East-West Germany conflict and the Korean peninsula conflict although with an armistice in place then Eritrea- Ethiopia conflict where its resolution approach led to a halt in hostilities.

The research will include recommendations relevant to the South Sudan situation and also analyze which particular conflict resolution approach led to relative economic growth.

This will also include analyzing other approaches that have been applied to solving the conflict such as regional integration and its success in solving conflicts and the role played by the international community. It will also include gathering data so as to establish why no eminent approach has fully solved the South Sudan conflict even after the granting of independence.

1   HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT

As the world's youngest and newest nation, South Sudan was once a part of Sudan. The origins of the conflicts in Sudan between the Arabs and black Africans trace their roots from years of exploitation and slavery by the Arabs towards the black Africans. This was followed by colonial rule over the territories. The origins of the conflict have made it impossible for scholars to explain the recent resurrection of conflicts in the country. Ethnic differences, religion, scramble for natural resources, and inequality caused by imperialist meddling have all been analyzed as major causes of the crisis however none fully explains why no conclusive approach has fully resolved the conflict (Greg, 2017).

Dr Lako (2016) argues that to understand why a politically and ethnically engendered violence situation engulfed South Sudan even after independence, the origins are rooted into how the SPLM/SPLA was formed.

According to retired Major General James Loro the former president of the Transitional High Executive Council (THEC), he states that the SPLM/SPLA started as a mutiny by Battalion 105 on a background of embezzlement of funds and salaries belonging to soldiers**.**

The accused officers upon being ordered to report to Juba immediately for investigation decided to stage a mutiny capitalizing on the widespread dissent in the Jieng community against the redivision of South Sudan into three regions.

They joined forces with the Anyanya 2 movement that was active as a low-grade insurgency in the area since the Akobo uprising in 1975.The above statement is viewed by analysts as credible since he was a former commander of Battalion 105 whose facts were coordinated from his former subordinates. He served as General Officer Commanding -GOC of the Southern Division in Juba at the time of the mutiny.

The late Dr. John Garang using his leadership charisma, education, and political talents hijacked the mutineer's movement and transformed it into what is now known as Sudan People's Liberation Army. With stiff resistance from another

Anyanya group which ultimately succumbed after he succeeded in soliciting support for his group from Ethiopia, Garang was ruthless in his quest to consolidate power. Prominent leaders like Samuel Gai Tut, Akuot Atem, Joseph Oduho and Martin Majier died under mysterious circumstances. The early roots of the founding of the SPLM clearly indicate that the culture of violence is deeply-rooted within the SPLM.

This further explains the numerous atrocities committed by the SPLA against the civil population. Some of the then young recruits and child soldiers over 30 years ago are now the commanders and the high-ranking officers in the SPLA army units.

This justifies why many citizens rate SPLA as the number one threat to their lives before disease, environmental catastrophe and famine.

Interpersonal violence when looked at from a historical perspective is a universal human experience and its meanings are various always changing and an impediment to progress and development. Violence is always associated with power (Stuart, 2007).

Like the case in South Sudan where different factions are vying for power and legitimization, there is evidence that shows that because of a lack of functioning judicial systems, extrajudicial and revenge killings have dominated the conflict.

1.1 PURPOSE AND GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

Many approaches have been used to find a lasting solution to the conflict which is currently the longest civil war in Africa but all have offered temporary solutions to ending the war. These have included regional and international sanctions, UN arms embargos, military approach by all warring parties, cessation of hostilities, power sharing agreements and then later the secession by the South and granting of Independence.

By carefully analyzing all the approaches, the purpose of this research is to evaluate the conflict resolution approach that impacted on the economic development of South Sudan positively and the East African community since South Sudan has been a leading export destination and trade partner of the EAC countries between 2005 to 2016.

1.1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The author being a Foreign Service Officer chose this topic because of his involvement in many regional peace and security engagements in the great lakes region.

This has included the Burundi conflict, the Somalia conflict, the ADF conflict, the DRC conflicts and the South Sudan Conflict.

With an estimated one million South Sudanese refugees in Uganda, the Sudan conflict has had a major spillover effect on Uganda from a social, economic and political perspective.

Finding the right approach on how international organizations coordinate with the South Sudanese government so as to improve state capacity and deliver basic services and peacefully resolve the conflict is a major concern for many organizations and regional governments (Feinstein international centre, 2017).

1.1.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Why has it been difficult to solve the South Sudan conflict for over 30 years?

Are vested interests by different regional stake holders a hindrance in solving the conflict?

Has the interference of the major powers been an obstacle to solving the conflict?

Which conflict resolution approach led to economic development in South Sudan and the EAC between the specified periods 2005-2016?

Is regionalism a better approach at solving conflicts with cross border spillover effects?

In chapter one an introduction and historical background of the conflict has been covered while chapter two constitutes a literature review that comprises analyzing the work of previous authors on the topic and it will also include carefully analyzing the aspects that have not been previously addressed such as to why there is no conclusive solution to solving the conflict. This will also include integrating theories such as neo-functionalism and constructivism in the theoretical analysis of the research since ideas, beliefs and religion are playing a big part in the conflict.

Chapter three constitutes the methodology where the qualitative and quantitative methods will be used and this will also include a description of data gathering methods, type of sampling chosen and a hypothesis. In Chapter four economic growth in the EAC and the impact of the South Sudan conflict on the region is discussed.

Chapter five consists of an evaluation of the existing conflict resolution approaches that have been applied in solving the conflict in a chronological order. Chapter six constitutes an evaluation of regional integration being analyzed as the most efficient approach of solving the conflict and the conclusion covers chapter seven with policy recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The causes of the insecurities in South Sudan's conflict resolution, the implications of the conflict on its people and the region, the possible solutions that have been tried by the government and community leaders and also the role of regional bodies such as IGAD in the conflict resolution process are some of the key issues to be addressed in the literature review.

KEY CONCEPTS

2   Conflict

Coser (1956) defines conflict as differences in interests and beliefs where the parties aspirations might not be achieved while Folger and Stutman (1997) defines it as the interface among people with incompatibility of goals leading to interference in achieving those goals. However the definition most relevant for this research is the one by Rummel (1979) where it's defined as a situation where underlying goals and beliefs, mutual perception and communication of the people differ.

2.1   Conflict Resolution

According to uslegal (2017) an online legal dictionary defines conflict resolution as the processes and method that involves facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution.

Its main focus involves a combination of opposing arguments that lead to the protection and safeguarding of human rights of all parties involved.

Other scholars such as Peter (2015) state that since the end of the 2nd world war many peace agreements have been signed aimed at ending different conflicts in the world, however many utterly failed and just remained signatures on paper. He further argues that there is a need for a new approach in understanding conflict resolution.

2.2   Role of Intergovernmental Authority on Development in the conflict and its challenges

Being a regional body that constitutes eight member countries that include Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia.Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan and South Sudan, Walgak (2015) argues that in the South Sudan context IGAD has had full responsibility and duties to oversee the whole peace agreement and monitor the stake holder's actions that are impending the peace process.

However IGAD neglected the full implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CHO) signed by the two main warring factions. IGAD has also been accused of failing to force the UPDF to withdraw from South Sudan territory and force the side that violated the agreements to re-commitment. It also failed to address the root cause of the conflict but instead used a top-down approach and hence ignored the traditional approaches that could be more effective since they have been used by African people when solving their conflicts in the past.

IGAD also did not engage the disputing sides in direct talks that could probably lead into honest discussions and final solutions. It has been accused of designing a biased solution in an attempt to end the conflict but which has failed to bring peace back to South Sudan because its one sided and an imposed postion.

This approach has been critisizised by analysts as making it harder for the warring factions to reach a compromise. It has also failed to condemn the enormous human rights abuses levied against the government forces towards Nuer IDP's.

IGAD's main criticism has also been its failure to play a role of a neutral mediator and has portrayed an image of promoting only the interests of the mediators.

However other scholars such as Judith (2013) assessed IGAD's role in conflict management in the South Sudan conflict and raised the following points.

On a regional level she states that IGAD has engaged high diplomatic mediations such as the IGAD secretariat and diplomatic envoys in conflict resolution, built capacities of south Sudan's national security with limited success. She contends with authors such as walgak that IGAD has failed to use traditional African methods such as the Gacaca courts in Rwanda that helped in the peace and reconciliation process of the country.

2.3   Regional Integration

2.3.1   Arguments and theories on East African integration

Described as a process where states enhance cooperation and coordinate to achieve peace, stability and wealth, integration includes agreements that show specific areas of cooperation. This leads to coordinating regional organizations representing the member countries and this cooperation involves integration from an economic and political perspective (John, 1999).

Sekou (2016) while quoting Benjamin Marial a South Sudan diplomat justifies his country's admission into the regional community by stating a large number in excess of 50,000 South Sudanese students are currently in schools across Kenya and Uganda.

There are shared historic, socio-economic and political ties between South Sudan and the EAC thus strengthening its close ties to the region and also a large number of South Sudanese spread across East Africa explains the historical ties of South Sudan to the region.

According to scholars such as Ebaye (2010), integration when viewed from a global perspective includes an increase in territorial systems and the involvement of different components where new forms of organization are created in line with existing traditional forms.

He argues that this initiative is aimed at strengthening trade integration and lays a foundation for an appropriate environment where the private sector develops, programs that support economic growth, an efficient public sector and access to good leadership can thrive. This approach reduces social exclusion and enhances different sectors that include security and peace on a regional level that strengthens access and interaction in line with the trends of globalization.

