

THE IMPACT OF OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION
ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN UGANDA

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1

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN UGANDA, by Lieutenant Colonel Alex Asasira, 93 pages.

The thesis examined the impacts of the discovery and exploration of oil and gas in Uganda. Significant oil and gas reserves were discovered in Uganda in 2006. Although the discovery of oil and gas is seen as a major development, due to creation of jobs and boosting the economy, no single country in Africa can boast of any success after the discovery and exploration of the resource. The researcher studied Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan to posture Uganda, a prospective country in the oil and gas industry to avoid the resources curse. The variables used were militarization, land conflicts and economic security. It was found that oil and gas have negative impacts on security, economy, and land management of the countries studied. It, however, concludes that Uganda still has a chance to escape the resource curse only if, it avoids militarization, and create a joint task force, use oil and gas revenues for professionalization of the army and modernization of agriculture.

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ACRONYMS

ACODE	Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNOOC	China National Off Shore Oil Corporation Ltd
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CRED	Civil Response on Environment and Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FEED	Front-End Engineering Design
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLR	Great Lakes Region
LDC	Least Developed Country
MIN	Middle-Income Nation
NPC	National Petroleum Council
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Forces
UPF	Uganda Police Force

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The world over, the discovery and exploration of oil and gas is a major industrial development and is regarded as a blessing. The sector is not only a major source of jobs but also increased revenues in many oil producing economies. Crude oil is also referred to as the black gold because of its potential to change the fortunes of countries that are endowed with the resource.

However, the former Venezuelan Minister and Oil and Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cofounder Perez Alonso described the resource as the “Devil’s excrement” as early as the 1970s (Useem 2003). It was an odd statement at a time when oil was bringing Venezuela unprecedented wealth—the government’s 1973 revenues were larger than all previous years combined, raising hopes that black gold would catapult Venezuela straight into First World status.

Oil and gas exploration can be a source of good or the cause of untold suffering depending on its management and use. Revenues from the resources have potentially transformed countries in the world but have also had negative security implications on others (Cassidy 2019, 2745). Countries like the United States of America, United Kingdom, Norway, Canada, United Arab Emirates, Russia, and Saudi Arabia made substantial gains from the exploration of oil and gas resources. The aforementioned countries have strong institutions and their oil and gas revenues benefitted their citizenry (Benghida 2017, 903). Norway, for example, before the discovery of oil and gas was one of the poorest countries in Scandinavia. Today, it boasts a gross domestic product (GDP)

per capita of \$72,100 USD, ranking it 11th in the world. Although Norway is a well-diversified economy, it is still heavily dependent on petroleum industry, accounting for the largest portion of its export and contributing 20 percent of its total revenue. None of its population are below their poverty level. In anticipation of eventual declines in oil and gas production, Norway saved state revenue from petroleum sector activities in the world's largest sovereign fund, valued at over \$1 trillion at the end of 2017 (Central Intelligence Agency 2015).

Kuwait, on the other hand, a geographically small but wealthy country, although not well diversified, has a relatively open economy. It has crude oil reserves of about 102 billion barrels, which is more than 6 percent of the world reserves according to CIA fact files 2017. Petroleum accounts for more than a half of its GDP, 92 percent of export revenue, and 90 percent of government income. With the world oil prices declining, Kuwait recorded a budget deficit in 2015 for the first time in more than a decade. In 2016, the deficit grew to 16.5 percent prompting the government to make budget cuts for subsidies. Kuwait failed to diversify its economy due to poor business climate and a large public sector that employed more than 70 percent of the population. An acrimonious relationship between the Kuwait national assembly and the executive branch stymied most economic reforms (Central Intelligence Agency 2020).

Africa cannot boast of any successes in the exploration of oil and gas resources. Most oil-rich African countries are plagued with problems ranging from economic through social and security challenges. Examples of oil and gas rich African countries include, but are not limited to Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Angola, Egypt, Tunisia, Cameroon, and South Africa. The only real success in extractive

industry is Botswana with a remarkable accomplishment in its diamond exploration.

Although diamonds are not the focus of this paper, it also falls under extractive industry.

“Ten years from now, twenty years from now, oil will bring us to ruin in fact it is a devil’s excrement.” This was a comment made by Pablo in 1975, a Venezuelan politician and one of the powerful founders of OPEC. This expression appears to be true for African oil and gas rich countries (Useem 2003, 1). A study of oil and gas rich African countries reveals in most cases a myriad of problems which plague the oil and gas industry with varying degrees of trouble. These range from discontent and civil strife over the management of the resource and its revenue to different levels of insurgency. Arguably, the discovery of oil and gas in commercial quantities for some African countries has aggravated the social economic and political woes for those countries instead of being a catalyst for growth and prosperity. Oil is said to account for over 90 percent of the world’s trade in minerals and is the biggest source of problems for the largest number of countries endowed with the resource (Ross 2012).

The Hardman Petroleum Pty Ltd discovered significant oil and gas reserves for commercial exploitation in Uganda in 2006 (Kuteesa 2015, 1). After passing the commercial threshold of oil discoveries in 2009, the industry shifted from small-sized wildcat exploration companies and oil independents to include large-sized oil corporations intent on development and production. These large-sized oil corporations include: Tullow Oil, a British oil independent with a strong record of accomplishment for frontier success; Total SA, a French oil corporation with nearly unparalleled technical expertise and operational experience; and China National Off Shore Oil Corporation Ltd (CNOOC), a Chinese state oil giant with sizable capital (Patey 2015, 9). By the end of

2013, Uganda's proven oil and gas reserves were estimated by the Ugandan Petroleum Exploration and Production Department to be 6.5 billion barrels. These discoveries are expected to yield at least \$2 billion USD per year for thirty years once oil production commences (Kuteesa 2015, 1).

Bomuhangi and Doss (2011, 23) indicated that oil exploration activities, such as the digging of seismic wells and drilling, have already led to changes in ownership of land, conflict, and displacement as well as an influx of migrants vying for opportunities in the Albertine Graben. Major businesses in these areas are developing beaches, restaurants, hotel accommodations, supermarkets, and oil and gas stations. Civil responses to environmental and development found there has been a problem of Ugandans subordinating fellow Ugandans for personal gain (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2015, 34). Land in the Albertine Graben has become increasingly valuable for many wealthy Ugandans eager to benefit from the oil wealth. It is being carved out for Uganda's wealthy elites with little or no regard for the current inhabitants. The study by Civic Response on Environment and Development (CRED) emphasizes that the action of these wealthy elites is symptomatic of an overall pattern of oil-influenced land grabs occurring throughout the Albertine region. It points out that wealthy and influential elites attempt to gain ownership of customary land to make a profit off selling the same land to investors and multinational corporations, expressing interest in land for high-value oil-based investment projects like the oil refinery and oil waste treatment plants (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2015, 4).

A total of nine production licenses have been issued so far in Uganda. The first one was issued to CNOOC in 2013. Tullow Uganda Operations Pty Limited and Total

SA were issued with five and three licenses respectively in August 2016. The issuance of these production licenses was a huge milestone and is expected to fast-track the foreign investment decision of the three joint venture companies which is expected by the end of 2017. In February 2017, Technip, Fluor and Chicago Bridge and Iron Company were awarded a contract for the first phase of the Front-End Engineering Design (the FEED) on two of the exploration areas.

The discovery of oil and gas in Uganda presents a unique challenge because it is in a rift valley and Lake Albert shared between Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Moreover, the two countries have a history of fighting over the relatively insignificant Rukwanzi Island located in Lake Albert. The matter has never been resolved to date and remains a threat to the national security of Uganda. Thus, this research will attempt to design tentative solutions to potential disputes involving oil resource in Uganda.

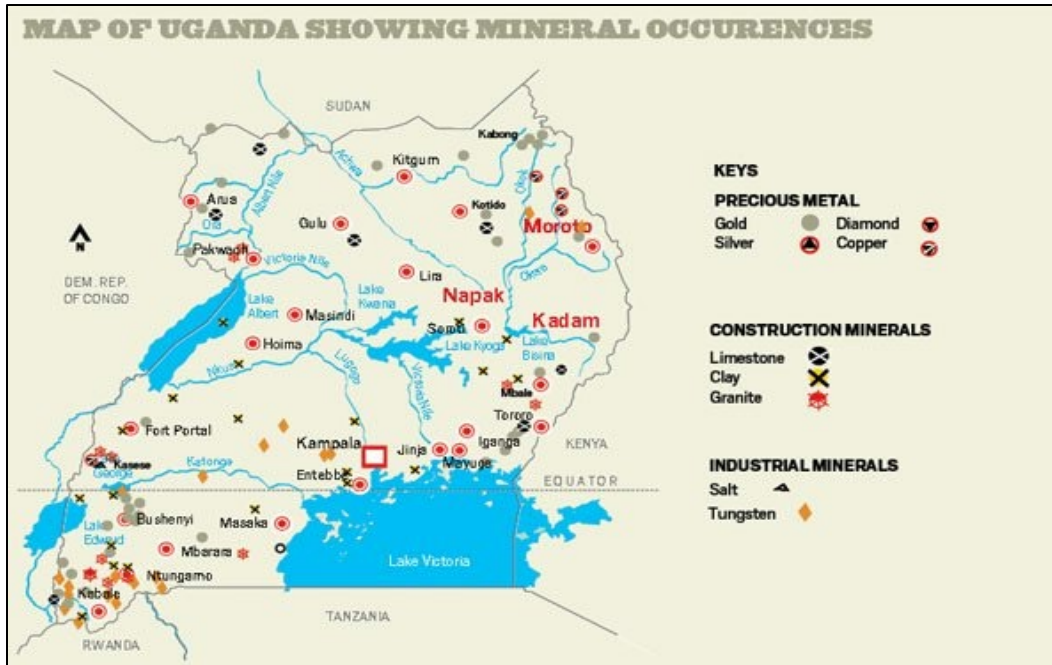


Figure 1. The Albertine Oil Region

Source: Daily Monitor. 2020. “Map of Uganda Showing Mineral Occurrences.” Accessed 17 October 2019. <https://www.monitor.co.ug/image/view/-/1491028/highRes/392588/-/maxw/600/-/p4gdtq/-/home003pix.jpg>. A cross section of the part of the western Rift Valley (Albertine region).

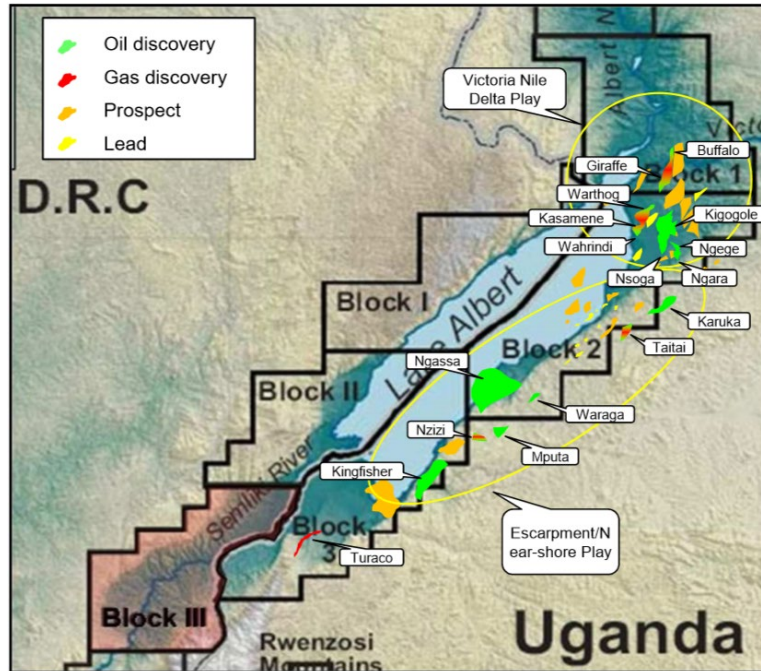


Figure 2. Map of Uganda Showing Lake Albert Where Oil Was Discovered

Source: The Herald, “Lessons from Ugandan oil experience,” 21 July 2017, accessed 20 October 2019, <https://www.herald.co.zw/lessons-from-ugandan-oil-experience/>.

Definition of Terms

Security is defined as ‘the pursuit of freedom from threats and ability of states to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against changes which are seen as hostile. It is the pursuit of freedom from threats (Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde 1998, 21).

