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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

GRAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE 21ST
CENTURY AFRICA: CASE OF THE NILE BASIN

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DECLARATION

I do declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other university for any kind of an academic award.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my dear Dad and Mum who have been a great inspiration to me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank the Almighty God for his grace and for having giving me life and good health without which I would not be able to pursue this study.

Special appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Mumo Nzau under whose supervision I was able to complete this study. Dr. Nzau I will forever remain grateful to you!

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I can't forget to acknowledge all my classmates with whom we have traveled this journey together. Good people your company was great and your constant encouragement kept me going. Thank you so much!

God bless you all!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EAC	: East African Community
FAO	: Food and Agricultural Organization
GDP	: Grand Development Projects
GERD	: Grand Economic Renaissance Dam
IGAD	: Inter Governmental Act on Development
NACOSTI	: National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NBI	: Nile Basin Initiative

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to make a critical analysis of the relationship between grand development projects and regional conflicts in the 21st century Africa: case of the Nile basin. The study asked these questions; what are the implications of Grand Development projects and regional relations in the 21st century? To what extent has the Grand National Development projects impacted in the regional conflict in the Nile Basin? What is the impact of the Grand National projects on Ethiopia-Egypt relations? The objectives of the study included; to assess the implications of Grand Development Projects on Regional relations in the 21st Century. To evaluate the impact of Grand National Development projects and Regional Conflict in the Nile Basin. To critically examine the impact of Grand National Development projects on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations. The study was anchored on Liberal institutionalism theory whose main argument was that it's difficult for states to manage shared resources without having international institutions which are empowered and they guide the behaviors of the individual states when it comes to matters of regional relations and utilization of shared resources. The study relied on both the primary sources of data collection which was mainly the use of the Interview guide and the secondary sources of data collection which were books journal articles, publications as well as other documentaries. The study found out that although the Nile Basin region is endowed with a lot of resources, the state of instability and conflicts continues to undermine its growth and development, that Grand National development projects has had a negative impact on Africa's regional relations. That Grand National Development programs has strained the Egypt Ethiopian relations. Based on these findings, the study concluded that Grand Development projects has had a great influence of African regional relations, that Grand National Development projects has negatively impacted on regional conflicts. And that Grad Development projects has negatively impacted on the state of Ethiopia Egypt relations. The study recommends that More conferences, meetings and negotiations between the concerned states should be encouraged to enable the states in question to arrive at a consensus, the Nile Basin region should consider setting up of regional body with strong regional institutions to manage the utilization of the Nile waters, that non-member states should keep off from meddling the affairs of the Nile Basin region, That experts drawn from member states should be hired so as to advise these countries on how best to secure the regional interests without compromising on national inters. Finally, the study recommends the revival of the Pan Africanist spirit among the citizens of the Nile Basin region. This will enable them to look at each other as brothers and sisters as opposed to enemies and rivals.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the modern world, states are in a serious pursuit of their national interest which are mostly of economic nature, this therefore explains the core reasons as to why states decide to invest in Grand Development Projects which are mostly infrastructural in nature.¹ However, such states may find it difficult to have cordial relations with the neighboring states especially in cases where they have shared resources which cuts across their boundaries, this is because it's difficult for states to agree on how to share such resources and to ensure that each member state enjoys same benefits as a result of utilizing shared resources such as water, forests, game reserves among others.² This leads to inter-state disagreements and tensions thereby threatening the regional security. The scenarios have played out in many parts of the world and in the twenty forts century, the African continent is also beginning to experience such type of security threats. This study therefore looked into the relationship between Grand Development projects and regional conflicts in the 21st century and the Nile Basin region was used as the case study.

1.1 Background to the problem

In the advent of the post-cold war era, the International system has constantly promoted the idea of integration among states, this is because of many factors which have continuously and consistently promoted the increased interactions of states and the no state actors in the international system.³ As a result of these increased interactions, the issue of shared resources among different states has become an emotive subject of discussions between states, it has either increased interstate cooperation but at the same time it has led to an increased tensions between different

¹ Swain A (2011); Challenges for water sharing in the Nile Basin: Changing Geo-politics and changing Climate. Hydroll. Sci.J 56(4),687-702

² Ibid pg. 4

³ Girma A (2000); Nile Waters-Hydrological cooperation vs Hydro-politics”, paper presented at the Eighth Nile 2000 conference, Addis Ababa 26th June 2000

states.⁴ In most cases since the foreign policies of these states are geared towards effective utilization of shared resources with other states so that they may improve on the welfare of its citizens as well as ensure its own survival by way of enhancing its soft under belly. This has led to increased competition among the states which share these resources hence emergence of regional conflicts.⁵

For instance, in South America, the construction of the states of the Art Hydroelectric dam along the Amazon basin has led to the emergence of serious regional conflicts between these states and a section of their populations.⁶ For instance, whereas states such as Brazil, Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, Chile among others, are in serious needs of increased electricity supply to its ever growing populations, at the same time they risk interfering with the state of environmental protection, displacement with a sections of its citizens, destruction of forests as well as increased pollution in these states which may lead to health problems and other social costs. Due to this kind of standoff, the construction all these dams have sparked continuous protests from the indigenous communities in these countries environmental activists, advocacy organizations as well as a section of the citizens.⁷

The same problem of Grand Development projects and regional conflicts has also been witnessed in Asia where the Peoples Republic of China is planning to build a 1000 kilometer tunnel long the River Brahmaputra which will divert water away from one of the India's largest rivers.⁸ China

⁴ Mumma C (2006); *Managing Transnational Water Conflict in the Nile Region: with reference to the Lake Victoria, Kagera and the Nile Basins*, Germany: University of Leipzig publishers. Local publisher-department of political science & Public Administration university of Nairobi. Nairobi. Kenya.pg 7

⁵ Abdallah H (2009), *Contemporary Civil conflicts in the Nile Basin states*. Digests of Middle East Studies Vol 18, issue 1 spring 2009 p17-30

⁶ Njathi F (2018); *The impact of Lack of an acceptable Basin Wide Agreement on how to share the Nile waters*. Master's degree project submitted to the University of Nairobi School of law Library repository pg. 41

⁷ Ibid p36

⁸ Swain A (2011); *Challenges for water sharing in the Nile Basin: Changing Geo-politics and changing Climate*. Hydroll. Sci.J 56(4),687-702

intends to undertake this project with a motivation of promoting increased irrigation activities in its uninhabitable deserts and dry grasslands. As a result of this grand development plan, it has led to the increased tensions between India and China since India feels that China wants to invade it in its territory and out administer India. It should be noted that in the modern world, states are really attaching a great strategic significance to resource scarcity, this in turn leads to increased competition among states to secure these resources, since each state wants to accumulate resources, they are therefore forced to deploy their armies in order to secure the resources which may lead to war, strategic alignments and realignments which is not a good thing in as far as promotion of international peace and security is concerned.⁹

In the African continent, The Nile basin region which in the past was referred to as “the cradle of civilization” is almost becoming a source of regional conflict. This is because river Nile which is seen as one of the longest rivers in the world is shared by among 11 countries.¹⁰ The Nile River has two major tributaries which are the White Nile and the Blue Nile, the White Nile runs from Burundi and passes through lakes Victoria, Kyoga, and Mobutu, South Sudan. The Blue Nile originates from Ethiopian highlands and meets with the White Nile in the Sudan’s capital Khartoum. There is an increased demand of water by each of these 11 states, at the same time there exists unequal distribution of power by all these states hence leading to conflicts.¹¹ For instance, Ethiopia is constructing a mega Hydroelectric Dam, while Sudan is intending to benefit from the dam to acquire cheap electricity as well as expand on its agricultural activities. Egypt on the other hand feels that these mega projects will deny it enough waters for irrigation, home consumption

⁹ Ibid p 698

¹⁰ Sakwa M (2015); The Impact of water politics on Regional Security; A case study of the Nile Basin states, Unpublished Master’s degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository.

¹¹ Kameri M (2007); Water, Conflict and cooperation; Lessons from the Nile River Basin. Navigating peace.

as well as for commercial purposes.it therefore sees this as an existential threat, as a result of these competing interests, the relations between these two states is characterized by tensions which seem unsolvable.¹² Upon this background, this study sought to establish the relationship between the construction of the Grand Development Projects and Regional Conflicts in the 21st Century Africa: Case of the Nile Basin.

1.2 Problem Statement

Regional conflicts have proved to be too costly not only to the conflicting countries, but also to the neighboring countries which are connected in one way or the other with the conflicting countries.¹³ For instance, when interstate conflicts escalate, the resultant effect is that it scares away the investors and capital inflows from foreign countries, secondly it distorts the business environment since local entrepreneurs will adopt a wait and see attitude as they withhold capital injections in their respective businesses.¹⁴ The other negative impact which is caused by conflicts is that it kills the goodwill that countries are supposed to enjoy with each other so that in matters of mutual interest at the global level, the two countries are not able to cooperate because of their internal differences.¹⁵ Finally, because of regional conflicts, the state of underdevelopment occurs within states which is dangerous for the stability of the states in question.¹⁶ It's for this reason that states opt to ho for regional integration with a view of fostering regional integration and diffusing regional tensions.

¹² Ibid p8

¹³ Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies. 2(11), pg. 4-15

¹⁴Ibid pg. 12

¹⁵ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

¹⁶ Ibid pg. 20

Grand Development projects are always aimed at maximizing the pleasures of a country and strengthen its soft under belly, it is therefore assumed that those states with shared resources should find it easier in cooperating with each other to maximize on these pleasures in a joint manner.¹⁷ The major aim will be to enhance regional cooperation and to diffuse regional tensions. The mere fact that states are having shared resources and have similar needs is a reason enough for these states to foster regional cooperation and engagements as opposed to regional conflicts.¹⁸ The mere fact that states decide to come together to should be a motivation for them to always resolve their differences amicably. Despite the fact that states have come together still that does not act as an automatic route to peace and tranquility. Unless the states in question decide to embrace the spirit of mutual understanding, diplomacy as well as pacific methods of dispute settlements at all times, it can be very difficult for these states to peacefully co-exist since each state is always pursuing its own narrow selfish interest which doesn't puts into consideration the interests of the neighboring states thereby causing inter-state tensions.¹⁹ These two sets of argument's makes it unclear whether the existing regional conflicts are as a result of the initiation of the Grand Development projects or rather the absence proper rules, norms and procedures of dispute settlement mechanisms between these states.²⁰

The impact of water politics on regional security in the Nile basin states, is big, however it's not big enough to threaten the regional relations since all state in the Nile basin region have a right to

¹⁷ Abdallah H (2009), Contemporary Civil conflicts in the Nile Basin states. Digests of Middle East Studies, Vol 18, issue 1 spring 2009 p17-30

¹⁸ Kathambi B (2013); Managing the Nile Politics; Issues and Perspectives, Unpublished Master's Degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository.

¹⁸ Ibid p26

¹⁹ Mumma C (2006); Managing Transnational Water Conflict in the Nile Region: with reference to the Lake Victoria, Kagera and the Nile Basins, Germany: University of Leipzig publishers. Local publisher-department of political science & Public Administration university of Nairobi. Nairobi. Kenya

²⁰ Ibid pg. 7

benefit with such waters since they pass through their respective jurisdictions.²¹ Therefore standards of utilization of these waters which favors each country have to be adopted if peace and tranquility is to be maintained in the Nile Region.²² Whereas this argument is helping this study to develop an idea about regional conflicts, it does not in any way show the relationship between the Grand development projects and the regional conflicts in the Nile basin region.

