

**IMPACT OF THE UGANDA-RWANDA BORDER CONFLICT ON THE
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN UGANDA**

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**UGANDA CHRISTIAN
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Declaration

I Akullu Patience Doris solemnly declare that the presented report titled “Impact of Uganda-Rwanda Border conflict on the Diplomatic relations of Uganda” with A case Study of with the case study of the border districts of Kyanika/Cyanika and the Katuna/Gatuna border in Uganda is based on my own knowledge, understanding and affirm that is my original work and has not been produced anywhere for consideration.

I assert the statements made and conclusions drawn are an outcome of my research work. I further certify that;

- I. The work contained in the report is original and has been done by me under the general supervision of my supervisor.
- II. The work has not been submitted to any other Institution for any other degree/diploma/certificate except by me in this institution.

Whenever I have used materials (data, theoretical analysis, and text) from other sources, I have given due credit to them in the text of the report and giving their details in the references.

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S21B56/56

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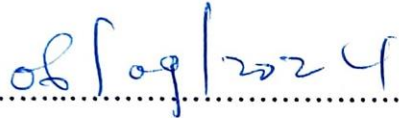
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Approval

This is to certify that this research dissertation by **AKULLU PATIENCE DORIS** under **Registration Number S21B56/056** has been written under my supervision and is thus ready for submission to the department of Governance and Public Administration of Uganda Christian University for academic consideration for the award of Bachelor Degree in Governance and International Relations

Name: Mr. Tabalanga Jonathan

Signature.....

Date.....

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the people of Uganda and Rwanda, especially those in districts such as Gatuna, Kyanika, and Rukiga, and to the staff at Gatuna Border, whose willingness, cooperation, and love really helped me a lot during my field study. The work is also dedicated to my mother, Christine Olyel Olanya, and to my brother, who prays and supports me financially during my study. The encouragement and support of the family mean everything; it gave me strength to go ahead with my field study at each step, even when things seemed hard. Your encouragement and support played a great role and influence in my research. My appreciation for you all can never be measured by any means. God bless you.

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I would like to acknowledge the great support from the staff members of Immigration at the Gatuna Border and the citizens Uganda and Rwanda that actively participated. You have really been of great help toward my field study. Your willingness to give me direction eased my research process while in the field. I could not imagine doing my research without your support when I came to the settlement.

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Abstract

Intermittent tensions, trade disputes, and accusations of interference have characterized the conflict between the governments of Uganda and Rwanda. The influence this has had on Uganda's diplomatic relations has been immense. In regard to the stated above, the present dissertation explores a multimodal ramification for the cited conflict on trade, security cooperation, regional integration efforts, and Uganda's international image. Using a qualitative research method that involves in-depth interviews with government officials, diplomats, and experts, the study traces the causes of the conflict, the dynamics, and its implications for Uganda's foreign policy objectives. The examination will explain the complex interplay of domestic forces, regional politics, and international influences at play that dictates the trajectory of the Ugandan-Rwandan relationship. This dissertation discusses in detail the challenges and opportunities facing Uganda as it navigates the diplomatic complexities created for Uganda by the border conflict still ongoing. The study provided an all-rounded analysis of conflict implications on the Ugandan diplomatic landscape by understanding the historical context, events, and root causes of the conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Uganda and Rwanda are landlocked East African countries that happen to have had a very long and complicated history, dating way back. These are among the reasons: we share borders in addition to different ethnic tribes in both countries. Relations between the two had continuously seesawed between cooperation and conflict for many decades. This dissertation will try to analyze the recent Uganda-Rwanda border conflict and its severe ramifications on diplomatic relations within Uganda.

1.1.1 Historical Context

The roots of the present dispute must be sought against the historical backdrop. It is at this point that the shared heritage of the Banyarwanda people, residing in both countries, forms both a basis for cultural ties and a possible cause of friction. The relations were considerably chilled by the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, with accusations and counter-accusations fuelling mistrust. The role of Uganda in the support given to the RPF during the Genocide further complicates the narrative. By the early 1980s, the roots of what was to become the Rwanda-Uganda alliance had been formed. This was not between sovereign states but between a leadership of Rwandan exiles and the small guerrilla forces of Yoweri Museveni deep in the Ugandan hinterland. It was a fellowship born out of mutual need for survival. However, over time this alliance suffered a severe blow whose effects are still being felt to this day.

The Outbreak of War

Regarding the war, we must expound on how the RPF a Rwandan party, and NRM, that is, the National Resistance Movement, even though a large number of their leaders had close relations starting from the early 1980s viewed the world in significantly divergent ways. No event greater than the genocide of 1994 had greater impact on the RPF. To this, it is important to realize that it was the RPF that ended the genocide, not UN peacekeepers nor any intervening foreign power (McKnight, 2015). Finally, in 2018, tensions between Uganda and Rwanda boiled over. Accusations flew back and forth, including Rwandan accusations of Ugandan soil being used as a haven for dissidents and the torture of Rwandan citizens on Ugandan soil. In turn, Uganda refuted these accusations. These tides of events mounted to a point where the border that separated Uganda and Rwanda was closed in February 2019 as a very disastrous move. (Alusala, 15th September 2010)

Impact on Diplomatic Relations

The closure of the border became a powerful symbol of just how bad things had become. It cut vital lines of communication between the two governments, and dialogue was difficult and suspicion easy to cultivate. Regional initiatives led by Angola tried to diffuse tensions in order to create a pathway toward normalization. While this border has opened up since February 2020, there is still significant damage in terms of their diplomatic relations. (Roberts, 2017)

Economic Consequences

This marked a serious blow to the cross-border trade. The exports by Uganda to Rwanda almost came to a close, thus affecting businesses and livelihoods in both countries. Thousands of small-scale traders who relied on the free movement of goods suffered especially. This economic strain further complicated diplomatic efforts toward reconciliation. ((Verpoorten, December 30, 2013)

Social and Security Concerns

It also had a ripple effect within Ugandan society: increased scrutiny and suspicion of the Banyarwanda community in Uganda due to their shared ethnicity with Rwandans; xenophobic rhetoric was hot, adding to social unease. Regionally, too, there has been an effect of this conflict on security. McKnight, 2015?: "Both Uganda and Rwanda are accused of backing rebel forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo amid fears of wider destabilization."

1.2 Problem statement

The border conflict between Uganda and Rwanda has, however, in this century made the diplomatic relationship very strained with accusations of espionage, rebel support, and border closure. This dissertation looks into many aspects in which this conflict has affected Ugandan diplomacy in its altered regional dynamics-particularly over the DRC-international alignments and its overall foreign policy strategy. Currently, there is some information that has been put out there about the things we know about the conflict. These are a few of them, History of Collaboration: Uganda and Rwanda previously had a close relationship, with Uganda supporting the Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF, during the Rwandan genocide. (McKnight, 2015). Nature of the Conflict: The current conflict includes allegations of espionage, sponsorship of rebel groups, such as M23 in the DRC and border closures. (Verpoorten, December 30, 2013). Regional Impact: The conflict has cooled relations with the DRC, another key player in the region, it has put a bent into the East African Community since they are both member states. (McKnight, 2015). The study shall try to establish how

Uganda managed to navigate those challenges of conflict, what diplomatic tools were utilised or dropped, and the possible long-term implications of such actions for Ugandan diplomatic relations, including its engagement within the East African Community.

With the stretched diplomatic ties in the country, a few gaps exist which the public is unaware, which I might want to shed light on in this dissertation. Full Impact: We know relations are strained, but how much has Ugandan diplomacy been affected? Are there any quantifiable metrics to describe an effect on account of the impact? For example, fewer trade and missed investment opportunities?

Ugandan diplomatic performance: We realize that Uganda is going through hard times; what instruments is it using, sanctions, mediation attempts, public diplomacy? How far have these efforts been successful?

Unforeseen consequences: While this statement focuses on long-term consequences, are there perhaps any unforeseen ramifications that have not come up as yet?

Internal Ugandan views: With Ugandan diplomacy being the focus, what of the internal political pressures or economic motivators that may be influencing Uganda's approach that have not been fully considered?

Ways to resolution: With the problem statement accepting challenges, could some of the ways to conflict resolution that have not yet considered?

Relevance of this study is as follows;

1. Unmasking Underlying Dynamics

Foreshadowing what we do not know regarding the consequences of Ugandan diplomacy, this research will be needed in order to unmask the underlying dynamics involved. The real damage, the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the diplomatic tools, and perhaps the unforeseen consequences will better portray the gravity of the situation.