National security is the ability to preserve the nation’s physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders (Brown 2002, 2).

Economic Security. The condition of having stable income, employment, or entrepreneurial support to maintain what one considers to be an acceptable standard of living (Nanto 2011, 16).

Ecological Security also known as environmental security. The U.S Department of State (2001) categorized ecological security as an element of regional or national security which encompasses the mitigation and prevention of energy threats, including threats to sources and supply lines, and environmental risks and related stresses that directly contribute to political and economic instability or conflict in foreign countries or regions of importance to the United States.

Local environmental or resource pressures. These include resource scarcities leading to local conflict, such as disputes over water scarcity, failure of agriculture and a rise in population and dwindling availability of farmland, may also have contributed to national insecurity (Humphreys, Sachs, and Stiglitz 2007, 1).

Problem Statement

The discovery of petroleum in Uganda by government geologist EJ Wayland dates back to 1925 although commercial exploration by Hardman Petroleum Pty Ltd, now known as Tullow, started in 2006. Global Rights Alert (2016). Ugandans received the news of the discovery of oil and gas with optimism and pessimism; optimism because it is an opportunity to move Uganda into the much-anticipated middle income status, and pessimism because the population of third world oil and gas producing countries are faced with violent conflicts and abject poverty (Kuteesa 2015, 3). Either way, the discovery and exploration of oil and gas will have a direct impact on the national and regional security. Exploration of oil and gas in Uganda could be delayed because of

disputes between exploration corporations and the government of Uganda (Patey 2015, 21). There is a great deal of out-cry by local citizens within oil and gas rich area caused by wealthy land grabbing citizens who are taking advantage of the situation. As a result, many people have become homeless or forced into the camps which has led them to misinterpret oil and gas as a curse instead of the long-awaited blessing (Magona 2017, 6). While Uganda awaits anxiously for its first drop of oil in 2020, it is under scrutiny over how it will handle a natural resource that has been considered both a blessing and a curse. Furthermore, neighboring countries within the upper western Rift Valley have not welcomed the news of Uganda's oil discovery. A subsequent proposal, with many claims to start drilling in good faith, it puts the future of Ugandan oil and gas industry at stake (Magona 2017, 5). There are many ongoing debates among Ugandan politicians and civil institution to ascertain whether the discovery of oil and gas in Uganda will be of any benefit to locals and to the national economy, however, opposition politicians have argued that it is going to be used by the current government of Uganda to over stay in power and get much money to bribe and coerce citizens by state machineries (Magona 2017, 6). This thesis will bridge the literature gap in research by thoroughly investigating the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda.

Primary Research Question

The overarching research question that this study is seeking to answer is: What are the impacts of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda? In trying to answer this question, the following secondary questions are set.

Secondary Questions

What is the role of the Ugandan security forces in relation to oil and gas exploration?

How will Ugandan government respond to the emerging national security challenges associated with exploration?

Limitations

The main limitation to this study is it must be combined with the Command and General Staff College Intermediate Level Education course. The Intermediate Level Education curriculum is an intensive one. This, along with the fact that the research must be completed before the course ends might affect the amount of research that can be done and could possibly take away from the worth of the work done. It eliminates the feasibility of collecting data from the field for the research and hence, limits the sources of information extensively to secondary data. Some reference materials require copyrights permission while others may not be accessible at this time. However, the available resources are sufficient to provide data for this research.

Delimitations

The research is limited to the impacts of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda while studying examples of Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan. The thesis will, however, make references to the rest of the world including USA, UK, Norway, Middle East, and Latin America. Similarly, this research will use terms such as oil, gas, and petroleum industry interchangeably.

Significance of the Study

The study will help military and other scholars who operate in oil-rich countries to understand the dynamics of oil and gas exploration on national security. It will also help Uganda as well as other oil producing countries to manage the resources well while paying attention to national security to turn the resource into a blessing rather than a curse. More so, it will attempt to fill the literature gaps, as most scholars writing about oil and gas discovery in Uganda concentrated on its management, environmental protection, and exploration companies, giving little or no attention to its impact on national security. Beyond filling the scholarly gaps, the research will help the Ugandan government to make informed decisions on the impacts of oil and gas exploration to national security. The thesis will articulate solutions on exploration of oil and gas while maintaining national security which is a major pillar to achieving Uganda vision 2040. The vision is to be in the middle-income status and the discovery of oil facilitates the process. Uganda Vision 2040 is a long-term plan containing aspirations of Uganda to operationalize the country's Vision which is, "A Transformed Ugandan Society from a Peasant to a Modern and Prosperous Country within 30 Years."

Scope

The study will cover the country called Uganda, officially the Republic of Uganda is a country in East-Central Africa.



Figure 3. Location of Uganda in relation to the neighbors

Source: Encyclopædia Britannica Editors, s.v. “Kampala,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Inc., 2020, accessed 10 April 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kampala>.

Uganda is a landlocked country across the equator in Eastern Africa bordering Lake Victoria in south east. South Sudan borders Uganda in the north, Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west, Kenya to the east, and Rwanda and Tanzania in the south. The country occupies an area of 241,551 square kilometers. Uganda is slightly smaller than the UK or slightly smaller than the state of Oregon. The country’s highest point is Margherita Peak on Mount Stanley (5,110 meters), a mountain located in the Rwenzori range within Rwenzori National Park. Uganda has a population of 42 million people, making it the world’s second most populous landlocked country after Ethiopia. The largest and capital city is Kampala, and the airport is Entebbe. Uganda has had her fair share of instability after independence in 1962 through 1986 including other

insurgences emerging and the last one was defeated in 2012. Specifically, the research will concentrate on lake Albert in the western rift valley where oil and gas were discovered. Lake Albert lies in the western Rift Valley and is shared between Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo.

Summary and Conclusion

The research seeks to establish the impacts of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda. Most developing countries have experienced instability and unrest upon the discovery of the resource. By so doing, it will make recommendations for Uganda which recently discovered commercial exploitable oil and gas, so Uganda can avoid the resource curse. Hardman Petroleum Pty Ltd discovered significant oil and gas reserves in Uganda for commercial exploitation in 2006 by (Kuteesa 2015, 1). After passing the commercial threshold of oil discoveries in 2009, the industry shifted from small-sized *wildcat* exploration companies and oil independents to include large-sized oil majors keen on development and production. The primary research question remains: what are the effects of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda? The required secondary questions are: what is the role of security forces in relation to oil and gas exploration and how will Uganda react to security challenges emerging because of oil and gas exploration? Three African countries will be studied; Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan to exam key lessons learned so that these mistakes can be avoided by Uganda.

National security is the security of a nation state, including its citizens, economy, and institutions, which is regarded as a duty of government. Originally conceived as protection against military attack, national security is now widely understood to include security for the domain, land, air, water, and space as well as security from terrorism,

crime, economic. The Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) is mandated by its constitution to protect and defend the territorial integrity of Uganda.

The platform for reviewing literature that will provide the study with relevant facts from other scholars on the subject in question, include: Background, definition of national security, conceptual framework, study questions, problem statement, and significance of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is on available literature which informs the study. The purpose of a literature review is to contextualize and collate the available works of other scholars about the topic. The research is on the impacts of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda. In trying to address the research questions, the following will be analyzed: the effects of oil and gas exploration on Uganda's national security, economic insecurity, land issues, insecurity and conflicts and lastly, the use of the military.

The presence of substantial amounts of oil and gas reserves in some countries intensifies conflict. Where there is already ethnic fractional strife, competition for resource revenue exacerbates it, as past and present experience demonstrates in Angola, Nigeria, and Iraq. Resource abundance tends to be associated with greater frequency or duration of civil war. A study by scholars (Rice, Graff, and Lewis 2006, 4), indicates that civil war erupts in countries suffering from persistent poverty or sharp economic decline. Although the discovery of oil creates a sense of hope and expectation that the revenue would lead to the development of local communities and the country, in most cases, this expectation has remained illusionary as the exploration and production of the resources has led to the destruction of local communities' livelihoods and the environment in oil-producing developing countries. The expected development gains from large scale development projects often fail to materialize for the affected communities, thus exacerbating instead of reducing tensions (Switzer 2002, 5). Evidence around the world suggests that whether a community or country benefits from its discovery of oil and gas

is a function of the global position of the oil-producing country in question. In most cases, local communities of oil and gas producing nations in the highly developed worlds seem to derive more blessings from the discovery and exploration in comparison to those in the less developed countries.

A typical example in this regard is the country of Norway. Norway was the poorest country in Scandinavia at the end of the 1960s but had by the end of 1990 had become the wealthiest. This was attributed to oil discovery in late 1969 (Switzer 2002). Other smaller countries that wisely managed their of discovery of oil and gas are Malaysia and Mauritius (Useem 2003). Also, according to Useem, Venezuela is a typical example of a natural resource curse because its per capita income today is lower than the 1960s before it discovered oil and gas. According to Lavella (2013), Hugo Chavez's fourteen-year rule as President consolidated power over oil resources that are deemed the largest in the world. He left a weakened nation struggling with shortages of housing, food, goods, and electricity, along with high inflation and rampant crime. Other countries facing the same challenges of the resource curse include Nigeria, Angola, Chad, Gabon, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan. The Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan share borders with Uganda to the west and north respectively and are both unstable. Rwanda closed its border with Uganda in February 2019, accusing Uganda of supporting forces to destabilize it, which makes the regional situation fragile.

The current low-level insurgency in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria has direct linkages to the mismanagement of petroleum sector revenues in Nigeria. The insurgency is fomented by the general neglect of the areas where the petroleum resource is in terms of development and environmental degradation. Nigeria is the thirteenth largest exporter

of oil in the world, exporting 1.9 million barrels per day. It has the second largest proven oil reserves in Africa and the tenth in the world. Despite this, Nigeria had a GDP per capita of \$5,900 USD, ranking it as the 166th country in the world while 70 percent of Nigeria's population lived below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency 2017). Nevertheless, Nigeria's large population cannot be an excuse or even a factor in explaining the vast disparities between her and the other two countries discussed in terms of their GDP per capita. The disparity is most likely the result of corruption, general mismanagement of the resources, instability, and lack of political will to make better policies for managing the resources. It is against this background that this research is conducted into the impacts of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda, a land locked country in Eastern Africa that recently discovered oil and gas in commercial quantities.

Uganda is a landlocked country located in Eastern central Africa region. Hardman petroleum, Pty Ltd, in 2006, discovered significant oil and gas reserves for commercial exploitation in Uganda (Kuteesa 2015, 1). After passing the commercial threshold of oil discoveries in 2009, the industry shifted from companies that promote unsafe and unreliable enterprises—known as small-sized, *wildcat* exploration companies—and oil independents to major large-sized oil corporations intent on development and production. These large-sized oil corporations include Tullow Oil, a British oil independent with a strong track record for frontier success; Total SA, a French oil corporation with nearly unparalleled technical expertise and operational experience; and China National Off Shore Oil Corporation Ltd (CNOOC), a Chinese state oil giant with sizable capital (Patey 2015, 9). By the end of 2013, Uganda's proven oil and gas reserves were estimated by the

Ugandan Petroleum Exploration and Production Department to be 6.5 billion barrels, which are expected to yield at least \$2 billion per year for thirty years once oil production commences in 2022 (Kuteesa 2014, 3). Uganda's oil production is expected to reach heights of between 200,000 and 250,000 bpd based on current discoveries and has the potential to be mid-level African producer, comparable with present day levels of Equatorial Guinea and Gabon.

The discovery and exploration of oil and gas in Uganda comes with both optimism and pessimism: optimism that it will jump-start the economy from a least developed country (LDC) to the much anticipated, middle-income nation (MIN), and pessimism that it will lead to a resource curse. Either way, it will impinge on the National Security as well as Regional Security since Uganda is an important security actor both in East Africa and the Great Lakes Region (GLR).

National Security

According to TriumphIAS (2018), National security is the security of a nation state, including its citizens, economy, and institutions, which is regarded as a duty of government. Originally conceived as protection against military attack, national security is now widely understood to include non-military dimensions, including the security from terrorism, crime, economic security, energy security, environmental security, food security, cyber security etc. Similarly, national security risks include, in addition to the actions of other nation states, action by violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, and multinational corporations, and the effects of natural disasters. Governments rely on a range of measures, including political, economic, and military power, as well as diplomacy to safeguard the security of the nation state. They may also act to build the

conditions of security regionally and internationally by reducing transnational causes of insecurity, such as climate change, economic inequality, political exclusion, and nuclear proliferation.