It is therefore upon the above background that this study sought to establish the true relationship between the Grand development projects and regional security in the 21st century Africa, case of the Nile basin Region.

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions

- i. What are the implications of Grand Development projects and regional relations in the 21st century?
- ii. To what extent has the Grand National Development projects impacted in the regional conflict in the Nile Basin?
- iii. What is the impact of the Grand National projects on Ethiopia-Egypt relations?

1.4 Objectives of the study

This study was guided by the following Objectives

- i. To assess the implications of Grand Development Projects on Regional relations in the 21st Century

²¹ Ibid pg. 9

²² Sakwa M (2015); The Impact of water politics on Regional Security; A case study of the Nile Basin states, Unpublished Master's degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository

- ii. To evaluate the impact of Grand National Development projects and Regional Conflict in the Nile Basin
- iii. To critically examine the impact of Grand National Development projects on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations

1.5 Justification of the study

1.5.1 Academic Justification

There are quite a number of studies which have been done in as far as the regional conflicts in the Nile basin is concerned, however these studies have concentrated on other areas such as on diplomatic, the issues of law, causes as well as the effects, However there was no single study which attempted to look at the relationship between the Grand Development project and regional conflicts in the Nile basin region therefore this study filled-in the Knowledge gap as well as the literature gap that existed in this area, the study successfully promoted the expansion of knowledge. The study also formed a basis upon which other researchers could rely on to conduct a further research in this areas, it could also be relied on as a platform of making comparative analysis with other jurisdiction with a similar case.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

This study aimed at reviewing the existing regional and continental policies with regards to the Grand Development projects and the impact it has on regional conflicts, as a result of this undertaking, the study was able to identify several loopholes in the existing policies, the legal framework as well as the administrative policies which made regional conflicts to occur instead of regional cooperation. At the end of the study, the researcher was able to suggest alternative policies which were both legal and administrative, this went a long way in ensuring that such Grand Development project are recipe for regional cooperation and regional development as opposed to

regional conflicts and tensions. This had a huge benefit in ensuring that there was regional development.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study assessed the implications of the Grand Development Projects on Regional relations in the 21st century. It also evaluated the impact of the Grand National Development projects on Regional conflicts in the Nile basin. The study also critically examined the impact of Grand National Development projects on Ethiopia-Egypt relations. The Ethiopian mega hydroelectric dam along the Nile basin was used as the case study since it was at the center of the Ethiopia-Egypt relations. The study focused on the period between 1999 and 2019 because it was the period in which the Nile Basin Initiative was in existence where the affected states were in cooperation on the utilization of water resources in the Nile Basin region.

The limitations of this study were the minimum interactions the researcher had with her respondents, in as much as the researcher intended to meet with all her respondents for an in-depth interview, however due to the existing Covid-19 pandemic which has to a greater extent limited the movements of persons, this wasn't possible. Therefore, in order to mitigate this limitation, the researcher engaged some of her respondents via online platforms such as Google Meet and WhatsApp video calls.

1.7 Literature Review

This section reviewed literature in line with study's set objectives. The literature review was divided into three main themes, they included; Implications of Grand Development Projects on Regional Security in the 21st century, the impact of the Grand National projects on regional conflicts in the Nile basin and the Impact of Grand National projects on Ethiopia-Egypt relations.

1.7.1 Implications on Grand Development projects on Regional relations in the 21st Century

Many states in the African continent in Abdallah's view have a serious infrastructural development challenge which requires massive intervention.²³ The only serious way of spurring development in most African states is by way of undertaking Grand Infrastructural projects such as Mega Dams, Standard Gauge Railways, construction of ports and Harbors as well as the construction of transnational Highways and major superhighways within the Continent.²⁴ These not only attracted foreign Investors to come and make their Investments in the African continent, but it was also a spring board in which these African states could promote manufacturing, creation of new Industries as well as ensure there is value addition in the raw materials they produce hence strengthening regional relations. However, the author does not address the issue of the unintended consequences that such projects may bring to states in as far as interstate relations is concerned.

The Author further argues that the Grand Development plans are key enablers to most developing countries as it makes them to meaningfully participate in the International Trade as well as grow their economies with a double digit. Through this, most states are able to advance their economic interests at regional level and at the international level. This not only promotes peaceful coexistence and constant interactions among states, but it also allows developing countries to seek for foreign Aid in order to initiate these Grand development projects. Therefore all these economic endeavors support regional relations.²⁵ However the unintended consequences that these projects brings about has not been featured.

²³ Abdallah H (2009), Contemporary Civil conflicts in the Nile Basin states. Digests of Middle East Studies, Vol 18, issue 1 spring 2009 p17-30

²⁴ Ibid p19

²⁵ Ibid p22

The problem of shared resources according to Brune and Troope almost destabilized the peace of states in South America in the Amazon Basin.²⁶ This is because Bolivia and Brazil were in the middle of constructing several mega hydroelectric power dam in that Amazon basin which received a lot of water from Madera River.²⁷ They noted that due to these mega constructions, it led to widespread protests and condemnation from different state and sections of society in eh entire South America. The protests and condemnation were informed by the fact that such mega projects for these states would lead to environmental degradation, massive displacement of the people as well as pollution which is harmful to human health. As result of these regional conflicts, these states continued with the projects although there were so careful in addressing the concerns raised.²⁸ Although his ideas of Troope and Brune are relevant for this study, they are not in any way touching on the role of sovereignty in having the national stances that state and citizens take against the regional interests.

However, the above studies such as that of Abdallah, Troope and Brune among others do not clearly show the relationship between these GDPs and regional conflicts in all parts of the world instead the studies dwell so much on the generalizations hence the need for this study.

1.7.2 Impact of Grand National Development projects on Regional conflict in the Nile Basin

In the modern world, Kameri Observes that each state is pursuing its own interest which is first to ensure its own survival and second to ensure the prosperity of its own citizens, as a result of these interstate competition over the idea of constructing Grand National Projects over shared resources

²⁶ Brune & Troope (2002) "The changing Nile Basin Regime: Does Law matter? 43:1 Harvard International Law Journalp105-159

²⁶ Ibid p108

²⁶ Ibid p117

such as River Nile in The Nile basin is the major cause of conflicts in the Nile Basin Region. These states end up being in conflicts over the utilization of such resources like water resources.²⁹ However the author does not focus on how such states with shared resources are supposed to go about their Grand National Projects without interfering with the welfare of other neighboring states. The author also doesn't mention the extent to which the said conflicts are life affirming or life destroying with regards to the interstate relations in the Nile Basin Region. Therefore, Haas Suggests that if these states are to avoid regional conflicts because of the utilization of water resources, they should ensure that regional institutions have been put in place and properly supported so that they can take full charge of the management of such resources. These will ensure that there is equal utilization of the water resource by each state hence avoiding regional conflict.³⁰ However these studies are silent when it comes to those situations which the states are unwilling to cede part of their authorities the Supra national institutions

Kathambi argued that diplomacy among states is not always a guarantee that it will produce the desired results to any state. It's therefore incumbent upon each state to adhere to the international standards of managing shared resources.³¹ For instance the author suggests that there is what a state can do with such a shared resource and there is also what a state is barred from doing when it comes to the idea of effective utilization of such a shared resource.³² Therefore, according to Kameri, as long as each of these states in the Nile basin adheres to the international Code of effective utilization of these waters there is no way regional conflicts will occur. Whereas each of these two scholars namely, Kameri and Kathambi is making sense in her arguments, they both fail

²⁹ Kameri M (2007); Water, Conflict and cooperation; Lessons from the Nile River Bain. Navigating peace Woodrow Wilson center for scholars Jan 2004 No4 pg. 14

³⁰ Ibid, p 8

³¹ Kathambi B (2013); Managing the Nile Politics; Issues and Perspectives, Unpublished Master's Degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository.

³² Ibidp38

to relate exactly where the relationship between a country's Grand Development plan and regional conflicts hence the rationale for this study. This study is therefore meant to explore ways and means in which Grand National Development projects can be a source of unity and a basis for regional cooperation as opposed to being the source of disunity and a basis upon which regional conflicts emerge

1.7.3 Impact of Grand National Development Projects on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations

Carlson noted that River Nile has been both a blessing and a curse to the States in The Nile Basin, since there is no state which can claim exclusive ownership of River Nile.³³ His ideas are reinforced by that of Kameri who cites an example whereby Ethiopia is constructing a mega Hydroelectric Dam, while Sudan is intending to benefit from the dam to acquire cheap electricity as well as expand on its agricultural activities. Egypt on the other hand feels that these mega projects will deny it enough waters for irrigation, home consumption as well as for commercial purposes.³⁴ The two studies therefore see this as an existential threat in the Nile Basin region, as a result of these competing interests, the relations between these two states is characterized by tensions which seem unsolvable.³⁵ However, the two authors and their studies are not giving any proposals on how the Nile Basin Region could go about with their Grand Development projects without necessarily jeopardizing the stability of the Nile Basin region, or at the very least, strategies of ensuring that the Grand National Development projects do not negatively impact on the state of interstate relations in the Nile Basin region. The two authors actually confirm that there could be the existence of the relationship between the GDPs and regional conflicts

³³ Carlson A (2013); Who owns the Nile? Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia's History-Changing Dam. Vol 6 issue 6. University of Miami Printing press

³⁴ Kameri M (2007); Water, Conflict and cooperation; Lessons from the Nile River Basin. Navigating peace. Woodrow Wilson center for scholars Jan 2004 No4 pg. 9

³⁵ Ibid, p 6

however they don't state to what extent that relationship is, again their studies centered around the south American states, they never mentioned anything about the Nile basin region hence the rationale for this study.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the Institutionalism theory as advanced by Ernest Haas.³⁶ The theory argued that the best way of ensuring that a country's Grand Development projects does not affect regional security was by way of fostering regional cooperation by its neighboring states through supra national bodies.³⁷ It was these supra national bodies that could guide each state on the processes its needed to follow in initiating Grand development projects. The same supra national bodies also heavily regulated the utilization of shared resources between such states hence minimizing the chances of these states degenerating into possible conflict with each other.³⁸ This theory builds its foundation on liberalism theory, it assumed that states were not the most important actors in international relations, that non state actors such as the Regional coffee board also play an important role in the economic system.³⁹ Secondly the theory assumes that the major aim of actors in the international system is not just in power acquisition and fighting for their survival, instead, they are there for the purposes of promoting interdependence and enhancing increased interactions, thirdly, the theory assumes that the essence of increased interactions in the international system is promotion of peace and ensuring the prosperity of all persons across the

³⁶ Haas E (1958); *The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social & Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Stanford; Stanford University press

³⁷ Haas E (1975); *The obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*, Vol (25), Berkeley. Institute of international Studies, University of California

³⁸ Haas E (1958); *The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social & Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Stanford; Stanford University press

³⁹ Haas E (1975); *The obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*, Vol (25), Berkeley. Institute of international Studies, University of California

world.⁴⁰ This prosperity can come in the form of increasing the value of increased harmony in society as a result of cooperation.

