# THE CAUSES OF NORTHERN UGANDA – SOUTH SUDAN BORDER CONFLICT; CASE STUDY OF MOYO – KAJOKEJI BORDER

ΒY

UNZI PATRICK BCR/19224/72/DU

# A RESEARCH DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING DEPARTMENT FOR PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF AWARD OF BACHOLERS DEGREE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING OF KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY (KIU)

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#### DEDICATION

This goes to the rock of my family Madam Amondi Jane Patricia, My beloved daughters Oyomaku Mercy Unzi and Favour Altagracia Unzi, my late Mum Opia Cizela, my father Muzee Wewe Paulino and Mum Madelena Wewe, my sisters Anzoo Rose, Mulumapko, Arizio and Ufutio Agnes and all their beloved children. Special dedication goes to my colleagues in the same academic discipline especially friend Issa Joly Kyonago, Olima Denis, Julius Ambuche, JP Opira P, Rev. Geofrey and Abdi Abdurzak.

And to all my relatives and friends who helped me one way or the other morally and financially. May the almighty God bless and reward you abundantly.

## DECLARATION

This research is my personal work which has not been presented to any university for an award of bachelors degree by any one.

Name: Unzi Patrick Sign: Date: .30th 2012 11

Supervisor: Mr. ANYAMA Charles Sign:.....

Date: .....

## APPROVAL

This research dissertation has been worked out right from the start up to the final stage under the right supervision of my dedicated supervisor and its ready for submission for marking. Name of Supervisor:

ANYAMA Charles.

Sign:.....

Date:....

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# **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

Agreement	To arrive that an accepted solution by two parties who have
	to sign or append signatories
Anyanya 1.	A rebel group in southern Sudan that was fighting against
	Sudan government since 1958
Border;	A line that is drawn to separate two places or countries.
Conflict	A multifaceted struggle for in compatible goals
Customs	These are entry points in to another country legal
Cause	These are reasons for the occurrence of event
Culture	This is a way of peoples life of different origins
Co-existence	Living together side by side peaceful
Colonial	Periods when the whites imposed themselves on the Africans
Effects	Result of some event that has occurred or is taking place
Flash point	These are the border marks that shows the side of the other
Demarcation	Means drawing of lines to separate two places
Negotiation	This refers to round table talks in order to arrive to a solution
Refugee	People who flee away to another place for safety because of
	war

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## ABBREVIATION

- AGP Acholi Parliamentary Group
- CPA ComprehensivePeaceAgreement
- NCP National Congress Party
- SPLA Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army
- OAU Organization of African Union
- LRA Lord's Resistance Army
- UPDF Uganda Peoples Defense Forces
- LC Local Council
- UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner For Refugee
- RDC Resident District Commissioner
- EAC East African Community

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#### ABSTRACT

Conflict today is rampant and in all the streams of human resistances. Thus if no resolved, then human species is endangered every were as most of this conflicts are resource based especially land as one of the resources with its components like minerals, vegetation and the fertility of it that almost attracts everybody to struggle for the ownership.

The need to own these resources is causing people, governments to extent borders either rightly or wrongly in to the other area leading to boarder conflicts. These conflicts have devastating effects ranging from loss of lives and destruction of properties, sour relationships and general economic down fall. It's therefore upon all institutions, government and individuals to ensure that conflict do not escalate.

#### CHAPTER ONE

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

The Uganda – Sudan border marked during British Colonial administration in 1927 covering Moyo District stretches along from the Sub – counties of Lefori, Moyo Sub – county, Metu and Dufile Sub – county with the following flash points.

From Lefori Sub – county the Moyo – Kajokeji border starts at where river Nyawa flows into Uganda at Keleke (Bamure), then Nyolobe and Jibi. It joins Moyo Sub – county at Tipale stream that flows from Jale summit dividing Jale into two and crosses the highway to Kajokeji marked by Ayo stream that flows Easr wards to Aturua on wards to Gbari in Metu Sub – county with flash points at Nyeri, with joint point at Ayo and Lea streams meet point.

In Dufile, the flash points can be sported at Emin Pasha Fort I,II,III where river Nile flows into Sudan at Paanjala / Fula falls.

The genesis of Moyo – Kajokeji border conflict is traced from advert of Anyanya I war of 1955 which forced many Sudanese nationals from the equatorial such as Kakwa, Kuku, Bari, Madi Lukayi to cross to porous border lines from Keleke in Lefori Sub – county via Moyo Sub – county border at Jale – Afoji and then into Gbari in 1964.

They then settled along the border points at Keleke (Bamure), Koyiba, Abaya in Lefori Sub – county, Ledupe, Afoji, Fodia in Moyo Sub – county and in Metu Sub – county at Goopi, Pamujo and Gbari.

The Sudanese self settlement along border lines according to Muzee Anthony Anjiri was as bases to attack Sudan government inside Sudan at Kajokeji by Anyanya rebels and as a result, Sudan government forces retaliated by crossing to Moyo and killed a police officer at Moyo Police station. The incident provoked the

Uganda army unit at Celecelea in Moyo to repulse the attackers and killed two soldiers under the command of major Marcelo Kenyi.

The above clashes called for a bilateral agreement between Uganda and Sudan mediated by OAU in 1967 which resulted into the disbandment of the Sudanese refugees settlements along the border lines and were moved to Onigo in Adjumani, Moroto in Karamoja, Bweyale, Kyriadongo in Masindi, Bugerere in Kayunga and Kasese but some few of them remained in Lefori Sub – county at Gwere, in Itula Sub – county, Goopi and Gbari in Metu Sub – county staying amidst the communities of Moyo and were safely protected by relatives.