Barry Buzan's concept of security

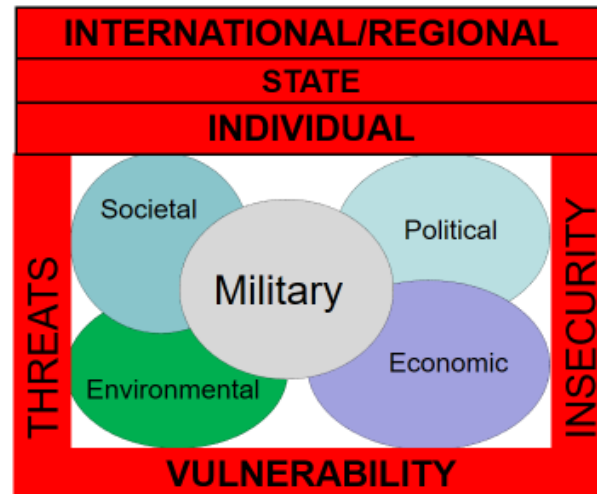


Figure 4. Comprehensive Security Framework

Source: Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, 1998, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 5-10.

This study is based on the Buzan concept of security noted in figure 4. From the framework, national power ensures strength of the political, military, economic, societal, and environmental sectors of security. Military power is the traditional currency of world politics according to Realist theorists who emphasize it because, in their view, the international system is structured above all by security and survival. Military security is about relationship of forceful coercion and concerns armed offensive and defensive capabilities of a state, and its perception of neighbor's intentions.

However, neo-liberalists have challenged the emphasis of traditional notion in favor of economic security where, due to globalization, nations relate through trade instead of force. Economic power underpins military power, as wealthy nations can sustain big military forces, well equipped to fight expensive wars, if necessary. Buzan stated the economic sector is about relationship of trade, production, and finance that enables a country to facilitate security of other sectors and as such, economic security therefore involves ability to acquire resources, finance, and markets to maintain desired levels of national power and welfare. “A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war (Lippmann 1997).” “The distinctive meaning of national security means freedom from foreign dictatorship (Lasswell 1950, 259).”

Many scholars argue that it is not possible to exhaustively discuss national security without analyzing insecurity, threats, and vulnerabilities. This is so because the maneuvers by one state to increase her security capabilities may be interpreted by another as a threat to her security. Similarly, possession of certain resources such as oil and gas, and other minerals lead to vulnerability since the neighboring nations may be tempted to come for them. Buzan (1983) argues that, this finally breeds a security complex whereby a group of states whose primary security concerns link sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.

Oil and Gas Exploration on Economic Security

Algeria, Nigeria, and Angola produced respectively 1.1 million, 2 million and 1.8 million barrels of oil and gas per day on average in 2009 (Benghida 2017, 906). These state-owned companies faced tough challenges in maintaining their hydrocarbon

production and attracting foreign investment. They had to find new markets for their exports of light crude because of the shale oil boom in the United States and the collapse of US imports. Unlike the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which the sole purpose is the measurement of the price of household goods and services, the strategy of a National Petroleum Council (NPC) is more complex because it must be in line with the country's political priorities and generate financial revenues for supply the state coffers while producing positive externalities for citizens (Benghida 2017, 906). These NPCs can also be used in the service of a clan, a party or even a family.

This plurality of objectives tends to complicate the financial planning of the country and hampers the deployment of a long-term development strategy. This resulted in a lot of tension between the central governments and citizens; it has been the common source of insecurity within those nations and causing instabilities. One can argue that if oil and gas were not in those countries, they would be more stable than they are today because of the friction and tension it has created among citizens (Benghida 2017, 907). This serves as an eye opener to Uganda and other countries which are about to start drilling oil and gas to ensure proper planning financially, politically and have long term development strategy to avoid such insecurities, instabilities, and internal conflicts in order to turn the fortune into a blessing rather than a curse.

Sudan also is another example of a country whose discovery of oil and gas was not positively reflected on her economy. It was a British colony, attained independence in 1959 and enjoyed peace for only eleven years before it erupted into violent conflict and its story is no different from the rest of the developing countries with oil and gas resources. Since exploration of oil and gas began in 1959, the oil and gas industry has not

backed the economy of the dry North African state. Oil and gas were also key in the decades-long conflict that embroiled the Islamic north, and the Christian south, where both sides fought over prime oilfields located strategically along the borderline (Jadallah 2019, 2).

According to Khalid Siddig (2012, 738), oil, agriculture, and development are complex, interrelated, and overlapping issues in most oil contributing countries, and the situation becomes more complicated if it involves politics and peace building. The Central Bank of Sudan's performance reports throughout 1999-2010 depicted GDP changes throughout four sectors: An increased contribution in the oil sector from 2 percent in 1999 to 21 percent in 2007, and declining average contribution of 9 percent in 2008-2010; a decline in the agriculture sector from 50 percent in 1999 to 31 percent in 2008-2010; only slight changes in construction, electricity, water, and manufacturing; and an increased contribution in services.

During the period between 2003 to 2010, the contribution of oil to export revenue was more than 90 percent, implying the economy was becoming more dependent on the export of oil product. Moreover, the insignificant increase in the export value of non-oil products indicates that oil did not play a positive role in developing other non-oil products (Gadkarim 2010). Siddig (2012) argued the other economic variable affected by oil discovery was taxation. Government revenue also witnessed radical changes due to the evolving production and exportation of oil resources. The contribution of tax revenue to government income between 1997 and 1999 was about 75 percent with non-tax contributing only 25 percent, but the share of non-taxable revenue expanded at the expense of proceeds after the extraction of oil.

Although Sudan lost most of its oil fields and revenue after the south seceded in 2011, it continues to control the only pipeline for the south to transport its oil to international market. While some community members said the oil and gas business had helped to develop the area by building schools, water stations, and health centers, others complained that the schools and water stations did not follow proper formal procedures and were not linked with the country's official institutions (Jadallah 2019, 5). Other villagers complained of forced displacement from their homes to a nearby village being constructed by the industry to move them away from the oil drilling locations. The tribe lives in small camps of household groups, which traditionally migrate with their herds from the north to the south to follow the rainy seasons. But when the oil companies came, they built drilling sites, pipelines and roadbeds on the tribe's farmland and grazing areas (Jadallah 2019, 15). There has been fighting over the revenue collected from oil exportations, it has been characterized by self-enrichment by those in authority. This has torn the population into those in national coffers and poor citizens, those living in camps have become a source of insecurity to the nation.

According to Stewart (2012), natural resource revenues have also been linked to slow economic growth rates, inequality, and poverty. One culprit may be the so-called *Dutch Disease*, whereby resource revenues raise a country's exchange rate, hurting competitiveness in non-resource sectors. Other factors may include the volatility associated with commodity prices, which can have negative impacts on weak-state economies; and the underdevelopment of agricultural and manufacturing sectors during boom periods in resource-based economies. And even when oil abundance produces high growth, it often benefits only a few corrupt elites rather than translating into higher living

standards for most of the population. Oil-rich Angola is a case in point. Despite having one of the world's highest growth rates from 2005 to 2010, averaging some 17 percent annually, its score on the human development index (HDI) remained a miserable 0.49, and its infant mortality rate (one in every thirteen children die before the age of five) was lower than the sub-Saharan African average (Stewart 2012).

Oil and Gas Exploration on Security

Nigeria is Africa's largest oil producing nation, producing as many as 2 million barrels per day. Oil revenue alone makes up over 70 percent of the Nigerian government's income and provides more than 90 percent of its foreign exchange (Sejpal, Wagacha, and Baru 2017).

Security in Nigeria remains a high priority due to continued crude oil theft and criminality in parts of the Niger Delta with persisting incidents of criminality, kidnapping, and sabotage as well as onshore and offshore piracy. Although there has been no damage to key oil and gas infrastructure caused by militant activity since November 2016, the security situation remains volatile in this region of the country. Facilities operated by both indigenous and international oil and gas companies continue to be affected by attacks and other illegal activities such as crude oil theft. Boko Haram, an insurgency group in North eastern Nigeria, affects oil and gas exploration by scaring away potential investors. Although it is not clear, whether the insurgency started because of oil and gas, they have been kidnapping oil and gas companies' employees hence affecting production (Campbell 2017).

Since the end the cold war, the resource abundance, particularly when that resource is oil has been blamed for many civil wars in developing countries, and for

political instability in the Middle East (Cotet and Tsui 2003, 49). The puzzle is intensified by another popular argument for the oil curse - oil wealth enhances the stability and durability of authoritarian regimes because it strengthens dictators by funding patronage and repressive apparatuses (Cotet and Tsui 2003, 137).

Many studies of the relationship between natural resources and civil war, using cross-country comparisons, argue that there is a robust statistical association between oil wealth and civil war onset. It was found that natural resource dependence has a positive effect on the onset and duration of civil war at low levels of natural resource dependence, and a negative effect at high levels of natural resource dependence. High levels of oil dependence, however, increase the risk of civil war (Collier and Hoeffler 2004, 569).

However, these findings are challenged by Fearon (2003, 75), who attributes the results to omitted variables, such as weakness of the economy. Using improved measures of oil and diamond deposits, however, Humphreys and Ross argued that resource abundance has a robust positive effect on civil war onset (Humphreys 2005, 508; Ross 2012, 2). Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2009, 61) challenge the earlier findings by political scientists and argue the correlation should be interpreted as conflict increases dependence on resource extraction, which are broadly consistent with Besley and Persson's findings (2009, 292), whose results indicate that a high level of oil exports does not systematically affect political violence.

According to Hirshleifer (1988, 76) and Aslaksen and Torvik (2006, 108), most empirical studies of oil and gas conflict are motivated by various models of rent-seeking contests, which predict that disputes are more likely to result in civil war when the appropriable rents are large). In other words, conflict is inspired either by greed or self

and own-group preservation. The *booty futures* version of the greed mechanism asserts that oil reserves matter because revenues can be raised in advance to gain control of them (Ross 2012, 2). According to Humphreys (2005), political scientists have proposed several rival mechanisms. For instance, the *grievance* mechanism is believed to trigger conflict because of resource-induced inequality. A related mechanism is the *weak state* mechanism, through which oil extraction weakens the state because governments that rely on natural resources have less incentive to create strong bureaucratic institutions (Fearon and Laitin 2003, 75). Among the many frustrations in development, perhaps none looms larger than the *resource curse*. Aberrantly, the worst development outcomes—measured in poverty, inequality, and deprivation - are often found in those countries with the greatest natural resource endowments. Rather than contributing to freedom, broadly shared growth, and social peace, rich deposits of oil and minerals have often brought tyranny, misery, and insecurity to these nations. Fortunately, as Terra Lawson-Remer pointed out in a new CFR memo, all is not lost. There are concrete steps the international community can take to help break this curse and turn it into a blessing (Patrick 2012).

The correlation between energy dependence and authoritarianism is clear. “There are twenty-three countries in the world that derive at least 60 percent of their exports from oil and gas and not a single one is a real democracy,” observes Larry Diamond of Stanford University in the *Journal of Democracy*, March 2010. There are numerous hypotheses to account for this correlation, as noted in his book, *Weak Links: Fragile States Global Threats and International Security* (Patrick 2010). Most obviously, easy resource revenues eliminate a critical link of accountability between government and

citizens, by reducing incentives to tax other productive activity and use the revenue to deliver social services effectively. The same revenues also generate staggering wealth that facilitates corruption and patronage networks. Together, they consolidate the power of entrenched elites and regime supporters, sharpening income inequality and stifling political reform. The history of the oil-rich, Arab Middle East has long been a case in point—with Saudi Arabia as exhibit A (Patrick 2012).

The very presence of oil and gas resources within developing countries exacerbates the risk of violent conflict. There is a long list of civil conflicts fought at least in part for control of oil and gas resources is long. A partial list would include Nigeria, Angola, Burma, Papua New Guinea (Bougainville), Chad, Pakistan (Balochistan), and of course Sudan. Stewart noted that, “Econometric studies confirm that the risk of civil war greatly increases when countries depend on the export of primary commodities, particularly fossil fuels (Stewart 2012).” At least three factors could explain this correlation. First, the prospect of resource rents may be an incentive to rebel or secede. Second, wealth from resources may enable rebel groups to finance their operations. Third, the high levels of corruption, extortion, and poor governance that accompany resource wealth often generate grievances leading to rebellion (Patrick 2012).”