Regional organizations that enhance integration when analyzed from a security perspective make a significant contribution in conflict resolution. In East Africa IGAD has played a role in solving sub-regional conflicts just like a number of neighboring African states entered into collective defence agreements in EOWAS and SADC.

This approach seeks to reconfigure the continent's political and economic institutions in order to manage the forces of globalization and stop the continent from sinking further into anarchy.

2.3.2 Theories of Regional Integration

Neo-functionalism theory that emerged out of European integration is a process by which countries remove barriers to free trade. The theory's leaning proponents such Jean Monnet viewed integration that aimed at individual sectors leading to spillover effects in other sectors hence furthering the process of integration (Jasmine 2011).

Through European integration, conflicts and disputes were peacefully solved and military cooperation was enhanced. This theory becomes relevant for this research as a regional integration approach will be analyzed as a tool of conflict resolution in the South Sudan conflict. The process of European integration was later used as a guide for other regions in Africa and Latin America in

integrating regions of the world such SADC, ECOWAS and the East African region.

Constructivism being among the most influential theories of international relations, states that identities and interests in international politics are not stable and further describes how identities and interest are constructed and anarchy are what states make of it (Cynthia &Bob 2009).

Constructivism as one of the theoretical approaches of this research constitutes identities, interests and actors of world politics. It's a social theory that conceptualizes the relationship between agents and structures thus the relationship between states and the structure of international politics. Ideas, beliefs, rules, traditions and ideologies shape behavior and outcomes (Baylis, et al 2014).

In South Sudan, the prolonged conflict has destroyed the lives and communities of millions of South Sudanese as well as government infrastructure resulting in destruction of government institutional structures hence reducing capacity for service delivery which led to total destruction of the country. In addition, the traditional structures that were important for upholding the society together have disintegrated because of the conflict situation in the country and the new value systems by the western nations.

2.3.3   Economic integration

Economic integration enhances a country's capacity to concentrate on issues that lead to development and it encourages trade on a regional level and the creation of a free trade zone as a form of economic cooperation leading to the removal of trade barriers.

States independently determine trade policies with non member nations and this also includes a monetary union and a regional common market. This also leads to a visa free policy and a right to work in another member country of a common market such as COMESA (Mason et.al 2017).

Regional integration leads to the creation of regional trade agreements that enhance investment and employment opportunities and a reduction in tariffs which leads to cheaper prices for consumers among member countries. Scholars of integration argue that economic integration on a regional level leads to high growth rates among the less developed countries.

By integrating in the EAC, South Sudan will be able to participate in regional and world trade and the cost of doing business will be made cheaper with transport costs coming down.

Matandiko (2016) states that landlocked countries that have underdeveloped infrastructure benefit by joining regional organizations. When South Sudan

joins the EAC, it will be able to benefit from ongoing and future regional infrastructure projects.

A port is being constructed in Lamu-Kenya and a 10,000km fibre-optic cable that runs along the East and Southern Africa coast. Infrastructure projects are expensive to implement, with regional funding for such projects, this for example helps improve South Sudan's internet connectivity.

Other scholars of regionalism however argue that in order to analyze the extra economic costs that would be sustained or incurred by its neighboring countries and the international community, the crisis has put an economic strain on the country and the region (Udema 2015). This also includes the challenge of shared regional responsibility where the economic challenges of one member are shared by all members of the community as was the case of the financial crisis in Greece and other EU members had to contribute towards the bail out of Greece. It's for reasons such as collective responsibility that has been a challenge according to critics of regionalism where other members have to share the crisis arising from a member country.

2.3.4 Political and social integration

Social conflict is necessarily brought on by the presence of several actors and compounded by several choices since conflict comes from incompatibility of goals or actions. (Francis &William, 1960).

Scholars such as Mason et.al (2017) further argue that regional organizations in Africa such as ECOWAS and SADC lack institutionalized crisis prevention and management mechanisms and this has also been a challenge faced by IGAD and the AU in their peace and security interventions in Somalia and Burundi. It has been observed that the ability to deal with violence and criminality in South Sudan is low and the South Sudan Armed Forces -SSAF lacks the necessary capacity to deal with the insurgency and thus provide security.

2.3.5 Role of religion and norms as a source of conflict

The Sudan conflict has had religious differences as one of the foundations of the conflict where different beliefs and ideologies among the warring tribes and factions have been a source of conflict. Incompatibilities among the conflicting parties ranging from norms, religion and lack of trust leads to conflict resolution normally taking a different dimension in situations like South Sudan where parties have been trying to kill each other.

In circumstances where norms and human life have been destroyed, reaching a compromise with mutual understanding that leads to building of relationships and end a conflict becomes difficult (Peter, 2015).

The Dinka tribe's belief that it's more superior to other tribes in South Sudan and has a better say in the governance of the country has also been a source of conflict which led to renewed conflict in December 2013.

In the next chapter the methodology of this research is linked to the literature review since it seeks to analyze the best approach in solving the conflict and the significance of the research and a theoretical frame work.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3   Hypothesis

East Africa's regional integration is an effective solution to the conflicts in South Sudan caused by ethnic and religious differences among the regional communities.

3.1   Theoretical Framework

Anastassia (2008) states that global politics has taken different trends since the Second World War with the emergence of different political ideologies and strategies that led to   cooperation of states on a global level. This new form of globalization aimed at increasing economic integration has not been limited to Europe only since regional alliances in other parts of the world incorporated increased cooperation with integration. This approach has been defined as new regionalism. Within the theories of regional integration neofunctionalism will be analyzed because it reflects the very outset of integration.

Neofunctionalism explains the process of integration beyond Europe and provides explanations for regional integration on a global level and criteria that

analyzed the success of integration globally. Regional integration is also a significant strategy of cooperation at the macro and micro level.

When viewed from a macro perspective this includes integration on large-scale geographical areas while the micro is part of communities. Cross-border interactions present a unique opportunity for the integration process and efficiently eradicate regional disparities. Organizations formed on a regional level play a significant role in the process of regional development where environmental problems and natural threats, rebuilding weakened social systems, cross-border communication links and other issues are addressed.

Enhancing trade, transport, communication, combating drugs and human-trafficking and security threats on a regional level becomes simplified. However in cases where some countries in a region will be landlocked, it creates a degree of dependence on their regional neighbors for access to world trade and markets.

Integration helps countries overcome their geographical isolation. Water, energy, and other resources are shared among countries and utilized efficiently. Cooperation helps to overcome disintegration and mistrust which is a potential for ethnic violence and tensions that at times spill across borders. The process

of integration also leads to closer links in different sectors ranging from the economic, natural resources, social and political structures.

3.2   **Conflict theoretical claim**

William (1998) argues that when the scope of conflict is extensively analyzed so that conflict can be looked at from a nature of conflict, when reviewing conflict theory there are several observations and revelations since there are arguments among contemporary and historic views on the topic of human conflict. This is most relevant to political science theorists because in the search for a dominant paradigm scholars hold different opinions in analyzing social conflict and whether it should be viewed from a rational or constructive perspective.

The argument further looks at the paradigm whether it's socially functional or something irrational, pathological, and socially dysfunctional. They argue that this leads to consequences particularly for conflict resolution and there are also significant differences among the theoretical approaches that include the classical and the behaviorist. The classical approach focuses on the macro level of analysis and is concerned with analyzing the interaction of groups which can be divided along many different cleavages such as national, institutional, ethnic, class, and ideological. The behaviorist approach analyses the micro level or

individual aspects of measurement rather than the group and states where conflict engenders interaction at a level more intense than that of competition. Research has proved that conflict, competition, and cooperation are inherently interdependent and conflict occurs when competing group goals, objectives, needs or values clash and aggression although not necessarily violence becomes the result.

The assumptions of the behaviorist school are that beliefs tend to be the root causes of war in humans and this is further reinforced by differences in human behavior. Important relationships exist between intrapersonal conflict and conflict that pervades the external social order.

3.2.1 Qualitative method

The research constitutes the qualitative method and will include interviewing different stake holders that include members of the East African business community, former diplomats and members of international organizations working in South Sudan.

This will further include analyzing the data gathered and interpreting the findings to find the best approach that registered some credible success in solving the conflict between 2005 to 2016 and the approach that led to economic growth and development of the region.

3.2.2 Quantitative Method

3.2.3 Primary Data Analysis

Data analysis includes self-administered surveys, interviews, and observations that are collected from firsthand experience of the participants who responded to questionnaires. The data will be graphically represented and statistically interpreted to show the responses of participants. Here the researcher collects data specific to the problem under study and there is no doubt about the quality of the data collected since it's collected by the researcher.

3.2.4 Organization of questionnaire

Why has it been difficult to resolve the South Sudan conflict for over 30 years?

Are vested interests by different regional stake holders a hindrance in solving the conflict?

Has the interference of the major powers been an obstacle to solving the conflict?

Which conflict resolution approach led to economic development in south Sudan and the EAC between the specified periods 2005-2016?

Is regionalism a better approach at solving conflicts with cross border spillover effects?

3.2.5 Explanation of questions

The questions have been set to suite the context of the conflict from a historical perspective to the current situation since they include asking partipants some of the main causes of the conflict and the approach they believe best suites solving the conflict.