However, the institutionalism is the third strand of liberalism theory, which argues that inter-state cooperation through international institutions is the surest way of enhancing progress of every person.⁴¹ This is because of the issue of sovereignty and territorial boundaries limits the ability of the state to shield itself from the adverse effects of globalization and negative experiences in the international markets. States are unable to cooperate on anything and therefore issues which are cross cutting to different states such as managing a shared resource like the River Nile waters may be easier handled through international organizations.

Therefore, the theory encourages states such as Ethiopia and Egypt to create regional institutions such as the EAC, IGAD, Great Lakes and further some specialized institutions to deal with different issues regarding the management of the Nile waters.⁴² The aim of doing this is to enable these institutions to create a similar mode of operation in each member state in managing the Nile waters and sharing its benefits equally, as a result of these institutions doing this, it will cause spillover effects to all the Nile basin member states.⁴³

This theory was relevant for this study because it argued that unless the Nile Basin states institutionalize the management and utilization of the Nile waters at the regional level, and allow the institutions which have been put in place to address matters affecting the utilization and

⁴⁰ Ibid pg. 46

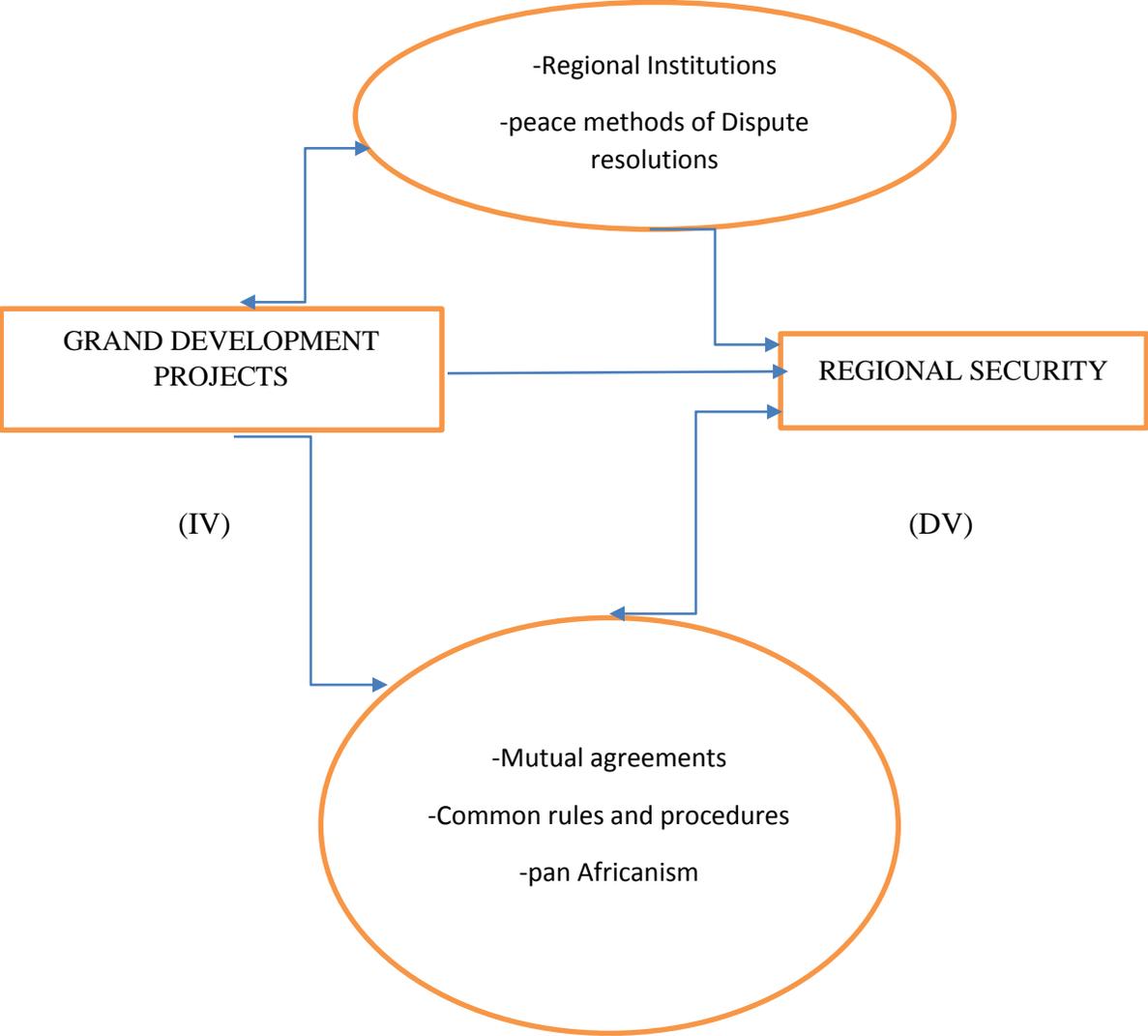
⁴¹ Hornsby A (2013); Theories of Economic Integration; A survey of the Economic and Political Literature; international Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences, 2(5), pg. 133-155
Bruneo & Troope (2002) "The changing Nile Basin Regime: Does Law matter? 43:1 Harvard International Law Journalp105-159

⁴²

⁴³ Hornsby A (2013); Theories of Economic Integration; A survey of the Economic and Political Literature; international Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences, 2(5), pg. 133-155

management of the Nile waters to all the Concerned states, It was going to be very difficult to resolve the problems of shared Natural resources such as the Nile waters among several states, hence a recipe for regional conflicts.

1.9 Conceptual Model



The above conceptual framework shows the relationship between the independent variable (Grand Development Projects) and the dependent Variable (Regional Security), the framework explains that the independent variable is likely to influence the dependent variable either positively or

negatively depending on the nature of the intervening variables. These intervening variables includes issues such as re existence of supra national bodies, international rules and processes, mutual agreement between the two states, as well as the existence of the spirit of pan Africanism and the infrastructure that promotes the pacific methods of dispute resolution.

1.10 Study Hypotheses

- i. The Grand Development Projects have had negative implications on Regional relations in the African states in the 21st Century
- ii. The Grand National Development projects has positively impacted on Regional Conflict in the Nile Basin
- iii. Grand National Development projects have had a negative impact on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations

1.11 Methodology

1.11.1 Research Design

This study used the case study method as its research design. This meant that the Grand National projects in the Nile Basin region and the impact it has had on regional conflict was taken as the case study to represent all the regions the entire world

1.11.2 Methods of Data Collection

This study relied on both the primary and the Secondary Sources of data Collection. Primary sources included the use of the interview guide while secondary sources of data collection included the use of books, journal articles, publications, access to the libraries of various governmental ministries such as that of foreign affairs, water and irrigation. State departments such as planning and infrastructure among others, credible websites such as those of the UNDP, world Bank, UNEP as well as accessing relevant documents from relevant Non-Governmental organizations.

1.11.3 Target Population

The target population of this study included the academicians in the fields of international relations and international studies as well as regional integration, members of the diplomatic corps in the Nile Basin member states based in Kenya, conflict resolution experts as well as journalists who write and report about the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. The total target population stood at 331 respondents. This number was drawn from the numerous background checks which the researcher did before embarking on the study. This has been explained in the diagram below;

CATEGORY	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Academic experts from the relevant fields(International Law, International Studies, International Relations, Regional Integration and Immigration)	144 respondents
Members of the Diplomatic Corps from the Nile Basin states based in their embassy's in Nairobi(i.e. 4 officers from each state, i.e. Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Egypt and Rwanda)	118 respondents
Journalists who report on regional and global matters	22 respondents
Conflict resolution experts	47 respondents
TOTAL	331 Respondents

1.11.4 Sample Size

The sample size refers to a sections of the target population which is scientifically selected. This sample size bears the typical characteristics of the target population. In this study was 10% of each cluster of the respondents in the target population this ensured that the sample size was well

representative of the target population. This study had a sample size of 35 respondents who were drawn from each cluster of the representatives in the target population.

CATEGORY	NO OF RESPONDENTS	SAMPLE SIZE (10% of the Target Population)
Academic experts from the relevant fields (International Law, International Studies, International Relations, Regional Integration and Immigration)	144 respondents	15 Respondents
Members of the Diplomatic Corps from the Nile Basin states based in their embassy's in Nairobi(i.e. 4 officers from each state, i.e. Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Egypt and Rwanda)	118 respondents	12 Respondents
Journalists who report on regional and global matters	22 respondents	3 Respondents
Conflict resolution experts	47 respondents	5 Respondents
TOTAL	331 Respondents	35 respondents

1.11.5 Sampling Design

This study adopted the Purposive sampling technique. This meant that the researcher picked the respondents according to the ones she felt would give the required information which was being looked for by the study.

1.11.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Since this study relied on both the primary and secondary sources of data collection. Collected data was analyzed using mixed methods approach, for the quantitative data collected, quantitative methods of data analysis such as the use of the mean, percentages, graphs, pie-charts and tables

were used, while for qualitative data, content analysis was used. This meant that interpretations were made from the information collected from each interviewee. This was by way of making critically examining data from each source, making comparisons between different sets of ideas from various respondents and the documented sources, contrasting those ideas and finally attaching meaning to each set of idea. Through this process the researcher was able to come up with findings of the study.

1.11.7 Ethical Considerations

The major ethical considerations of this study was that some respondents who work for various embassies and high commissions of their governments out rightly refused to participate in this study citing the issues of lack of authorization from their employers. However, the researcher persuaded them and assured them of confidentiality; that the ideas they give was only going to be used for the purposes of this study and not for any other purpose. Finally, the researcher sought the permission of his interviewees before interviewing them. The researcher did this by sending them the research instruments i.e. the Interview guide a few days before the interview date. The researcher also explained to them everything about this study so that they could make an informed decision of whether to participate in the study or not.

CHAPTER TWO: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF GRAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND REGIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter assessed the implications that Grand Development projects have had on regional relations across the world in the 21st century. These implications were divided into positive implications and negative implications since most studies have confirmed that these Grand National Development programs are a blessing in disguise to states. The nature of these implications was further divided into political, economic, social, environmental and cultural implications

2.1 The Conceptualization of Grand National Projects

Grand National Projects refers to all those tangible lifetime Infrastructural investments which a country makes with an aim of enhancing its economic capacity as well as safeguarding on its national interests which is to maximize on the national pleasures and to minimize national pains.⁴⁴ These GDPs have got the capacity to significantly alter the general life styles of the citizens of the countries in question. it can also have the capacity of having either a positive impact or a negative impact on the neighboring states, especially in those situations where there are shared resources between such states.⁴⁵ Therefore, examples of these Grand National projects can be; the construction of ports and harbors, mega dams and electric power plants, national and regional roads, airports and other immigration centers.⁴⁶ These Grand National projects can also include

⁴⁴ Lowi, Miriam R (1995); Rivers of Conflict, Rivers of peace” Journal of International Affairs.vol 49 No 1

⁴⁵ Oestigaard T (2012); Water Scarcity and food security along the Nile, Politics Population increase and climate change. Nodiska Afrika Institute, current African issues vol 49. Uppsala, Lighting source UK Ltd

⁴⁶ Abdelhady, Aggestam & Anderson (2015); The Nile and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance dam; is there a meeting point between nationalism and Hydro solidarity? Journal of contemporary water research & Education, pg. 109-132

the construction of major institutions of higher learning, major national and referral hospitals as well as national research centers just to mention but a few.