Although Kuwait is not the focus of this paper, it turns out to be an example of a country where a neighbor was tempted to invade because of its natural resources, having underestimated its security to retaliate. Kuwait, on the other hand, was invaded by Iraq in 1990 because of its oil reserves but weak security apparatus. If not for the intervention of the United States-led UN coalition, Kuwait would be one of the provinces of Iraq. The Emir of Kuwait, his family, and other government leaders fled to Saudi Arabia, and

within hours Kuwait City had been captured and the Iraqis had established a provincial government. By annexing Kuwait, Iraq gained control of 20 percent of the world's oil reserves in a big geopolitical gamble, and for the first time gained a substantial coastline on the Persian Gulf until the coalition forces ousted the Iraqi Republican Guard (History 2020).

Oil and Gas Exploration on Land Issues

According to Leben and Makalle (2014), the formal end of fighting in Sudan provided oil companies a golden opportunity to intensify the search for and exploitation of oil in many parts of southern Sudan. As a result, the government and oil companies have been reaping enormous benefits. Oil has become a huge blessing for the political and bureaucratic elites controlling the government machinery in the country. However, some of the poorest people in the country are those in the oil-bearing areas. For them, oil has remained a curse as benefits from oil activities continue to be elusive. There has been wrongs, such as uncompensated dispossession of land and forceful acquisition of land by government agencies. Thus, the negative consequences of oil development have caused deep resentment against oil companies in many oil-rich parts of Southern Sudan. In any oil-producing area where active exploitation is ongoing, one is often confronted with persistent complaints from local people about poor management of "land" (Leben and Makalle 2014, 82).

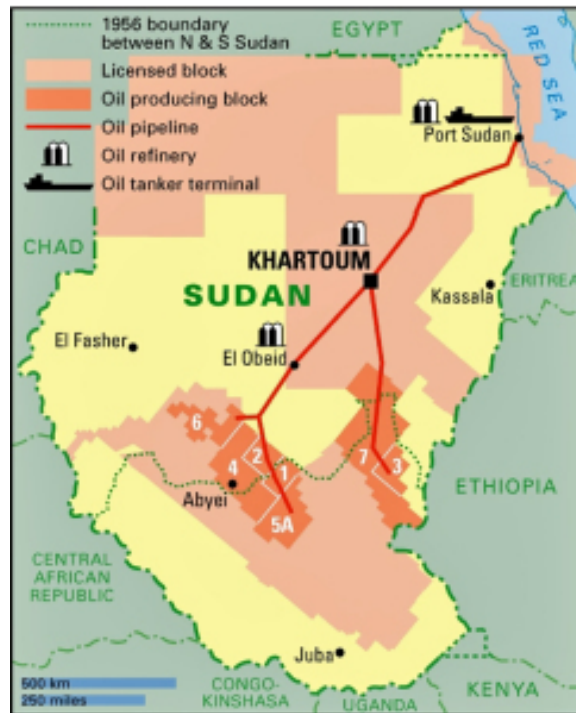


Figure 5. Oil Rich Regions of the Sudan

Source: Cartos Library, “Sudan Oil Map,” 2012, accessed 3 May 2020. https://cartoslibrary.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/sudan-oil_map.jpg?w=242&h=300.

In Nigeria, it is common knowledge that the Nigerian economy runs on oil, and this valuable natural resource is only found and exploited in the Niger Delta region of the country (Ebeku 2002, 201). This region, populated by ethnic minorities, is in the southern part of the country. As is the case with some oil-producing countries, various Nigerian statutory (and constitutional) provisions vest all the natural resources of the country in the State. The implication of this is that the State has the sole right to receive oil revenue (rents, taxes, and royalties) (Ebeku 2002, 212). Prior to 1978, the land tenure system of the southern part of Nigeria (as distinct from the system in the northern part) was based on various systems of customary laws; essentially, families and communities mostly owned land. The result was that while oil is vested in the State, the land from which it

was exploited was vested in various families/communities (Udoekanem, Adoga, and Onwumere 2014, 185). As a result of this, oil multinational companies, which had obtained appropriate mining license were obliged to approach the owners of the lands involved, to gain access into the land. In this way, the customary landowners participated somehow in the exploitation of oil resource as they are usually paid compensation (annual rent) for granting access. Additionally, they received compensation for any damage occasioned to the land as a result of the activities of the oil companies, and this included damage to any crops or other property and also to the land itself (Ebeku 2002, 212). However, in 1978 a Military Government promulgated a real property law, called the Land Use Act (the law was made, and is still part of the Nigerian constitution). This law (extending the existing position in the northern part of the country) vests “all land” in the country in the State, thereby divesting the customary owners of their original title. In consequence of this, oil companies no longer approach the families/communities for a right of access to land (which they now get through the State) (Ebeku 2002, 203). This has created a lot of tension between the southern minority and northerners as they view this move as a way of denying them their land use and enabling northerners to exploit them.

Oil and Gas Exploration and Military Involvement

In Nigeria, confidential memos, faxes, witness statements and other documents, released in 2009, show that Shell Oil Company regularly paid the military to stop the peaceful protest movement against the pollution, even helping to plan raids on villages suspected of opposing the company (Vidal 2011). According to Ogoni activists, several thousand people were killed in the 1990s, and many more fled that wave of terror that

took place in the 1990s. In 2009, in a New York federal court, that evidence never saw light during the trial. Shell was accused of collaborating with the state in the execution of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and other leaders of the Ogoni tribe in 1995. Instead, Shell paid \$15.5m (£9.6m) to the eight families in settlement. Among the documents was a 1994 letter from Shell agreeing to pay a unit of the Nigerian army to retrieve a truck, an action that left one Ogoni man dead and two wounded (Vanguard 2018). According to Brian Anderson, the director of Shell Nigeria during those years, said in 2009, after the New York settlement, the company had “played no part in any military operations against the Ogoni people, or any other communities in the Niger Delta, and we have never been approached for financial or logistical support for any action”. But he conceded that Shell had paid the military on two occasions (Business and Human Rights Resource Centre 2011).

The Nigeria joint task force (JTF), comprised of personnel from the Nigerian Army, Air Force, Navy, and police, have continuously been deployed in the Niger Delta region since the early 2000s. The JTF is tasked with tracking the militant threat in the region and preventing theft (Transparency International 2019). From the aforementioned submission, it is clearly noted that there is tremendous military involvement in the oil sector in Nigeria.

In Sudan, the government heavily relies on the regular army and Islamist militias for protection of oil fields. These forces were increasingly brought to the oil concession areas of GNPOC and Lundin starting in 1999. Before the inauguration of pipeline in Sudan, the government deployed two brigades and youth to protect the pipeline (Human Watch Rights 2003, 175-176). With the recent forced removal of President Bashir and the

Army in charge of the country, uncertainty about Sudan's plans for oil bid rounds have increased coupled with deployments of the military to the oil fields (OilPrice 2020).

Other factors influencing the risk instability during oil and gas exploration include, recent instability, institutional constituency, economic openness, risk category, neighborhood security to mention but a few as tabulated below. According to Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, and Gurr (2012), the underlisted factors that influence political insanity were identified in a given country.

Factor	Domain	Description
Recent Instability	Political	A ranking of recent instability implies that the country has been coded by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF) as having experienced instability events as at the end of 2009 (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, and Gurr 2012, 13, 16).
Institutional Consistency	Political	Institutional consistency refers to the extent to which the institutions comprising a country's political system are uniformly and consistently autocratic or democratic. Political institutions with a mix of democratic and autocratic features are inconsistent, a common attribute of polities in the midst of a democratic transition. Based on a series of findings reported in the academic literature, we expect regimes with inconsistent institutions to be more likely to experience political instability (Gurr 1974; Gates et al. 2006; Hegre et al. 2001).
Economic Openness	Economic	Economic openness is the extent to which a country's economy is integrated with the global economy. Countries that are more tightly connected to global markets have been found to experience less instability (Hegre et al. 2003; Goldstone et al. 2000).
Risk Category	Security	The placing of states in risk categories is based on risk scores. The risk score provides a three-year forecast of the relative risk of experiencing instability. The computation of this score is from a statistical model, which uses global data from 1950 to 2003. This with data from 2009 was used in arriving at the forecast for 2010-2012 (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, and Gurr 2012, 17).
Neighbourhood Security (war)	Security	The likelihood of political instability in a state increases substantially when a neighbouring state is currently experiencing armed conflict. This risk is especially acute when ethnic or other communal groups span across borders. A number of studies have shown that neighbourhood conflict is a significant predictor of political instability (Sambanis 2001; Hegre and Sambanis 2006; Goldstone et al. 2005).

Source: J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr, *Peace and Conflict 2012 Executive Summary*, ed. Birger Heldt (College Park, MD: University of Maryland, 2012), 6, accessed 28 December 2019, https://cidcm.umd.edu/sites/cidcm.umd.edu/files/exec_sum_2012.pdf.

Summary and Conclusion

Oil and gas exploration plus drilling are synonymous with heavy military deployments in those oil fields. Revenues from oil proceeds have been used in most cases to create military mightiness in each state studied as a case study. In general, the discovery and exploration of oil and gas in most Third World countries has been labelled *the oil curse* - where nations with oil have had negative effects on development instead of

the much anticipated development, leading to the *irony of oil wealth* or the *resource curse*. Despite the potential of petro-dollars, it's paradoxical to note that a reasonable number of third world nations especially in Africa, have failed to turn the so-called curse into a fortune. It has not only worsened their national security by attracting resource-based conflicts but has also led to corrupt regimes that tend to exploit the oil wealth at the expense of impoverished local citizens.

The biggest risk of oil and gas discovery in developing nations as termed as *oil curse* phenomenon that has seen developing countries which are oil-rich slip into negative development growth as a result of failure to properly manage their oil and gas resources which in turn leads to insecurity. Most of the focus in these studies is on the production phase and indeed the *curse* seems to be tied to the revenues that come from the oil and gas once production has started.

Exploration of oil and gas in many third world countries have been interpreted as a curse based on the insecurity it brings to a nation with it. It poses a security threat to locals due to tensions developed amongst citizens, border conflicts and international threat due to many international oil companies operating within oil-rich states/ regions.

Discovery of oil and gas in Uganda first started in the early 1920s by the English government geologist, E. J. Wayland. Exploration could not take place because of World War II, colonial struggles, and later instability in Uganda. Commercial oil and gas exploration were revived in 2006 by Hardman Petroleum Pty Ltd. This research is about examining what occurred during the oil discovery and exploration phase and how this either contributes or not to the already predicted *oil curse* should production begin. Although this is not exhaustive, in that it focuses mainly on the issue of security, the

status of affairs can be indicative of what can be expected in the future, given that security at community, subnational, and national levels is a principal tenet in national development.

As such, the exploration of oil presents both an economic security potential as far as petro-dollars are concerned but also insecurity due the security complex in the Great Lakes region as well as a vulnerability in terms of geopolitics as a shared resource with the Africa's second largest but most unstable nation—DRC. The overriding importance of economic prosperity to leverage economic security is the ultimate target for Uganda's efforts in exploration of oil. Not only will this be a precursor for economic security but also will serve as a rallying concept for collective and regional security.

Therefore, this research will contribute to the body of literature on the *oil curse* by tracing the problems associated with oil and gas exploration on security while providing solutions for Uganda. The chapter is literature review which studied the works of other scholars on the subject matter. The review particularly looked at a few countries including Nigeria, Algeria, Sudan, etc. paying specific attention to national security, oil, and gas exploration on land issues, economic, security, and military involvement. This sets a stage for chapter 3 which is methodology.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This research is on the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda. The major objective is to analyze the relationship between national security and oil and gas exploration since most countries with the resource in the third world face security challenges. The researcher uses the following variables to answer the research question: national security, economic security, environmental security, and military involvement. Three major African countries producing oil and gas are studied. They are Angola, Nigeria, and Sudan. The results from this study will inform the research to help Uganda and other oil producing countries to make better decisions. Chapter 1 presented the background, problem statement and the significance of the study, chapter reviewed the literature of other scholars on the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security. Chapter 3 is the methodology employed to conduct the research. The researcher will use qualitative methodology. Documents and case studies will be studied, and they are enough to complete the research. Chapter 4 is data analysis while chapter 5 are the recommendations and conclusion.