The most important aspect of the research is the question on the role of integration of the EAC in the Sudan conflict resolution process. This is an approach that has not been fully utilized in the past.

3.2.6 Explanation of measurement

Twenty two stake holders will respond to questionnaires. The Stakeholders are former diplomats, members of the business community. The methods of research include online interviews, telephoning of participants and analyzing the results from the questionnaires.

3.2.7 Choice of sampling

When choosing a sample type in the research process, it's the analysis of the data that determines the outcome of the research. The main aim at this stage includes reducing the large volumes of data to only relevant core elements and analyzing by expanding smaller pieces and there by extensively interpreting the collected data.

Data is used to describe different findings from the research and in some or general detail. Phenomena can include experiences that are subjective of a specific group or individuals such as how people continue to live after a fatal or general diagnosis. The analysis can also focus on comparing several cases or what they have in common or differences between them (Uwe, 2014).

3.2.8   Stratified sample

A stratified sample is a reproduction of the population but on a smaller scale. While starting the sampling process, the population is divided into characteristics of importance by different researchers. This can include by gender, social class, education level, religion, etc. Then the population is randomly sampled within each category.

In this research the population has been sampled from the business community in the EAC that has had business in South Sudan, diplomats engaged in AU and regional peace initiatives and members of international organizations that have dealt with the refugee communities.

3.3 Secondary Data Analysis

3.3.1 Sources of statistics

The study of the economic development of the EAC focusing on the Sudan conflict and its resolution process will use triangulation since it will involve analysis of multiple types of data. The statistical data for the analysis includes the indicators which show the impact of the conflict on oil production or the fluctuations in the value of the South Sudan currency.

This data has been gathered from journals such as the times magazine, IMF, world bank, the IGAD secretariat, African Union, East African Community secretariat,UNDP and the UNHCR. These are all regional and international organizations that have been involved in the Sudan resolution process.

3.3.2 Political statistics

 The evolving situation in South Sudan has created many challenges for the different stake holders. Among the challenges was the slow progress in the peace implementation process which led to renewed fighting between the government and rebels that led to a contentious post-agreement security deal. The mandate recommended for a force of 4,000 to protect civilians, UN and humanitarian personnel, a ceasefire and peace agreement monitors.

The UN Security Council authorized a regional protection force on the basis of regional endorsement for the force after the clashes. The regional force deployed for the mission (UNMISS) included more than 13,000 troops and police. This led to focus shifting towards a new peacekeeping mandate and paying less attention to the progress in the political structures in the country. This has been clear evidence of international disunity and a lack of political strategy which shows a watered down peace agreement, a new regional force under the UN and growing regional divisions as some of the outcomes so far.

Regional organizations in 2016 launched the peace talks that eventually resulted in the government and SPLM/A-IO signing a peace agreement and created a transitional government and Machar the former vice president returned with a force of over 1,000 to take his place as first vice president of the transitional government. It was evident that members of both the government and the SPLM/A-IO are only interested in the parts of the agreement that benefit their interests. There were suggestions to put South Sudan under a UN trusteeship, sending an intervention force and imposing an arms embargo. Lack of unity and limited progress towards a political strategy among IGAD and the international actors leaves South Sudan struggling to respond to the challenges it faces. The country has become an arena in which regional powers compete for influence and the geopolitics of its conflicts have now undergone a significant shift.

With conflicts among individual EAC countries involved in the mediation efforts such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Egypt with issues over the use of the Nile river waters, it has become a major challenge where the South Sudan government has run into conflict within the region and at the UN Security Council (International crisis group 2016).

3.3.3   Economic statistics

During 2005– 2011 GDP per capita registered some growth that reached 3.6% a year in the EAC compared with 3.0% for sub-Saharan Africa. This growth was higher than the rate achieved in the previous 15 years. Following regional security issues ranging from terrorism, the war in Somalia, South Sudan and the political instability in Burundi the region registered poor economic growth. Several conflicts and political instability led to a decline in economic growth not only in South Sudan but in other EAC countries. However governments in the EAC countries have been committed to strong policies. In most regions renewed conflict undermines development gains and in the case of South Sudan since independence renewed conflict has worsened the humanitarian situation.

Figure 1 SOUTH SUDAN GDP TRENDS 2008-2016

SOUTH SUDAN GDP
SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | WORLD BANK

The conflict has caused the government to run out of revenues to manage the country with 2015/16 GDP contracting by 6.3 percent.

[1]With an increase in oil production disruptions and low production levels in agriculture, the economic growth slowed further in the financial year 2016/2017 as fiscal and current account deficits increased thus disrupting domestic prices and the parallel market premium.

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[1] South Sudan's economic outlook: an over view after 2011More information on the economic situation is South Sudan is available at

http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southsudan/overview and

https://tradingeconomics.com/south-sudan/gdp

The World Bank states that extreme poverty rates increased to 65.9 percent as export revenues decreased due to a global reduction in oil prices.

A reduction in oil exports negatively affected government budgetary plans which led fiscal adjustments in expenditure.

The country's foreign reserves declined leading to depreciation of the currency as inflation increased. The South Sudanese Pound (SSP) depreciated from 18.5 to SSP 80 per dollar by September 2016.

The country descended into hyperinflation with rates increasing from 661.3% to 730% by August 2017 (Dickens, 2017).

There was an increase in the prices of food which also led to shortages and hunger in most regions of the country as the economy almost collapsed. As the Central Bank run out of reserves, the limited revenues were spent on defense and security loans. Poverty levels increased and registered an increase from 44.7 percent in 2011 to 65.9 percent in 2015.

3.3.4   Social statics

 The World Bank and other development partners such as UNDP estimate that two-thirds of the population is under the age of 30 and the latest Household

Survey shows that the country is faced with enormous human development challenges and only 27% of the population aged 15 years and above is literate.

This is further compounded with gender inequality and the literacy rate for males stands at 40% while females follow at 16%. The infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate is high. The immunization rates in the country stand at only 17% among children while only about 55% of the population has access to clean sources of drinking water.

3.3.5 Human Development Index (HDI)

The HDI is a measure used in assessing the progress made in the human development of people and this includes life expectancy at birth, accessibility to education facilities and the general improvement in living standards.

Measuring the living standard is done by taking the Gross National Income which is expressed in a constant year in international dollars and it's then converted using purchasing power parity (PPP) conversion rates.

South Sudan's human development index value for 2015 was 0.418 and this measure puts the ranking of the country in the low human development category where out of 188 its ranked 181.South Sudan's HDI value decreased from 0.429 to 0.418 between 2010 and 2015. However life expectancy at birth

increased by 12.6 years while mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling remained constant between 2010 and 2015. The most recent survey data available for South Sudan using 2015 as a base year shows 89.3 percent of the population is poor while an additional 8.5 percent live in extreme abject poverty (UNDP 2016).

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY AND THE IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT ON THE REGION

4   SIGNIFICANCE OF SOUTH SUDAN IN THE EAC

In the midst of sub-Saharan Africa's best decade of economic growth since at least the 1970s, the EAC region has registered significant economic growth with rates rising strongly at the beginning of the new millennium outpacing the rest of sub-Saharan Africa (Catherine, Seta et al 2014).

With renewed conflict, the crisis in South Sudan led to a rise in the number of South Sudanese fleeing conflict and looking for safety across regional borders. With an increase in violence and renewed tensions, a new political strategy to mitigate the increase in the suffering of the civilian population was needed.

Security, peace, and conflict prevention are linked and important aspects for the success of any projects the East African countries or other regions may wish to undertake (International Organization for Migration, 2016). When the three key issues are neglected, this negatively impacts on the progress and development of any projects taken on a regional level.

The conflict has affected the region's economic development and the insecurity has brought widespread ramifications for the East African Community.

Business disruptions and political uncertainty has affected foreign investor confidence. Being one of the biggest trade partners of South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda including many regional companies operating there which had established themselves were forced to hold back on further investments and halted their businesses as insecurity in the country increased following renewed conflict.

South Sudan provides a route that would connect the EAC countries with North Africa and this opens up another trade market for EAC produced goods. Its geographical proximity and location would also help link the East African region countries to markets in central and West Africa. The insecurity has greatly affected the business environment and the economic growth of the East Africa region and has also constrained South Sudan's participation in regional projects such as the standard gauge railway linking all the East African countries, Nile basin initiative and a regional oil refinery.

At ministerial level, the EAC ministers raised issues regarding the war and observed that this posed serious challenges to the EAC integration process. Economic integration among different regions of the continent has been

affected by conflicts and political instability. However regional stability creates room for strong regional entities.

The stability of the region and South Sudan in particular is of great significance to the EAC. Civil wars affect social cohesion, governance and economic growth (Phyllis Kandie, 2014).

The continued instability of South Sudan with different armed groups marauding the country and political vulnerability that is both external and internal disrupted the economic progress that the country had made after oil production resumed following the granting of independence in 2011.

The economy was affected as oil production declined which led to the departure of major international oil companies.