2. Policy and Diplomacy Guidance:

This dissertation offers great insight that can inform future policy and diplomatic strategy for Uganda and the region. Knowledge of specific areas where Ugandan diplomacy is failing will be improved in those particular areas. Secondly, the examination of possible pathways towards a resolution may create opportunities for diplomatic efforts towards de-escalation.

3. Promoting Regional Stability:

The fallout between Uganda and Rwanda automatically spills over into the entire East African region. Your research can help advance regional stability by delving into those aspects of Ugandan diplomacy that are less known yet affected by the conflict. Understanding

how the conflict prevents Ugandan engagement with the DRC and the EAC might inform strategies that could foster regional cooperation despite the bilateral tensions.

4. Broadening Our Understanding of Conflict Resolution:

The case of Ugandan diplomacy provides a unique lens through which to examine broader issues of conflict resolution. Your research might provide further insight into what works and what does not when it comes to finding solutions to international disputes through the examination of the particular diplomatic tools employed or not employed in this given case.

The conflict on the border between Uganda and Rwanda has almost completely destroyed formal channels of communication between the two governments. Critical diplomatic initiatives were thus stalled, such as security cooperation and regional infrastructure development projects. In turn, there is a growing perception of the increasing diplomatic isolation of Uganda within the East African region—a setting likely to weaken its ability to respond to regional crises in the future and effectively engage with international partners.

In other words, a focus on "what we don't know" takes your research out of the realm of problem description into one that is critical for building solutions and continues our learning process on conflict resolution and regional diplomacy.

Methodology:

Qualitative Research: This method seeks to explain the situation in terms of "why" and "how". It would be the best type of research to understand how the diplomatic relations are affected by the Ugandan foreign policy.

Methods:

Analytical Procedure: Official statements, diplomatic communications, media reports, and academic research on the conflict and Ugandan diplomacy. This has been evidenced by the different references that have been put across the paragraphs according to the different topics that indicate and validate the impact of the conflict on Uganda's Diplomacy.

These have been fully supported by the people of the border point in Gatuna and the immigration staff. **Interviews:** Carrying out in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, including Ugandan diplomats, government officials, regional experts, and possibly even individuals involved in back-channel negotiations. Besides that, the natives of these areas have provided the required information to develop this research.

Case Studies: Assess some of the various diplomatic initiatives taken up by Uganda since the conflict and their effects in finding solutions to the conflict. These are evidenced by a number

of meetings and memoranda agreed between the two presidents. This is clearly articulated in chapters 4 and 5.

Additional Considerations:

Data Triangulation: Combining data from various sources including documents, interviews, and case studies, has availed a well-informed understanding of the issue as discussed by this research.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This dissertation utilizes a couple of approaches in analyzing the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict and its impact on diplomatic relations. Relevant theories which are clearly mentioned in-depth include:

Realist Theory: A theory emphasizing that with regard to states, it is the national interest and security that precede all the other goals. Application: One could use realist theory to understand how both Uganda and Rwanda view threats from each other and vice versa, hindering diplomatic cooperation. - Spindler

•Liberalism: In this theory, the emphasis is on cooperation and international institutions as key determinants in maintaining peace and prosperity. It can thus be used in analyzing the role of regional bodies in mediating to contain the conflict and furthering diplomatic dialogue.

•Constructivism: The theory is based on the belief that state behavior is generated by social norms and identities. This can help understand how historical mistrust and negative perceptions of each other have hindered diplomatic ties between Uganda and Rwanda. (Spindler)

1.4 Research Questions

Following are some of the major questions which this dissertation is answering;

- To what extent has the border conflict between Uganda and Rwanda impeded diplomacy in Uganda?
- What impact did the closure have on cross-border trade and regional economic integration?
- To what extent has the conflict contributed to the social and security concerns in Uganda?
- What is the role of regional and international actors in the mediation of the conflict and facilitation of diplomatic dialogue?
- What are the prospects to repair and strengthen diplomatic ties between Uganda and Rwanda?

Expected Contribution:

This dissertation makes a more profound contribution to an understanding of the puzzling relationship between Uganda and Rwanda. It looks at the devastating consequences the border conflict brought to diplomatic relations and the wider social and economic landscape in Uganda. Based on that, the work will try to give a hint about possible directions of rebuilding trust and fostering long-term diplomatic cooperation between the two countries by analyzing the regional and international efforts to mediate the conflict.

1.5 Objectives

1.5.1 General Objective:

To undertake a wide-ranging and in-depth analysis of the effects of the Ugandan-Rwandan border conflict on diplomatic relations in Uganda, covering the conflict's historical background, its development, the various effects that arise, regional and international mediation efforts with a view to proposing actionable strategies through which confidence can be rebuilt and diplomatic relations strengthened between the two countries.

1.5.2 Particular Objectives:

1. To analyze the historical background to the conflict: The paper discusses the historical reasons for the complex relationship between Uganda and Rwanda, touching on the contribution of the Rwandan genocide to this relationship and a common heritage of the Banyarwanda people. This is also going to look at events preceding the 2018 escalation and border closure in 2019.
2. To analyze the multi-dimensional impact of the conflict on Ugandan diplomacy: This will consider what ways the conflict has strained diplomatic relations in particular. It looks to how communication channels are disrupted, stalled diplomatic initiatives, and any possibility of regional isolation for Uganda.
3. Analyses of economic and social repercussions: Besides dramatizing the rise of social tensions and security concerns within Uganda due to this conflict, it will discuss how this has affected cross-border trade and regional economic integration.
4. Evaluate the effectiveness of regional and international mediation in conflict: This will help gauge the roles of the regional bodies and other international actors in facilitating dialogue and promoting diplomatic solutions to the conflict. It will also examine the strengths and weaknesses of such efforts.
5. Exploring ways through which the rebuilding of trust and diplomatic ties can be achieved between Uganda and Rwanda: Based on findings, this study is expected to

proffer actionable recommendations on how to foster reconciliation and rebuild diplomatic ties between the two countries. It is envisioned to include confidence-building measures, people-to-people diplomacy, and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

1.6 Scope of study

1.6.1 Academic Scope

This research is intended to study and investigate the different ways through which the results of diplomatic relations affect the success and failure of the Ugandan system. In addition to this, the central point of emphasis shall rest on the effects of the diplomatic relations in Uganda.

1.6.2 Geographical Scope

As the title suggests, my case study is about Uganda and its politics based on its diplomacy. This is going to take place mainly at the Gatuna Border point and the neighbourhood districts for example Rukiga. However, this normally cuts across East Africa, Africa and the other international bodies and organisations involved in peace keeping and resolution .

1.6.3 Time Scope

The research will be carried out within a period of 4 months as has been provided
Justification

The relation between the state of diplomatic relations and establishment of democracy is so complex and symbiotic that implications for regional stability, human rights, and international and regional cooperation are immense. It is, therefore, important to understand this from the point of view of a policymaker, scholar, and practitioner. There are various reasons why this topic of the research issue seems particularly important, but I am going to try as hard as possible to make it short.

First, this research will spur joint problem-solving. Uganda often partners in solving international problems such as climate change, terrorism, and health crises. Studying how the nature of the diplomatic relationship affects joint problem-solving sends light on the capability of democracies in forming collective solutions. In this particular case, it zeroes in on the Border crisis that has been in process for a couple of years.

The above-mentioned research questions are viable and pertinent because they can be answered through the applicability of different research methods such as case studies, surveys, journals, and interviews. The research can also be done in a plausible time and cost constraint.

Besides, economic cooperation and trade justifies why this research is taking place. In most cases, diplomatic relations facilitate economic partnerships and agreements of trade. In this case, it is between the East African Community and the African Union. In other cases, it will involve international organizations like The United Nations who had helped to deal with the refugee crisis. The understanding of the link between democratic establishment and economic cooperation may guide the decisions of economic policy.

1.8 Conceptual framework of the study

Variable Type	Description
Independent Variable	Factors influencing the border conflict (e.g., political dynamics, historical grievances)
Dependent Variable	Impact on diplomatic relations between Uganda and Rwanda
Intervening Variable	Factors that mediate the effects of the conflict on diplomacy (e.g., interventions by international bodies, economic ties)

In conclusion, the complicated relationship between diplomatic relations and the establishment of democracy spans a wide range of areas, from global peace and stability to human rights promotion and collaborative problem-solving. This research topic is not only intellectually intriguing but also directly relevant to addressing pressing global challenges and ensuring the advancement of democratic governance worldwide. The relationship between these variables is hard and dynamic. The border conflict as the independent variable directly shapes diplomatic relations between Uganda and Rwanda. However, the intervening variables can either intensify or mitigate the impact of the conflict on diplomacy depending on how they evolve over time. For example, effective mediation efforts by regional actors or

a change in political leadership in either country could help improve relations while continued accusations and trade restrictions would likely further strain diplomatic ties

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The Uganda-Rwanda border conflict has indeed been an intriguing mayhem over the years, which has much to do with the senses that dictate the diplomatic relationship of both countries. This literature review represents a study into the historical, political, economic, and social dimensions of this conflict and how these factors have shaped and influenced bilateral relations over time.