Research Design

As noted by Ellen Taylor-Powell and Marcus Renner, in a qualitative research, data could come from many people, a few individuals, or a single case (Taylor-Powell and Renner 2003). This research is a qualitative case study using secondary sources of information on Angola, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda, and Norway. The qualitative study will

be done using the variables identified in chapter 2. These variables are now grouped under three major areas: national security, economic security, land issues, and military involvement.

According to Crossman (2020), qualitative research is defined as the type of social science that collects and works with non-numerical data, and that seeks to interpret meaning from these data, that help to understand social life, through the study of targeted population of places. It focuses on examining subjective data, with the intention of gaining insight and knowledge about the subject studied. It is also interpretive or responsive and usually inductive; it formulates an idea using observations and seeks to describe the situation, creating better understanding, which could result in improvements and sees truth as bound by the context (Crossman 2020).

Qualitative research data is made up of words and observations as opposed to numbers. These require analysis and interpretation to make them meaningful and understandable and this calls for creativity, discipline, and a systematic approach. There are several ways of going about this, the method chosen is dependent on the questions the researcher wants to answer, the needs of the intended audience and the resources of the researcher (Taylor-Powell and Renner 2003). These also determine the data collection methods and the sources used. Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) argued that working with qualitative data is a rich and enlightening experience. The more you practice it, the easier and more rewarding it becomes. As a scientist and an artist, it involves critical analytical thinking and creative innovative perspectives.

Crossman argued that qualitative research has its benefits and drawbacks. Some of the benefits include the creation of an in depth understanding of the attitudes,

behaviors, interactions, events, and social processes that comprise everyday life. In so doing, it helps social scientists to understand how everyday life is influenced by society-wide things like social structure, social order and all the kinds of social forces. However, because of its limited scope, its findings are not always generalized. Researchers are always advised to use it cautiously to ensure they do not significantly influence the data and not bring undue personal biases to the interpretation of the findings. Figure 5 below shows the procedural flow of qualitative research process.

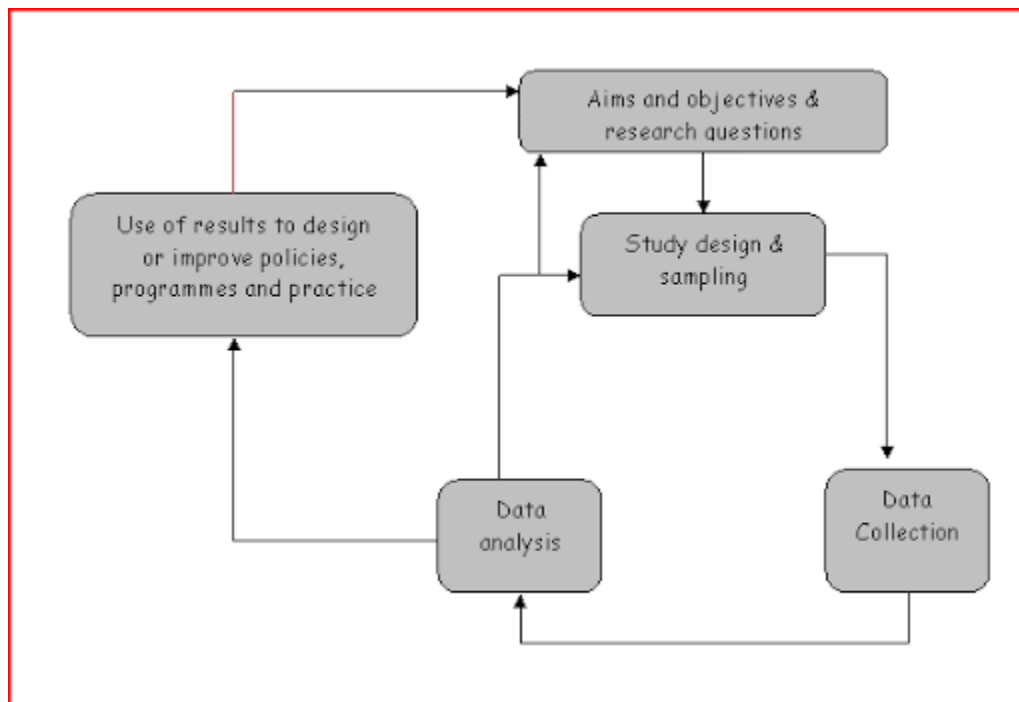


Figure 6. Iterative Qualitative Research Process

Source: Educational Research Network for West and Central Africa, “What is Qualitative Research?” n.d., accessed 1 April 2020, <http://www.ernwaca.org/panaf/RQ/en/definition.php>.

The above model excerpt from qualitative research reflects the flow of this thesis. The paper will flow as the above model indicates, from introduction and background, aims, objectives and researched questions are in chapter one. Chapter two covers the work of other researchers, chapter three is methodology of data collection, which is case studies and other written documents review. In chapter four the researcher will analyze the data, while chapter five will be recommendations and conclusion.

Data Collection and Sources

According to Taylor-Powell and Renner, there are several methods of producing narrative data which will require analysis to fulfil the objectives of research. These include open-ended questions and written comments on questionnaires, testimonials, and individual interviews. Others are discussion group or focus group interviews, logs, journals, diaries, and observations. The rest are documents, reports and news articles, stories, and case studies (Taylor-Powell and Renner 2003). Data for this research will come from research and working papers with key sources from Tullow-America and the U.S. Army War College. Specifically, content analysis will be employed to analyze and interpret words and images from documents, art and even media.

Data Analysis and Presentation

In analyzing the data collected, information was used from such sources as Richard Dowden's, *Africa, Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*, an in-depth study of the challenges confronting several African countries, and Michael L. Ross's book, *Oil Curse, How Petroleum Shapes the Development of Nations*, a comprehensive study of the oil curse. *Escaping the Oil Curse*, edited by Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and

Joseph E. Stiglitz will also be used. The research also relied extensively on online journals, articles, and reports by reputable organizations such as the United Nations, the New York Times, and Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment. Other sources include the Oil and Gas Journal, African Affairs, African Development Review, and more. Information from these sources are analyzed in chapter four, and the findings were presented in chapter five.

The analysis of the relevant information gathered from the secondary sources were done using the case study method. The case study method uses a comprehensive and systematic examination of a single aspect of a phenomenon. It uses as much information as possible to ensure that little is missed and is suitable for either for illuminating a situation or phenomenon such that further investigation can be done. It is also useful for testing previous findings in the field (Coleman and Ringrose 2013, 2). Researcher Robert K. Yin defines case studies as an empirical inquiry using multiple sources of evidence to investigate contemporary phenomena within their real-life when no clear boundaries are evident between the phenomena and the context (Yin 1984, 23).

The case studies concentrated only on the areas that answered the primary and secondary research questions using the four major variables of national security, economic inequality, land issues/grabbing, and military involvement in the oil sector. The variables used were widely agreed on among researchers as important to any forecast on stability (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, and Gurr 2012, 4-5). National security according to Paleri (2008, 449) is the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome a multidimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation state at any given time, by balancing all the institutions of the state policy through

governance, and is extendable to global security by variables external to it (Curry 2015). It will be based on the on the study by Araee (2016) that scores each country based on the effectiveness and legitimacy of four dimensions: Security, political, economic, and social.

The dependency variable measures the effects of discovery and exploration of oil and gas on countries under review. The study states that research into the impact of natural resource dependence on economic performance indicates that they affect average long run incomes (cause and effect relationship). This is only to the degree that they affect the quality of the institutional environment. It measures the effects of variables on institutional quality in a country using Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) as argued by Kaufmann (2010). The indicators highlight various aspects of governance and are voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption (De Rosa and Iooty 2012, 9). The measuring of the indicators will be done using critical, high, moderate, and low valuation based on each assessment. The table below shows factors studied in respective counties and the impact on national security.

Table 2. Risk Levels in the Studied Countries				
	Algeria	Nigeria	Sudan	Uganda
National Security				
Land Conflict/Grabbing				
Economic Security				
Military Involvement				

Source: Created by the author. The table scores the risk levels in the studied countries using the studied factors.

In chapter four, the results of the analysis of these variables will be used to conduct the analysis of the case study. This will be done one main variable after the other, for each of the main variables, three countries—Angola, Nigeria, and Sudan—will be looked at simultaneously. This analysis will inform the conclusions drawn about the phenomena, which will lead to the conclusions and recommendations in chapter 5.

Reliability and Validity of Data

Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) posit that for a researcher to avoid personal biases influencing the results of his/her analysis, the researcher should use several sources of data, track their choices, and involve others (Taylor-Powell and Renner 2003). This research will seek to satisfy the five-step analysis process of get to know your data; focus the analysis; categorize the information; identify patterns and connections within and between categories; and interpretation, which bring it all together (Taylor-Powell and Renner 2003). The reliability of the information will be enhanced using multiple credible sources using data from previously published studies. The approach to analysis of this research is descriptive since it relied on qualitative research methods.

A comparative analysis of the three African countries which are the focus of the study, Angola, Nigeria, and Sudan, will be adopted throughout. This will enhance the understanding of the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security. It will also indicate the possibility of the trends, identified in the other three African countries, occurring in Uganda. It will thus enable the researcher to answer the primary and secondary research questions.

Summary and Conclusion

The research is on the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security using Uganda's case. It will take a qualitative design approach. The focus was on secondary data collection, i.e. document review and comparative case studies. Accordingly, in qualitative researches, these methodologies have been identified as adequate for data gathering to answer stated research questions within the limited time to conduct the study. This chapter covered the introduction, research design, and data collection sources. It goes on to cover data analysis and presentation, and later alone tackles the factors influencing the risk of instability and concludes with the reliability of data. This set the stage for chapter 4 which is data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents and describes the study based on the research objectives which seek to analyze the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda and presents the results of the analysis. It will also assess Uganda's posturing to avoid the security crises currently existing in other oil-rich countries, especially in Africa. The research looks at this from the security point of view using qualitative design. Chapter one gave the background to the problem, the primary and secondary research questions, and the significance of the study. Chapter two reviewed studies conducted by other scholars, institutions, and academicians into the impacts of oil and gas on national security. Chapter three described the methodology this research will apply, stating and discussing the variables used for the analysis. The research is a qualitative analysis using written documents and case studies from the three oil-rich countries of Angola, Nigeria, and Sudan. Carefully studied case studies from these countries will inform this research and draw lessons for Uganda.

The chapter reviews the captioned countries in terms of economic security, environmental security, and military involvement. Whereas some countries discovered oil and gas that assisted them to jump from poor to rich countries, others are not only unstable, but also their populace poor and with untold suffering. This research seeks the explanation for this and discusses it in the subsequent pages to prepare Uganda for the challenge.

Uganda

Uganda, officially known as the Republic of Uganda, a former British colony, has had its fair share of instability and conflicts in the region compared to its neighbors, Kenya, and the United Republic of Tanzania. Uganda has not been at peace for a long time (Peace Insight 2020). Coup d'états brought about changes in Uganda's government through 1986. The most prominent among them was in 1971 when Major General Idi Amin, Uganda's Army commander, overthrew Apollo Milton Obote while he attended a commonwealth conference in Singapore. According to the History Channel (2019), Amin ruled a tyrant dictatorship from 1971 until he was overthrown in 1979 by Ugandan forces supported by the Tanzania Peoples' Defense Forces. It is estimated that during his regime over three hundred thousand people were killed while others went into exile. Idi Amin expelled Asian traders in 1972, leading to the country's economic decay. Following the overthrow of Idi Amin from power, elections were held in 1980. They were rigged and marred with violence, which forced a group of dissatisfied people led by the current President to launch a guerrilla war against the government. An estimated five hundred thousand people are believed to have been murdered between 1981 and 1986.

The current government came to power in 1986 through a protracted armed struggle following the rigging of 1980 general elections. Since then, relative peace, security, and economic stability returned to Uganda, and in 1995, a new constitution gave the President and all elected leaders a term of five years. The President has been winning through a popular majority vote since 1996. In 2005, Uganda held a referendum to change from one party to a multiparty system of governance.