Figure 2: The graph shows ratio of GDP to Public debt
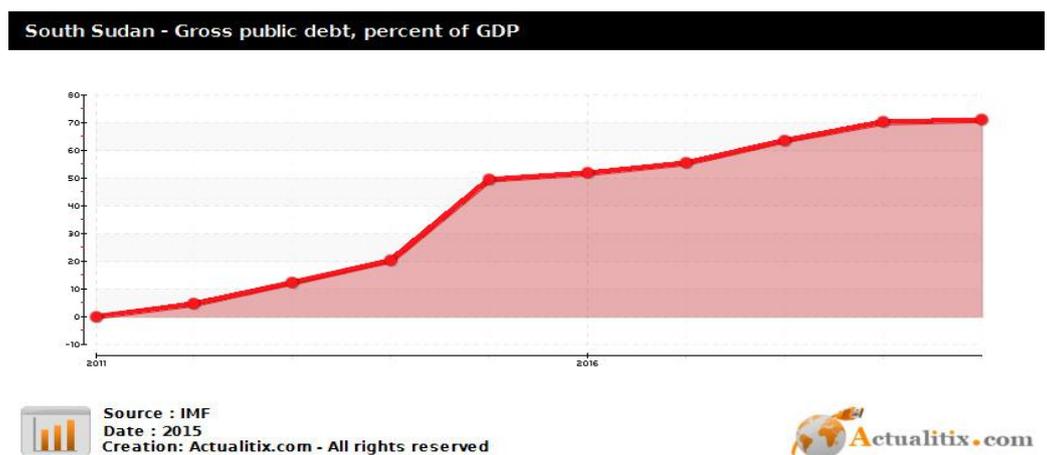
Figure 2 is an illustration of how a decline in oil revenues disrupts government revenue and increases public debt.

The evacuation of employees affected the services sector where capacity was severely affected in areas such as banking where Kenyan banks were major players but were forced to pull their staff out of the country.

The admission of South Sudan in the regional community faced major challenges since instability continued in the country yet security and peace is one of the key principles of joining the EAC. The stability of South Sudan is of strategic significant importance and created the need for regional efforts to end the conflict. Relations between the two Sudans have been fragile and confrontational with no constant collaboration following the granting of independence to the South.

The possibility of the war degenerating into a cross border conflict has led to the urgency by regional countries such as Uganda to send troops to fight on the side of the government (Voice of America, 2013).

The agreements for the cessation of hostilities and mediated by international observers and regional leaders from IGAD, UN and the AU have so far registered limited progress in ending the conflict. Having inherited 70% of unified Sudan's proved oil reserve following its independence in 2011 which

equated to approximately 3.5 billion barrels, after independence the country produced the oil but is dependent on Sudan for its export. This arrangement as tensions over border territory continued meant that the political tension between Sudan and South Sudan continued even after independence.

In oil producing countries, oil plays a major role in financing government expenditure and budgets and in South Sudan it contributes more than half the GDP.

This also includes contributing a large portion of the total exports of the country according to the South Sudan National Bureau of Statistics (SSNBS).

By 2010 oil production from the two Sudans stood at over 460, 000 barrels/day with South Sudan's GDP growth at more than 4% annually.

The conflict stalled regional integration and joint infrastructural projects that were aimed at enhancing economic integration which is still minimal among many regions of the continent. (Dorothy, 2016).

The admission of South Sudan to the EAC enhances trade within the region thus creating a market of more than 160 million people.

[2] This leads to improved trade, higher investments and a bigger regional tourism thus opening access to a larger export market for the region.

Regional investments are higher and it also increases the bargaining power of the EAC at multilateral organizations and develops the regional economy. The consumers in the region benefit from greater competition in product markets.

Land locked countries face transportation costs that are 50% higher than coastal countries. In the EAC, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and South Sudan are landlocked. Through the integration process of the EAC they can easily access the ports of Tanzania and Kenya where special zones have been created to handle the cargo of landlocked members. This has reduced transaction costs and improves efficiency of transferring cargo to inland destinations.

Landlocked countries suffer from economic stagnation and slow development but benefit from integration by reducing business transaction costs and transportation through regional infrastructure investments. (Andy & Eric 2015).

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[2] https://www.theigc.org/project/benefits-and-costs-from-joining-the-eac/

Pierre sauve director of studies at the world institute argues that the benefits of joining the EAC are many for the new member

With experience in the oil sector, through joint investments with EAC member countries, some new entrants in the oil sector in the region such as Uganda and Kenya benefit from South Sudan's expertise.

South Sudan established ratification and accession to international treaties by acceding to the UN and AU Charters and having been admitted to several regional and international organizations such as IGAD, the Nile Basin Initiative and UNESCO, this gives the region an extra bargaining power in soliciting for funding and during negotiations in international organization.

4.1   CAUSES AND ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT

Independence of many African nations was viewed as a path to success of years ahead with lands of young vibrant nations that would set their people free from oppression and end blights of poverty and deprivation. An international development industry emerged to assist the continent on this quest of development. Among many new independent countries early euphoria was followed by instability, frustration and disappointment (Todd, 2007).

Organized armed groups are specific to the history and culture of a particular society or country and organized criminality occurs as a result of armed groups pursuing political and economic interests using violence rather than political means. Rebel movements rise against the existing status quo through violent

means and subversive activities such as the actions of Riek Machar's (SPLM in opposition) mostly due to perceived marginalization in the political process.

State organized armed groups or rebels include entities that oppose the government or an incumbent regime and the recognized authority and whose objectives are to acquire property by force or advance political or ethnic interests using violence (Policzer, 2005).

4.1.1 ROLE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN THE CONFLICT

Liberal democracy assumes that large groups of humans are unitary and cohesive enough so that all segments of the population including the least advantaged feel part of it and accept rule in the name of the majority as legitimate though the expectation of unity and cohesion has often proved deceptive.

More than a quarter of the world's population live in states that are not their states in which they do not belong to the most numerous ethnicity providing the plurality or majority of that state (Agnes, 2014).

The inequality between the Muslim Arabs of the north and the African Christians of the South led to the agitation for a breakaway self governing state by the Africans which later led to total independence of the South. Many

regions in Sudan were underdeveloped and the government in Khartoum had neglected them for decades. Schools in some areas of Sudan were only built in the early 1940's and some rural areas were totally ignored. Even in the 1980's in some areas children were largely forced to walk long distances to schools and cope without modern health care (James, 2014).

The lack of jobs led to many Africans becoming domestic servants among Arab families.

The GDP per capita of Sudan stood at $1,435 in 2011 making it a lower-middle income country by international standards but a large numbers of Sudanese lived below the poverty line of two dollars per day with rates varying among the different regions of the country.

In Khartoum some of the population lacked basic services while in the Darfur regions the statistics showed that more than two-thirds of the population lived in poverty. This was clear evidence of the inequality in the country.

The failure by Sudan to spread its wealth in an equitable way and lack of development was one of the defining characteristics of the civil unrest and contributed to the people from different regions of Sudan taking up arms against the state.

After the separation, the three principal reasons for the poverty and underdevelopment that characterized South Sudan were that a large proportion of government spending was dedicated to the military and security. With high levels of corruption this increased the imbalance between those who have access to the resources of the state and those who did not. Development money has mainly been in rural urban centers benefiting the towns, agricultural schemes and politically connected people and not evenly distributed.

4.1.2 OIL AND NATURAL RESOURCES AS A SOURCE OF CONFLICT

While tracing the roots of the current South Sudan conflict 2005-2016, it's clearly evident that its root causes have similarities to other conflicts on the continent such as in the past and present DRC, CAR, Libya, Mozambique, Biafra conflict of Nigeria, Cabinda enclave of Angola and Eritrea-Ethiopia. Renewed conflict over resources and the composition of the government within the ruling SPLM party created the platform for the violence that erupted in December 2013.Government institutions disintegrated and this led to limited capacity for effective service delivery. The link between armed groups, ethnic conflict, resources, cattle raiding and political fractionalization created a complex security situation.

Conflicts in Africa have destroyed the continent in many aspects and killed millions of people mostly through diseases and malnutrition caused by poor living conditions in IDP's and a traumatized effect on children and young adults. The impacts of wars and conflict have affected local communities, disrupted education and health care systems.

Regional trade routes and infrastructure have been affected which has also led to damage to the continents eco system (Paul, 2016).

When oil was discovered in many parts of the Middle East and North Africa in the early 1950's, it became a source of revenue for many governments as the money was used to develop infrastructure that included railways, tarmac high ways, western education for its citizens and advanced healthcare systems in places like Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Kuwaiti, Brunei and the UAE. However such success and economic development enjoyed by some Middle East countries did not spread in the same way in Africa. Instead the natural resources that were discovered created hegemony of leadership in places like Algeria, Yemeni, Syria, Egypt, DRC, Angola, Nigeria, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Libya and Sudan.

With access to money from revenues from oil and other natural resources like Gold and Diamonds, presidents like Mobutu of Zaire and Gaddafi of Libya

strengthened their military capabilities by spending more on defence and hence ignoring other aspects of developing the country in an equitable manner. Such inequality in the development and distribution of oil revenues set a pretext for inter country conflicts in places like Nigeria, Angola and currently Sudan. Oil is the largest single commodity in international trade and it is also the largest and most international of all industries and this makes it an extremely important commodity.

When crude oil was discovered in the poorer under developed countries there was need for a relationship between the major industrial powers as the investors and the host countries.

The triangular relationship between companies and home governments later set the policies and politics in the international petroleum industry (Francisco, 2010).

[3]The discovery of oil in many parts of Africa led to a scramble for concessions among the major powers and different western companies and former colonial governments that looked for influence in the new found natural resource.