The historical relationship between Uganda and Rwanda can be succinctly captured as a complex interplay of colonial legacy, ethnic dynamics, and post-colonial political developments. These uninformed borders, initially during colonial rule, have given rise to long-standing grievances and suspicions between the two countries, many times played up by political leaders. The presence of Presidents like Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda has been so instrumental in shaping the diplomatic landscape because their personal relationships significantly influenced state interactions.

Within the recent past, what started off as a low-intensity feud has ballooned into high-pitched tension with military self-importance. The exchange of accusations, including those on espionage and support for dissident groups, strained diplomatic ties and disrupted trade and economic cooperation. The shutdown of important border crossings can have dire economic consequences, mainly for communities that rely on cross-border trade. It was reported that due to such border closures, an estimated loss of \$200 million faced Uganda, indicative of the economic consequence of weakened relations.

These are also the social implications of the border conflict that cannot be minimized. The psychological impact on the communities along the border, along with rising nationalism and xenophobia, created an environment prone to volatility that makes any diplomatic effort difficult. In this context, civil society and local actors have a very important role in mediating these tensions, as they bear much of the consequences of this conflict.

This literature review will also look at the role that international actors and regional organizations play in trying to resolve the conflict between Uganda and Rwanda. Several of these actors have been engaged in mediation and peacebuilding efforts, but there is some continued debate on the effectiveness of such interventions. From this point, therefore, the review will critically analyze the existing literature on this subject, pointing out the gaps and areas for further research with respect to new dynamics in diplomatic relations, especially in view of recent developments.

In a nutshell, the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict presents one of the key case studies toward understanding the nature of diplomatic relations within the Great Lakes. Through an analysis of the various levels that have characterized the conflict, this literature review embarks on a voyage of complete understanding of what impacts state interaction with probable lines for reconciliation and sustenance of better diplomatic relations.

2.1 Theoretical framework

With this, the dissertation emphasizes various theories of international relations, in particular diplomacy and conflict. This helps in the explanation of the varied impacts and the sources of the tensions of the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict.

In the first instance, it is important to note the various theories of international relations and their basic explanations as follows in the paragraphs below:

2.2 Realism

This, within the international relations theory, is a theoretical framework through which world politics can be seen as a perpetual competition among self-interested states seeking power and positioning themselves in the anarchy of a global system without a topmost, dominant authority. It focuses on states, Uganda and Rwanda in this case, as rational primary actors interacting within a system characterized by power politics, national interest, and pursuit of security and self-preservation.

In other words, the conflict between Uganda and Rwanda was basically based on the fact that both states wanted to make sure that their interests are taken care of as opposed to the other state.

Early popular proponents of realism that included, Thucydides (5th Century BCE), Machiavelli (16th Century), Hobbes (17th Century) and Rousseau (18th Century) felt that armed conflict was inherently one sided where only one victor is to emerge within the 2 parties with no peace, in some cases, the effects are brutal on one state as compared to the other state. (Spindler)

Robert Gilpin does not deviate from the key premises of the modern realism, and yet his work *War and Change in World Politics* also tries to address some of the criticisms against Waltz's theory by concentrating on the aspects of system change dynamics. By doing so, Gilpin also attempts to evade the criticism that is usually drawn against the Waltz theory for being essentially ahistorical. Drawing on both economic and sociological theory, his model is based upon five core propositions. The first is that the

international system is in a state of equilibrium if no state believes that it is profitable to attempt to change it. Second, a state will attempt to change the status quo of the international system if the expected benefits outweigh the costs.

Relating to this is the idea that a state will seek change through territorial, political, and economic expansion until the marginal costs of further change equal or exceed the marginal benefits. This process stops when an equilibrium is reached between the costs and benefits of further change and expansion. In other words, the economic costs of maintaining the status quo—that is, the expenditures for military forces, support for allies, etc., tend to rise faster than the resources needed to do so. Equilibrium exists when no powerful state believes that a change in the system would yield additional net benefits. Finally, if the precipitated disequilibrium between the existing governance of the international system and the redistribution of power is not resolved, the system will be changed and a new equilibrium reflecting the distribution of relative capabilities will be established. (Holsti)

2.3 Liberalism

Also known as "liberal internationalism," liberalism is based upon the belief that the existing global system can produce a peaceful world order. Instead, it depends on more subtle forms of coercion, such as military force. Liberalism focuses on international cooperation when it comes to promoting the concerns of each independent nation. This brings out the claim that the costs of force-costs such as loss of life, economic deprivation-always outweigh any possible benefits. Therefore, most liberal politicians usually like to use economic and social power in achieving their national goals, such as obtaining the agreement of a neighboring country to help secure a border. With this, it is clear that the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict was and is still going through agreements to ensure that the peace between both countries is maintained even with the presence of the conflict.

Through a globalized contemporary society, economic strategies such as bilateral trade agreements and international diplomacy have made the usage of a threatened usage of force more obsolete as a means to forward political interests. In this way, just as liberalism has taken greater hold through international cooperation - establishing organizations such as the United Nations, realism has indeed begun to fade as a workable political strategy. It is, therefore arguable that the tradition of liberalism emanating from the United States has presently developed into the dominant system in international relationships. The values have been institutionalized in order to maintain this particular order through international institutions. - Holsti 2.4 Constructivism

Constructivism is based on the premise that, instead of pure material interests found in pursuit, it is a nation's belief systems, historical, cultural, and social that explain its foreign policy pursuits along with its behavior.

For example, since German aggression was the primary cause of the eruption of the Second World War. Germany only deploys its troops outside Germany's territory under circumstances when the German government is certain that its intervention is needed to prevent massacres or conflicts that may spill into the neighboring countries. This was proved by the foreign politics of the country after the first and second Gulf War, with the latter being refused by Germany, participation in United Nations-led operations in Somalia, and Yugoslavia. In this context of the Uganda-Rwanda conflict, this is, however, the fourth time the two former allies have come close to a conflict since the British government helped them avoid all-out war in 2001. Personal commitment by the two presidents was essential each time for de-escalation.

However, the absence of other centers of influence outside the presidential inner circle and security sector has meant that relations remain personalized and militarized. (Nantulya, 2019) The first option for getting out of this dilemma could be the neutral international actors helping negotiate between the two sides for de-escalation to work its way to a more durable long-term set of solutions.

More specifically, countries with historic ties to the NRA and RPF, such as Mozambique, Zambia, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Norway, could help pull them from the brink. They can also bring in respected elder African mediators who have worked with both leaders in the past and hold high esteem in the eyes of the two leaders, like Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Joseph Butiku of Tanzania, and Salim Ahmed Salim, Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, to develop a roadmap to a lasting détente. Constructivists further argue that states are not sole significant actors in international relations; rather, international institutions and other non-state actors contribute effectively to behavioural changes through acts of lobbying and persuasion.

This is why, in recent decades, constructivism has grown to become a popular and significant theory as more non-state actors-like international organizations including Amnesty International, OXFAM, and Greenpeace-are gaining political influence. International organizations have a role to play in promoting human rights and making them an international standard to which countries must conform. (Holsti) 2.5 Marxism

Karl Marx was a Prussian philosopher and economist whose writings indicated that societies could escape the self-destructive nature of capitalist socioeconomic systems by implementing socialist theory in both domestic policies and their relations with other nations.

Marxism-as a theory of close analysis of social classes-seeks to destroy the capitalist structure of the international system since, according to this theory, as the statement reads, "It is no longer practically sustainable in the modern world." Marx believed that private property should be replaced by cooperative ownership, with the emphasis placed entirely on satisfying human needs for consumption rather than creating private profit. Under an ideal socialist international regime, societies should work with and for one another to bring forth a world where the core human needs are satisfied. This is witnessed in this case, where there are external powers such as Britain, Norway Congo, among others mentioned in the paragraph above, which clearly put across examples of countries which work together for the good of others.

The fact that they are working together clearly indicates that both of them are working solely with the purpose of putting human needs first so as to avoid adverse effects if the conflict were to get serious. Marxism A dominant political ideology during the Cold War, inspired Socialist revolutions in China, Vietnam and Cuba.