The cessation of hostilities between the Anyanya rebels and Sudan government was enforced by Addis Ababa peace agreement of 1972 which paved way for the repatriation of Sudanese refugees in 1973. But were integrated among the local communities of Moyo and remained where ever they setteled. Many eligible ones even joined or served in Uganda army during Amin's regime. It was not until the 1979 – 1980 Uganda liberation war that uprooted them together with the population of West Nile and fled to Congo and back to Sudan where majority settled in refugees camps.

The second Sudanese civil war pitting government forces against SPLA that sparked in 1983 was the most disastrous for the Madi communities according to Mr. Isse John in (2010), for it forced Ugandan refugees in settlement camps in Sudan together with some of the Sudanese from Kajokeji, Yei, Nimule and others deep in equatorial to cross into Uganda through various border points Northern Uganda – Moyo in particular. Thus, for the case of Moyo – Kajokeji border line from Keleke to Gbari via Afoji, the Kuku community in Sudan Kajokeji county crossed and settled in farm lands before the indigenous madi of Moyo could return from exile. Although many of them settled in refugees camps in Itula Sub – county and Adjumani, some remained self settled along the border line amidst Ugandan national sharing the same resources and services. Even after the CPA in

2005 between Sudan government and SPLA, many of them never wants to go back home but rather took to dual citizenship which resulted to land conflicts with the indigenous madi.

As put by the RDC Moyo, 2011, this border conflict has a long history of many years. In 1968, the Sudanese invaded Moyo, Lefori in 1987 where they looted herds of cattle, goats and killed Muzee Alilovu. In 1992, the SPLA invaded and looted Lefori Health Centre and in 1989 Moyo was bombarded and several people were affected with heavy causalities. The same source again put it that in 2002, Muzee Piri was killed in cold blood in Lefori disputed land.

In 2008 also witnessed another invasion by SPLAM ordered peasants out of their fields that they were inside Sudan and this was followed by a group of SPLA and civilians that stormed Moyo army barracks in Bilinyo village claiming a boundary. Also in 2009, two gun men by names of Lubungu and Dongo abducted civilians at Bamure (Keleke) locked them in a container. The same year 2009, August MTN mask construction at Afoji area was stopped and workers thoroughly bitten by SPLA, in Lefori six gunmen invaded farm land fired bullets on civilians, uprooted cereal crops while the far east of Moyo district in Dufile Sub – county wildlife soldiers invaded Paanjala detained Rev. Fr. Erwa for three hours and collected six herds of cattle to Nimule.

According to Felix Warom Okello (2012), the protracted war or fights between the communities living along the border with South Sudan went on throughout the years with those in Sub – counties who engaged in a number of fights with their Sudanese neighbours. Hence, in 2010, it made the two presidents Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and Salva Kir the counter part who met and resolved to remark the boarder but no action has been taken yet.

LC V Chairperson Moyo (2011) said UNHCR repatriated Sudanese refugees but did not move with their cattle across the border into Sudan and many have business

in Moyo – Uganda are believed to be the ones fueling armed attacks as they want to continue herding their animals at the vast land near the border. Further more, individuals such as Mr. Ben Yengi (Australian citizen) Episcopal Church Bishop, MP MAry Kiden and a permanent secretary in MOFED called Tisa have interest in opening farm in Abaya across the border into Uganda forcefully contributes to the escalation of the conflict. Hence, a special district council met (Sept 2011) resolved that the Sudanese have justification to remain on self settlement in Moyo with peace prevailing in their home land and gave 31<sup>st</sup> December 2011 as a dead line to leave for Sudan.

It was however, noted that, the Sudanese refugees seemed to have been attracted by the vast opportunities they have over the two decades; fertile land, plenty of land for grazing, business, environmental friendly institutions, well developed infrastructures and the hospitality of the Madi people in Moyo – Uganda continues to be the sources of the on-going conflict that persisted for half a century.

#### **1.2 Problem Statement**

The border points right from Lefori Sub – county at Keleke (Bamure) to Dufile Paanjala a distance of about 50 km is porous with only one officially customs entry point at Afoji – Jale Moyo Sub – county. This posses a great challenge in controlling the border line for security purposes. Then as a result of unsolved political question in Sudan since independence in 1955, the unoccupied vast land of Moyo to the border due to low population was exposed. Later with explosion in population of the local community of Moyo, there arise land shortage. Besides the fragility of the South Sudan independence slows the process of deescalating the conflict.

The small Kuku ethnic group in the new geopolitical spectrum force them feel vulnerable remuciding to assumed dual citizenship status. The other impediment on the part of Madi people is spirit of blind hospitality makes the Kuku take the

advantage of their situation by changing around, in the process taking over rights on land, business, social services and other benefits. On other hand, cultural intolerance of the Kuku for other ethnicities in their own country continues to escalate the conflict. There are other practices such abducting Chimpanzees from their habitats by Ben Yengi to his Zoo in Kajokeji all combine to fuel the border conflicts. The study intends to identify the real causes, effects and suggested solutions to the conflict.

## 1.3. Objectives of the Study

## 1.3.1 General Objective

To identify and investigate into the causes of the Northern Uganda – South Sudan border conflict; a case study of Moyo – Kajokeji border conflict.

## 1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- i) To investigate role played by the local people in resolving the conflict.
- ii) Investigate efforts so far been made by the two government of South Sudan and Uganda to resolve it.
- iii) To discuss the effects of Moyo Kajokeji border conflict on the livelihood of the local communities along the border.
- iv) To suggest solutions to the Moyo Kajokeji border conflict for sustainable peace and tranquility.

## **1.4** Research Questions / Hypothesis

- i) What are the causes of the Moyo Kajokeji border conflict?
- ii) What attempts are been made to resolve this conflict by the local people?
- iii) What roles are played by the two government in trying to resolve the conflict?
- iv) How has this conflict affected the livelihood of the communities along the border?
- v) What or suggest solutions to this conflict for sustainable peace along the border?