Several elements or forces strove to take power through an armed struggle but were all defeated by the UPDF. Key among the insurgents include the notorious Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), and Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) to mention but a few. The LRA was defeated by joint forces in 2012 with the support of US SOF, making the entire Ugandan territory peaceful. However, the LRA rebel leader Joseph Kony is not dead, meaning there is a probability of the struggle restarting.

As a result of relative peace in the country, Uganda was the first African country to deploy peacekeeping forces in Somalia in 2007 under a United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) mandate in the African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Of course, the mission was ambiguous because the forces were going to keep peace where it was nonexistent. Other countries like Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti later deployed, but Uganda is still the highest troops contributor. As a result of Uganda's involvement in Somalia, al-Qaida linked terrorists. Al-Shabaab struck Kampala, Uganda's capital, killing over seventy people. This changed the mission from peacekeeping to peace enforcement and AMISOM forces continued to gain grounds from the insurgents.

Uganda is an important regional security player, and in 2013 it successfully deployed a force in South Sudan to deter what was likely to become a genocide. The conflict in Sudan started because of South Sudan President Salva Kiir firing his vice president, Dr. Riek Marchar, who broke away with a faction of his tribe, which turned into a tribal conflict—the Nuer against the Dinka. Uganda is surrounded by insecure

neighbors, South Sudan in the north and DRC in the West. Moreover, the discovered oil is in the Rift Valley in Lake Albert between Uganda and DRC.

Oil and Gas Exploration on National Security and Military Involvement

National security involves not only minimum core values such as national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the physical survival of the population, but also economic well-being of a nation (Harun 2009, 39). All the countries—Algeria, Nigeria, Sudan, and even Uganda—had varying security challenges. The distinctive meaning of national security is freedom from dictatorship (Lasswell 1950). Moreover, many scholars argue that it is not possible to exhaustively discuss national security without analysis of insecurity.

Since the discovery of oil and gas, and exploration in 2006, Uganda's western neighbor DRC escalated conflict in the vicinity of Lake Albert particularly over the insignificant Rukwanzi island. This was a geopolitical issue, manifesting as a security complex phenomenon with a bearing on the fact that oil and gas explorations on the side of Uganda would eventually encroach on the DRC reserves. Indeed, oil and gas deposits are in the lake shared between Uganda and DRC which calls for mutual cooperation to ensure harmonious exploration. The fact that Uganda started exploration of a resource believed to be shared without prior mutual agreement with her DRC counterpart, was the main underlying factor for Rukwanzi tensions (Waswa 2007).

The exploration of oil and gas in Uganda presents both economic security potential as far as petrodollars are concerned. However, it also presents insecurity due to the security complex in the Great Lakes region as well as vulnerability in terms of

geopolitics as a shared resource with Africa's second largest but most unstable country, DRC. The overriding importance of economic prosperity to leverage economic security is the ultimate target for Uganda's efforts in the exploration of the resource. Not only will this be an anticipated precursor for expected economic security but will also serve as a rallying concept for collective and regional security. The planned construction of the oil refinery and pipeline will also serve as a center of convergence for regional economic interest since Kenya has also discovered oil and gas and Tanzania signed a memorandum of understanding to assess the viability of construction of a crude oil pipeline from Hoima in Uganda to Tanga port in Tanzania along the Indian ocean (Total Uganda News 2015). As the oil and gas supplier for the Great Lakes region, Uganda will leverage its security situation since regional cooperation will be considered a vital interest for all countries that will be partnering in oil and gas trade and commerce.


The security for oil and gas development projects in the Albertine Graben region is provided by the elite special forces' military unit and a private security firm. The Uganda human rights commission reported the denial of district labor officers access to oil well pads in the Burisa district while civil society organizations have complained of illegal detention and harassment from security and the military operating in the region (Avocats Sans Frontières 2015, 16).

The increase of army personnel and police in the Lake Albert region may only serve to enflame social grievances of local population towards the oil industry. The militarization of the region by the UPDF should caution rather than comfort oil and gas companies. Although President Museveni has led the successful efforts to quell multiple insurgencies not only in Uganda but also in the region over the period of his tenure in

office, the UPDF remains a strong, multiple source of regional instability from eastern DRC and further afield. This is primarily due to Uganda's military involvement in fighting al Qaeda linked terrorism and its deployment to restore peace and security in Somalia. All of this could threaten the onshore oil fields (Patey 2015, 37)

A previously mentioned source of insecurity for Uganda's oil and gas industry emanates from Uganda's military involvement in Somalia in the fight against al Shabab militants. Uganda is the largest contributor to the African peace keeping mission in Somalia (AMISOM) contributing over six thousand troops. Despite the diplomatic divides between Uganda and the United States over the former's anti-gay laws, Museveni's active role in the fight against terrorism, particularly al-Shabaab in the horn of Africa makes the U.S. a close security ally. The UPDF involvement in Somalia, allows Uganda to maintain a battle-hardened army for potential counter insurgency warfare at home (Patey 2015, 38).

There are ongoing concerns that, the last vestiges of allied democratic forces (an Islamic militant group that operated in western Uganda in late 1990s) may link up with al-Shabab to carry out attacks against Uganda. Al-Shabab struck Kampala in devastating bomb attacks in July 2010 killing over seventy people, punishing Uganda for its military involvement in AMISOM. Al-Shabab may well try to hit Uganda's oil and gas industry directly or indirectly by attacking Kenya, which is a Uganda's major business partner and through which it imports most of its goods and services since Uganda is a land locked country. Al Shabab has severely attacked Kenya in various terrorists' attacks based on her involvement in AMISOM (Patey 2015, 39).

Consequently, there are multiple sources of regional insecurity for Uganda's oil industry. The first one emits from the unstable region of the DRC. Whereas Uganda and DRC signed an agreement of joint exploration in Lake Albert and the territory along its borders, these have not materialized into any substantial action. Instead several security incidents involving oil and gas continue to occur. In 2007, following a string of Heritage and Tullow oil and gas discoveries, tensions flared between the two countries' forces on the border over a territory. In August 2007, Congolese forces killed a British geologist who was working as a contractor for heritage company in a dispute over whether the exploration team was conducting seismic work on the Congolese side of Lake Albert. President Museveni met with his DRC counterpart Joseph Kabila in Tanzania to calm the rising tensions between the two countries. They signed the Ngurdoto Agreement committing to establish a joint permanent boundary commission and cooperate on exploration. But the military buildup on both sides continues with little progress to the implementation of the agreement (Oxford Analytica 2008). 

Other security threats to Uganda's oil and gas industry include suspicions by its neighbors. Rwanda closed its border with Uganda in February 2019, accusing Uganda of hostile groups to destabilize it. The conflict in South Sudan is also another factor that will impact on Uganda's oil and gas industry. South Sudan is also an important business partner for Uganda. The LRA is weakened but their leader Joseph Kony is still at large; they can also reorganize and take advantage of absent governance in eastern DRC to conduct direct attacks in the exploration areas in the Albertine Graben region.

Using evaluation criteria from table 2—critical, high, moderate, and low—the researcher evaluated Algeria to be high according to the US travel advisory in March

2020 after increased terrorist threats in the region and protests arising from resentment of the current regime. Nigeria is critical because of Boko Haram terrorist threats. According to British Broadcasting Corporation Africa (2019), the Sudan crisis intensified as security forces moved against protesters. Sudan is rated high because it is now in a transitional government after recent demonstrations that ousted the President Omar Bashir. Algeria's national security is evaluated as high because since its current president announced his intentions to seek a fifth term in office, security personnel have remained in running battles with the population.

Table 3. Impact on National Security and Military Involvement				
Countries	Algeria	Nigeria	Sudan	Uganda
Evaluation Criteria	High	High	High	Moderate

Source: Created by the author using variables from table 2 to evaluate the impact of exploration on national security and military involvement.

The Effect of Oil and Gas Exploration on the Economic Security of Uganda

The discovery and exploration of oil and gas in Uganda presents economic security potential not only due to the petrodollar but also the security complex in Great Lakes region. It faces vulnerability because of geopolitics and shared resources with unstable neighbors. The overriding importance of economic prosperity to leverage economic security is the ultimate target for Uganda's well management will support the achievement of the visit. The figure below shows Uganda's economy per sector. Agriculture employs the highest population but services is now the biggest sector. Oil and

gas revenue will reinforce Uganda’s economic sectors in support of the country’s *Uganda Vision 2040*, which is changing the country from a peasant class to middle income status.

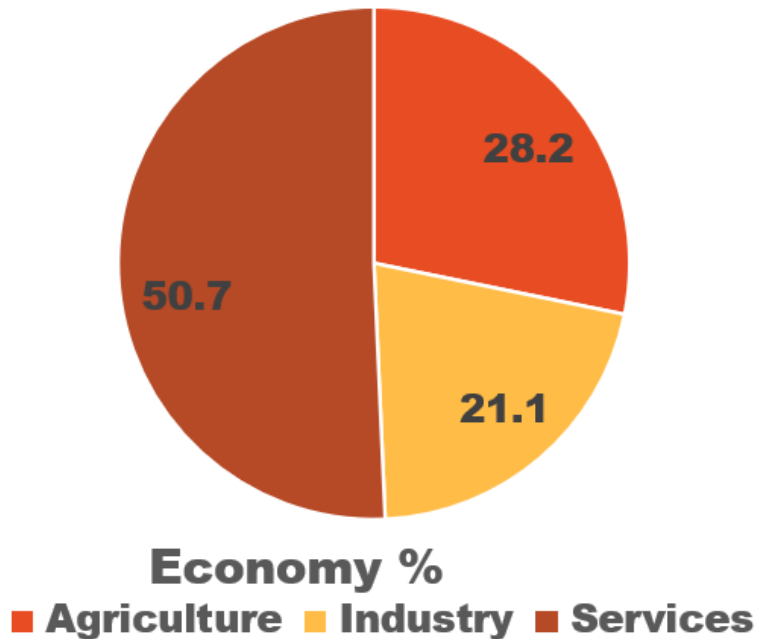


Figure 7. Uganda’s Economy by Sector

Source: Created by author with data from Theodora, “Uganda Economy 2020,” updated 27 January 2020, accessed 16 May 2020, https://theodora.com/wfbcurrent/uganda/uganda_economy.html.

Tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in Uganda. Most of the tourism attractions sites are shared with Ugandan neighbors, which affects the industry. Figure 8 below shows the map of Uganda indicating shared resources.



Figure 8. Map of Uganda Showing Shared Resources

Source: Gauthier Schefer, “Land Rights Activism and the Struggle for Power, Uganda,” Mambo, accessed 25 March 2020, <https://mambo.hypotheses.org/1496>. Highlighted areas show shared resources.

The discovery and exploration of oil and gas will not only be a precursor for economic security but also serve as a rallying concept for collective and regional security. The planned construction of the refinery and pipeline will also serve as a center of convergence for regional economic interest since Kenya also discovered oil and gas resources and Tanzania has already signed a memorandum of understanding to assess the viability of constructing a crude oil pipeline from Hoima in Uganda to Tanga in Tanzania (Total Uganda News 2015). As a supplier of oil and gas in the Great Lakes region,

Uganda will leverage its security situation since it will be considered a vital interest for all countries with which it will pattern for trade and commerce of oil and gas resources.



Figure 9. East African Proposed Oil and Gas Pipeline via Tanzania (modified by author)

Source: Shem Oirere, “Uganda, Tanzania Sign Pact to Build Long Crude-Oil Pipeline,” *Engineering News Record*, 14 June 2017, accessed 26 March 2020, <https://www.enr.com/articles/42192-uganda-tanzania-sign-pact-to-build-1445-km-electrically-heated-crude-oil-pipeline>.

After establishing Uganda had sufficient commercial exploitable oil and gas deposits, the government embarked on the best practices of ensuring that the resource benefits all Ugandans. Clearly this was against the interest of the investing companies which were pushing for the construction of crude oil pipeline that would transport unprocessed oil and gas resource to the coast for exportation but that would deny

Ugandans a greater commercial benefit of jobs that would accrue from the oil processing industries. President Museveni, the president of Uganda said, “We should resist ferociously those parasites who want to give away the resource for a morsel of food as did Esau in the bible (Warikandwa, Namachena, Nkosimothado and Chitimra, 2019, 234).” The refinery will produce diesel, petrol, kerosene, jet fuel, liquified petroleum gas, and heavy fuel oil. The refinery originally had a capacity to produce 30,000 barrels per day but will later be increased to 60,000 (Patey 2015).