2.2 Implications of Grand Development Projects on regional relations

As a result of the initiation and implementation of Grand National Development such as mega dams, power plants among others by states across the world, some of these mega projects that are controversial in nature includes the Chinese Three Gorges Dam build along Yangtze river, the Brazilian Itaipu dam which was constructed at the border point between Brazil and Paraguay along the Parana River, The Grand Inga Dam in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Indian Sardar Sarovar dam build along the Namada river, the Ilisu Dam in Turkey, the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, The Elwah dam and the Glines Canyon dam in the United states of America which are both build along the Enwah river, the Ethiopia's Gibe 3 dam build along the river Omo, the South East Asian Mekong dam build along the Mekong river ,the Brazilian Belo Monte dam on Xingu river in the Amazon state of Para and the Kenyan East African standard gauge railway line build across the Nairobi national park among other controversial Grand national projects. There are quite a number of positive implications which this practice has had on regional relations. These positive implications can be divided into economic implications, political implications, social, environmental and cultural

2.2.1 Economic

Grand Development projects by states require a substantial amount of money and other resources which are both capital intensive and labor intensive. Most developing countries are not able to raise this kind of money or they do not possess the amount of capital required to fast track these projects, therefore they will be forced to obtain foreign loans, grants and other forms of support

from the developing countries. This will have a far reaching effects whereby the relations between these states will be strengthened hence the promotion of international peace and security.⁴⁷

Grand Development projects such as the construction of ports and harbors, standard gauge railway lines, airports as well as great North roads which connects countries and various regions in the continent have got far reaching economic implications in these states. For instance, by the mere existence of these mega infrastructural projects interstate and regional trade is enhanced, also a number of investors are able to be attracted and hence the realizations of faster economic development is achieved. These will help to strengthened the inter-state relations as well as regional relations is at all times positive.⁴⁸ According to the report by the Guardian (2012), the construction of the Chinese Three Gorges Dam enabled china to generate more electricity to a tune of 18,200 gigabytes which was necessary for industrialization to prosper in china. The same positive implication was experienced in the construction of the Itaipu Dam in Brazil which generated a lot of electricity to both Brazil and Paraguay. This greatly enhanced and propelled the Brazilian and the Paraguayan economies to greatness.⁴⁹

Grand Development projects have also the benefit of ensuring that states are able to ensure that national interests of its citizens are attained as well as safeguard regional interests. This is because under various regional integration arrangements, most states are applying the principle of comparative advantage where states are specializing in producing all those goods and services which they are good at. Therefore, this will mean that these states will be inter-dependent on each

⁴⁷Wambuma H (2015), Diplomacy of water sharing, A case of Egypt and its Nile Basin counter parts, A master's degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository pg. 38

⁴⁸ Ibid pg 48

⁴⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2012/mar/14/controversial-dam-projects-in-pictures>

other.as a result of this situation, the states would work hard to keep these regional relations peacefully because they know they are interdependent economically.⁵⁰For instance, as a result of the construction of the Inga Dam in the DRC, it is expected that all states in Africa will be able to be supplied with enough electricity generated from this Grand National project. This will to a greater extent help to promote industrialization not only among the African states but also in other European states and states as far as Israel.⁵¹

2.2.2 Political

Politically, Grand development projects will always help to boost the soft underbelly of the state. This means that a states will be able to increase her military and economic pwer.as a result of these increase, these states will always be gearing towards opening up many diplomatic missions and consulate officers in other states within the region as a way of pursuing their national interests outside their state boundaries.as a result of the spread of the diplomatic missions abroad and in the region.⁵² The principle of reciprocity will also be at lay since it will ensure that those new states whose e embassies have been opened up within their territories will have the temerity and the responsibility of opening up new diplomatic and consular missions in these states as a show of good will. Therefore, the implication this had was stable regional relations was strengthened.⁵³

⁵⁰ Wambuma H (2015), Diplomacy of water sharing, A case of Egypt and its Nile Basin counter parts, A master's degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository Pg. 38

⁵¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2012/mar/14/controversial-dam-projects-in-pictures>

⁵² Yindego z (2016); How has the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance dam changed the legal, political and Economic & Scientific dynamism in the Nile Basin? Water international Journal Vol 41, issue 4 pg. 503-511

⁵³ Oestigaard T (2012); Water Scarcity and food security along the Nile, Politics Population increase and climate change. Nodiska Afrika Institute, current African issues vol 49. Uppsala, Lighting source UK Ltd

2.2.3 Social

Grand Development projects may also have the capacity of raising the levels of national pride in a country by its citizens. This national pride can also be a strategy of uniting those countries who have the problems of international divisions hence promoting peace and political stability in their jurisdiction.⁵⁴ Therefore, a stable country will be able to attract investors, tourism as well as international corporations to come and do business within the jurisdiction of these countries.as a result of this happening regional relations was enhanced through some active immigration activities on both countries.⁵⁵

2.2.4 Environmental

Some Grand Development projects such as Mega dams. Electric power plants as well as Construction of Irrigation schemes are also likely to have a serious impact on the countries environment. For instance, the mega dams have got a capacity of curing the floods ridden areas by mopping up of the excess waters and concerning it into other important use.⁵⁶ Secondly, some projects such as Irrigation was likely to ensure a green and a cool environment which was good for the attraction of the tourists, conservation of wildlife animals as well as ensuring the survival of states by way of fighting drought and famine.⁵⁷ Therefore, once the environment of states is conserved, these states will not necessarily have to experience inter-ethnic wars simply because communities will be fighting for water and pasture or grazing land for their animals.it will therefore

⁵⁴ Sakwa M (2015); The Impact of water politics on Regional Security; A case study of the Nile Basin states, Unpublished Master's degree project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi Library repository

⁵⁵ Ibid pg 39

⁵⁶ Bruneel & Troope (2002) "The changing Nile Basin Regime: Does Law matter? 43 Harvard International Law Journal

⁵⁷ Ibid Pg 7

to a greater extent ensure that regional relations are enhanced despite the difficulties.⁵⁸ For instance, the construction of the Ilisu dam in Turkey, besides the benefits of electricity supply, the dam was able to impound a lot of water coming from the Tigris River, once this was made possible, the problems of floods had been convincingly controlled and these conserved waters were used to promote irrigation activities and environmental conservation. The same report was given in the construction of the India's Sardar Sarovar dam.⁵⁹

2.2.5 Cultural

Grand Development projects such as constructions of stadia's, Theaters and Amphitheatres, Cultural centers as well as schools and higher institutions of learning has got a socio-cultural impact on regional relations. For instance, the constructions of national theaters and amphitheatres can also provide for an opportunity of these states to nurture special talents among their citizens.⁶⁰ Again the construction of stadia's can enable states to have sporting competitions which are interstate in nature such as CECAFA champions which is played after every one year, African Cup of Nations which is played after every two years and the world cup which is played after every four years. Similarly once cultural centers and historical sites such as ancient traditional African kingdoms and chiefdoms have been built, they will also have the effect of ensuring that local, regional and international tourism activities are boosted within their areas of jurisdictions.⁶¹ Therefore, all these sets of occurrences have a serious implication on regional relations in as far as social cultural relations is concentrated.

⁵⁸Njathi F (2018); The impact of Lack of an acceptable Basin Wide Agreement on how to share the Nile waters. Master's degree project submitted to the University of Nairobi School of law Library

⁵⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/gallery/2012/mar/14/controversial-dam-projects-in-pictures>

⁶⁰ Njathi F (2018); The impact of Lack of an acceptable Basin Wide Agreement on how to share the Nile waters. Master's degree project submitted to the University of Nairobi School of law Library pg. 28

⁶¹ Ibid pg 43

2.3 Negative Implications

On the flipside, the construction of Grand National projects may equally have negative implications on regional relations. These negative implications are also of economic, political, social, environmental and cultural in nature.⁶² These implications if they are not contained at the beginning they can threaten the very existence of these states in that particular region in the first place, they also have got a serious capacity to threaten the maintenance of the international peace and security. Therefore, these Negative implications are discussed below

2.3.1 Political

Some of the GDPs are running the risk of causing interstate conflicts, for instance, the Construction of the Mega dams in South America cost most citizens to engage in political demonstrations in opposition of these mega projects. This is because the citizens in different South American countries felt that they will be evicted from the lifetime residential homes.⁶³ For instance the construction of the Gibe 3 mega dam along the river Omo which flows to Lake Turkana. The dam caused Lake Turkana waters to shrink by a 1/3rd which affected the livelihood of more than 300,000 people. This almost caused a diplomatic war between Kenya and Ethiopia.⁶⁴ The situation was also experienced in Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya where by upon the discovery of oil deposits in these countries and the processes of oil exploration began. These states started experiencing inter-communal conflicts which were cutting across the borderline since every community wanted to have share of the oil proceeds. At the same time, the oil explorations majority of who came from

⁶² Krampe F, Goor L, & Smith E (2020); Water Security and Governance in the Horn of Africa; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SPRI policy paper issue 54

⁶³ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

⁶⁴ Oestigaard T (2012); Water Scarcity and food security along the Nile, Politics Population increase and climate change. Nodiska Afrika Institute, current African issues vol 49. Uppsala, Lighting source UK Ltd

developed countries were also accused of stealing substantial resources from the developing countries, these caused a lot of diplomatic challenges between these states in question. The Construction of the Mekong Dam in South East Asia also caused a diplomatic row between South East Asia on one hand and the republics of Cambodia and Vietnam states on the Other hand, it was alleged that this dam resulted into the reduction of the amounts of water needed for the downstream fisheries and irrigation in Cambodia and Vietnam respectively.⁶⁵

2.3.2 Economic

Some of these GDPs have got the potential to cause economic conflicts between states, for instance in the situations where states are having shared resources. For instance, the river Nile has been of great interest to Egypt. This is partly because its Egypt's greatest source of livelihood since they rely on the waters from river Nile to carry out their irrigation projects and deal with the problem of the Egyptian state of aridness. Therefore, there are many agreements which have been signed between Egypt and these states not divert these waters or to initiate major economic projects in order to prevent the drying up of the river. Sometimes some of these GDPs may cause inter-state conflicts in areas where states are competing with each other for the same opportunities.⁶⁶ For instance, the construction of the SGR line by Kenya and Tanzania was seen as an open economic warfare as the two states were aiming at the regional markets in the East African community. The same Kenyan SGR caused a lot of opposition from the environmentalists since it was crossing over the Nairobi National Park which is one of the important regional resource.