# CHAPTER TWO RELATED LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This study investigated the factors that caused the Northern Uganda – South Sudan border conflict, a case study of Moyo – Kajokeji border.

The assumptions here hinged on the rebellion in the neighbouring countries, colonial border marks, greedy, corruption and speculation by elements of the politics – military elite, unreformed colonial states, fictitious citizenship, business interest, population explosion and its related problems.

The study compared what happened along Moyo – Kajokeji border with what happened on other border lines within and around the globe.

#### 2.2 The causes of the Moyo – Kajokeji border conflict

According to Denis Obbo (2012) the ministry of lands takes note of the issues raised by LC V Chairperson Bududa District the lands department had to take the blame for their border messes because they had fraudulently altered the genuine maps with the intention to grab the Bududa land. That, this part of the district boundary was determined since 1962 under legal notice No. 54 of 1962. the then Bududa – Bugwere county known in 1962 and the territory of Mbale had a common border lines clearly marked by bearing and distances on the base map at that time. In the same vane, Agencies (2012) on the state of emergency after attacks in Nigeria said, president Good Lucky Jonathan declared state of emergency in some parts of Nigeria following attacks by Islamist group Baka Haram in the area of Bornu states in the North East Plateau, central Nigeria and Niger state in the West. In the process international borders in the affected areas have been closed. Jonathan's announcement meant that Nigeria's border with Chad, Niger and Cameroon would be sealed until further notice and instructed the chief of defence staff to take appropriate measures including setting up special counter - terrorist force.

David Kazungu (2011) mentioned that the state minister for lands, Ms. Sarah opendi has suspended all activities on the contested Namatala wetland pending boundary re- drawing because the Bagisu of Mbale and Bagwere of Budaka district have constantly clashed over the land.

Reen Abbas (2011) on South Sudan's divorce from the North, mentioned that the two countries have chaos over borders due to oil revenue and the fate of the contested oil rich Abyei region. That, the two neighbours have a number of unresolved issues to deal with. As they continue to hold meetings to finalize the arrangements, new problems arise like accusations of supporting rebels, and escalating border wars that are sending Sudanese refugees to far South Sudan.

Nasredeen Abdulbari, a professor of international law at the university of Khartoum said that the most pressing challenges for Sudan's insecurity involving its border states.

Dr Abdelgasim Gov, the Deputy Director of the centre for studies and culture of peace at the Sudan university of science and technology believes the failure in the modalities of implementing the CPA process in causing Sudan to slip back to war. Further more, Dr. Gor said "in the southern Kordofan the reason for the return to war was not the election, the election triggered violence but the main reason was / is that some crucial processes were not implemented such as transitional justice and land issue or use"

Agencies (2011) on Sudan border disputes regarding border demarcations, the status of oil rich Abyei and South Kordofan both located on the border in dispute is the most complicated issue in debate between South Sudan and Khartoum government. That in February when the South was still in the transitional period, its Sudan people's liberation army caused death of 22 Sudanese soldiers.

Meanwhile, the bloody clashes in the South Kordofan before separation had put the North – South relations at a test. Khartoum accused Juba of supporting rebels in the Northern sector in assaulting Sudanese army in the area when a month ago, the north's ruling NCP won local elections and had the legitimacy to govern.

On the situation in Syria (2011) APF said, Tundure people have been killed when security forces fired on demonstrators in several provinces including flash points, central cities of Horms and Hama. Five people were dead including a child killed outside the southern town of Daraa, cradle of eight months anti-regime change. Facing growing isolation, Syria had been told by its Arab peers to stop the lethal repression against protestors or risk sanctions.

Okello Lucina (2011), that South Sudanese claims that the border markers have been fraudulently shifted may not be far from the truth. That since the implementation of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) between Khartoum and Sudanese people liberation army (SPLA) that established the government of South Sudan at Juba, border and land disputes have characterized relations between South Sudan and Uganda. This disputes between border communities and the tow countries under scores the need to revisit the option of statehood based on arbitrary colonial boundaries.

In the issue of October 25<sup>th</sup> (2010) Sudan tribune reported South Sudan accusing Uganda of tempering with international boundary markers between the two countries that extended Uganda's frontiers in the north by tens of miles into South Sudan especially the border between Magwi county in the Eastern Equatorial state of South Sudan and Lamwo district in northern Uganda.

Okello further said that besides the international boundary, the Sudanese also expressed discontent about the continued deployment of the Uganda people's Defence Forces (UPDF) inside South Sudan since the Lord's Resistance Army activities there and in Northern Uganda have ceased. That the presence of UPDF is causing fear in South Sudan who now wants them withdrawn. In addition accusations of illegal road construction, land grabbing, logging, insecurity and harassment by South Sudanese citizens are leveled against Ugandan forces just like what happened in Democratic Republic of Congo all over again.

The idea of investigating the plunder along the border has been welcomed because logging, land grabbing and economic marketeering activities involving powerful elite on either side of the border have been for a long time. For example, during and after LRA insurgency, known UPDF and SPLA deforested Lututuru of its old growth and carried out extensive farming and logging along the border areas of Ngomoromo. Further more, between 2009 and 2011, South Sudan laid claims to huge track of land in West Nile, madi Opei areas of Northern Uganda but surprisingly Uganda government remained quite even when citizens were reportedly beaten, abducted and some killed by Southern Sudanese security personnel.

It is a common knowledge that the politico – military clique around the president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and his regime have used all efforts, tactics including coercion to grab land throughout the country especially in Buganda, Bunyoro and Acholi where they attempted to enclose 40,000 hectares and land along the Nile under the pretest of allocating it to Madhvani group for sugar cane plantation.

According to Acholi parliamentary group (APG) chairperson and Aswa county MP Reagan Okumu, the state used the statutory bodies like the Uganda wild life Authority (UWA) and the national forest authority to plunder large tracks of arable and mineral rich land in Acholi.