It should be noted that petroleum forms Uganda’s highest import products, and this directly affects the economy, especially the prices of commodity goods. According to the study conducted by United Kingdom consultant, Foster Wheeler, a refinery is an economically viable investment worth \$2 billion dollars and would bring high rate of economic returns, enabling Uganda to be self-reliant.

The oil and gas policy of Uganda has linkages to other national key policy frameworks and also articulates its impacts to the them as outlined by the government. They include a poverty eradication action plan (PEAP), the plan for modernization of agriculture (PMA) and the country’s drive for industrialization (MEND 2008). Uganda is a predominantly agriculture reliant country. In fact, 70 percent of the population is employed in the agriculture sector, so if the oil and gas is not professionally managed, it may lead to *Dutch Disease* hence collapsing other sectors of the economy.

The development of the oil and gas sector in the country is expected to contribute significantly to early achievement of the above goals, plans, and the country’s vision 2040, by enhancing the capacity to invest more in productive sectors of the economy, development of new economic, and social infrastructure, increased power generation

capacity and general enhancement of energy security through production and refining of oil and gas (Kashambuzi 2011). The oil and gas processing will also provide an opportunity to the country to develop a petrochemical industry to include industries like oil refinery, the offshoot industries utilizing the refinery biproducts to produce soap, plastic, pesticides, medicine and so on, together with industries arising from the utilization of natural gas like cement production, iron ore smelting, and production of fertilizers (Roddy, 2013).

The local content policy is a specific policy regulating how Ugandans will benefit from oil companies by putting up a percentage of ordinary Ugandans to be trained or employed in the oil sector. It further sets conditions for oil companies to purchase products and services from local suppliers, and to ensure that companies invest in economic and social projects in the local community. Furthermore, it gives local communities power and leverage over oil companies on how they should conduct business within Uganda and is called the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (Visions Reporter 2015). The objectives stated therein include but are not limited to promoting state participation in production sharing, agreements formulation with the view of providing better opportunities for the state, and to understand the basis of opportunities in exploration, development. Another objective is to enable locals to acquire the skills necessary for commercial management of the sector.

In 2011, CNOOC and Total SA signed a sales and purchase agreement with Tullow, agreeing to pay \$2.9 billion for interests of one-third each in blocks 1 and 3A of the oil fields (Ojambo 2013). In 2013, CNOOC acquired the first ever production license in Uganda for the Kingfisher Well 1A in Hoima district. CNOOC and partners announced

that they will invest \$2 billion in the project in which they expect to pump 30,000 to 40,000 barrels of crude oil per day after commencing (Ojambo 2013). According to Ojambo's article published in Blomberg in 2013, suggests that CNOOC, of China won Uganda's first oil production license. CNOOC has already started drilling the Kingfisher well expected to be the largest in the Albertine Graben, but is unable to export oil and gas due to the absence of the pipeline (Mugerwa 2014). In March 2013, the government of Uganda engaged the US energy investment and consulting firm Taylor Dejongh to search for international companies interested in investing in Uganda oil and gas industry by constructing the refinery (Ojambo 2013).

Interested companies expressed their interest in the construction of a refinery and in October 2013, an offer for bidding was opened, and construction, operation, was put at 60 percent ownership of the refinery in public private partnership arrangement. After the evaluation process, sixteen out of the seventeen firms which applied, met the evaluation criteria. The evaluation criteria were based on technical competence, financial capabilities, legal qualifications, national content, and health, safety, and environmental track record. According to ministry of energy and mineral development (MEMD) 2015, Six companies from China, Japan, UAE, Russia, South Korea, and the Netherlands were shortlisted (Kyomugisha 2016, 78).

Uganda's government proposed that the East African community member states could jointly own the refinery at 40 percent shares divided among themselves. The East African countries of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Sudan joined recently. Uganda stated that co-ownership of the refinery would strengthen the spirit of regional integrations in which these countries choose to work together in

developing key infrastructure so that in case of an attack, they will put efforts together to fight for their resources as one regional block,(Ojambo 2015), Kenya agreed to purchase 2.5 percent of the refinery that might increase to 8.0 percent (Abdallah 2014). Burundi and Rwanda submitted their letters expressing their interest in purchasing shares in the refinery. However, Burundi has not yet decided the extent of its ownership interest, it is still awaiting the outcome of the feasibility study of the refinery and a detailed statement of anticipated cost. Meanwhile, Tanzania said, it will decide on its ownership at an appropriate time (Anywanza 2015).

Using the evaluation criteria from table 2 Uganda is scored low because the impact of oil and gas on economic security has not yet been felt. Available data from researchers show that if the current plan is implemented, the country will not experience the dangers on economic security. Meanwhile Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan are scored high because more than 60 percent of their economies depend on oil and gas resources, that has suffocated other sectors, even when the oil and gas sector is not doing enough to support other sectors of the economy. These countries’ economies need to be well diversified because prices of oil are never stable.

Table 4. Impact on Economic Security				
Countries	Algeria	Nigeria	Sudan	Uganda
Evaluation Criteria	High	High	High	Low

Source: Created by author using variables from table 2 to evaluate the impact of oil and gas on economic security.

Oil and Gas Exploration on Land Issues in Uganda

Since the discovery of commercially variable oil and gas in Albertine Graben in 2006, the region has undergone significant and continuous growth and development. One of the most obvious and direct consequences of oil and gas discovery was the exponential increase of the value of land in the region leading to the speculative *land rush* by parties that did not have interest in the land in the region before exploration (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016, 3). Suddenly land that had been owned for years by various ethnic groups turned highly attractive to parties including investors and land speculators that seemingly had no interest before. This unprecedented new interest in the land in the oil and gas rich region and the relative ease with which a person with resources can obtain a land title has led to what some people have referred to as outright *scramble for land* in the region marked by recorded cases of land grabbing (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016,3).

For the purposes of this research, the term *land grabbing* is defined according to Civic Response on Environment and Development (CRED) (2011) as “the acquisition of land by public, private enterprise or individuals in a manner that is illegal, fraudulent, or even unfair taking advantage of existing power differences, corruption and breakdown of law and break down of law and order in the society” (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016, 3). The author defines *land grabbing* as the use of positional power and influence to take advantage of the poor and marginalized to take their land normally at an unfair price. Accordingly, *land grabbing* is a symptom of greater ills in the surrounding context. Rampant *land grabbing* attracted the attention of the President who announced a moratorium on issuing new land titles in the region to prevent land

tenure insecurity for customary land owners, but this moratorium is presumed illegal since it is not provided for by law and is selectively applied. According to the study conducted by the Uganda Land Alliance in 2011, land tenure system and livelihood in the Graben, land has been historically and traditionally helped community groups (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016, 3).

The discovery of oil and gas in Uganda increased the value of land in general areas of the Burisa district, particularly in exploration areas. The Burisa district has been affected as follows; after the discovery of potential oil wells in Bikongoro village, the Tullow Oil plc approached residents in 2010 seeking to carry out further exploration activities in the area. Among the residents were twelve families owning approximately 472 acres of land. Upon hearing the information of exploration, the families decided to seek an investor in the land who could lead investment and develop it for a better negotiation price (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016, 21). However, this deal did not materialize as the investor they looked for ended up taking their land and chasing off the original owners, who are now homeless with nowhere to appeal.

According to Kyomugisha (2016), the compensation and resettlement process of those who owned land was not professionally managed by the government and will have great impact on the lives of people in the Albertine region. The process of resettling people from the earmarked land reserved for the refinery started in June 2012 and was two phased. Out of 1,221 households with a population 7,118 people, ninety-three households opted for relocation and the government committed itself to resettle them each with the house and size of land they formerly owned. The remaining group 1,128

households opted for cash resettlement whereby families properties were valued and money equivalent to their property paid. The danger with that is some people may end up diverting money and their families become homeless which will be a government burden.

By March 2016, three years later after the Kabaale land was allocated for the construction of a refinery, government had not resettled the ninety-three families. The stipulated time for the compensation and relocation according to the land policy and commitment government officials gave to the people was to take a minimum of six months from the time of evaluation to resettlement compensation plan (RAP). Even though the families have used all the available channels, to seek redress for the matter including petitioning the president, their plea has been in vain. Alongside these families are another thirty-eight families who rejected the compensation of the money they were given because they felt their land was undervalued by the evaluation officials (Kyomugisha 2016, 91).

Later, the government of Uganda listened and considered giving the families and the people shifting to new places a compensation in what they termed as *disturbance allowance* for the six months. The allowance was estimated at 30 percent of each family's total amount of money valued in their property. However, this amount is not adjusted to the ninety-three families who opted for resettlement as well as the thirty-eight families who rejected the compensation money protesting the evaluation and after three years now are still awaiting the redress from government and have never been resettled after over two years of waiting (Kyomugasho 2016, 91).

In addition to the government, transitional oil companies, and international service providers in oil and gas industry, have been faulted for the ever-increasing land

conflicts in the oil-rich regions. The existing institutional and legal systems failed the legal interests and rights of communal landowners in the face of multinational business interests. This led to an increase in land grabbing, violent evictions, and displacement of thousands of communal landowners, and consequently a spate of court cases against government. *Oil and Gas in Uganda*, a local newsletter revealed an increase in land grabbing, eviction, and violent displacement of customary land owners, by rich Ugandans, and international business entities in collusion with local businessmen and elites from Kampala who are highly connected in government (Avocats Sans Frontières 2015, 15).

Table 5 below shows the summary of evaluation criteria. The evaluation clearly concludes that exploration of oil and gas resources exacerbate land conflicts in all the countries studied. Algeria alone had a plan, and allowed the landowners to negotiate with the exploration companies. Landowners who were affected by oil and gas exploration activities in Algeria, received their due payment and moved to settle somewhere else.

Evaluation Criteria Summary

Table 5. Risk Levels in the Studied Countries				
	Algeria	Nigeria	Sudan	Uganda
National Security	High	High	High	Moderate
Land Conflict/Grabbing	Low	High	High	High
Economic Security	High	High	High	Low
Military Involvement	Moderate	High	High	Moderate

Source: Created by the author. The table scores the risk levels in the studied countries using the studied factors.

The researcher uses the table above with variables discussed in chapter 2 to evaluate the impact of oil and gas. The variables are national security, land grabbing, economic security, and military involvement. Because Algeria has struggled with demonstrations since February 2019 when the President announced he will seek another term of office, the researcher evaluated economic security as high. Because Nigeria is facing challenges from ISIS-linked Boko haram terrorists, it was evaluated as critical. Sudan ousted its President in April 2019 and is surrounded by the unstable South Sudan so it was rated as critical while Uganda is relatively peaceful but is surrounded by unstable neighbors, so it was rated it as moderate. All countries face geopolitical challenges.

Algeria did not face as much land grabbing compared to other countries because its hydro carbonate law provides the right to land occupancy, and land acquisition is through sale or expropriation may be granted to the contracting party provided the project is in the interest of the general public (Gaillard and Labois 2015, 37). It was evaluated low.

In Nigeria, prior to 1978, the land tenure system of the southern part (as distinct from the northern part) was based on various systems of the customary laws that essentially families and communities owned land. The result was that while oil and gas belonged to the State, the land from which it was exploited belonged to communities, families, and private owners (Udoekumen, Adoga, and Onvumere 2014, 185). Oil and gas companies could negotiate and compensate land owners, but in November 1978, a military government promulgated a real property land law called the Land Use Act (which is part of Nigeria's constitution), which vests all land in the country to the State

thereby divesting the traditional owners of their original titles and give the State power to acquire land anywhere in the country without considered compensation. For this reason, it was evaluated as high.

In Sudan, landowners were not compensated for their land and faced forceful eviction. People were forced from their land, their livestock stolen, homes and possessions destroyed by government agents during the construction of the roads and pipelines by oil companies without notice of at least compensation according to the 2003 Human Watch Rights report, *Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights*. They were then abandoned to the underfunded, overextended International Relief network for assistance and later cut off from the international aid and left to survive on their own. For this a reason, it was evaluated it as high. Although Uganda has not yet started oil and gas exploration, land grabbing, wrangles, and evictions has begun, and its evaluated as high.