Marxism continues to affect contemporary society: for instance, Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung called for students to study Marxism in exchange for free tuition. Yet the Marxist renaissance is not limited to current and former communist countries; for example, in London, the Socialist Workers Party organized the 2017 Marxism Festival, joined by thousands of activists from around the world. With this addition, one sees Marxism-most especially relevant to those interested in the argument for an emphasis on human needs over private profit-even today as global population rises and issues of sustainability have become increasingly fragile. (Holsti) This will help to delve more into the root cause of the impact of conflict in the diplomatic relations between Uganda and Rwanda. 2.6 Historical context Concluding with the alliance's violent breakup in late 1999, this paper argues that the Rwanda-Uganda alliance began in the early 1980s as a pact of survival between Ugandan rebels and Rwandan exiles then living in Uganda through the Rwandan and Ugandan military occupation of Congo. Using various alliance theories, this paper explains why the success of the Rwanda-Uganda alliance against the Mobutu regime generated a "bandwagon" effect in the region.

But the rapidity and success of that war papered over grave disagreements in strategy as well as clashes in personality in the Rwanda-Uganda alliance.

The disagreements only came to light with a second war in Congo; the alliance received fierce and unexpected resistance from states in the region who joined together in an effort to "balance" and eventually thwart the second attempt at regime change in the Congo by the Rwanda-Uganda alliance. Based on interviews with high-ranking Ugandan and Rwandan officials, as well as numerous secondary sources, this paper posits that the Rwanda-Uganda alliance was wracked by personality clashes between major players in the alliance, strategic disagreements over the ubiquitous "Congo question," and zero-sum economic conflicts of interests epitomized by fighting between the Rwandan and Ugandan militaries at Kisangani, which finally marked the end of the alliance. Not forgetting, as we delve into the historical context of the matter, it should be noted that there have been a couple of questions being investigated below in order to know the direction to which Uganda and Rwanda turned later proceeding to go into this conflict. How do states choose between allies and enemies?

What forces bring states together or push them apart?

Which level systemic, domestic or individual is we stress in our effort to understand alliance dynamics? This paper looks into what brought Rwanda and Uganda together, and ultimately what drove them apart from their first cooperation as guerrillas in the early 1980s, culminating with their ugly breakup at the turn of the twentieth century as occupiers in a foreign land. But first, some theoretical points must be clarified. First, what is an alliance? Here I use Walt's definition from his seminal work on alliance theory; an alliance is "a formal or informal relationship of security cooperation between two or more sovereign states" which "assumes some level of commitment and an exchange of benefits for both parties severing the relationship or failing to honor the agreement would presumably cost something." I modify the definition only as it relates to sovereign states. I contend that the alliance between Rwanda and Uganda preexisted both sides as representative of the incumbent power in their respective nations .

McKnight makes an assumption of guerrillas and exiles fighting for survival constituted an alliance. Following Dittmer's alliance logic, neither side could succeed at their goals without the other. Second, what can explain the formation of an alliance? Schöeder identifies the following three causes: in opposition to a threat, to accommodate a threat by means of "pact of restraint", or to provide great powers with a "tool of management" over weaker states.

The first cause persists over the entire lifetime of the Rwanda-Uganda alliance whereas the other two do not either because Uganda was faced with monumental challenges in an effort to restrain its ally Rwanda or due to the fact that the relative distribution of power between the two allies was not significant enough whereby one of them would have had the capacity to manage the other.

(Holsti) Third, how do states react when faced by a grave external threat? Realist theory thereby maintains that states can, in essence, do one of two things: either they "balance"-through self-strengthening or forming alliances-to prevent stronger powers from dominating them, or they fall short and "bandwagon" by aligning with the foreign threat itself.

This question is, of course, vital in explaining the origins and duration of the alliance between Rwanda and Uganda; secondly, it tells something about how states in the region responded to the actions of the Rwanda-Uganda alliance itself. And here is where it gets tricky for the policymaker: an errant hypothesis-for example, anticipating that other states will bandwagon but which in fact balance-can doom a grand strategy jeopardize a state's security, and in the worst nightmares result in being dominated or wiped out. (Spindler) Fourth, does aggression become easier with each new conquest, or does resistance harden at a faster rate? No doubt, the band wagoning school of thought believes that, as one of its proponent's expressed it, "nothing succeeds like success." By contrast, the balancing school of thought to rephrase neo-realist godfather Waltz is that "winning leads to losing"; that is, states generally oppose and do not join aggressive powers. The latter group sees the balancing as a rule and band wagoning as an exception.

Fifth, which factors cause a state to bandwagon or balance? Here a brief critique of the literature is necessary. The collective goods literature is useful in explaining the distribution of burdens within existing alliances but falls short on questions of why states form alliances in the first place. Game theory is similarly weak in that it looks to the distribution of power and the structure of possible payoffs, but as Snyder admits, "game theory does not predict who will align with whom." As stated, both tend to overlook key variables such as geographical proximity, ideological affinity, and elite perceptions.

It's not just a question of relative gains that realists press, but also that of the amorphous perceptions. In what follows, we shall see how elite perceptions and relations between elites themselves were decisive in determining the course of action taken and the behavior of not just the Rwanda-Uganda alliance but also reactions to the Rwanda-Uganda alliance. With this brief analysis, Lemarchand rightly places the self-perpetuating dynamic behind most of the worst security headaches besetting the region at that time: Rwanda's myriad refugee crises from 1959-94; the cataclysmic genocide in Rwanda during 1994; Burundi's semi-genocide and civil war from 1993-2003; gnawing insurgencies in Uganda and Sudan; and both Congo wars. All these ethnic polarizations, persecutions, and population movements together created the conditions necessary for the coming together of the Rwanda-Uganda alliance. This paper is based on the argument that, at the beginning of the 1980s, the foundation for the Rwanda-Uganda alliance was not laid between sovereign states but rather between a group of Rwandan exiles and the tiny guerrilla force in the Ugandan hinterland led by Yoweri Museveni. Essentially, it was an alliance born out of common necessity for self-preservation.

Although the highpoint of the alliance and sudden collapse happened just years apart at the end of the twentieth century, the alliance's roots in fact stretch back decades to the early independence period. Persecution of Rwanda's minority Tutsi population started with the so-called "Hutu Revolution" in 1959 on the eve of Rwanda's independence, which sparked the mass exodus of Tutsi into neighboring states. (Alusala, 15th September 2010) Without this ethnic cleansing masquerading as a revolution the series of cataclysmic events that would later afflict the region none more ghastly or well known than Rwanda's genocide of 1994, would have been impossible. So long as the African majority Hutu dominated Rwanda's government and economy, the minority Tutsi could never feel safe or welcome in Rwanda. In Uganda, after a relatively secure existence under the otherwise calamitous regime of Idi Amin the Rwandans suffered severe persecution under Milton Obote's second regime. Persecution from the "Obote II" regime naturally drove Rwandan Tutsi exiles, many living in Uganda since their expulsion from Rwanda in the late 1950's and early 1960's to join Museveni's guerrilla force, the National Resistance Movement. Hugh Lamarque, 2022 During Uganda's "bush war" this force grew incredibly from a dozen bush warriors into a formidable organisation of many thousands strong and eventually took power in 1986.¹² During this baptism by fire, the sons of Rwandan refugees fought not only for their survival but also acquired valuable guerrilla experience which they would use later for their armed return to Rwanda. Among Museveni's very first recruits were two talented Rwandan Tutsi, Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame the latter the son of a Rwandan Tutsi refugee. It was only logical, after 1986, that the Rwandans, some of whom had fought since the beginning with Museveni, got rewarded with high positions in Museveni's security establishment: Rwigyema de facto number two to Museveni, Kagame Museveni's spy chief, and various other top positions filled by more of Museveni's Rwandan brothers-in-arms.

But the high-profile inclusion on the part of the government of Rwandans no matter how long they had been in Uganda and no matter their sacrifices in the "bush war" was bound to provoke a clash among Uganda's xenophobic segments who did have a very negative answer to Museveni's famous rhetorical question "What's wrong with being Rwandan? " By the late 1980s, it was evident that the Rwandan "refugee warriors"-largely Tutsi-had outlived their welcome in Uganda. In response they organized themselves as the Rwandan Patriotic Front and invaded Rwanda in late 1990. McKnight 2015 Taking with them gear from Ugandan military depots, it would appear that Museveni had decided it was better to turn a blind eye for the sake of allegiance to his former comrades-in-arms as well as to maintain plausible deniability with the Hutu regime in Rwanda. The goals of the RPF invasion were modest: force the Hutu dictatorship into reform and allow Tutsi exiles back into the country.