The South Sudanese claims that the border markers have been fraudulently shifted may not be far from the truth considering how Acholi communally resistance to the state's determination to appropriate their land along the Nile has ruled government suspected of conspiracy between some of the SPLA allies and Uganda government officials to shift the borders to ostensibly code a large part of Acholi land to South Sudan which in turn would end up in the hands of his own networks speculations is ingenious arrow in the quire for un indicative politics.

#### 2.3 Efforts so far made to resolve the conflict by both parties

Nasredeen Abdubari (2011) said the two parties need to reach an agreement but ultimately South Sudan needs to address the grievancies of the regional and states where there are wars, he said in interview.

That after failure of talks between the two parties, a conflict erupted in June 2011 and in September spread to blue Nile and other states lying between the South Sudan borders.

Meanwhile, on the state of emergency in Nigeria after attacks by Baka Haram, the government spokesperson said that the violence in the state of Ebonyi was the result of a land dispute between the Ezza and Ezilo people. Then the president Jonathan Good Lucky said the closure of the borders in the affected areas was an interim measure designed to address the security challenges. Also earlier that week, leaders of the neighbouring Chad and Cameroon were reported to have held talks about how they could help to prevent the violence spreading to their countries.

Hon. Alex Unzima legislator Maracha district and state minister for local government (2011) said past efforts to establish the boundary of Bugisu and Budaka have been frustrated by political intrigues. On the other hand, on the Sudan border dispute, Agencies (2011) said, although talks in Addis Ababa produced in late June a frame work agreement that tasked a joint committee with security arrangements in disputed areas but the deal has not been implemented yet its strongly opposed by some NCP members. In early September, violence broke out in Blue Nile where the SPLA's Northern sector clashed with Sudanese Army again.

According to Stephen Ariong (2011), the government of South Sudan and Uganda have agreed to have a joint intelligence team to monitor security at the border between Karamoja region and South Sudan. This agreement was reached during a cross border meeting organized by Kaabong RDC Nyalulu Okoth in Kidepo valley National Park. The meeting was meant to discuss how to get rid of the illegal guns being smuggled from Sudan to Karamoja through the vast border.

Robert Muhereza (2011) land dispute erupted between Ugandans and Congolese living at the border in Kisoro over claims of land ownership calling for government of the two countries to intervene. The land in contention is kibaya grazing area in Nyambe sub – county. The area LC III Chairperson Mr. Ernest said the Congolese from kivu had trespassed on Ugandan land and planted trees claiming the land. He appealed to the relevant authority to handle the matter urgently to avoid the locals turning violent.

He said they had tried to handle the matter with the Congolese counter parts but observed that there was need to involve the top management officials from both countries to resolve the matter. During the meeting with the officials from Congo on Monday the Deputy Chief Administrator of North Kivu province in DRC Mr. Joel Mudogo said he was going to consult Kinshasa about the issue.

On the border markers that fuels land disputes, Okello Lucima (2011) said, according to the report a meeting called to discuss the border issues in Lumwo agreed in a joint resolution to investigate the matter but Lamwo resident district commissioner Omwony Ogala declined to append his signature leaving Peter Bongomin commissioner Magwi county lone signatory to the declarations.

Denis Obbo (2012) said, a consultation meeting held on 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2011 resolved that politicians not to interfere with surveying exercise that would commence January and end February 2012. That government surveyor would use the visible border markers to demarcate the boundary described in 1902 constitution. David

Kazungu (2011) mentioned that Ms. Opendi who chaired the meeting between the two warring parties at Mbale Municipal chambers resolved to establish the rightful owners of the land after community members accused national environment management authority (NEMA) of issuing certificates to wrong owners.

# 2.4 The effect of Moyo – Kajokeji border conflict on the livelihood of the communities along the border

Agencies in Nigeria said following the sporadic attacks by Baka Haram militants in separate clashes, at least 50 (fifty) people have been killed in the East of the country over the land dispute.

According to Alex Onzima state minister for local government, a team of 24 surveyors went to Budaka, Bataleya, Tororo and Mbale to determine the boundaries or the border points of 1962 that separated Bugisu from Bukedi but the exercise failed over alleged political intrigue. The surveyors were attacked with threats of lynching them forcing them to abandon the exercise.

Agencies (2011) that conflict in Abyei was ceased by negociations held in Ethiopia capital Addis Ababa after SPLA attacked Sudanese Army in Abyei causing death of 22 Sudanese soldiers this resulted in the withdrawal of the troops of the both sides and then Ethiopian forces were deployed there under UN peace keeping command. However, the status of Abyei remained unresolved and continued to be a flash point issue.

Meanwhile, violence broke out in blue Nile where the SPLAs Northern sector clashed with Sudan Army. President Bashir declared state of emergency with military rule. After fierce fighting, the Sudanese Army seized at Kurmuk a strong hold of the SPLAs northern sector in Blue Nile. The battle cost about 20,000 lives of the SPLA fighters and their commander Azizi Al Hillu fled to Ethiopian border and was abducted.

#### 2.5 Solutions to the Moyo – Kajokeji border conflict

According to Robert Muhereza (2011) on the border land that puts Uganda against Democratic Republic of Congo, the RDC Kisoro Ahamed confirmed receipt of the complaint and said that he had already sent a message to Kampala asking central government to intervene in resolving the matter as it is high profile matter. They need experts to locate the border coordinates so that the matter is resolved. Hence, he was waiting for the response of these relevant authorities.