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[3] Oil and armed conflicts in Africa can be accessed online in an article by Philippe le Billon
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19376812.2010.9756226?journalCode=rafg20

Granting of oil exploration licenses was sometimes controversial as some countries looked at granting of licenses to companies that were not from a former colony as an encroachment on their spheres of influence. This later led to the funding of different rival rebel groups in countries such as Nigeria, Angola and Chad. In some other places multinational companies funded rebel movements to agitate for secession of territory or claim independence as in the case of South Sudan (John,2014).

Natural resources, conflict and sustainable development seem to be inseparable in understanding the globalization of the oil industry and the consequences of conflict in oil producing countries. The conflicts in oil producing countries are felt across borders in an oil dependant world. When any political or security instability occurs in the Niger delta, Angola, DRC,Chad, South Sudan, the Middle East and North Africa, the decline in oil production impacts heavily on the world global economic system.

Oil has been central to globalization and violent resistance among many oil producing regions and this is evident in many oil producing regions that have used referendums and requests for secession by the people arising from perceived injustices in the equitable distribution of natural resources in places like Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Kirkuk in Iraq. (Okechukwu et al 2012).

In the case of South Sudan resistance initially took the form of a struggle for self determination, and then secession and independence later followed.

4.1.3 RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES AS CAUSE OF CONFLICT

Barnard (2017) a scholar at Stellenbosch University states that religion is treated by many conflict analysts as a detachment of ethnicity. He further argues that religious organizations are usually stronger than ethnic organizations and they receive more external support than ethnic organizations and religion plays an important role in a person's identity.

Religion leads to religious conflict when a group of people use religious differences and mobilize a country in order for a particular group to enrich themselves by controlling resources or territory from another group as in the case of the Sudan war where ownership over oil and the oil rich territory led to conflict.

Conflicts based on religion have existed in the past as a result of misinterpretation of the scripts of religion which has led to the birth of Islamic fundamentalism. The historical conflict in Sudan was viewed as being a conflict between the Muslim versus Christians. It's also termed as a continuation of incompatibilities among the different cultures and the consequences of the

division caused by colonial powers. However since the discovery of large oil reserves in Sudan, the war has changed to an economic or resource war.

4.2   IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT ON UGANDA

Prolonged instability in South Sudan impacted on the Ugandan economy since trade between the two countries had increased over the years. Stability following independence of South Sudan and the end of the LRA conflict in the north of Uganda facilitated a large increase in cross border trade.

By 2006 Ugandan exports to its northern border stood at 20% and this made South Sudan the largest market for Ugandan exports. Several employment opportunities existed for Ugandans in different sectors ranging from education, health services and telecommunications. More than US$200m by 2012 worth of remittances made South Sudan the second provider of overseas remittances after the UK according statistics from the Ugandan central bank.

With renewed conflict in many parts of South Sudan and a slow progress of the peace process, many migrant workers returned to Uganda as trade declined drastically. An influx of refugee arrivals caused serious social problems for northern Uganda districts (Ali &Abubakar 2016).

Trade between the two countries increased following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and by 2008 South Sudan was the leading export destination of Uganda.

By 2008 total exports in different sectors peaked in excess of $1.18 billion but as the country descended into violence there was a decline in the trade volume between the two countries. In December 2013 after renewed conflict erupted, Uganda's exports registered a decrease of $171M between 2013 and 2014 and a total decline in excess of $200M by 2015 (Kyambade 2015).

[4]Uganda lost about $1 million a day since war resumed in Juba in 2013 and according to the traders from Kampala this figure is a very conservative estimate considering that it does not factor in losses inflicted on life and properties.

The chairman Kampala City Traders Association (Kacita) asserts that the situation in South Sudan has been deteriorating slowly after fighting renewed in

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[4]The economic impact of the conflict on the region is available in several online articles at http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=1931453177&Country=Sudan&topic=Politics&subtopic=Forecast&subsubtopic=International+relations&u=1&pid=1261278910&oid=1261278910

areas dominated by the Ugandan businesses community. The major export commodities are in food and include, milling products, maize floor, wheat, cereals and beef. Being a key export market for Uganda, the war deprived Ugandan traders an opportunity to transact business smoothly with increased insecurity along the main trade routes. The construction sector had benefited from exporting iron and steel, cement and machinery while the beverages sector exported beers and soft drinks (Kayondo, 2013).

Figure 3: Impact of Conflict on Ugandan Exports

Average Sales to S. Sudan per month for top Ugandan manufacturers

|	Company	Products	Before Conflict started	After Conflict started	% Decline
1	Roofing Limited	Iron and Steel	Shs 2.3bn	Shs 898m	61
2	Britannia Ltd	Confectionaries & Juices	$ 200,000	$ 95,000	52
3	Tororo Cement Ltd	Cement	$800,000	$ 185,000	77
4	Nile Breweries	Beer	5% of the production went to South Sudan	5% lost	5
5	Mpanga Tea Factory	Packed Tea	85 tonnes through agents	20 tonnes	76

The massive interruption on businesses in South Sudan led to the Sudanese Government defaulting on payments to Ugandan suppliers and hence impacting on the Ugandan trader's capabilities to repay bank loans in their local Ugandan banks. During the conflict many Ugandan traders were trapped in the war zone

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and the aviation industry was greatly affected with Ugandan registered airlines canceling flights to South Sudan destinations hence incurring heavy losses where some airlines also collapsed as the Juba route was very lucrative.

The instability and global decline in oil prices negatively affected Uganda's exports to South Sudan with a decline of 31% between May 2015 to May 2016. The situation remained   unchanged and slowed the recovery of Uganda's exports in 2016/17 even after global oil prices increased.

From a security perspective the Ugandan government sent troops into the South Sudanese territory to facilitate the safe evacuation of Ugandan nationals and South Sudanese refugees but Ugandan troops were also involved in direct combat operations siding with forces of the South Sudan army to fight the rebel groups. The International Crisis Group which has followed the conflict closely estimates that 10,000 people might have been killed in the conflict. Another analysis by the UN Office responsible for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates nearly 400,000 people have been internally displaced and another large number are now refugees in neighboring countries such as, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.

Figure 4: Distribution of refugees in neighboring countries
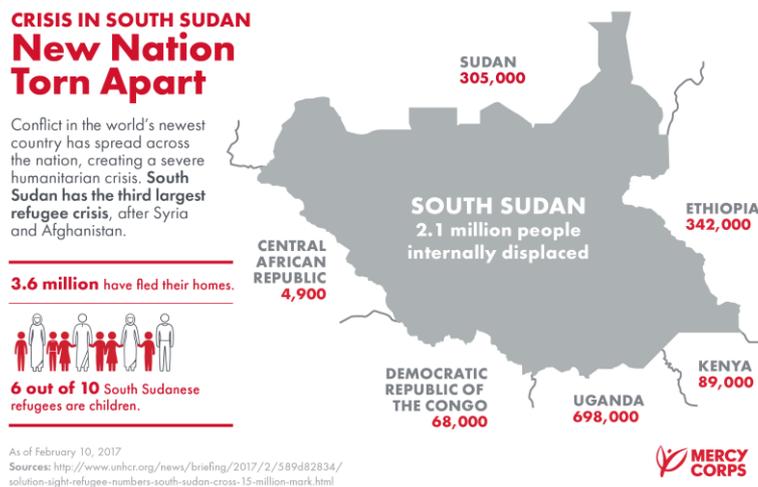
The FAO an organization specializing in food security states that the different parts of the country were facing starvation as food ratios dropped while some areas were also at risk of famine leading to a gross violation of human rights on a large scale. The current violent conflict affected the Ugandan districts bordering South Sudan within northern Uganda with an influx of refugees fleeing from the conflict arriving. The immediate concerns for Uganda have been security implications for post-conflict northern Uganda and attendant humanitarian crisis. The immediate social-economic and political impact of the

crisis within the refugee host districts of northern Uganda has been the unending arrivals.

The stability of South Sudan benefits Uganda from a social, economic and political perspective. It has minimized the security problems caused by rebel groups which previously operated in northern Uganda such as the LRA led by Kony. (Aljazeera, 2016)

4.2.1 IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT ON KENYA

According to regional policy analysts such as KIPRA they argue that since South Sudan gained independence the country deepened bilateral ties with many regional neighbors.

It became a member of regional organizations such as IGAD, COMESA, ICGLR, and AU and joined the EAC where Kenya strongly supported South Sudan's admission to the regional community. The country has been a major market for many goods from the EAC of which Kenya has been a beneficially and South Sudan's acceptance in the EAC would ease the movement of goods and investments. South Sudan's entry into the EAC strengthened regional economic relations and Kenya in particular and also enhanced cooperation in other areas such as border security.

The conflict has had a regional impact since the prolonged conflict compromised security with the districts bordering South Sudan in Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia and the instability affected Kenya's economic, political and security interests. Kenya shares a border with South Sudan and the conflict has affected Kenya's trade and investment, infrastructure projects and this resulted in an influx of refugees crossing into neighboring districts. (Paul &Muluvi, 2015).

The violence and slow progress in the peace process impacted on Kenya as its nationals lost their costs on investments in South Sudan. Kenyan investments were in a variety of sectors that included aviation, hospitality, construction, transportation and telecommunication.