Oil and gas contribute to 97 percent of the total exporting earning in Algeria, the researcher evaluated its effect on economic security as high. Nigeria was also evaluated high because, despite the rhetoric of the economic diversification, oil and gas contributes to 81.1 percent of the economy. The Sudan is also evaluated high because oil and gas contributed more than 90 percent of the economy by 2010, which contributed to the decline in agriculture (Sidding 2012, 738). Uganda is evaluated low because exploration and production of oil and gas has not yet started.

In military involvement, Nigeria uses army, air force, and police to deploy in the Niger Delta where exploration takes place, so the researcher rated it high. Sudan uses the army, Islamic militias, and youth brigades to protect oil and gas fields, so it is evaluated high. Algeria uses its regular army to guard oil fields and companies and was also

evaluated high while Uganda uses special forces, military police, and local guards to provide security to oil companies and fields and is hence evaluated as high.

Summary and Conclusion

In chapter four, the researcher analyzed Uganda, its conflict history, and shared natural resources. The study used the variables of national security, economic security, land grabbing, and military involvement. The variables were also related in different countries in this study: Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan simultaneously with Uganda. This analysis was conducted to get a clear picture of how the discovery and exploration of oil and gas will most likely impact on national security in Uganda. Although exploration in Uganda has not yet begun, the study of the exploration of oil and gas already has an impact on national security. This then sets a stage for chapter five, which addresses research questions and proposes recommendations to counter the negative impacts of exploration of oil and gas on national security in Uganda as well as introduce other topics for further study on this subject.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research sought to study the phenomenon of the impact of exploration of oil and gas on national security in Uganda. It drew upon lessons for Uganda's prospecting oil and gas industry by case studies of three African oil-rich countries: Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan. To do this, the researcher tried to answer the main research question: What are the effects of oil and gas exploration on national security in Uganda? Secondary questions arising from this were: What is the role of the security forces in relation to oil and gas exploration? How will the Ugandan government respond to the emerging national security challenges associated with exploration?

Chapter one established the background of the research and stated the primary and secondary questions, as well as the significance of the study. It also defined the limitations and delimitations. Chapter two reviewed the literature on the topic of oil and gas exploration and identified variables upon which analysis was later conducted. Chapter three spelled out the methodology of the research and chapter four provided the analysis. Chapter five presented conclusions from the analysis conducted to answer both primary and secondary research questions. It summarized the interpreted findings and made further study recommendations for later research.

Interpretation of the Findings

The first theme of the study sought to learn the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security. From the findings, it was discovered that the exploration had a negative impact on national security of the studied countries and will likely have the

same effect on Uganda if it is not professionally managed. This is manifested in the fact that since the discovery of oil and gas in Western Uganda, the relationship between Uganda and the DRC has escalated, leading to a border conflict in 2007 over the insignificant Rukwanzi Island. Although this matter was diplomatically resolved, one employee of the Heritage Oil company was killed, and tension rose between the two countries, prompting them to deploy in their respective border points.

This is no different from most oil-rich countries, especially those studied in this research—Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan. For example, in Nigeria, the security situation has remained fragile, especially in the oil-rich Niger Delta. The Boko Haram terrorist group and other criminals threaten the oil refineries and engage in other border conflicts. In Sudan, conflicts and civil war started shortly after independence and culminated with the separation between Sudan and the present-day South Sudan in July 2011. Although South Sudan is not the focus of this thesis, the splitting into two different countries did not bring lasting peace to either South Sudan or Sudan. In Uganda, the heightened tension on the border between Uganda and DRC led to the murder of a British geologist and employee of the Heritage Oil company by DRC forces in a dispute over whether the exploration team was conducting seismic work on the Congolese side of Lake Albert.

The role of security forces in relation to exploration of oil and gas is to protect and ensure stability in the oil and gas producing region as well as protect the flow of energy through major transit corridors. The protection of the oil company staffs and with their equipment is a role left to the police. Under the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, as promulgated in 1995, Article 208 created the UPDF and mandated it to preserve and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Uganda while the same

Article 211 under the Constitution mandates the Ugandan police to protect life and property, preserve law and order, and prevent and detect crime.

Uganda's response to the national security challenges associated with oil and gas exploration are determined by how best to diplomatically manage the geopolitics as well as its economic, environmental, and land seizure issues, both domestically and regionally. The situation in the Great Lakes' region is a complex one. Uganda is surrounded by the DRC and historically it has never been at peace. To make matters worse, the lake in which the oil was discovered is shared between the two countries. South Sudan in the north of Uganda is not stable; Al Shabab terrorists attack Kenya regularly for its involvement in Somalian matters. The adage is that you cannot sleep when your neighbor's house is on fire. The starting point is to apply the instruments of national power, diplomacy, information, economic, and military to handle regional matters, and apply transparency in land matters, economy, and environment to avoid domestic conflict.

The study found that the exploration of oil and gas has effects on the economic security of Uganda. To ensure effective management of revenues from oil and gas and create lasting value for use of resources to benefit the entire nation and future generations, the Uganda government laid out mechanisms with a management policy enacted in 2015 through the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MOFPED) formulated on oil and gas revenues, a management policy that was published in 2015. The policy provides for the management of revenues accrued from oil and gas as noted by MOFPED in 2015. Following the discovery of oil and gas deposits in Uganda in 2006, the government of Uganda considered the effect the commercialization component

of the oil and gas sector and its effect on the entire economy as noted by Kashambuzi (2011). This was tailored on government key policies of a Poverty Eradication Action Plan for a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and a Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA). It should be noted that Uganda's economy largely depends on agriculture, although the service sector is gaining. However, agriculture still employs over 70 percent of Uganda's population

The study further discovered that exploration of oil and gas in Uganda created significant changes in land issues within matters with in the oil-rich region, one of them is exponential increase in land value, leading to speculative land prices as buyers rush to buy land in the area. Even parties that did not have prior interest in the land prior to the discovery and exploration of oil and gas (Civic Response on Environment and Development 2016, 3). Oil and gas exploration created a phenomenon of "land grabbing," which according to CRED refers to the acquisition of land by public or private enterprises or by individuals in a manner that is illegal, fraudulent, or unfair; taking advantage of existing power differences or corruption; and breakdown of law and order in society. Following this, the President of Uganda instructed a moratorium on issuing new land titles in the region, attempting to prevent land insecurity and preserve it for traditional land owners to get their due compensation, but this action was presumed illegal as it was not passed into law. Thus, the moratorium has been selectively applied as noted by CRED (2016.)

As a result of the discovery and exploration of oil and gas in Uganda, various actors took advantage of corrupt institutions and individuals to displace innocent civilians from their land without fair compensation as noted by Mbabazi (2013). The situation

gave land grabbers an opportunity to seize enormous land areas, leaving locals landless and suffering in the hands of investors and their fellow rich Ugandans. This is consistent with other oil African oil-rich countries like Sudan, and Nigeria where farmlands were destroyed to make way for oil and gas projects, risking lives of nationals, and making them curse why the natural resource was discovered.

Recommendations

The area of future study could address the impact of visionary leadership on the oil and gas industry. Many scholars have studied and written about the *oil curse*, management, and its effects on the economy, leaving out the most important element of is leadership that emphasizes doing the right thing. A good leader is always focused on thinking and planning for his population and makes policies and plans that positively impact them. He fights corruption and places the right people in the right jobs. Upon the discovery of oil and gas, visionary leaders should immediately start benchmarking and studying success stories of other oil and gas producing countries to help them to make informed decisions. The countries to benchmark are Norway, Malaysia, USA, Canada, UAE, UK, and Kuwait.

The following recommendations are also made to help Uganda to avoid problems associated with the resource curse as it anticipates its first drop of oil in 2022. The first step is to pursue and fast track regional integration. Uganda is already a member of the East African Community bloc of Africa (EAC,) whose members are Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and recently joined by South Sudan. It has also pursued the Pan-African agenda and should be enhanced by economic growth with revenue from oil and

gas to be used to achieve the long awaited East African Federation to make the region more strong and secure.

Uganda should modernize agriculture. Although the service sector is now overtaking the agricultural sector in Uganda, the former remains the backbone of Uganda, employing over 70 percent of the total population. Agriculture should be modernized and mechanized to replace the current subsistence farming and produce on commercial and large- scale farms. Oil and gas revenues will enable this process to improve living standards of all Ugandans and guarantee food security, and economic prosperity.

Furthermore, the government should establish resettlement villages to reallocate citizens whose land fall in the oil and gas land seizures and pipeline construction. Land can be acquired in Kiryandogo in central Uganda to resettle its citizens. In fact, citizens would not be evicted, but rather reallocated with fair compensation and inconvenience allowances. This will reduce crime, minimize youth from joining terrorist and insurgency ranks, and guarantee national security,

The government of Uganda should also establish a joint task force responsible for protecting oil and gas grabbing, the exploration companies, and their equipment.

Traditionally, the role of guarding and protecting such installations is a military police function, but since it also involves civilians and the exploration companies and their employees, there should be a taskforce led by civilian police, with the support of intelligence, military police forces, and the military since defending territorial integrity is the role of the UPDF. The oil and gas revenues should further be used for modernization and professionalization of the army to keep them ready to face emerging challenges in an ever-changing security environment. The government can also consider applying the

unity of effort, whereby all government departments are coordinated and synchronized for sustainable development.

Uganda's female population is bigger than their male counterparts so there is need to involve them more in oil and gas industry. This will stabilize families, which are the cornerstone of Uganda's values and interests.

The government can invest in education as well as engendering the impact of oil and gas. One of the challenges of third world countries is ignorance, so education will eradicate it and further assist in expectation management. An educated population is always easy to sensitize and mobilize. Quality education on the other hand unlocks every country's opportunities for development. This therefore requires Uganda to build on the already existing institutions to restructure the education system and tailor it towards the needs of Ugandans and the region. Establish institutions that train personnel for the entire Great Lakes region which can be a good venture with oil and gas, resources, and a catalyst for industrialization driver, since science and technology is the primer for sustainable development.

Most African countries rely on only a few companies and individuals from which to collect taxes and to care of their entire populations. This is not enough to help them out of poverty. Governments should engage in deliberate activities to ensure the people are able to produce to increase the tax base and relieve big companies the burden of paying for the entire population. These activities include commercialized farming, saving groups, and small and medium business enterprises to mention but a few. Because taxes are high, big corporations cannot invest in poor countries that will keep them in poverty. Therefore, governments can encourage and support commercial agriculture, and small

and medium businesses to ensure everyone produces and therefore shares the tax burden, and hence encourages development.

Summary and Conclusions

The research studied the impact of oil and gas exploration on national security of Uganda, which is expected to start exploration soon. Exploration would have begun earlier, but it was delayed by disagreements between government and oil and gas companies over taxes. However, 2022 is the year they have currently agreed upon. The goal is to draw lessons from three other African oil and gas producing countries namely: Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan. The study guides Uganda, a new entrant into oil and gas industry, to effectively and efficiently use its resources to avoid the resource curse befalling it.

Chapter one of this research covered the background, defined the problem as well as the objectives and significance of the study. In chapter two, the researcher reviewed literature and what other scholars have written about the subject, while chapter three covered the methodology used for this study. Chapter four analyzed the findings, while chapter five answered the research questions, interpretation of the findings, and explored areas for further study, recommendations, summary, and conclusions.

Having reviewed the literature, the researcher concluded that the discovery and exploration of oil and gas has an impact on national security. The researcher reviewed the literature from three African oil-rich countries: Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan. The findings from militarization, economic security, and land grabbing variables are sufficient to conclude that exploration of oil and gas has an impact—in fact, a negative impact—to the countries reviewed as none of them can boast of any registered success. Nigeria, for

example, Africa's largest oil and gas producer, has failed to use its resource revenue to build a modernized and professional army to combat the Boko Haram jihadist group.

Uganda, on the other hand, had the advantage of more time before discovering oil and gas resources and exploration, allowing it to learn lessons from other oil-producing countries. Norway, for example, has the best oil and gas success story, and Kuwait, although not well diversified, also had success. African countries reviewed in this research—Algeria, Nigeria, and Sudan—cannot boast of many successes as they struggle with one after another threat. Uganda can position itself to avoid the resource curse only if it ensures that oil and gas revenues are used to revamp agriculture that employs over 70 percent of the population, invest in education, promote community participation for sustainable development, relocate communities disturbed by exploration with compensation, form a joint security taskforce to secure the Albertine Graben region, fast track regional integration and cooperation, and last—but not least—modernize and professionalize the army to address with both internal and external threats.

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