Okello Lucima (2011) said on border markers fueling disputes, what is needed is for the republics of South Sudan and Uganda to demonstrate revolutionary leadership and Pan African spirit by renouncing and eliminating colonial fictions that pits communities against communities once done, the divided communities automatically becomes citizens of the two countries with full rights in political and democratic processes and economic & cultural life of the both countries. That if both South Sudan and Uganda have evenly revolutionary leaders who embrace progressive politics, there wouldn't be a better opportunity than now for them and their respective border communities to spark what could change the face of Africa and its politics for good.

Rev. Lokodo (Karamoja) and the commissioner Magwi agreed to joint intelligence patrol of the Karamojo and Sudan border promising to brief the government on the decision of the two organs. Although the government embarked on peaceful disarmament in Karamoja, reports of gun possession continue to emerge.

David Kazungu (2011) on ending the border conflict in Bugisu, commented that the state minister of lands Ms. Sarah Opendi said that the ministry had instructed a team of surveyors to over see the survey exercise scheduled to start in January and last for two months. That her ministry will work hand in hand with the local government internal affairs and environment to ensure that NEMA recalls the said certificates to enable a smooth transition.

Reen Abbas (2011) on security involving both South Sudan and Uganda, said that the two parties needs to reach an agreement but ultimately Sudan needs to address the grievances of the regimes and states where there were wars.

In the Southern Kordofan, the reason for return to war was not the elections but the elections triggered the war. The main reason was that some crucial processes were not implemented such as transitional justice and land use. Hence, the latter needed to be implemented for peace and tranquility to prevail in the place. This scenario seem to be common phenomenon on the Moyo – Kajokeji border.

Meanwhile according to agencies (2011) the conflict in Abyei was ceased by negotiations held in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa which resulted in the withdrawal of both sides troops and deployment of forces under the UN peace keeping command.

To end the conflict in Blue Nile, president Al Bashir declared state of emergency in Blue Nile and replaced governor Malik Agar with a military ruler.

Again after sustaining heavy casualties at the battle of Kurmuk with the SPLA, the Sudanese government was promoted to file a complaint to the UN security council in September 2011 accusing South Sudan of supporting the rebels fighting them at the border but Juba refuted it as baseless allegation.

Stephen (2011) said that the two countries of South Sudan and Uganda reached agreement during a cross border meeting organized by Kaabong RDC Okoth in Kidepo valley national Game Park.

The meeting was held to discuss the possibility of getting an end to illegal guns being smuggled from Sudan to Karamoja through the vast borders and agreed that the two countries of South Sudan and Uganda would get an intelligence team to carry out operation jointly to over see and control the flow of arms. This meeting was attended by commissioners from South Sudan and Uganda's state Ministry for ethics and RDCs and intelligence officials from Kotido and Kaabong districts. Mr. Okoth also warned that there was need to do a close border monitoring to avoid gun trafficking.

In Moyo – Kajokeji border, efforts were made by the two authorities of Moyo and Kajokeji to hold several meetings in order to resolve the border crisis but it has stalled till border re- demarcation.

# CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter has discussed the research design, sample area of study, sample framework, sample size, sample technique, procedure, methods of data collection, data processing, validity and quality control, data analysis and ethical consideration.

#### 3.2 Research Design

In order to have valid conclusion, the design has been in a manner that identified the methods and techniques for collecting views. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used to gather information.

#### 3.3 Area and study population

The area of Moyo – Kajokeji starts from grid reference point 347875 East and 412671 north, it start where river Nyawa flows into Uganda and following the river direction originating from Kajokeji to Lefori from that point it is joined by stream Tipale which originated from mountain Jale cutting through half way to grid reference 351463 E and 441471North at UNRA sign post through the high way to Sudan. Moving east wards, crossing Litoba at Jibi / Ongoro proceed to Gbari through the border line of Goopi with Limi (Sudan ). It runs south east wards through Mt. Nyeri range to Paanjala where river Nile flows into Sudan at Fulla falls.

The areas constantly under conflict stretches from Gwere Lefori sub – county to Paanjala in Dufile sub –county. Thus covering a distance of about 80km and an area of about 450km<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, occupying parts of Lefori, Moyo sub – county, Metu and Dufile sub –county.

The study involved elders, clan leaders, landlords, opinion leaders, community leaders, sub – county chiefs, LC III chairpersons, DLCs, cultural leaders, RDC and commissioner a total of 80 persons, (respondent ant). These members are on both sides of Uganda – Madi and South Sudan – Kuku communities.

#### 3.4 Sample Frame work

The study involved elders, clan leaders, landlords, opinion leaders, community leaders, sub –county chiefs, LC III chairpersons, lc1s, RDC of Moyo district and commissioner of Kajokeji county.

## 3.4.1 Simple Size

Respondents	Моуо	Kajokeji	Total
Opinion leaders	04	04	08
Sub – county chiefs	04	04	08
LC III Chairperson	04	04	08
LCI Chairperson	08	08	16
DLCs	03	03	06
Cultural leaders	08	08	16
RDC and Commissioner	01	01	02
Land lords	08	08	16
Total			80 persons

The sample involved the following from both sides of Moyo and Kajokeji

Reasons for selecting the above category;-

- This was done to reduce time wastage
- To minimize cost
- To socialize with local community
- To prevent false information reporting

#### 3.4.2 Sample techniques

A random sampling technique was used by the researcher for selected respondents due to common characteristic of the population.

#### 3.4.3 Sample procedure

The researcher got an introduction letter from Kampala international University Authority which provides security and identification during the course of the study. The time schedule for the study was from 9:00 am to 6:00pm as this was the time when respondents were either at home or work places.

#### 3.5 Methods for data collection

Here four instruments were used. This included both open and closed ended questionnaires, oral interviews guides for those who could not read and write, observation schedules and library research was also conducted to obtain related literature.

The study used qualitative descriptive design to investigate and determine the level of border conflict and its impact on the livelihood of the people.