⁶⁵ Yindego z (2016); How has the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance dam changed the legal, political and Economic & Scientific dynamism in the Nile Basin? Water international Journal Vol 41, issue 4 pg. 503-511

⁶⁶ Carlson A (2013); Who owns the Nile? Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia's History-Changing Dam. Vol 6 issue 6. University of Miami Printing press

2.3.3 Social

Some of these GDPs can cause social challenges in most of these states, for instance the construction of major industrial projects have got the threats of causing pollution, skin diseases among the residents, also due to improper wastes disposal, some of the natural resources can also be polluted hence causing diseases to the neighboring states, in other instances, some Grand Development projects can cause other problems on the neighboring states such as flooding, soil erosion among others. for instance, the construction of the SGR in Kenya has rendered so many people jobless, also many small towns and social joints have been reduced into loss making ventures, these is because people are not employed and therefore they lack sources of gainful income hence they are not able to afford some of these social activities such as sporting, clubbing as well as other entertainment activities.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

From the above analysis, it can be seen that the initiation and the implementation of the GDPs has had both positive and economic implications on regional relations. However, the above chapter has clearly demonstrated that in most cases, the construction of these Grand national projects has had positive implications than negative implications.

CHAPTER THREE: AN EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF GRAND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON REGIONAL CONFLICT IN THE NILE BASIN

3.0 The Introduction

This chapter among other things focused on the impact of the Grand Development projects along the River Nile Basin regional and regional conflicts in the Nile Basin. The chapter proceeded to evaluate the nature of this impact to interstate relations. At the end of the chapter, the nature of this impact was determined either as positive or negative

3.1 The Nile Basin Region

The Nile Basin Region consists of all those countries which River Nile passes through. River Nile passes through eleven countries, these countries include; Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan Tanzania, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Egypt.⁶⁷ The river stretches 6,650 kilometers long and its total annual flow is about 84 billion Cubic meters. This region boasts of a population worth 450 million people and out of this population more than 200 million people rely directly on this river as their source of water, food as well as their general water security.⁶⁸ It should be noted that the River Nile is the only source of renewable water supply in this whole region. The population of this region is likely to multiply in the next quarter of a century. This type of population increase would imply that the water sources in this area is likely to be depleted due to the increasing demand of water supplies in the fields of Agriculture, industry as well as the domestic water consumption.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Nunzio J (2013) Conflict in the Nile: The future of Transboundary Water Disputes over the world's longest river. strategic Analysis paper: The future directions international Pty LTD, Birdwood parade, Dalkeith WA 6009, Australia.

⁶⁸ Ibid p 14

⁶⁹ United Nations Environmental Program Annual Report (2017) UNEP website

3.2 The Historical Background of Interstate relations in the Nile Basin Region

The impact which has come about as a result of the utilization of waters from the Nile river is so significant to an extent where it threatens the peace of the region. This is because since immemorial, the states along the Nile Basin region depends heavily on this river as their only major renewable source of water. They also view this river as their sources of water for Agriculture, domestic use, industrialization as well as generation of electricity

In the past, the 1929 and the 1959 Agreements used to give directions on how these waters were going to be used by the states. These agreements were signed during the colonial periods and it handed the monopoly of these waters to Egypt and Sudan, the two countries were given the exclusive use of these waters.⁷⁰ However, this caused lot of tensions between Egypt and Sudan on one hand, and the rest of the Nile basin states on the other hand.it caused a slit between the upstream nations and the downstream nations. Since the upstream nations were n constant cooperation, it caused a lot of resistance from the downstream nations who organized for a binding Entebbe agreement which restructures allocations and control over the Nile resources. As a result of these new developments, a number of Grand National projects such as dams and irrigation networks in both the upstream and the downstream nations have emerged.⁷¹ The impact of this is that Egypt has been issuing threats to downstream states since Egypt is an Arid state and it heavily relies on this waters for their survival. As a result of this scenario, the future of the Nile Basin region is uncertain since there is an increase of different socio-economic and political pressures regarding the use of water resources from River Nile.⁷²

⁷⁰ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271.Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

⁷¹ Ibid pg. 3

⁷² Ibid pg. 8

3.3 The 1929 and the 1959 Agreements

Before the signing of the Entebbe Agreement in 2010, the 1929 and the 1959 agreements were to govern the allocations of Nile waters. The two agreements allowed Egypt and Sudan to have exclusive rights over the river which caused a significant resistance from other states. The Nile water agreement of 1929 was signed between Egypt and Britain. This agreement granted Egypt the right to inspect any upstream Nile water related projects with the potential to compromise its river flow.⁷³ The agreement was informed by the fact that Egypt was more dependent on waters from River Nile than any other state in the region. It was assumed that these other states were having good rainfall, had a good access to the sources of river Nile and other alternative sources of supplies. The other motivation behind this Agreement was that Britain viewed Egypt as its strategic colony that could help it to easily govern its empire. This is for the reason that the Egyptians had a full control of the Suez Canal and Britain could use that to easily access India another important colony.⁷⁴

There was another Agreement signed between Egypt and Sudan in 1959 which was known as the Nile water Agreement. In this agreement, the Egyptians were allocated 75% of the total volumes of water which was to a tune of 55.5 billion cubic meters. This enabled Egypt to construct the Aswan High dam. Sudan on the other hand was allocated the remaining 25% of the remaining waters. This translated to about 18.5 billion cubic meters of water. With these allocations, Sudan was able to construct a number of dams within its territories.⁷⁵

⁷³ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

⁷⁴ Nunzio J (2013) Conflict in the Nile: The future of Transboundary Water Disputes over the world's longest river. strategic Analysis paper: The future directions international Pty LTD, Birdwood parade, Dalkeith WA 6009, Australia.

⁷⁵ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

These two agreements caused an uproar among other states in the downstream region who argued that that these agreements were discriminative, also they pointed out to the fact that it lacked legitimacy since at the period of its signings they were still under colonial rule hence their hands which could be used to claim their fair share of the Nile waters were tied.⁷⁶

Before the signing of the 1929 agreements, there existed to important agreements that had a lot of impact on the use of waters from the River Nile. These agreements included the 1902 agreement and the 1906 agreement. The 1906 agreement was signed between Britain and Ethiopia which bared Congo from constructing any Grand projects along the Nile most especially in the Semliki and Isango rivers. The 1902 agreement effectively established a border between Ethiopia and Sudan, it also prohibited the construction of any grand development project along the Lake Tana shore, the Blue Nile as well as the Sobat Rivers. This is because it would have restricted the amount of water that flows to Sudan and Egypt.⁷⁷ This therefore meant that Egypt and Sudan water granted all full powers to construct Grand development projects in the upstream areas.

The Fact that the new republic of South Sudan assumed its independence in 2011, it made a paradigm shift on the geopolitics of the Nile Basin region. This is because the new Republic demanded to have its membership at the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) to be recognized. The NBI was established in 1999 to act as a permanent commission that brings together all the states, stakeholders who have an interest in managing water resources and are interested in ensuring that there is fairness in the allocation of the amount of water to each state and its stakeholder. The

⁷⁶ Zeidan B (2015); Water conflicts in the Nile River Basin, Impacts on Egypt water resources Management and Road Map. Tanta University Publishers

⁷⁷ Mahlakeng M & Hussein S (2015); The Potential for Conflict in the Nile Basin; Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory: World Affairs, The Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory; World Affairs, The Journal of International issues Vol 19 No 1. P88-115. Kapur Surya Foundation Publishers

newest republic of South Sudan got admitted to this commission in July 2012 hence increasing the number of state who were part of this commission to be 11.⁷⁸ The conflict is now between Sudan and South Sudan who were allocated 28% of the waters, they need to share that 28% between themselves hence the need for a diplomatic approach in order to avoid escalating the existing conflicts between them.

3.4 The Nile Cooperative Framework

The existing 1929 and 1959 agreements formed a major source of cooperation between states in the upstream and a major source of conflict with the states in the downstream region .it should be noted that fresh waters across the world is so scarce and unevenly distributed.⁷⁹ The river Nile by virtue of it being the longest river passes through many states and his makes all these states to claim a stake in in the utilization of this fresh waters. River Nile is also the source of all these countries water for Agriculture, domestic consumption, generation of hydroelectric power among others. Egypt being the last country in the downstream region has always been worried of being send into extinction if these waters are over utilized by the upstream countries.⁸⁰ The major reason as to why the waters in River Nile are facing a lot of threats is because of the problem of climate change whereby due to the shortening of the rainfall, prolonged periods of drought, environmental degradation, deforestation has led to the decline of water levels in this important river. Secondly, the fact that most states in the Nile Basin region are characterized by poor economies which has high levels of poverty, unemployment, high population growth rates and environmental

⁷⁸ Zeidan B (2015); Water conflicts in the Nile River Basin, Impacts on Egypt water resources Management and Road Map. Tanta University Publishers

⁷⁹ Mahlakeng M & Hussein S (2015); The Potential for Conflict in the Nile Basin; Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory: World Affairs, The Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory; World Affairs, The Journal of International issues Vol 19 No 1. P88-115.Kapur Surya Foundation Publishers

⁸⁰ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271.Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

degradation, it makes the demand for the utilization of fresh water from River Nile to increase which is contrary to the levels of water supply.

The population of the Nile Basin region is likely to triple in the next 50 years. It's for this reason that nearly each state in the Nile Basin started reclaiming its right to control the water. These states based this claim on three major arguments which included; its natural rights, its geographic position and its economic needs.⁸¹ It's as a result of this situation that there was an emergence of the competition between the upstream users and the downstream users of River Nile.

It's upon this background that the Nile River Cooperation Framework (NRCF) was constituted in 1997 and adopted by the International law. the culmination of this was the Entebbe agreement in march 2011. This agreement allowed all its member Riparian states to construct dams and develop other Grand National projects along the River Nile which contradicted the provisions of the colonial treaties such as the 1902,1906,1929 and the 1959 agreements. All the ten states have signed that agreements.⁸² It's only the republics of Sudan and Egypt who have refused to sign that Entebbe agreement of 2011. The two states have pointed out at the Article 14(b) of the agreement which talks about water security for other Nile states. They argue that it contradicts the earlier agreements. These two states have argued that instead of the upstream states rushing to make changes, they should strive to improve on the weaknesses of the NBI.⁸³ This NBI agreement suggested that a trust fund should be set up, this fund will be contributed by all the Nile Basin Riparian states, the funds will then be used to develop the Nile river resources and implement various projects which will be of mutual benefit for each state. That the adoption of the Entebbe

⁸¹ United Nations Environmental Program Annual Report (2017) UNEP website

⁸² International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

⁸³ Ibid p17

agreement, it will result into the destruction of all forms of cooperation which have existed before.⁸⁴

3.5 The Emerging Challenges in Nile Basin region

The Nile Basin region is experiencing three major challenges which threatens the Peace and the stability of the entire region in the near future. These challenges can be categorized into three, the Issue of Grand National Projects in the Upstream states. The Egyptian Demand and the environmental pressures. All these three challenges are so serious to an extent where if they are not properly checked it may lead to the interstate conflicts.