This invasion by the Tutsi, however, re-ignited Hutu fears of Tutsi enslavement, which were disseminated so effectively for years previously by the well-oiled Hutu propaganda machine. The war dragged on as a protracted, low-level guerrilla struggle with the RPF, relegated to small pockets in Rwanda's mountainous northwest for nearly four years. Meanwhile, anti-Tutsi violence within Rwanda would surge, stoked by Hutu supremacist propaganda. These assassinations and small-scale massacres finally crescendoed in the hundred days of genocide from April to July 1994, in which some 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed. Amid the chaos and carnage, the RPF seized the capital Kigali in July 1994, thereby bringing the genocide to a halt and driving the Hutu supremacists from power. The result was that the vanquished FAR, genocidal militias and government officials fled Rwanda during July-August 1994 together behind a shield of terrified peasants, around two million Hutu in total. McKnight, 2015) This bewildering mass of refugee, rebel and murderer together settled into what quickly became mega-camps just beyond the Rwandan border in the Kivu provinces of eastern Congo - known as Zaire until 1997. (Alusala, 15th September 2010) It is from these camps that they mounted an incursion to recapture power in Rwanda. By the end of 1994, it was evident that the civil war and genocide in Rwanda were not over but dangerously paused, waiting for the next bout of violence. True enough to Lemarchand's description of the general pattern of armed conflict in the African Great Lakes, this dangerous cycle of ethnic polarization leading to political exclusion then to armed insurrection and finally armed repression was hence also a major driving force behind the Rwanda-Uganda alliance.

Although the defeated forces of the Hutu dictatorship were fleeing Rwanda into eastern Congo-Zaire and into Tanzania during mid-1994, the government of Museveni in Uganda was facing its own rebel threat. A motley of rebels fighting along the 765-kilometer-long border which Uganda shared with Congo-Zaire in a conflict unrelated to the Hutu-Tutsi apocalypse in Rwanda harbored grievances against the "southerner"-dominated Christian government of Yoweri Museveni. Years after Museveni's bush warriors succeeded in taking the capital Kampala in January 1986 with huge help from Rwandan refugees in Uganda doubtless, Museveni's government nevertheless failed to control big parts of Uganda's northern and western regions. Uganda's anti-government rebels, grouped together as the inappropriately named Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), received training and matériel from Sudan and shelter in Congo-Zaire. Both of these sources of support were readily explainable: for Sudan, it had long been engaged in a proxy war with Uganda, which had supported Sudan's southern rebels in that decades-long war; for Congo-Zaire, the vast expanse of territory was largely beyond the administrative grip of the country's dysfunctional regime under Mobutu Sésé Seko. Whatever the reason, the ADF in the mid-1990s brought terror down on Ugandan civilians and stymied the government forces sent to squash them.

Through the mid-1990s, Uganda's insurgent problem in the west was getting worse. This threat is crucial to understanding Uganda's interest in a continued alliance with Rwanda, especially Uganda's eventual participation in Rwanda's war in Congo-Zaire. (Hugh Lamarque, 2022)

2.7 The Uganda -Rwanda Border Crisis

The Uganda-Rwanda border was complex, full of contention, and greatly helped mold the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Each country accuses the other of espionage, harboring dissidents, and Rwanda's support for M23 rebels in the Democratic Republic of Congo added to the strained relationship between them. These are some of the impacts of the conflicts.

- 2019 Border Closure: Rwanda cited security concerns and accused Uganda of supporting dissidents and Rwandan refugees while closing its border. This seriously affected trade and the movement of people, and economic cooperation between the two countries.

In July and December 2018, and in April 2019, P5 elements and their allies conducted incursions into Rwanda. The incursion in December resulted in the estimated death toll of two Rwandan soldiers and an undetermined amount of rebel soldiers. (Nantulya, 2019) The attack in April killed two civilians and seriously injured eight others. Rwanda launched a manhunt for, and captured, three high-ranking Rwandan rebel leaders suspected to be the masterminds of these attacks. The three suspects are currently facing a military court.

In February 2019, Rwanda shut its border with Uganda following accusations that Kampala was harbouring Nyamwasa's fighters and arbitrarily detaining and torturing Rwandan nationals—charges Kampala denies.

The border had been reopened briefly in early June but shut again a few weeks later.

Rwanda has issued a travel advisory, warning its citizens not to travel to Uganda.

Worried by the escalation, the three civil society organisations have sued the Governments of Uganda and Rwanda in the East African Court of Justice over the border closure and other acts of hostility that they say have hurt ordinary citizens.

Nantulya 2019 • Regional Tensions: The border dispute has only served to heighten the tensions in this region, where the two countries are trying to flex muscles over influence in the DRC. This has been exacerbated by Rwanda's support for the rebellion M23, furthering the situation of conflict and causing more destabilization in the region. • Diplomatic Efforts: There have been attempts, despite all these issues, toward reconciliation. There have been meetings between the heads of states and their ambassadors for addressing the core issues and reopening borders. 2.8 Overall Impact: Some of the negative fallouts of this strained relationship between Uganda and Rwanda are that the closure of the border has disrupted trade, affecting businesses and livelihoods on either side, while restrictions on movements have affected families and communities who rely on access across the border to essential goods and services. This conflict has contributed to instability in the Great Lakes region, with implications for security and development.

Damaged Trust: Mutual accusations and lack of cooperation have resulted in erosion of trust between the two countries, therefore difficult to be cured by resolving the substantial issues that caused the crisis.

2.5 Existing gaps in the Literature

These paragraphs explain some of the gaps and limitations I have had during this dissertation

1. Limited Contemporary Analysis

This is because most of the studies that put their focus on Uganda-Rwanda relations would likely be related to historical events or broader regional dynamics rather than the specific impacts of recent border crises. Basically, the border crisis is relatively new in development, and comprehensive academic analysis may be insufficient, especially in regard to this paper.

2. Inadequate Focus on the Mechanisms of Diplomacy

While the root causes are not fully explored, there is still a lack of investigation in specific diplomatic mechanisms and strategies that both countries adopt for the management or resolution of the crisis. This would be because research may generally attend to the existence of the crisis and its various outcomes without taking into consideration the specific intricacies of the actual diplomatic negotiations, mediations, and peace-building efforts.

3. Poorly Understood Socioeconomic Consequences

The socio-economic implications on the border crisis might not be fully examined as far as diplomatic relations are concerned. While there might be studies touching on the economic impacts, the thorough analysis linking these effects directly to diplomatic relations may be lacking.

4. Limited Case Studies and Comparative Analyses

There may not be enough case studies with full details, or comparative studies with other regional conflicts to place the Uganda-Rwanda situation in its right perspective. Most of such comparative analyses that might place the crisis within the wider trends in African diplomacy may not be adequately considered.

7. Evolving Nature of the Crisis

Gap: The dynamic nature of events at the border might also be beyond the scope of the current literature. This is because academic publications tend not to keep pace with the events as they unfold in real time, hence a gap in the capture of recent changes and their implications.

8. Lack of Policy Analysis

Gap: Lack of enough analysis about the policy responses by both the Ugandan and Rwandan governments regarding their effectiveness. Reason: Even though there is literature that describes the policies, there may be a lack of critical assessment regarding those policies that have worked and which ones have not in order to recommend the same in policy.

Gap: The role and influence of regional organizations like the East African Community in attempting to mediate the crisis may not be given full analysis. Reason: Studies would focus on more bilateral relationships wherein any discussion regarding the influence and efficacy of regional bodies may not be profoundly studied.

10. Human Rights and Humanitarian Impact

This may be insufficient to overcome the effects of the crisis on human rights and humanitarian situations. Rationale: Though the diplomatic and political views have been extensively argued, the human rights perspective is integral and might be poorly represented in the previous research.

How to Address These Research Gaps

You can fill these gaps in your dissertation in the following manner:

- Collection of primary data by way of interviews of key stakeholders
- Adopting an interdisciplinary method to provide an integrated analysis.
- Compare the Uganda-Rwanda crisis with other crises of a similar nature within the region.

MATERIAL FOCUS_: Recent developments and real-time analysis.

Policy analysis and recommendations from findings

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the methodological approach that this study took. Specifically, it conveys the research setting and units of analysis, research design, target population, sampling techniques, method, and instruments of data collection, and techniques of data collection. Additionally, the next sections provide a method of data analysis and, finally, ethical considerations.

3.1 The Site of the Study and Units of Analysis

This study was conducted in the EAC, precisely in Rwanda and Uganda.

Also, the units of analysis were the four EAC Common Market freedoms and trade.

The four freedoms are the free movement of persons, which is labor/worker; free movement of services; free movement of capital; and free movement of goods.