#### 3.5.1 Instruments

- i) Questionnaires both open and closed ended were used.
- ii) Interview guides for those who could not read and write to participate.
- iii) Observation schedules in order to identify respondents according to their status, age, education, sex. It was also done to ascertain the damages, abuses, trespasses, border marks & sports demarcations from maps and compared it with what was on ground across the border.
- iv) The documentary evidences included maps, records, reports and minutes of meetings held, public library, text books and news papers were used.

#### 3.5.2 Source of data

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected by the researcher from both primary and secondary sources by direct verbal interviews and review of the available literature and technical publications on the matter.

#### 3.6 Data processing

The data has been presented to the readers through coding, tabulation and editing.

Editing was done to check accuracies and errors in the data collected.

Coding was done to classify the answers to the questions for easy references.

Tabulation was done to enter the researcher's findings into logical frames for comparison purposes and drawing of conclusions and references.

Labeling. This was done to enable easy identification of the various data pieces like figures, instruments and appendices from one another.

#### 3.7 Validity and quality control

The researcher subjected the question to the supervisor for security to find out the accuracy of the instrument and then the questionnaire and the interview guide were piloted to Moyo – Yumbe border conflict to confirm the instrument answers to the objectives of the study.

#### **Future investigations**

The impact of conflict free Moyo – Kajokeji border on socio – economic developments of the people of the sub – region.

The effect of East African Community on socio – economic development of Northern Uganda and South Sudan.

Impact of common tariff on the resolution of conflict along Moyo – Kajokeji border.

#### 3.8 Data Analysis

The data has been presented in tables, maps and graphs as required and used to determine the relationships and explanation and conclusions about the study. Percentages have been used to support the hypothesis tested and also to ascertain how far the objectives have been achieved.

#### 3.9 Ethical considerations.

Permission to conduct this research was first sought from the university authority and the political leadership of Moyo district council. Confidentiality has been maintained and all the respondents were equally treated and had the option of anonymity while the information collected are solely used for the purpose of the research.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

## INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

#### 4.1 Introduction

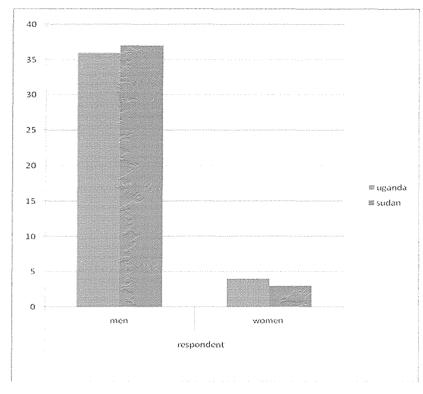
This chapter consists of the date analysis and the interpretation of all the finding of the research.

Finding from the respondent

Country	Respondent Persons				
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Uganda	36	04	90%	10%	100%
Southern sudan	37	03	92.5%	7.5%	100%
Total	73	07	-	-	-

#### Table 1: Distribution by sex of the responded

From table 1, 90% of the respondents are men and 10% are women who participated. This has been because the categories of the people selected could not have many women among them from Moyo. The few who we got are among the local council like the LCs, opinion leaders and from southern Sudan, (KajoKeji) 92.5% are men and 7.5% are women.



## Figure 1: represented graphical in the figure 1 below

 Table 2: Level of education of the respondents

Country	educational level				
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total	% total
Uganda	10	18	12	40	100%
	(25%)	(45%)	(30%)		t
S. Sudan	25	10	05	40	100%
	62.5%)	(25%)	(12.5%)		
Total (both)	35	28	17	80	100%
	(43.75%)	(35%)	(21.25)		

From table 2, it is obvious that the 75% of respondent from Uganda (Moyo) are literate and the 25% are semi literate.

S/no	causes	Number of individuals	Percentage
1	Colonial legacy	60	75.5%
2	Land lords	70	87.5%
3	Sudanese civil wars	30	37.5%
4	Vast and fertile land	50	62.5%

#### Table 3: Analysis of the objective 1

From table 3, on analysis of the objectives 1 four major causes that appeared too common from the respondents have been analyzed as above 87.5% said land ownership contributed in the ownership of the conflict, 75.5% attributed it to colonial legency,42.5% vast and fertile land and 37.5% also talked of the Sudanese civil war. The four have only being picked for analysis because almost all the respondents had put them in the questionnaire.

## Table 4: Analysis of objective 2

Response of respondents on attempts made to resolve the conflict.

Country	No of respondent	Actual	Percentage
Uganda	40	40	100%
Sudan	40	36	90%
Both	80	76	95%

From the above analysis 95% of the respondents strongly agreed that they were attempts made to resolve the conflict both local leaders and the government leaders of the two countries. That is output of the respondents from Uganda (Moyo) who were 40 respondent that attempts were made 100% and from Sudan (Kajo-Keji) 36 people also respondent that attempts were made (90%)

S/no	Effects	Respondent	Percentage
1	Abduction	45	57%
2	Torture	65	82%
3	Confiscation of properties and destruction of crops	70	88%
4	Land abandoned	75	94%
5	Demonstration and closure of shops	60	75%
6	Sour relationships	65	82%

Table 5: Analysis of the effect of the conflict on the livelihood of thecommunities

From the above 57% of all the respondents gave abduction as one of the effects, 82% talked of torture, confiscation, destruction of crops (88%), land abandoned (94%)demonstration and closure of shops(75%) sour relationships (82%). Hence, when you are at the scores, you will realize that the conflict had made people to abandon cultivating the land due to fear of their lives and destruction of their crops

## Table 6: Analysis of objective four

Description of respondents on the suggested solutions to the border conflicts.