3.5.1 Grand National Projects in the Upstream states

The upstream states such as Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and Djibouti among others are currently experiencing a rapid population growth rate, this growth rate is estimated to grow between 3.0-3.5% annually.⁸⁵ This implies that the demands for water consumption keeps on going up in these states, this is for the sole reason of the increasing in the consumption in the fields of Agriculture, industry as well as domestic consumption. These high population growth rates have been accompanied by the Rapid economic growth and development in these states in the Nile Basin region. It's as a result of this steady economic growth that these states have jumpstarted the process of the construction of several Grad National Development projects such as Dams, pipelines as well as the irrigation networks along the River Nile for instance, Ethiopia which had an economic growth rate of about 7.5% per annum embarked on the

⁸⁴ Ibid p17

⁸⁵ Mahlakeng M & Hussein S (2015); The Potential for Conflict in the Nile Basin; Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory: World Affairs, The Homer-Dixons Environmental Scarcity Theory; World Affairs, The Journal of International issues Vol 19 No 1. P88-115.Kapur Surya Foundation Publishers

construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam (GERD) which is valued at \$4.7 billion.⁸⁶ This means that the Ethiopian economy is doing very well. This Dam according to the UNEPP report of 2017 was going to be the biggest in the African continent since it had a capacity of between 62 and 74 billion cubic meters of water. The amount of electricity which this Dam would generate was 6000 megawatts, the end result will be transforming Ethiopia into one of the major exporters of electricity to its neighboring states such as Kenya, Djibouti, Egypt, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia as well as South Sudan. This project has brought about a lot of differences between Ethiopia and Egypt since this Dam will ensure that the Aswan High Dam in Egypt will lose a lot of water annually.⁸⁷

Secondly, ever since South Sudan became a republic, there was a lot of controversy with Sudan which had taken all the 28% share of the entire River Nile waters. The new republic of South Sudan has also set aside new 16 sites along the River Nile where it intends to construct its mega dams as part of its Grand National Projects. This is meant to raise the profile of South Sudan into a middle income economy. This is a big deal for South Sudan since the collapse of the Oil production by the closure of oil wells in 2012. This was occasioned by the disagreements over the fees charged on the pipelines by Sudan. These 16 identified sites along the River Nile is likely to cause a lot of reaction from states in the downstream especially Egypt.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Nunzio J (2013) Conflict in the Nile: The future of Transboundary Water Disputes over the world's longest river. strategic Analysis paper: The future directions international Pty LTD, Birdwood parade, Dalkeith WA 6009, Australia.

⁸⁷ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

⁸⁸ Zeidan B (2015); Water conflicts in the Nile River Basin, Impacts on Egypt water resources Management and Road Map. Tanta University Publishers

It should be noted that whereas the construction of the Grand National projects is good for the economic growth and development of these states, there a lot other challenges associated with the construction of these dams. These challenges include; Displacement of the communities living around the Riparian lands along the River Nile, for instance, when the republic of Sudan constructed the Meroe dam in the year 2009, it was reported that year 15,000 families who were living along the banks of River Nile were asked to relocate to other areas.it became very hard for the government of Sudan to sufficiently compensate these families. This leads to a lot of protests from these families which almost developed into some form of political stability in Sudan and its neighboring South Sudan. Sudan also went ahead and constructed the Roasaries dam, this dam further caused the displacement of over 22,000 families, the situation became so destructive in Sudan. In fact, its alleged to be one of the reasons as to why the government of president Omar Al Bashir was toppled.⁸⁹ What even breaks the Carmel's back is that the expected benefits of these Grand National Development projects do not benefit ordinary citizens, it's just a few of those leaders at the top positions in government.

3.5.2 The Egyptian Demand

The fact that Egypt enjoyed the full access rights of the River Nile waters made it to believe that it was its birth right to enjoy the benefits of these waters forever. This explains why as at now Egypt relies on river Nile for all its water needs to a tune of 97%.⁹⁰ At the Moment Egypt is finding itself in a very mysterious situation, whereby it heavily over depends on the Nile waters while at the same time dealing with the fact that there are high population growth rates in the Nile Basin region, over use of River Nile waters, as well as the pressures to redistribute the usage of these

⁸⁹ Nunzio J (2013) Conflict in the Nile: The future of Transboundary Water Disputes over the world's longest river. strategic Analysis paper: The future directions international pty LTD, Birdwood parade, Dalkeith WA 6009, Australia.

⁹⁰ Krampe F, Goor L, & Smith E (2020); Water Security and Governance in the Horn of Africa; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SPRI policy paper issue 54

waters among other states along the Nile Basin region. This implies that Egypt must find ways and means in which it will deal with the problems of water scarcity in future as warned by the United Nations. It is this situation that has made Egypt to be the biggest importer of food for its total domestic needs.⁹¹

It should be noted that Egypt has got a population size of 85 million people currently, and by the year 2015, this population is estimated to have risen to around 140 million people. This means that as this population size is increasing, there will be a steady decline of its water levels. This will therefore make it so impossible for Egypt to meet all its domestic use of water needs, water to carry out industrial activities as well as water to carry out its agricultural activities to address the problems of food insecurity.⁹² In order to address this problem which stares in the face of Egypt, land reclamation measures in the desert areas have been embarked on by Egypt, this exercise will demand storage of huge amounts of water which will ensure that there is a farther staring on other uses of water in Egypt such as the industrial use, agricultural use as well as the domestic use.

The fact that Egypt overlies on the River Nile for its electricity needs, agricultural needs and domestic water consumption is what has made Egypt to become so problematic in the entire Nile Basin region. Despite the fact that Egypt gets its electricity from the Aswan High Dam, it faces the problem of high population growth rate and the scarcity of water in future. The biggest headache now for Egypt is to address the problem of the shifting geostrategic alliances by the states in the upstream region which translates into lower water allocation leads to Egypt. Most studies have warned that Unless Egypt works on a different strategy which will ensure that its

⁹¹ Oestigaard T (2012); Water Scarcity and food security along the Nile, Politics Population increase and climate change. Nodiska Afrika Institute, current African issues vol 49. Uppsala, Lighting source UK Ltd

⁹² Ibid p23

water networks are protected and enhanced; there could be a very serious water shortage in future which may cause serious conflicts with its neighboring states.

3.5.3 Environmental pressures

The existing environmental pressures along the Nile Basin region is also bother challenge facing all the 12 states. These environmental pressures ranges from the problems of increased pollution which destroys the ozone layer, land degradation, climatic changes.⁹³ This will imply that they will be a big shortage of rainfall throughout the year. There is also an increased danger of prolonged droughts and famine in these areas. The rising cases of disease. All these pressures will be worsened by the construction of these Grand National Development projects. This is because the construction of these projects will mean the use of a lot of waters as well as degradation of the existing fertile lands. To make matters worse, the expected rapid population growth rates in all these 12 states will cause a further strain on the current environment since all these people will require enough food, domestic water use as well as industrial use for manufacturing. Besides this the situation in Egypt will lead into water pollution, increased desertification and the death of millions of irrigation canals. Without belaboring this point, this is clear case of how states in the Nile Basing region are leading themselves into future conflicts.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter ably demonstrated how the construction of the Grand National Development projects in the Nile Basin region has continued to shape the behaviors of states since the colonial times. The chapter also exposed the threats that each of these 21st Grand Development projects pause to the regional stability.it therefore remained unclear as to whether these regional differences

⁹³ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271.Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

concerning the Grand Development projects and the Use of the River Nile waters will spark future conflicts or whether the costs of those future conflicts will make these states to embrace the spirit of cooperation and togetherness to prevent those costs of conflicts.

CHAPTER FOUR: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF GRAND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON ETHIOPIA –EGYPT RELATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focused data presentation and data analysis. This data consisted on what the researcher collected from her respondents in the field and from the various documented data in different sources. This data specifically focused on the effects that Grand National Development projects have had on the state of the Ethiopia-and the Egyptian reations.at the end of this chapter, the questions and the objectives which this study had set in chapter one were responded to. At the same time, all the hypothesis which this study had sought to subject them into test were either confirmed to be true and correct or not true and correct.

4.1 Data Presentation

This section discussed the gender of the respondents, their nationalities as well as their categories as outlined in the target population. The idea was to demonstrate that the selected sample size bored the typical characteristics of the target population since it was representative of the typical characteristics of the Target population.

4.1.1 Gender of the Respondents

The study contacted 35 respondents, and out of the 35, 13 were female while 22 were male.

This implied that both genders were involved in the study since the one third representation was met.

GENDER	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
MALE	22	62.9%
FEMALE	13	37.1%
TOTAL	12	100%

Table 4.1.1 Gender of the respondents

The table above shows that there was a good representation of both genders in the sample size of this study, this implied that the sample was well representative in terms of gender distribution.

4.1.2 Nationality of the respondents

The nationality of the respondents was distributed as follows

NATIONALITY	RESPONDENTS
KENYANS	18
ETHIOPIANS	6
EGYPTIANS	3
OTHERS	8
TOTAL	35

Table 4.1.2: Nationality of the respondents

The table above demonstrates that various respondents were selected from various countries, most especially from the two countries which this study focused on as the case study. It's another demonstration that the sample was well representative of the country distribution

4.1.3 Categories of the respondents

The respondents were from the various categories as it had been proposed in the target population.

Its explained in the table below

CATEGORY	RESPONDENTS
ACADEMICIANS	15
MEMBERS FROM THE DIPLOMATIC COUP	12
CONFLICT RESOLUTION EXPERTS	5
JOURNALISTS	3
TOTAL	12

Table 4.1.3 Categories of the respondents

The above table shows that the sample size was picked from the various categories of the respondents, this means that the sample picked was valid in terms of generating the correct findings since it was well representative of all the categories of the respondents.

4.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Economies

This study attempted to compare the economies of the two countries in question in a bid to understand the nature of their relations. It should be understood from the international economics

perspective that the way the economy of a country is structured determines the nature of its interstate relations a country pursues. The section also went a long way in explaining the reasons as to why the two countries have to behave towards each other the way they do.

4.2.1 Budgetary revenues

In the financial year 2017/2018, the budgetary revenues of these two countries were as follows in terms of the US dollars.

COUNTRY	BUDGETARY REVENUES
EGYPT	\$50.10Billion
ETHIOPIA	\$ 6.39Billion

Table 4.2.1 budgetary revenue comparisons (Source World Bank report 2018)

From the above table, it can be seen that Egypt had a budgetary revenue which was 8 times more than that of Ethiopia hence demonstrating that their economic relationship is unproportioned. This had a significant impact on the way the two countries relate with each other. This finding coincides with that of Abdallah who argued that the Egyptian economy and annual GDP was stronger and greater than that of Ethiopia and if the two countries are to engage in a direct war both countries will suffer however Ethiopia would bear more brunt.

4.2.2 Size of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

COUNTRY	SIZE OF GDP
EGYPT	\$ 257.29 Billion
ETHIOPIA	\$ 43.13 Billion

Table 4.2.2 Size of the GDP (Source World Bank report 2018)

From the above table, it can be seen that the Egyptian GDP is 6 times larger than that of Ethiopia. This also signifies the nature of their relations as asymmetrical. Despite the fact that their relations are asymmetric, Kameri argued that the two countries stand to reap a lot of benefits if they continue to strengthen their economic relations since their economies are largely interdependent. This implies that the extent to which these asymmetrical relations goes cannot undo the benefits that each country derives from the other

4.2.3 Population below the Poverty Line

COUNTRY	POPULATION
EGYPT	20%
ETHIOPIA	29.2%

Table 4.2.3 population below poverty Line (Source World Bank report 2018)

From the above table, it can be seen that Ethiopia has got a higher population living below the poverty line as compared to Egypt. perhaps this could justify some of the Ethiopia's actions with regards to the river Nile waters. However, the differences between each countries poverty levels is not that big. This means that a large percentage of the Egyptian s and Ethiopians live below the poverty line, hence a clear justification as to why the two countries should strive to foster regional cooperation and Diffuse regional tensions as suggested why Hass in his theory of liberal institutionalism. Once the two countries cooperate in areas of mutual interests such as the economy. The huge poverty rates on both countries will be drastically reduced.