With the escalation of the conflict a number of Kenyan businesses closed and operations stopped following looting of businesses as different factions fought. Many Kenyan expatriates working in the country returned home which led to a loss in employment opportunities. [5]Kenyans contributed to the skills shortages and helped fill the human resource shortages in different sectors as doctors,

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[5] Prolonged impact of the South Sudan conflict on Kenya is discussed further by the Brookings institute https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2014/03/12/impact-of-prolonged-south-sudan-crisis-on-kenyas-economic-and-security-interests/

engineers and economists. Trade between the two countries collapsed since South Sudan was a key trade partner. Kenyan exports to the COMESA area by 2012 had South Sudan constituting 10.2 percent.

The body mandated with tracking economic statistics in Kenya (KNBS) stated that the economic survey for 2013 put South Sudan as the fourth-largest export destination for Kenya out of the 18 other members of COMESA.

Since most of the Kenyan exports to the country were through the road network, increased security concerns negatively impacted the flow of goods to the country.

Progress on infrastructure projects that impact on the region and Kenya's economic development which included the Lamu Port that would connect Ethiopia and South Sudan and a railway experienced delays. The development of this railway infrastructure was important for regional trade since it involved the construction of a new transport corridor from the new Port of Lamu through the Kenyan towns and connecting Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. The project includes a railway line, an express high way road, an oil pipeline, an airport in Lamu and resort cities in the Lake Turkana region.

The project would improve infrastructure and enhance transport between the countries and it was also expected to lead to improved trade. The instability in

South Sudan derailed the implementation of this important project (KIPPRA, 2014).

The economic challenges and the influx of refugees into Kenya worsened and the UNHCR estimates that over 150,000 refugees arrived in Kenya and Uganda and this created a security and service delivery challenge. The influx of refugees strains resources not only in Kenya and other host countries but also compromises national and regional security since it leads to proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons.

Finding a solution to the root causes of the conflict in South Sudan has been critical to Kenya and other regional states that stand to benefit from the stability of a secure and well governed South Sudan. Kenya and other EAC states have supported the negotiations between the two conflicting parties.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVALUATION OF THE EXISTING CONFLICT RESOLUTION APPROACHES IN THE SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT

5   CHRONOLOGY OF THE DIFFERENT STEPS TAKEN IN THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROCESS

In the early 1950's many African states agitated for independence from their colonial masters with Ghana led by Nkwame Nkrumah and Milton Obote in Uganda playing a leading role. Sudan was among the first countries to be granted independence which it gained in 1956 from Britain. However the South of the country sought some form of autonomy. Tensions and hostilities laid the foundation of the Sudanic wars that lasted until 1972 when the South was granted a degree of self governance.

With disagreements on the mode of governance in the Semi autonomous South, in 1983 fighting resumed after the Sudan government canceled the semi autonomous status and this led to renewed fighting that was to last for more than twenty years.

In the mid 2000s South Sudan signed the comprehensive peace agreement that ended hostilities and the country later held a referendum that granted it independence in 2011 after a war that claimed more than one million people and displaced over four million.

Following the granting of independence to South Sudan in 2011, in 2012 disagreements with Sudan over the oil-rich region of Abyei erupted into fighting known as the Heglig Crisis and this was later followed with disagreements between President Salva Kirr and his vice president Riek Machar which led to a Civil war breaking out in 2013. (BBC news, 2017).

This chapter will analyze the casual relationship between the granting of independence and economic growth in South Sudan.

5.1   COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT

The 9th of January 2005 was a milestone in the South Sudan peace process. A peace treaty was signed that ended the Second Sudanese Civil War and reestablished Southern autonomy.

The peace agreement that would change Sudan was envisaged to lay a foundation for new a chapter of peace and for the people of South Sudan since the treaty provided for a referendum on South Sudan independence that was to be held in January 2011. It also divided oil incomes evenly between the North and the South.

The agreement addressed governance issues that included the use of sharia law that would only be applicable in the north because of its Muslim majority, while the South chose to be governed by an elected assembly.

South Sudan ultimately rejected the implementation of sharia law. After the CPA was signed and being implementated in phases, John Garang requested the international community to support development efforts so that the people of South Sudan could benefit from the peace process (United Nations Press, 2005).

5.1.1 Referendum and Granting of independence

Held from January 9–15, 2011 where 98% of voters selected the separation option with 1% selecting unity, after more than fifty years of marginalization, armed conflict and more than two million lives lost, South Sudan became the 54th new state in Africa in line with the agreements that had been set by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. From the 10 states in Sudan's oil-producing south the results showed that 99.9% overwhelmingly voted for separation, the lowest vote was about 96% in the western state of Bahr al-Ghazal bordering Sudan.

James (2011) states that as the South Sudanese celebrated having their own country as a milestone achievement, there were issues to address that included underdevelopment and inter-ethnic conflict and a challenge with negotiations on how to share the natural resources between the two countries (bbc news, 2011).

As analysts had predicted, Independence never ended the conflict and the 2013 renewed civil war displaced over two million people and threatened the success and stability of the world's newest country (Larisa, 2012).

5.1.2   UN Sanctions and an arms Embargo after resumption of conflict

After separating from Sudan in 2011, South Sudan was engulfed in renewed conflict in late 2013 as the political leadership renewed rivalry and the conflict degenerated along ethnic lines. The civilian population was routinely targeted in the conflict often along ethnic and tribal lines and different factions have been accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The humanitarian catastrophe led to the displacement of more than 2.7 million people including more than 200,000 that were sheltered and protected at U.N. peacekeeping bases in the country (Alex de, 2015).

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan from July 2011 to July 2014 addressed issues that included the many challenges that the country faced as it struggled to adjust to its new status as an independent state. The UN through its head of Mission argued that the country was heading for renewed civil war and a political stalemate. From the ecstatic celebrations of July 2011's independence to the outbreak of conflict in December 2013, the early bloody

phase of the fighting traced its roots to the fragile political state of the country at the time it was granted independence.

The UN Security Council debated resolutions that included imposing an arms embargo and targeted sanctions on the president in case he failed to sign the new peace agreement by 2015. This would require the cooperation of neighboring countries if the additional sanction measures were to work.

Sanctions on South Sudan key government figures were to serve two purposes. One was meant to help make corruption manageable by tracking stolen government funds so that the funds can be returned and benefit the country. The money could have been invested in regional banks and neighboring countries.

A coordinated commission to investigate the theft of South Sudanese assets was to be set up to help locate the stolen wealth. Targeted sanctions on individuals were meant to punish the South Sudanese leaders for failing to put in place measures aimed at ending the war.

From a moral perspective the leaders responsible for beginning the war, the mass killings and failing to stop the fighting, targeting them in this way was looked at as a deserved first step (Hilde, 2014).

Some analysts argued that the war worsened the financial vice on the government but did not change the character of the system.

Targeted sanctions would further reduce the availability of political finance and as a result make South Sudan's system even less governable. Sanctions were also viewed as not necessarily the wrong step but a tool not a strategy. Some diplomats have argued that the threat of sanctions was meant to bring Kiir back to the negotiating table to sign the peace agreement. Threatened or imposed they could also accelerate the political management crisis in Juba. The UN Security Council imposed sanctions on six generals accused of fuelling conflict in the country.

The generals faced travel bans to the EU and the USA and freezing of their accounts and assets. According to reports by the UN panel of experts, government troops had carried out human rights abuses that included raping of women and girls and extra judicial killings during an offensive against rebel forces. Those targeted by the sanctions include the commander of the presidents' special guard and on the rebel side they included the general chief of staff.

[6]The US ambassador to the UN stated the perpetrators of abuses and atrocities and those whose actions hindered the peace process would answer.

She further stated that the leadership in South Sudan has destroyed the achievements that accompanied independence and their actions have produced only violence, displacement and suffering of the people (Samantha, 2015).

5.2 CAUSAL RELATION BETWEEN THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE IN 2011 AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTH SUDAN

In Figure five the results show the findings from the data gathered from the twenty two participants and an explanation follows on the casual effect of the granting of independence to economic development and the conflict resolution process. Out of the twenty two participants nineteen responded with different opinions and three remained neutral.

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[6] Samantha power the USA ambassador to the UN raised concerns on the possibility of a genocide in South Sudan and suggested UN sanctions at the Security Council in 2014 more from her speech can be accessed on

http://www.reuters.com/article/us-southsudan-security-un/u-n-chief-fears-genocide-about-to-start-in-south-sudan-idUSKBN1482EP

Figure 5: Casual relation between granting of independence and Economic growth
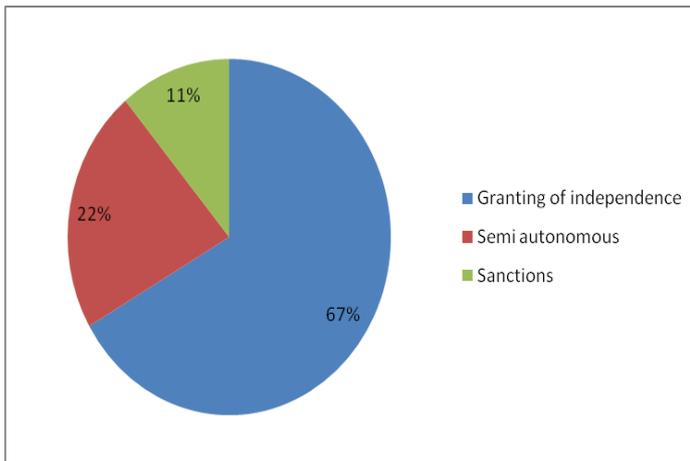
After extensive analysis of different responses from the different stake holders the findings show that 67% or twelve respondents believe that the granting of independence had registered some success in solving the conflict while 22% or four respondents believe that the semi autonomous status of the country had registered some success in solving the conflict and leading to economic growth. The remaining 11% or three respondents responded by showing that sanctions had registered some success.