5/no	Solutions	Respondents	Expected	Percentage
1	Border re- demarcation	45	80	56.26%
2	Agreement	65	80	81.25%
3	Open up infrastructures	70	80	87.5%
4	Intelligence and security patrols	55	80	68.75%
5	Put the vast land in to use	60	80	75%
5	Establish major custom offices	20	80	25%
7	Set land use regulations	15	80	18.75%
3	Grants citizenship	10	80	12.5%
Э	Complete repatriation of the sudanese	05	80	6.25%
	refugee			

From the above table, out of the (80) respondents, suggested solutions are distributed in percentage from as follows 45 (56.25%) gave boarder redemarcation, 65(81.25%) were able to suggest use of agreement 70(87.5%) to open up infrastructure, 55(68.75%) intelligence and security patrols 60 (75%) suggested putting the vast land on use, 20(25%)establish major customs entry points, set land use regulation 15(18.75) Grant citizenship, 10(12.5%) and only 05 respondents said UNHCR should completely repatriate the south Sudan refugee from Moyo district.

#### **Objective number one**

Causes of the Moyo Kajo-Keji border conflict were found out to be linked to Colonial legacy. Colonialists arbitrarily divided and created the boarders without the consent of the natives. This did this in the 1914 when west Nile that should have in Sudan was transferred to Uganda dividing the kuku now in Sudan to partly be in Uganda but they did not want and they left for the other side now called Kajo- Keji in Southern Sudan. Hence the kuku still recall that the disputed area was theirs and sill wants it back

Land lords. According to one of the land lords in Lefori sub-county and in Sudan, that the vast area of Lefori sub-county from Gwere to the current disputed boarder was Wani Isein from Kagiri (kuku) who gave the clan to the clan called Keli, the fore fathers left the ownership to the grand sons headed by the son Mzze Amoko Virgilio and Danito Opeli all in Gwere parish Hence, it's the grand sons of Wani Isein a kuku formerly the land lord and now wanting the land of their fore father back.

The continued civil wars in the Sudan between the Arabs and the blacks in Southern Sudan has been a factor. That is because the civil war made the government of Uganda to allow the Anyanya soldiers of the southern Sudan to use Bamure in Lefori sub-county as a basis to attack the Sudan government any deep in Sudan but now they turned it to be part of Sudan and established even schools, health units where Southern Sudan flags is being flown. This act of the kuku with other government leaders of southern Sudan has been condemned by the authorities in Moyo district as aggression.

The vast, open and fertility of the land. The area right from Wano, Abaya in Moyo sub-county to Keleke Bamure in Lefori sub-county has not been settled by the madi population in Moyo to move and settle in the vast and fertile land carrying out cultivation and rearing also their cattle thinking that they have mandate over this land and influencing their Southern Sudan government authorities to take away this part of Moyo district from them. This was what made the SPLA to come with their flags up to Moyo army barracks claiming boundary.

Negligence at the side of Uganda government is a factor. If the government of Uganda was serious, it should have open road networks, police posts, schools and health units at the border line and clearly establish the boarder markers but this has not been done so the kuku of Sudan took advantage of that to fraudulently sift the marks or even destroy them.

Wild life and illegal poaching done by Ugandans. The Sudanese have claimed that the Ugandans have fraudulently sifted the boarder inside Sudan to exploit their wild life resources like animals, forest products as the case may be with the boarder at Paanjala where Ugandans enter into the Sudanese game park to illegally poach and even chase some of the wild animals to come to Uganda. This therefore explains the conflict at the border with Paanjala and Gbari in Metu subcounty.

The politico elites groups in Kajo-Keji county southern Sudan who wanted to open farm and zoo in Abaya are the ones fueling conflict for their self interest. In 2010 and early this year 2012. Mr. Ben Yengi and MP Mary Kiden of Kajo- Keji escalated the conflict

The nature of the Madi people. The Madi are known for having much laxity and always taking things for granted was also a route cause for the conflict. The Madi people gave the kuku people much time and freedom to settle besides them and stay, gave land for them to cultivate even if they were supposed to be refugee camps made the kukus develop logger heads and even took to dual citizenship enjoying all the rights like Ugandans

UNHCR made mistake which led to the escalation of the conflict. They failed to control and get the right number of the Sudanese refugee in Moyo district. That is the kuku at times go back to Sudan and again return and even repatriation was no properly done.

# Objective number 2. Investigation of the roles played by Local people in resolving the conflict.

Land lords from both side of Moyo and Kejo-Keji county met over two times to resolve the land and the boarder issue in 2008, 2009 and 201. Demgbele near the border for two times and Gwere and Masaloa for about three times but all the meeting did not yield fruit.

In January 6<sup>th</sup> 2011, the local leaders of Moyo including the district police commander, RDC, LC:V, cultural leaders, opinion leaders, elders, land lords from both sides and the commissioner of Kajo-Keji county summoned a meeting to resolve the conflict but also it failed because they did not agree on the said border line

May 2012, Moyo district council together with the elders and opinion leaders sat and wrote a memorandum took it to the speaker of parliament for action but nothing has been done yet.

Role played by the two governments of Uganda and southern Sudan to resolve the conflict include the following In 2010 the two presidents Kaguta Museveni of Uganda and Salvia Kiri of Southern Sudan met the communities of Moyo (Madi) and Kuku at Madunga ground in Moyo boys' primary school and told people to leave the boarder issue to the government, that him Museveni and Salva Kiri. That the border would be resurveyed but it has yet been done.

In 2012, a group of mp from Uganda went to the boarder to meet the commissioner and the community to avoid violent conflict but did not succeed and they were rather put inside and locked in a container at the boarder. From that time up to now, no attempts has been made yet.

# Objectives number three. The effects of Moyo- KajoKeji boarder conflict on the livelihood of the communities along the border were found to be the following

Abduction and torture. Many people especially from Lefori sub-county, Moyo subcounty and Dufile sub-county were abducted and seriously tortured by the spla forces

Destruction and looting. Gunmen from southern Sudan could come and uproot crops and loot animals from of Ugandans at the border. This happened in Gwere Lefori sub-county and Dufile at Paanjala were they onetime took six animals to Nimule.