We find below two rights under the free movement of persons, namely, right of establishment and right of residence.

Further, the EAC Common Market is also built on four operational principles that are highly relevant to this study. These include: ensuring transparency in matters concerning the other partner states; equal treatment of citizens of other partner states; not discriminating against nationals of other partner states on the grounds of nationality; and sharing information for the smooth implementation of the Protocol.

3.2 Research Design

The worldview adopted for this study was post-positivism. To answer the above research questions satisfactorily, the study requires qualitative primary and secondary data. As such, this project adopted the qualitative approach to research. And as earlier mentioned, this study adopted the exploratory research design for the purpose of collecting primary data and documentary research for collecting secondary data.

3.3 Study Population and Sample Selection Procedures

The population of this study are experts on EAC regional integration, EAC law, and Rwanda-Uganda relations. A sample size of approximately fifty respondents was used.

This study employed non-probability sampling in order to get the desired sample; purposive sampling was used as the method for sampling.

Further, to reach sample units highly knowledgeable in the topic of interest, this study used chain sampling where several questions were asked, such as who knows a lot about the research subject to identify the wanted sample BRM, 2016.

Also, there was a deliberate pre-screening of the respondents so as to determine if the organizations and departments selected and their respondents would be knowledgeable enough on the subject matter; this saves time and allows the preservation of the quality of research.

As mentioned above, this research targeted a sample of thirty people comprising government officials serving in different capacities in Rwanda and Uganda, EAC staff fast-tracking EAC regional integration, and specifically those in charge of advancing the Common Market; and various scholars. Although this study did not get the sample size required since only sixty percent of that number agreed to participate, those eighteen people that participated had different profiles, which ensured the different standpoints and opinions for this study. However, no further information will be provided regarding the profiles of the respondents, the organisations within which they are employed, or their ranks within those organisations to protect their anonymity, as well as the anonymity of the institutions with which they are affiliated.

22 3.4 Methods and Techniques of Data Collection The present research study carried out eighteen in-depth face-to-face or remote interviews in order to interview a sample of selected people to obtain primary data. In fact, these interviews were open-ended and aimed at eliciting as much information as possible from the respondents. Moreover, these interviews were taped and later transcribed before the process of data analysis. Some of the questions asked during these interviews were: according to your experience and observation, how do you think the Gatuna border closure has affected the free movements of goods, persons, labor, and of capital?

What are the lessons to be learnt from this conflict?

From your analysis weighting the gains against the losses from this conflict and border closure, would you describe this whole experience as positive or negative? First for the countries that were involved and second for the EAC. Open libraries and documents residing within the official websites of the institutions relevant to this study, such as the EAC, EACJ, the Central Bank of Uganda, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Rwanda were used.

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed using the thematic analysis method. That is to say, this was the process of identifying the themes that come out of the data collected. This process of data analysis was done in five stages. First, after collection, the data collected was transcribed, prepared and organized. Second, this researcher explored and reviewed the data which lead to the identifying of the recurring themes.

Finally, these identified themes were presented cohesively and were grouped under appropriate headings

Ethical Considerations

This study used primary data, hence respect for research principles on transparency and 'do no harm' was ensured all through. Research authorization and clearance were sought by the researcher before conducting this research in Uganda Christian University and the Local chairpersons in the different villages. Fortunately, in the field, this researcher was not requested to acquire a permit from the Ugandan government due to the fact that this researcher is of Ugandan nationality where this research project was conducted. Secondly, in conducting this study, every kind of plagiarism, falsification, and fabrication were avoided. And lastly, the respondents' personal information was kept confidential during and after the conduct of the research.

Therefore, this researcher first requested informed and written consent to ensure that these ethical issues were respected during and after this study, and to ensure that the protection of respondents' identities was maintained.

3.2 Limitations of the Study

The first limitation this study encountered involved the very time-consuming process of acquiring an IRB along with other research permits. In addition, there were also various other limitations encountered in the field. For example, since this study is of a political nature, securing appointments, especially with government officials and governmental institutions, was really an uphill task. Loads of appointments that were canceled and emails not replied to are loads. Consequently, this researcher interviewed only sixty percent of this study's desired sample of fifty people. Moreover, even those who agreed to answer and were willing to share their knowledge on this topic were either unable or unequipped to answer such questions important for this study, such as the primary reasons for this conflict and to provide accurate information concerning the affected people and businesses.

This is so because this conflict between Rwanda and Uganda was less explored and studied, hence limited knowledge on some aspects of this conflict.

Lastly, despite the extension from the university, time was still a limitation to this study because, since this study used in-depth interviews with experts on EAC regional integration, EAC law, international organizations, and Rwanda-Uganda relations, the respondents shared many views and opinions, which took much time to transcribe and analyze.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDING

4.0 Introduction

The Rwanda-Uganda border conflict has hugely affected Uganda's diplomatic relations, influencing all spheres of political, economic, and social relations. From the discovery that I came across, it dawned on me that the effects of the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict have affected relations that Uganda has within the East African Community and other associated communities and organisations. Different impacts of the conflict are explained in detail with the required information and images, which will be clearly elaborated in the subsequent paragraphs. All of these potential conflict factors, together with those associated with the significance and dependence on oil, pose a real risk of 'oil wars' over newly created states in the future. This is because the authorities in Uganda were accused of hosting, sponsoring, and facilitating terrorist groups and in this case, it is the Rwanda National Congress commonly known as RNC and the P5.



4.2. Border Closure and Economic Disruption

On 27th February 2019, Rwanda closed its border with Uganda, severely disrupting trade and movement between the two nations. This was because of the different political issues as mentioned above regarding the causes of the border conflict between the 2 countries. This closure affected over 6,000 small-scale traders and resulted in a drastic drop in Uganda's exports to Rwanda, from approximately \$18 million in 2018 to around \$4 million in 2019, highlighting the economic ramifications of the conflict. This led to loss of many livelihoods

especially for those living at the border districts. The closure went on for a long time and it was later reopened in January 2022. (Hugh Lamarque, 2022)



Cargo trucks parked at Katuna Border Post await clearance to cross into Rwanda in May 2022

4.3. Heightened Military Tensions

The border conflict has degraded military tensions where both countries are characterized by aggressive fustian and military posturing. This was witnessed in March 2019 where tensions arose between the 2 countries where 2 civilians were killed at the border of Rukiga. This was later denied by Rwanda with the claim that they were smugglers at the border points and therefore this action was taken into action to try and minimize the entry of illegal products into the country. This later led to launched attacks into Rwanda by Platform Five also known as P5 that seeks to overthrow the Rwanda Patriotic Front. This decay has transformed what was originally a cooperative relationship into one marked by hostility and distrust. Threats have been exchanged between top military leaders that eventually brought concern about the possibility of an armed conflict which had to destabilize the entire Great Lakes region.

4.4. Impact on Regional Cooperation common market

The tensions have in the process stifled regional integration initiatives in the East African Community (EAC). This is because both Uganda and Rwanda are part of the Community, however this have greatly affected the market with the members that include: Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi and South Sudan. Within the EA, this conflict has had a significant effect on the policy making. This is because of the anarchy whereby members keep mentioning that it is because of the partners who keep neglecting the political and economic statuses of the

East African Community, and in this case, it is quite evident because of the tensions between Rwanda and Uganda. This is because each country wants to be favoured compared to the other and the reasons for their tensions are justifiable according to each member state. The conflict has resulted in the postponing of important summits such as the Rwanda-Uganda peace summit which had been postponed to 18th November 2019 as and these reduced collaborative efforts undermined the EAC's objective of economic integration and political stability.

4.5. Human Rights Concerns

This has caused human rights violations, which include those against Rwandans living in Uganda. Reports indicate that many Rwandans have been detained on suspicion of espionage, tortured, and forcibly repatriated, instilling fear in the Banyarwanda community in Uganda.

4.6. Shift in Diplomatic Engagements

The diplomatic process has been dominated by military and intelligence chiefs at the expense of civilian institutions. Military priorities have thus become pre-eminent in what has proved a militarization of the process of conflict resolution, making it hard to resolve fundamental issues through diplomatic channels.

4.7. Diplomatic Initiatives and Agreements

Despite such tensions, attempts at normalization, like the signing of Memoranda of Understanding in 2019 in Angola's capital city Luanda, were witnessed by the leaders of Angola, including Joao Manule Gonclaves Lourenco and Felix Tshisedeki. The leaders presented this as a beginning for continued dialogue in finding a solution to the border conflict issue with the aim of easing hostilities. However, actual implementation on the ground was very slow because of all-encompassing mistrust and a number of other priorities by the two countries.