4.2.4 Size of the Public debt

COUNTRY	PUBLIC DEBT
EGYPT	88% of the GDP
ETHIOPIA	39.7% of the GDP

Table 4.2.4 size of the public debt (Source World Bank report 2018)

From the above table, it can be seen that the size of the Egyptian public debt is two times higher than that of Ethiopia. this could also explain why Egypt behave the way it does towards Ethiopia since their public debt is a bit low as compared to that of Ethiopia. However, the study supports the ideas of Brunee and Troope who argued that once there is increased intra-regional trade between Ethiopia and Egypt and other Nile Basin regional member states, all these public debts in the two countries will drastically be reduced which is good for the development of the regions as well as the economic expansion in the two countries.

4.2.5 Size and the quality of the Army

COUNTRY	Ranking
EGYPT	Ranked 9 th of 138 countries
ETHIOPIA	Ranked 60 th of 138 countries

Table 4.2.5 Size and Quality of the Army (Source World Bank report 2018)

From the above table, it can be seen that the Egyptian army is ranked much higher than that of Ethiopia. This implies that the military strength in terms of numbers, the amount of the arms and ammunitions each has and the levels of motivations of each countries soldiers is far much different from that of the other. This also explains the nature of their relations.

4.3 The state of the Ethiopia- Egyptian Relations

The Ethiopian-Egyptian relations has existed for ages. This is because the two countries have relied on one another in as far as the management of the Nile waters is concerned. Egypt has always viewed Ethiopia as one of the most important countries in its plans because it controls over 86% of water that flows from the Blue Nile of the River Nile. This means that Ethiopia is an upstream country while Egypt is a down-stream country. The relations between these two countries can be categorized into four, the political relations, economic relations, religious relations as well as Cultural relations.

4.3.1 Political Relations

These two countries political relations dates back to the days of 4th century, i.e. 4AD when king Pharaoh used to be in touch with the king of Abyssinia and the Queen of Sheba. These relations were extended to matters of the military where the two armies cooperated in terms of security and protection of their respective territories, they also handled matters to do with immigration among others. These relations have continued up to date where there are strong relations between Egypt and Ethiopia in different political matters, such as the war against terrorism, the Nile waters diplomacy where they have signed several agreements in as far as the management and the utilization of the Nile waters is concerned. These two countries have also tried to exchange their ideas in as far as matters democracy and liberalism is concerned. Their political parties have also been in constant talks. As a result of these cordial political relations, it can be said that at the moment these two countries are not in conflict and neither are they about to go to war, this is partly because of these stronger political and diplomatic relations and the availability of enough water for their benefits.

4.3.2 Economic Relations

The state of the economic relations between Ethiopia and Egypt has continued to be on the rise over the years, despite the fact that the Egyptian economy is superior to that of Ethiopia. These two countries have continued to engage with each other in terms of trade. The type of trade which these two countries have been engaging in has been in the form of import and export trade. As a result of these the two countries have been enabled to earn a lot of revenues from each other as a result of these trade relations. According to a joint report released by the Egyptian and Ethiopian foreign affairs minister during the Egyptian Ethiopian Business forum in 2018, it was noted that there existed 58 Egyptian projects in Ethiopian territory which had been approved by the Ethiopian government since 1992. Among these projects included that of producing power cables, irrigation pumps, as well as the water pipes. These same report also noted that the amount of the bilateral trade between these two countries stood at \$ 1 Billion. The amount of exports that Ethiopia made to Egypt in the year 2018 stood at \$ 400 million. Majority of these exports consisted of frozen meat, and live cattle, agricultural products as well as medicinal products. In the same report, it was noted that the amount of Egyptian exports to Ethiopia stood at \$ 600 million. As a result of these huge trade volumes, the two countries entered into more than 30 agreements and memorandum of understandings in various sectors, these agreements included the Air traffic agreement of 1952, trade agreement of 1959, scientific, cultural, economic and technical cooperation agreement of 1976, agreement to peaceful settlement of disputes of 1986 among others. These trade deals and the memorandum of understandings continues to greatly influence the nature of trade relations between these two countries.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Ethiopian Chamber of commerce report (2018), Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website

4.3.3 Religious Relations

Despite the fact that Egypt is predominately an Islamic country and Ethiopia a Christian country, these two countries have had a long standing religious cooperation. For instance, the early church of the Coptic's established their bases in Ethiopia and Egypt. Through these stronger associations, the Clergy of these church in Ethiopia used to operate and under one Bishop who was based in the church of Egypt. The same Coptic church Bishop who was based in Egypt was also in good books with the emperor of Ethiopia and the Egyptian Kings. They used to exchange ideas on both political and socio-economic matters hence it strengthened the Egyptian Ethiopian relations. These church relations are still strong up to date the flipside, the Ottoman Empire which was Islamic dominated also set their foot in Egypt and Ethiopia to spread their religion. The Islamic religion took root in the two countries, as a result of this, the Muslims in Egypt and Ethiopia were united by the same faith. This unity still continues to date as the Muslims from both countries have been seen going for the pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia together. The good religious' rapport between the Muslim faithful's of these two states has in a way strengthened these relations between these two states.

4.3.4 Cultural Sector

The two countries have also had serious cultural relations between them. These cultural relations go back to many centuries ago. For instance, intermarriages have occurred between many Ethiopians and Egyptians, there have also been serious sporting activities between these two countries, the most notable ones being athletics and football. In matters education, research and innovation. These two countries have had strong cooperation on educational matters, through exchange programs, joint research, development of joint curriculum and innovations among

others.as a result of these cultural cooperation. The relations between these two states have been growing stronger as days goes by.

4.4 The Impact of Grand Development Projects on Egypt-Ethiopian Relations

It was noted that the major source of misunderstandings between Egypt and Ethiopia of late is the use of the Nile waters. From a historical point of view, it was noted that Egypt for a long time used to look at Sudan as its major challenger in the use of Nile water resources. This lead to the 1929 and the 1959 agreements. These agreements allowed Sudan and Egypt to use the Nile water resources in a manner in which it could not jeopardize the interests of each other. Egypt was Comfortable with these arrangements.

4.4.1 Causes of the Diplomatic Tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt

For a very long time, Ethiopia used to feel sidelined in the utilization of these waters.so much was the bitterness to an extent where Ethiopia opted to start utilizing the waters to meet their local needs. These led to the emergence of tensions between Egypt and Ethiopia. On one hand, Ethiopia believes that being an upstream country and being the originator of the Blue Nile waters, it has all the rights to use these waters to meet their local needs such as irrigation, construction of grand mega projects such as the GERD dam among others.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Egypt feels that if Ethiopia diverts the use of the Blue Nile waters, it may deny Egypt enough water for irrigation of its farms and the water levels in its existing dams as result of these misunderstandings, the two countries have been in a constant war of words and diplomatic warfare.so bad have been these

⁹⁵ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271.Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

differences to a level where these two countries times without number have threatened to go to war⁹⁶.

In fact in the year 2009, Ethiopia came up with the water diplomacy initiative dubbed the Nile water Initiative a cooperative framework initiative where other countries in the Nile Basin became signatories while Egypt was excluded for it had refused to participate in this initiative. As a result of this standoff, there have been a number of horse trading and talks between Ethiopia and Egypt and in so many instances these talks have collapsed. Since the day Ethiopia began the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile, there emerged a lot of mistrust between Cairo and Addis Ababa. Whereas Cairo wanted to Ethiopia to guarantee an agreed minimum flow of water from the dam in order to maintain the level of its Aswan High Dam, Ethiopia has on the other hand rejected Cairo's call for the International mediation. Ethiopia argues that Cairo wants to have veto powers telling Ethiopia what to do within its territory.

Ethiopian officials continued to argue that Egypt and Sudan divided the flow of the Nile waters between them under the 1959 agreement to which Ethiopia was not a party to.

Cairo on the other hand insists that it wants to work out a cooperative approach to minimize the damage and that its principle concern was the management of the river during the times of drought. Cairo continues to argue out that Ethiopia is not offering clear procedures on what to do if we are faced with certain hydrological conditions.

Ethiopia on the other hands sums up the whole argument that “when there is drought we shall discuss.”

⁹⁶ International Crisis Group report (2019); Bridging the Gap in the Nile waters Dispute: Africa Report N 271. Avenue Louise 149, Brussels, Belgium.

4.4.2 Effects of the Diplomatic Tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt

As a result of the existing tensions between these two countries, there have been quite a number of implications which are both political, social as well as economic. Politically, there has been a sudden increase of military tension between the armies of these two countries. The citizens of the two countries have been psyched-up against each other. Secondly, these two countries have not been speaking with the same voice at the international and continental forums, such as the UN, AU as well as in different international organizations. These has had a serious political effects of weakening the strength of these two countries at the global level. Politically there has also been an emergence of a lot of propaganda that is being peddled between these two countries. These has only weakened and loosed the strong relations between these two states.

Economically, As a result of these failed diplomatic engagements between these states. There have been serious economic consequences, first and foremost, it has scared the investors from coming to invest in these two countries. This is because of the uncertainty surrounding the relations between two states. Also the few investors who had brought in mega investments in these countries have either relocated to other countries or slowed down on their investments. This has impacted negatively on the economies of these countries. Finally, the level of trade between these two countries has also gone down due to uncertainty that has been brought about by these standoff.

Socially, these differences between Ethiopia and Egypt has also served to weaken the strong relations which the citizens of these two countries had fostered for so many years. This implies that the levels of intermarriages between these citizens, the extent to which these citizens cooperate in socio-economic and cultural matters has significantly dropped down. This is a negative development to these two countries.

4.5 Findings of the Study.

From the fieldwork and the desk analysis which the researcher carried out in the last one month, this study makes the following findings, First and foremost, the study establishes that the Nile water Basin Region is an area in the African continent which has got a large potential to grow and expand economically. However, the area remains under exploited and many of the existing natural resources are under-utilized. This is because of the many available agricultural, aquatic and water resources which this area is endowed with but remains unused. Some of these resources includes; fertile agricultural lands, enough water resources, enough power plants many irrigation schemes, growing towns and cities among others. All that this region requires is proper planning and cooperation between member states through a mutual understanding.

Secondly, this study establishes that the various Grand Development projects which have been initiated in the Nile Basin Region have to a greater extent influenced the positive and negative regional relations in this area. Despite the fact that it was expected that these Grand Development projects would have solidified regional relations, this study confirms that most of these Grand Development projects have served to weaken the regional relations in this part of the world.

Thirdly, this study acknowledges that the Nile Basin Region has also been characterized by regional conflicts most of them being latent conflicts as opposed to manifest. For instance, the study discovered that although Ethiopia and Egypt have never gone to an open war, the kind of differences they have is extremely big and if nothing is done about it can escalate to an all-time war. Another interstate conflict that existed was between Sudan and South Sudan on how to utilize the Nile waters. The conflicts between Egypt and Sudan although settled by the 1959 agreement, there still exists some aspects of ideational conflicts on the utilization of these waters. Finally, Kenya and Uganda have also had silent wars on the construction of the Owen Falls dam (Bujagali)

in Uganda which has led to a lot of flooding in the areas along the lake in the Kenyan territory. These conflicts have existed for many years since these countries gained independence. Although there have been a lot of efforts from the International community and the African union to revive these conflicts, this study confirms that the coming in of the Grand Development projects in this region has negatively impacted on peace building initiatives in this area, it has worsened the conflicts situation in this region.