People abandoned cultivation and keeping their animals at the claimed or disputed areas

Sour relationship has developed between the two communities of Madi (Moyo) and kuku (Kajo-Keji) of southern Sudan

Led to destruction and closure of shops, blocking of roads for the Sudanese in Moyo and from KAjo-Keji in 2010 and 2012

Decline in business since there is no free movement of traders from both sides

The farm opened by Ben Yengi from Kajo- Keji at Abaya and Wano area has been closed down and the tractors all confiscated and brought to Moyo police station together with workers but later the workers were released

September 2011, Moyo district council sat and passed a resolution that UNHCR should immediately repatriate all the refugees from Moyo to south Sudan UPDF detach has been put at Gwere to patrol around the border. Uganda wildlife authority has also established a detach at Paanjala

# Objective number four. Suggested solution to Moyo and Kajo-Keji border conflict for sustainable peace and tranquility along the border.

Border demarcation both Ugandan and the southern Sudan government should re demarcate the boarder lines with clear boarder marks

Agreement. The leaders should play a progressive role, sit for round table talks and avoid colonial fictions and resolve the issues

Both should open up infrastructure like road net works, schools, police post and health centre at the border.

Major customs. Government should open up major customs and close down all illegal ones as it the case with Moyo- Kajo-Keji boarder

Establish intelligence and security petrols at the boarder

The vast and open fertile land should be put immediately in to use to avoid conflict

Citizenship. Those who settle outside the border should be granted citizenship and live as citizens of that country

Both should set land use regulations and perpetrators be punished accordingly

#### Summary

The border conflict of Moyo (Uganda) and Kajo- Keji( southern Sudan) has been majorly attributed to the colonial fictions of 1914, land lordship, the civil wars in the Sudan since 1958 and the borderline

Local leaders of the two ethnic groups' Madi of Moyo and the Kuku of Kaje-Keji and the heads of the two governments of Uganda and Southern Sudan attempted to calm and resolve the situation but all were not successful in their attempts

This conflict has greatly affected the communities living along the border ranging from abduction, torture, destruction of crops, looting animals, and sour relationships shown inform of demonstrations with closure of kuku shops in Moyo and economic break down along the border and in the two major towns of Moyo and Kajo-Keji.

However the attempts made to resolve this conflict by the local leaders and high profile leaders in government sand with the help of the army unit patrols at the boarder by the UPDFS has made some slight change as the conflict has deescalated .but it does not that the conflict because the underlying causes have not been resolved / addressed. Hence some solutions have been suggested by the members of the two communities of kuku and Madi, if implemented it would help solve the conflict. Among the suggested solution there is need to redemarcate the border line, citizens be granted to those at the outside of the

border to stay, need for the two countries to go for agreement, open up infrastructures at the border areas and put the vast land on use

## 4.2 Conclusion

Moyo Kajo-Keji border conflict is due to the mass of the British colonial government for arbitrary drawing the boarder lines without consent of the natives and it has been worsen by the continuous Sudanese civil wars since 1958 which made southern Sudan to flee their country to Uganda and some had to re asset ownership of the land at the border given to them by the Madi people of Moyo district. This compelled with other factors worsen the relationship between the two communities. Its therefore advised that the two countries to sought out means to end the conflict through agreements re-demarcation and also granting citizenship to those that are outside of the boarder in order for peace to prevail along the border lines.

Note, without peace, without development along the borders.

#### 4.3 Recommendations

From the finding of the above, the researcher commended that Leaders of the two countries Uganda and southern Sudan should play a progressive role and avoid colonial fictions in order to enable re-demarcate the borderline to suit the interests of the two communities

Border markers should be clearly be set and the open land along the borders be development

The two countries need to set a joint security intelligent service at the borderlines

UNHCR should ensure there is total relationship of the southern Sudanese refuges since there is relative peace prevailing in their country People at or along the border should be sensitized about the importance of peaceful co existence and use their marriage ties to bring peace among themselves.

The researcher also recommended that those other small illegal entry points be closed all

Should continue holding border meetings to avoid clashes among the two parties and leads to conflict dissolution.

Border issues are crucial so the two governments are advised to real be serious and handle the matter immediately

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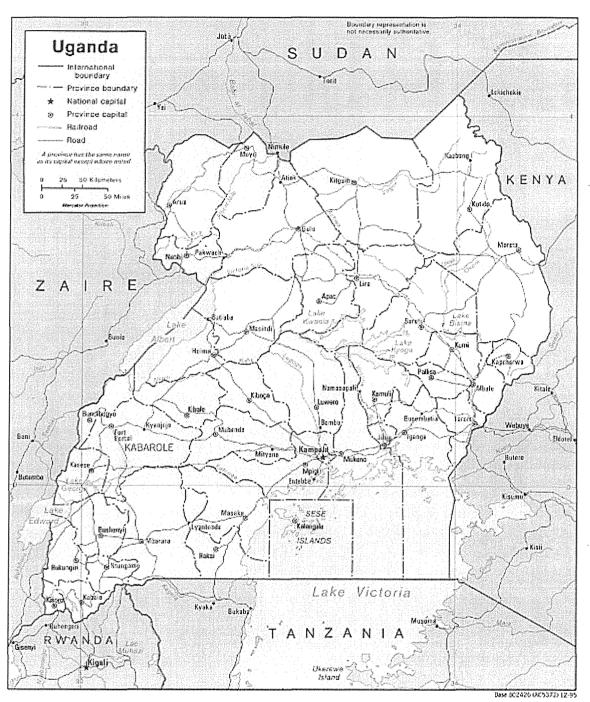
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# Map of Uganda and part of South Sudan.

Appendix I