However on further analysis by looking at data from the world bank, IMF, the South Sudan ministry of finance, analysts of the conflict state that the dream of two Sudans at peace with cooperation and utilizing the country's resources, with freedom of speech among the citizens, living in solidarity and mutual

respect was the dream envisaged by the South Sudan people but circumstances in the ever evolving conflict dictated differently.

5.2.1   ECONOMIC STATUS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

In 2011 per capita income based on GNI was $2,250 and this was among the highest in the EAC region.

Between 2006 to 2011, international development assistance to the country increased and South Sudan at the time of being granted independence received a lot of international support and had no external debt according to Nicola Pontara, World Bank country manager for South Sudan.

Figure 6: Impact of conflict on crude oil production

Graph shows crude oil production levels before the granting of Independence and after independence was granted

Sudan's Crude Oil Production
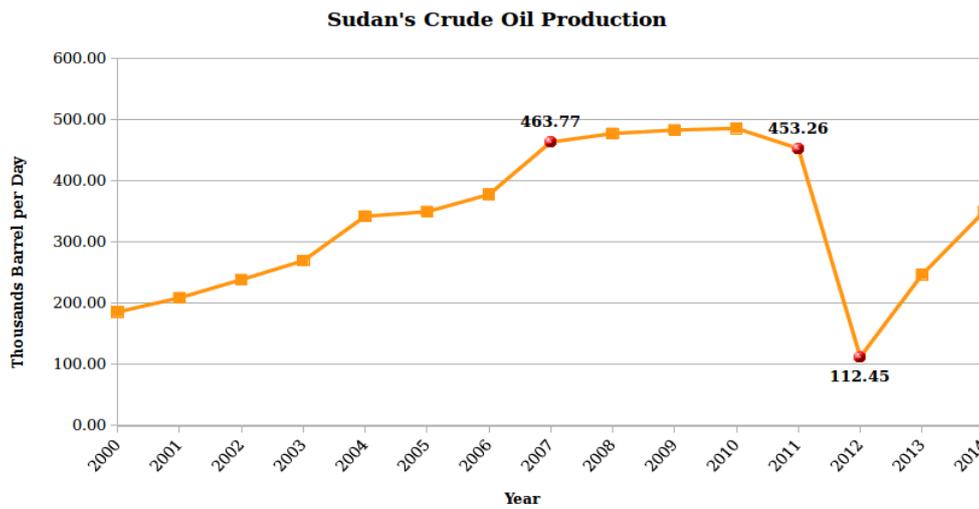
5.2.2 ECONOMIC STATUS AFTER GRANTED INDEPENDENCE

A year after secession from Sudan, the oil-rich nation was hit by its first economic crisis when the government shut down oil production due to a dispute over transit fees with Sudan, which controls the pipeline.

After the granting of independence the conflicts on the mode of oil sharing agreements with the Khartoum government led to a decline in oil production from about 453,000 barrels per day in 2011 to less than 120,000 barrels per day by 2012.

Figure 7: Disruptions to oil production

Unplanned oil supply disruptions in Sudan and South Sudan
thousand barrels per day

April 2013:
South Sudan restarts production.

April 2012:
Clashes at Sudan's
Heglig temporarily
curb output.

June/July 2013:
Sudan threatens to
block South
Sudan's access to
its pipelines, which
leads the South to
reduce production.

December 2013:
Production at South
Sudan's Unity fields is
forced to shut down,
and output is reduced
at fields in the Upper
Nile state because of
armed civil conflict.

January 2012: South
Sudan halts all of its
production.

Note: Almost all of the disruptions in the chart were to South Sudan's production, with the exception of an average of 25,000 bbl/d offline in Sudan during April to June 2012 because of armed conflict at Heglig. Disruption levels take into account changes over time to effective production capacity .
Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

The shutdown reduced the country's foreign currency reserves and left the government stripped of a very large amount of oil revenues amounting to 98%. Oil production resumed in April 2013, but the economy remained stagnated as world oil prices declined. Due to the financial crisis the Central Bank run out reserves and printed more money which led an increase in inflation as the government struggled to pay salaries and maintain basic social services.

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[7] The economic and political instability that followed the granting of independence led to austerity measures in both Sudan countries as there was a rise in transport costs in Khartoum and a doubling of fuel and food prices.

Access to foreign exchange assets in dollars at the central bank became limited. The government struggled to agree on measures to tackle the adverse effects of the parallel currency market. Doing business became nearly impossible in a country that even before the conflict began was ranked fifth from the bottom on the index that measures corruption due to weak institutions as corruption became more unmanageable after independence.

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[7] Independent Sudan's economic woes as analyzed by different online publications and the Africa program at the Chatham House, the international affairs think tank can be analyzed further on Aljazeera online news

http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/07/independent-south-sudans-economic-woes-150705112843046.html and

https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/jul/09/south-sudan-economic-disaster-independence

Food insecurity was also on the rise, with half of the population facing food shortages more than the number before granting independence. Violence and severe food insecurity became the norm in the world's newest nation.

Emphasis on the discussion of the conflict approaches will evolve on the two main approaches that received the highest response from the participants which are the granting of independence and regional integration of South Sudan in the EAC. In the next chapter analyzing regional integration as the most efficient approach since it registered a response of an average of 34% from the participants where 36% and 32% participants agree and strongly agree that regional integration should also be applied in solving the conflict.

CHAPTER SIX

REGIONAL INTEGRATION AS THE MOST EFFICIENT APPROACH FOR SOLVING THE CONFLICT (ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS)

6   Regional integration and South Sudan as an EAC member

After being granted independence in July 2011, South Sudan applied to join the EAC soon after. However the process progressed slowly since diplomats stated that the country still had institutional weakness. Following negotiations after the EAC summit, it was recommended that South Sudan's application be processed for possible admission.

However renewed conflict led to a brutal civil war. South Sudan supported its application to join the EAC stating that democracy and human rights could be slowly achieved while it's already a member. Disentangling regional conflicts complexes typically involves two contrasting approaches. A gradual way is to deal with a regional conflict complex conflict by conflict. Those conflicts that are open to solution are brought to an ending as speedily as possible.

This is done in the hope that continued conflict in the neighboring countries will not affect the implementation of the regional accords as a regional

momentum for peace is created through regional integration as tensions also decline.

The UN in its resolution 2167, the Security Council identified 13 regional organizations with which it particularly wanted to cooperate since such organizations were identified as addressing issues concerned with international peace and security.

In solving a regional conflict, the UN security council identified the advantages of regional organizations in resolving conflicts as being knowledgeable about their particular region, possibility to contribute own resources as is the case of Uganda in Somalia and South Sudan, where it plays a role in the protection of civilians and in post-conflict peace building (Peter,2015).

The treaty that established the EAC clearly states that new membership or admission requires adhering to the EAC treaty principles. These include democracy, rule of law, accountability, transparency and social justice. The EAC treaty includes clauses that require countries besides being geographically closer to the existing members must practice equal opportunities, gender equality as well as recognize, promote and protect rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples rights.

South Sudan's application was fast-tracked despite the country going through a fragile peace process. It was further argued by the EAC council of ministers that the country had opened its economy to EAC members even as questions on governance, democracy, human rights and security lingered. Most importantly it was agreed that South Sudan had a better chance of addressing its major challenges more effectively and faster as a member of the EAC (Christine, 2016).

Since international sanctions are easily implemented with the collaboration of regional member countries, it was further argued that its membership would help in enforcing some of the principles of the EAC charter that include respect for human rights and democracy and easily monitor the adherence to these principles by the country.

Regional cooperation has many benefits since many countries share a number of similar problems which can be resolved only in the framework of close cooperation.

A sample of twenty two participants responded to a questionnaire in which various views and opinions were collected.

This included telephone interviews, responding to a questionnaire and also filling in an open ended question. The results that follow clearly show the

answers of the respondents on the role of regional integration in solving the conflict.

- ➤ 36% and 32% respondents strongly agree and agree that the integration of South Sudan in the EAC would be a better approach at solving the conflict

**Figure 8: Analysis of regional integration as a conflict resolution approach**
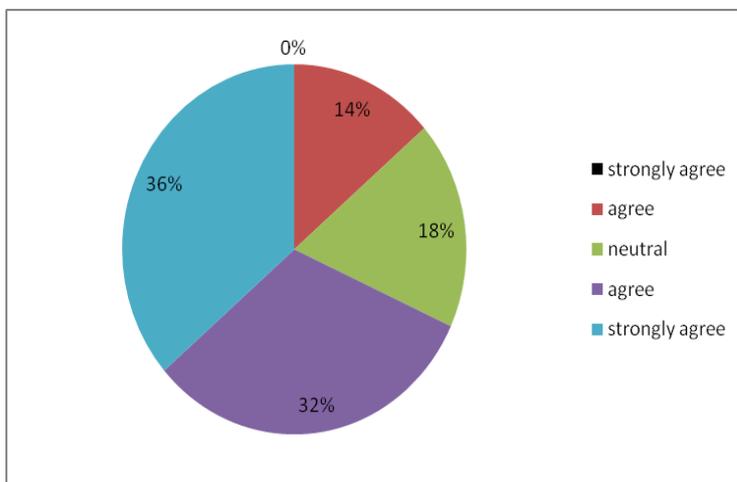
The questionnaires also include the questions on whether the interference of the major powers has affected the conflict resolution process and if regional stake holders vested interest have also interfered with the peace process.