Left to right: Presidents Paul Kagame of Rwanda, João Lourenço of Angola and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda at Katuna border on Friday.

4.8. Risk for Future Conflicts

The fact that some of the issues from the border dispute were not resolved indicates the prospect of other conflicts in the future. This may spill over into the general region, particularly into Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, further complicating regional stability and diplomatic relations in East Africa.

In any case, the conflict on the border of Rwanda and Uganda has taken a serious dimension of entanglement across borders, presenting economic, military, and social challenges that grow with time. Even with the various peace summits held in place to try and combat some of the diplomatic issues, for instance, in 2019, where Rwandan President Paul Kagame met H.E Yoweri Museveni in Angola-Luanda, where the two leaders signed a memorandum of understanding, much tension has been witnessed, and that has greatly affected both Uganda's diplomatic relations-and this applies to Rwanda. This dissertation explains the impact brought about by the conflict. In addressing this problem, it requires sustained diplomatic efforts and a commitment towards rebuilding trust between the two nations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

5.0 Introduction

This dissertation has done an in-depth analysis of the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis on the diplomatic relationship that exists between these two neighboring countries. The analysis has indicated that this crisis, since time in memorial, has led to significant strains between these two neighbors. The findings brought out the complex interaction of historical context, political maneuvering, and socio-economic factors that have shaped the diplomatic landscape between Uganda and Rwanda.

The roots of the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis are deeply encased in an intricate history of colonial legacies, ethnic tensions, and political rivalries. Their historical narrative is essential to the current mood, which reflects and elaborates on the accumulated grievances. The relationship has been strained, characterized by mutual suspicion and accusations, partly because of the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the resultant flux of Rwandan refugees into Uganda, and both countries playing parts in regional conflicts. This dissertation has shown how such events have shaped national identities and affected diplomatic attitudes and policies.

Equally, the analysis has identified a number of other incidents that have heightened tensions in recent times: cross-border skirmishes, accusations of espionage, and the politicization of refugee movements. These incidents have served to heighten tensions, often accompanied by inflammatory rhetoric from both governments. The development has succeeded in creating an environment of mistrust where diplomatic engagement is increasingly difficult to pursue. Of most concern is the erosion of trust, as this raises the stakes for any meaningful dialogue and cooperation on key issues such as security, trade, and regional integration.

This is not all; the impact of the border crisis goes beyond the bilateral relationship between Uganda and Rwanda to influence regional cooperation and security frameworks within the EAC and the broader Great Lakes region. The crisis has also caused a fracture of various regional initiatives that aim to realize peace, security, and economic integration. Joint efforts to combat terrorism and issues of cross-border trade have suffered a definite blow owing to the current atmosphere of mutual suspicion. Unable to effectively collaborate on these pertinent matters, the present inability by Uganda and Rwanda is a threat to their national interests and threatens regional stability.

The dissertation also examined how the border crisis has encouraged the two countries to seek other alliances on the international scene—a factor adding to the complexity of the current diplomatic situation. While Uganda is realigning its partnerships with other regional players like Kenya and Tanzania, Rwanda has reached out to international actors like the United States and France, a move illustrative of strategic realignment impelled by the need to secure their national interests against a growing tide of tension. This turn toward foreign policy strategies brings about some key questions as to what will happen next in terms of the bilateral relations between these nations, along with how things might reopen into new cooperation in the near future.

5.1 Recommendations

5.1.1 For the Researcher:

Further Research:

It would also be interesting to see in-depth, longitudinal studies of incidents like border skirmishes and refugee crises to witness the shifting dynamics of Uganda-Rwanda relations over time. Studying the implications of the 2019 border closure for trade and bilateral relations could, for instance, illustrate the way in which economic conditions frame diplomatic relations. This would usefully be compared with other border crises on the continent, such as that between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the drawing of possible lessons for conflict resolution.

Organize Workshops and Seminars:

Workshops where scholars, policy makers, and representatives of civil society come together can be used to build constructive dialogue. For instance, a seminar on the role of historical grievances in shaping current relations may bring together historians and political analysts from both countries. This collaborative environment can help generate innovative solutions and promote understanding among stakeholders.

Publish Policy Briefs:

The researcher should develop and disseminate policy briefs summarizing key findings and recommendations to relevant stakeholders. For example, a policy brief touching on the economic implications of the border crisis could be addressed to the trade ministries in both countries. These briefs should be succinct, accessible, and aimed at the influencing of policymakers, NGOs, and international organizations involved in regional stability efforts.

For the Government of Uganda:

Hold Bilateral Talks:

What Uganda needs to do is go all out in initiating bilateral talks with Rwanda, through which a number of issues are pending, affecting the security of borders and trade barriers. For example, creating a forum for periodic dialogue would present possibilities of discussing mutual concerns that will enable the two governments to work together in solving the issues at hand, like illegal border crossing or smuggling of goods, hence easing tensions.

Border Management:

Improvement in the border management strategies goes hand in hand with security and economic cooperation. Joint patrols along borders can be performed by Uganda and Rwanda in order to eliminate illegal activities and enhance security. Governments can invest in technologies that provide efficiency in border crossing, such as the use of surveillance systems and biometric identification of border crossers, in order to enhance the passage of goods and people, thereby promoting legitimate trade while ensuring security.

Stimulating Economic Cooperation:

Uganda should explore joint economic projects for mutual benefit. For example, creating cross-border trade zones or joint infrastructure projects, such as roads and rail networks that connect Uganda and Rwanda, would create some degree of economic interdependence. This may further encourage increased employment and livelihoods and overall stability of the relationship.

5.1.2 for the Government of Rwanda:

Encourage Open Communication:

Rwanda should be interested in opening lines of communication with Uganda, especially at the diplomatic level. If there was a special diplomatic channel through which the government would air its grievances, misunderstandings would not have arisen in the first place. For instance, a line of communication between the two countries' foreign ministries-that is to say, a hotline for communication-can do much to facilitate immediate dialogue in times of crisis and, importantly, promote transparency and build trust.

Refugee Integration:

This would ensure that Rwanda works in conjunction with Uganda through the joint answering of some needs of the Rwandan refugees who are resident in Uganda. A joint program which implements a system for the effective integration of refugees into Ugandan

society through skill development and health access could serve as an antidote to tension related to refugee movement. Such a joint action may be viewed as respect for humanitarian principles and regional fraternity.

Engage in Regional Programs:

Rwanda should also be proactive in regional initiatives to enhance peace and security. Specific examples of active participation include actively engaging in peacekeeping missions sponsored by the EAC or regional security forums. Such a role could help emphasize its commitment to regional stability. It can also open up avenues for dialogue with Uganda and other neighbors, hence providing more cooperation in security matters. To the Supporting Organisations (e.g., NGOs, International Bodies):

Dialogue Platforms:

The supporting organizations should establish and facilitate dialogue platforms that include representatives from Uganda and Rwanda as well as civil society. For instance, the African Union would be able to host annual forums concerning building peace and would have the stakeholders discuss challenges together in order to find a common solution from them. In such a way, their mutual trust and understanding can be built. Capacity Building:

Capacity-building programs from NGOs and international organizations for local organizations and communities should be provided to enable them to work toward peacebuilding. For instance, certain training workshops in conflict resolution and negotiation skills would help local leaders in mediating disputes and promoting dialogue within their communities, thus undertaking grassroots peacebuilding initiatives.

Monitoring of Human Rights Situations:

Human rights situations along the Uganda-Rwanda border should be regularly assessed by supporting organizations. For instance, organizations such as Human Rights Watch would monitor and report on refugees and the cross-border communities on conditions facing them and are capable of advocating for rights protection and accountability. Such monitoring may create awareness and put pressure on both governments to observe standards of human rights.

5.1.3 For Other Countries and International Actors:

Encourage Diplomatic Engagement:

Countries that enjoy diplomatic relations with Uganda and Rwanda are supposed to urge the two governments to dialogue constructively. For instance, the United States or European Union can initiate diplomatic missions to facilitate the process of discussion between

Ugandan and Rwandan leaders through influencing the course of ensuring that disputes are solved peacefully. Such moves will go a long way in providing a good climate for the two states to have dialogue.

Support Regional Stability Initiatives:

It also calls for other countries to provide financial and logistical support for regional initiatives that seek to promote stability. To this end, the EAC's programs on cross-border trade and security cooperation can be furthered through funding by other countries. In turn, such support will allow joint training exercises for security forces of both countries in dealing with common security concerns.

Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution Should be Encouraged:

This means that international actors should encourage the use of conflict resolution mechanisms, such as mediation by international organizations. For instance, the United Nations can offer mediation between Uganda and Rwanda as one way of handling disputes amicably. Such intervention provides neutral grounds for negotiation and helps reduce friction during disputes.

Facilitate Economic Partnerships:

Other countries and international organizations should encourage business partnerships and investment initiatives between Uganda and Rwanda. This would entail holding trade fairs or investment conferences in which the businesses of both countries come together to identify opportunities for collaboration. Interdependence of economic ties offsets the chances of conflict.

In fact, the stakeholders can make a vital difference in finding ways to overcome the challenges presented as a result of the crisis on the borders of Uganda-Rwanda by implementing the recommendations which have been targeted in this regard. A harmonious process based on dialogue, cooperation, and mutual respect is needed so that such a challenging situation can be resolved and pave the way for a future with better stability and prosperity, not only for these two countries but also for the greater East African region.

5.2 Conclusion

In the aftermath of these incidents, what is urgently called for is the opening of dialogue at high levels between Uganda and Rwanda, with a view to moving expeditiously toward the reconstruction of trust and reestablishing mutual understanding. The diplomacy being

pursued should seek to address root causes of the crisis, which include festering historical grievances, economic disparities, and security fears. The establishment of joint commissions, cultural exchange programs, and other confidence-building measures may also serve to establish propitious conditions that are ripe for a dialogue and collaboration process. The process should be supported by regional organizations such as the EAC and African Union, and international partners, by facilitating dialogue and building confidence through mechanisms that would help subdue tensions.

This can be complemented further by the role of civil society and grassroots organizations in contributing to peace and reconciliation. Such dialogue and collaboration by the communities on either side of the border go a long way in engraving common identity and respect for each other-very important elements for long-term stability. The approach will not only treat the symptoms of the crisis but also work toward healing the historical wounds that continue to affect relations.

This basically means the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis still remains a significant threat to diplomatic relations and has wide repercussions for regional stability and cooperation. In any case, in the future, both countries should be sincerely committed to their dialogue of cooperation and mutual respect in bringing a more stable and prosperous future not only for both Uganda and Rwanda but also for the entire East African region. This dissertation consequently highlights that one of the key lessons from its findings is a way in which the addressing of historical grievances and laying of a foundation may be able to carry future diplomatic engagements.

Future research will do well to continue tracing changes in the dynamics of this relationship, especially in shifting geopolitical landscapes and emerging security challenges. With new threats such as climate change, competition for resources and transnational crime continuing to dominate the agenda of the region, insight into the implications brought forth by the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis will be highly relevant to policymakers and scholars alike. It follows then that, in this respect, a better position is established to inform strategies toward peace, security, and cooperation within this very important region of Africa. Ultimately, responding to the underlying factors driving this crisis will require the unleashing of a dialogue and cooperation culture if both countries and the region are to have any hope for a stable and prosperous future.

The following are sample questions that could be used to drive such a questionnaire to have an assessment of the impact this border crisis has had on the staff members at Gatuna Border between Uganda and Rwanda, and among the local communities.

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Appendices



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3rd September 2024

**THE COMMISSIONER DIRECTORATE CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
CONTROL**

Plot 75
Old Portbell Road
Jinja road
Kampala, Uganda

Dear Sir/Madam

**Re: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT MY RESEARCH AT YOUR PREMISES AT THE
UGANDA RWANDA BORDER.**

I am writing to formally request permission to conduct research at your premises located at the Uganda-Rwanda border. My research project, titled "**Impact of the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict on the diplomatic relations in Uganda**" aims to conduct a comprehensive and wide analysis of the impact of the Uganda-Rwanda border conflict on diplomatic relations in Uganda, encompassing the historical context, the conflict's evolution, its multifaceted consequences, regional and international mediation efforts and ultimately aiming to propose actionable strategies for rebuilding trust and strengthening diplomatic relations between the two countries.

I believe that your premises would provide an invaluable opportunity to gather crucial data and insights for my research. I am particularly interested in the different impacts it has had on the society and the fact that the conflict is still going on, so ways to prevent any future conflicts and deal with the current situations are my main focus.

I would be grateful if you could consider my request and provide me with the necessary permissions to conduct my research at your premises. I am available to discuss my research plans further and answer any questions you may have.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

AKULLU PATIENCE DORIS
UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

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Interview Questions that were used.

Background and Context

- Can you provide a brief overview of the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis from your perspective?

Impact on Diplomatic Relations

- How has the border crisis affected diplomatic relations between Uganda and Rwanda?
- Have there been any significant changes in bilateral agreements or collaborations as a result of the crisis?

Political Response

- What measures has the Ugandan government taken to address the border crisis?
- How do you perceive the effectiveness of these measures in restoring diplomatic ties?

Public Sentiment

- How do you think the border crisis has influenced public perception of Rwanda in Uganda?
- Are there any specific narratives or sentiments that have emerged as a result of the crisis?

Regional Stability

- In your opinion, how does the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis affect regional stability in the East African Community?
- What role do you think other regional players should take in resolving this crisis?

Future Prospects

- What are your predictions for the future of Uganda-Rwanda relations if the border crisis continues?
- What steps do you believe are necessary to improve diplomatic relations moving forward?
- Interview Questions for International Relations Scholars



Theoretical Framework

- How do you interpret the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis within the context of international relations theories (e.g., realism, liberalism, constructivism)?

Historical Context

- What historical factors do you believe have contributed to the current border crisis between Uganda and Rwanda?

Impact on Foreign Policy

- How has the border crisis influenced Uganda's foreign policy towards Rwanda and other neighboring countries?

Diplomatic Engagement

- In your analysis, how effective have diplomatic engagements been between Uganda and Rwanda since the onset of the crisis?
- Are there any notable diplomatic initiatives that have been proposed or implemented to mitigate tensions?

Role of International Organizations

- What role do you think international organizations (e.g., the African Union, United Nations) should play in addressing the border crisis?
- Have these organizations been effective in mediating or facilitating dialogue between the two countries?

Regional Dynamics

- How does the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis affect the broader geopolitical dynamics in the East African region?
- What implications does this crisis have for regional security and cooperation?

Future Research Directions

- What areas of research do you believe are critical for understanding the long-term implications of the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis?

- How can scholars contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the diplomatic relations in this context?

Closing Questions for Both Groups

Personal Insights

- What personal experiences or observations have shaped your views on the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis?

Recommendations

- What recommendations would you offer to policymakers to improve diplomatic relations between Uganda and Rwanda?

Final Thoughts

- Is there anything else you would like to add regarding the impact of the border crisis on diplomatic relations in Uganda?

These questions are designed to elicit detailed responses and encourage a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding the Uganda-Rwanda border crisis and its implications for diplomatic relations.

**QUESTIONNAIRE BASED ON THE IMPACT OF THE BORDER
CONFLICT BETWEEN UGANDA AND RWANDA ON THE STUFF AND
LOCALS AT THE GATUNA BORDER.**

This questionnaire is going to compromises of the most relevant questions that are to identify and help me during my thesis. This is going to help my analyse the different recommendations that involve the solutions to what helps.

Section 1: Demographic Information

1. Name (optional): _____
2. Gender:
 - Male
 - Female
 - Other
3. Age: _____
4. Position/Title: _____
5. Years of Service at Gatuna Border: _____



Section 2: Impact on Staff Members

6. How has the border crisis affected your daily work?
 - Significantly impacted
 - Somewhat impacted
 - No impact
7. Please describe how your workload has changed since the onset of the border crisis:

8. Have you experienced any changes in job security due to the border crisis?
 - Yes
 - No
 - If yes, please explain: _____

9. What challenges have you faced in performing your duties during the border crisis? (Select all that apply?)

- Increased workload
- Lack of resources
- Security concerns
- Communication issues
- Other: _____

10. What support do you feel is necessary for staff members during this crisis?

Section 3: Impact on Local Communities

11. How do you perceive the impact of the border crisis on the local communities?

- Very positive
- Somewhat positive
- Neutral
- Somewhat negative
- Very negative

12. What specific impacts have you observed in the local communities? (Select all that apply)

- Economic hardship
- Increased conflict
- Reduced access to services
- Migration issues
- Health concerns
- Other: _____

13. Have you noticed any changes in the relationship between communities on both sides of the border?

- Yes

- [] No

- If yes, please elaborate: _____

14. How do you think the border crisis can be resolved to benefit both staff and local communities?

Section 4: Additional Comments

15. Please share any additional thoughts or comments regarding the border crisis and its impact:

Thank you for your participation! Your insights are valuable in understanding the effects of the border crisis on both staff and local communities.