FIGURE 9: Analysis of the major powers being an obstacle to the conflict resolution Process
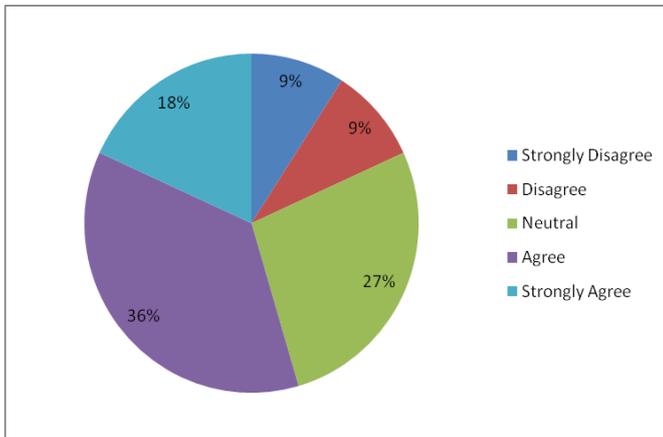
The findings also show that 36% respondents believe that the interference of the major powers has become an obstacle in resolving the conflict whereas 27% chose to remain neutral while 18% agree.

FIGURE 10: Analysis of vested interests by regional stake holders being a hindrance to Solving the conflict
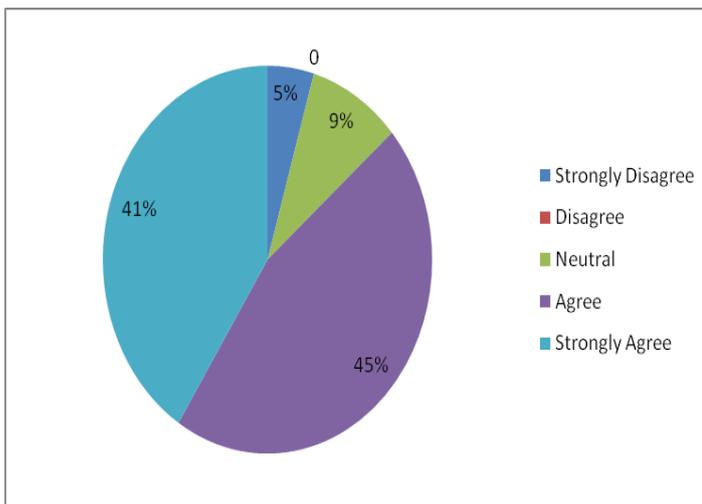
The respondents also show that 45% agree that vested interest of the different regional stake holders have become a hindrance in resolving the conflict while 41% strongly agree.

The different stake holders include regional neighboring countries and regional based organizations.

The findings have illustrated that regional integration and the granting of independence are the approaches considered by respondents that can make a significant contribution in addressing the conflict of South Sudan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

African countries should ensure that a quick solution for South Sudan is found to address the current crisis and also find a solution that fixes the economy.

The interventions so far put in place to solve this crisis are predominately political with little emphasis put on the religious and cultural question since the southern Christians were marginalized by the north in a variety of sectors such as employment, access to social services, business opportunities and the lack of freedom of speech and expression. Differences in culture among the different tribes that has been a root cause of skirmishes in South Sudan cannot be solved through UN conventions or African Union Summits since that approach ignores the participation of the local communities.

The lack of education and diseases that have predominately occupied the people of South Sudan cannot be solved through elections, signing of peace agreements and also attending international conferences and without addressing the key issues affecting the local population

External interference will make it another Libya since the conflict has spent over several generations and lasted decades.

It has therefore changed and either intensified or been in limbo over time. The dynamics keep changing, depending on various situations and different stakeholders and political players despise one another. The ruling party needs to cooperate with the opposition so as to have mutual agreements.

The vast South Sudan diaspora community should be encouraged to return home and foster a holistic mind change and develop the country with the skills acquired in the western world just like Rwanda benefited from returnees after the Genocide.

The approaches pursued by Kenya and Ethiopia which have sought a diplomatic solution to the conflict are at odds with Uganda's approach which has been involved deeper into the conflict but with its military.

There is a need to address the root causes of the Sudan conflict since some of the problems existed even before the discovery of oil and it's now evident that oil has not been the only major cause of conflict.

Conflicts that are regional tend to have a global impact since they lead to a spill over affect to sectors such as international peace and security.

The conflict in the Middle East impacts on global oil prices and American foreign policy. The Korean peninsula conflict has impacted on American

military strategy and foreign policy in Asia and dictated its relations with regional major powers such as China and Japan. The major powers for strategic reasons that are economic and political at times tend to maintain the status quos in regional conflicts.

Some scholars have argued that the lack of a regional organization in North East Asia greatly affected solving the Korean peninsula conflict as the benefits of solving a conflict on a regional basis have not been enjoyed by the two Koreas. These include increased cooperation, knowledge of the region and cultures of the people and adherence to regional principles.

7.1   LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Because of the sensitivity of the research topic and for confidentiality purposes many participants who are serving government officials were not freely available for interviews and had to reschedule appointments.

The distance between ROK and the EAC limited the number of participants that would have been approached to participate.

Because of the sensitivity of the topic where some participants still hold key government positions and the research topic being politically sensitive, some participants felt uncomfortable sharing information electronically of or

telephonically. It was because of the above reasons that only a sample of twenty two participants was used.

However the observations and information gathered will make a significant contribution in finding a permanent solution to the conflict.

7.1.2 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

As per the findings from the research, the involvement of regional countries in the conflict worsened mediation efforts as the lack of neutrality by IGAD complicated the peace initiatives.

With the mediators in the peace process also taking sides with the warring factions where Uganda sent troops to support the government, the lack of neutrality leads to a risk of the conflict becoming a regional conflict and derails the mediation efforts.

7.1.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE SURVEY PARTCIPANTS

IGAD states should ensure that an independent monitoring and verification team with no vested interests in South Sudan is created in accordance with the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. The main parties in the conflict should return to the negotiating table in order to foster dialogue and a lasting solution and address the issues that led to renewed conflict in 2013.

According to a former UN and AU diplomat, she observes and recommends that a key provision of the cessation of hostilities agreement is the removal of allied forces invited by either side from the theatre of operations in South Sudan since this compromises the neutrality of IGAD brokered peace initiatives.

Being a political problem the solution lies in a political solution since South Sudan needs a deal that is not based on power sharing only but one that strengthens institutions of the state that would guarantee transitional transformation.

A speedy solution can also include sanctions being imposed since they would go a long way to bringing about a ceasefire in armed conflicts. Sanctions imposed by the countries around South Sudan would be more effective.

The current peace process only includes the armed actors but the South Sudanese society has a very little role other than to suffer the consequences of the violence and their leader's political aspirations.

A diplomat based in Kenya who participated in a telephonic interview suggests that South Sudan's peace process should analyze past experiences in Sudan particularly on the need for a new approach such as a generational change, a national dialogue and inclusion of civil society stakeholders.

Another diplomat from Uganda recommended that face-to-face negotiations in post-colonial Africa and in Sudan has not been an approach considered she further stated that the invincible forces that are interested in the country's resources that supply weapons to rebel militias and the government are contributing to the continued instability in the country.

The Leaders of the SPLM/SPLA have destroyed their cause by competing for power and mobilizing for support along ethnic lines.

A scholar from Algeria who has specialized in conflict studies and participated in the research recommends that the South Sudan President must commit himself to ending the conflict because it's a South Sudan conflict.

It's no longer a conflict between the Arabs of the north and the black Africans of the South.

It has now become a South Sudan ethnic conflict and a local remedy should be utilized.

In conclusion South Sudan should look to traditional modes of conflict resolution to end the current standoff and also fully investigate the origins of the conflict as these exited even before the discovery of oil. It's clearly evident that that conflict is rooted in ethnicity and not just natural resources.

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국문초록

본 연구의 초점은 남수단 갈등의 원인과 그 해결방안에 대한 탐색이다. 해당 연구의 분석은 분쟁에 대한 설명과 기존의 합의 시도에 초점을 두고 있다. 갈등 해소 이론과 충돌의 진화의 역동성에 맞춰 이론적으로 다양한 갈등 해소의 접근법을 분석한다.

남수단의 분쟁은 1956년 독립 이후에서부터 뿌리를 두고 있으며, 아랍인이 지배하는 북부와 아프리카 부족이 지배하는 남부의 갈등에서 시작되었다. 남수단 분쟁은 아프리카에서 가장 오랫동안 일어난 시민전쟁이며 남수단의 사회경제적 발전뿐만 아니라 동아프리카 공동체의 주변 국가들, 그리고 우간다, 케냐, 에티오피아와 같은 지역에도 중대한 영향을 미쳤다. 이러한 갈등이 남수단과 접경한 에티오피아, 케냐, 우간다, 그리고 콩고 등의 사이에서 불안정한 국경상태로 이어졌다.

이 논문의 목적은 이러한 갈등이 2005년부터 2016년까지 동아프리카 공동체의 발전에 미친 영향을 분석하고, 남수단의 안정이 해당 지역에서 갖는 중요성에 대해 설명하고자 한다.