Fourthly, this study has also established that although the relations between Egypt and Ethiopia has existed for many years going back many centuries ago, the coming in of these Grand Development projects has seriously affected the relations between these two countries in a negative way. These differences make this study to caution that the amount of suspicion that exists between these two countries is not good for boosting their relations. Sour relations between these two countries can negatively impact on the booming trade that is taking place between the two states and all the benefits that have come as a result of the cordial relations between these two states over the years.

Finally, this study has also established that, the idea of the states in the Nile Basin region lacking the unity of purpose has made it difficult for the them to rally around Grand National Projects which can bring about regional benefits. In fact, these selfish Nationalistic interests (although Normal) are the biggest impediment in the efforts to resolve the interstate differences along the Nile Basin region on the use of the Nile waters. This is because there is no state which is willing to cede any ground in as far as its interests are concenerd.in this kind of situation, it makes any negotiations to experience a lot of difficulties in arriving at mutual agreements.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter dealt with the data presentation as well as analysis of the same data. The chapter mostly focused on the impact of the Grand Development projects on the state of Ethiopian Egyptian relations. At the end of the chapter, the study findings were drawn out which was important in helping the researcher to draw out conclusion and making a few recommendations. This chapter was also crucial in helping the researcher to either confirm or to disconfirm the hypothesis which this study had set to test.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter dealt with the summary of the study, which were derived from the study findings, it went ahead and gave the conclusion of the study. These sets of conclusions were drawn from the findings of the study. The various issues that were concluded opened up the way for recommendations to be made. The recommendations were along the areas of policy, legal framework as well as interstate negotiations and consensus building.

5.1 Summary of the Study Findings

With regards to the first objective which was to assess the implications of Grand Development Projects on Regional relations in the 21st Century. This study established that the Grand Development projects have made a huge impact on Africa's regional relations in the 21st century. This is because, there have been an increasing number of interstate activities as result of the emergence of these Grand Development projects in the Nile Basin region. However, as Kathambi pointed out in her earlier studies, the region has not been properly utilized in order to realize its full potential. This finding therefore validates Kathambi's assertions

Secondly, with regards to Objective two which was to evaluate the impact of Grand National Development projects and Regional Conflict in the Nile Basin the study established that the Grand Development projects have had a negative impact on the state of regional conflicts in the Nile Basin region. Instead of lowering the existing tensions between the states in The Nile Basin region, it has escalated these tensions thereby having a negative impact. For instance, the Aswan High Dam, the Grand renaissance dam as well as various irrigation schemes in Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia just to mention but a few were identified. Finally, the study has also established that the

existence of the Grand Development projects has to a greater extent impacted negatively in the nature of the relations between Ethiopia and Egypt in the 21st century.

With regards to Objective three of the study which was to critically examine the impact of Grand National Development projects on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations, the study established that Grand National Development projects has strained the Ethiopia-Egypt relations in a negative way. This is for the reason that Egypt feels that Ethiopia's construction activities along the River Nile is resulting into little amount of waters that flows to Egypt which is a desert country. Egypt strongly feels that as a result of the Ethiopian activities along the Nile, its future is put on the line hence they are contemplating going to war with Egypt. Ethiopia on the other hand feels that once the water is passing through its territory they have the exclusive rights to enjoy the utilization of the said waters to its advantage. as a result of these two conflicting views the relations between the two states is highly constrained to the negative.

The study also sought to test the following hypothesis, namely; The Grand Development Projects have had negative implications on Regional relations in the African states in the 21st Century, Secondly, the Grand National Development projects has positively impacted on Regional Conflict in the Nile Basin and thirdly, the Grand National Development projects have had a negative impact on Ethiopia-Egypt Relations.

The study therefore confirmed hypothesis one to be true and correct that the Grand Development projects have had negative implications on regional relations in the African states in the 21st century. This confirmation validates the ideas of Mumma, and Kameri who concluded that that the Grand National Projects negatively impacted on the nature of the inter-state relations in the Nile Basin region. The study also confirmed the second Hypothesis to be false. This is because it was confirmed that indeed the Grand National Development Projects have negatively impacted on

Regional conflicts in the Nile basin in the 21st century. This confirmation has contradicted the findings of Carlson who argued that the nature of conflicts that exists in the Nile basin Region to a greater extent was life affirming since it made the states concerned to engage in around table talks which was good for regional stability. This therefore means that a further study needs to be conducted on this issue so as to confirm or disconfirm this finding. Finally, the study confirms that Hypothesis three to be true and correct. This is because it's true that the Grand Development projects have had negative impact on Ethiopia-Egypt relations.

5.2 Conclusion of the Study

Based on the findings of the study which arose out of the objectives which the study had earlier set out. This study makes the following conclusions;

That Grand Development projects have heavily impacted on Africa's regional relations in the 21st century. This is for the reason that there have been an increasing number of interstate activities as result of the emergence of these Grand Development projects in the Nile Basin region. This impact has been both positive and negative; however, for the case of the Nile Basin region, the impact has largely been negative since the regional relations have been greatly weakened instead of being strengthened.

This study also concludes that the Grand Development projects have had a negative impact on the state of regional conflicts in the Nile Basin region. For instance, the ongoing construction of the GERD in Ethiopia has caused a lot of resistance from Egypt, on the other hand, other states such as Uganda, DRC and South Sudan that are also putting up Grand National projects along the River Nile are also experiencing a lot of resistance from Egypt and Sudan. As a result of this resistance, the state of regional conflicts in the Nile Basin region has been heightened.

The study also concludes that; the existence of the Grand Development projects has to a greater extent impacted negatively in the nature of the relations between Ethiopia and Egypt in the 21st century. The kind of harmonious relations and peace full co-existence which Egypt has had with Ethiopia since time immemorial is slowly being weakened as a result of these Grand Development projects such as the Grand Renaissance Dam which is being constructed in Ethiopia.

5.3 Recommendations of the study

Based on the findings of this study and the conclusions which were drawn, the study makes the following recommendations;

First, the study recommends that the member states in the Nile Basin Region needs to convene an urgent meeting amongst them and initiate a conversation on how they can convert this Grand National Project from being sources of conflicts amongst themselves into sources of cooperation and fostering of regional development between themselves. This study makes this kind of recommendations bearing in Mind that all is no lost after all. These states can engage in some form of multilateral diplomacy and a common understanding among all the member states is likely to be found.

Secondly, this study recommends that the member states in the Nile Basin region should consider coming up with some form of regional body that will bring all the concerned member states in the Nile Basin region together. It's this body that will be able to harmonize all the interests of the individual state and ensure that there is a win-win situation of each member states in as far as the utilization of the Nile waters and the Grand Development projects is concerned. This regional body through effective negotiations between the member states will be able to create supra-national bodies which are suspended above each member state, if these supra national bodies are given the necessary support they need by each of this member states, they are likely to come up with various

Grand Development Projects which will be for the good of all the Nile Basin Member states. For instance, if one major Dam can be constructed, it will be in a position to supply electricity to all the Nile Basin member states at a lower cost, if it is agriculture, and matters irrigation, states will be able to carry out agriculture and engage in Trade with each other thereby diluting the Egyptian fear of being rendered helpless when it comes to the utilization and the Management of the Nile waters.

Thirdly, the study also recommends that all the Non-member states in the Nile Basin Region should keep off the issue of the management of the Nile waters and leave it to the concerned member states, this will go a long way in assisting the concerned member states to be able to arrive at an amicable solution. It will also enable the concerned member states to concentrate on the real issues that affect them as opposed to being confused with the Non issues which are brought up by the outside states which have got selfish interests in the Nile Region.

However, with this recommendation. The study cautions that from all the Non-state actors, at least the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) should be allowed to be part of the member states negotiations. This is for the purposes of ensuring that there is the international back up on these negotiations and also to bring about external advice and expertise that is so much needed. The involvement of the UN and AU in this matter will also help to ensure that international peace and Security guaranteed since there is no state which may want to misbehave in the presence of these two important bodies.

Fourthly, This study recommends that the Nile Basin member states should consider setting up a body of experts drawn from each of the member states, these experts should be given all the necessary tools and equipment they need to go round and collect views from all the concerned stakeholders, states and the authorities in this area. These experts should be able to advise the

governments and the set up regional bodies on the best way of unlocking this kind of impasse. These experts should also be able to devise ways and means in which the Nile waters will be properly utilized and become beneficial to each member state.

Finally, this study recommends that the African Union should consider reviving the spirit of Pan Africanism among the African people. This will not only help to open up the eyes of the African people. But it will also help the African states to develop that habit of looking at the African continent as the solution to most of their problems. Therefore, the states who have been inspired not focus so much on their own nationalistic interests at the expense of the continental interest. It will go a long way in unlocking most of the conflicts and various kind of impasse that the continent is experiencing such as the one in the Nile Basin Region.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has dwelt on the issues dealing with the summary of the study, conclusion and the recommendations that this study could give. It's the hallmark of the entire study. The conclusion signifies the recommendations which have been given were in line with the set objectives of the study and they also responded to the hypothesis which the study had sought to test.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

This Interview Guide is purposefully designed for study purposes; the study title is *Grand Development Projects and regional conflicts in the 21st century Africa; case of the Nile basin*".

The views expressed in this interview guide will assist the researcher to conduct her study in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in International studies of the University of Nairobi. Therefore, you are kindly requested to respond to each question to enable the researcher complete his course. kindly full all the given spaces appropriately if possible.

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME OR ANYTHING THAT CAN IDENTIFY YOU ANYWHERE IN THIS INTERVIEW GUIDE! Kindly be as objective as possible as you respond to these questions. Thank you!

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWS

1. In your view, do you consider the existence of the GDP in the Nile river as a blessing or a curse in the Nile basin Region?
2. In what Ways has the GDP in the Nile Waters promoted regional Cooperation in the Nile Basin?
3. What are the major causes of conflicts as a result of the existence of the GDP in the Nile Basin region?
4. What has been done to resolve these conflicts by your organization?
5. Do you think the Response measures by the states concerned has been satisfactory in reducing the interstate conflicts in the Nile Region?

6. your Opinion, what's the link between GDP and the Regional Conflicts in the Nile Basin Region?

6.What are the Implications of the GDP and Regional Conflicts in the African continent in the 21st Century?

7. What can you comment about the nature of the Ethiopia-Egypt relations?

8. Do you think Egypt is justified by opposing the construction of the Hydroelectric Dam by Ethiopia?

9. In Your opinion, Is Ethiopia Justified in pursuing the construction of the Hydroelectric dam in River Nile against the wishes of Egypt?

10.What Do you think needs to be done in order to ensure that the differences between Ethiopia and Egypt are resolved Amicably?

11. Do you feel there are enough laws and regulations in place to help in combating the rampant corruption in Kenya?

Strongly Agree []

Agree []

Not Sure []

Disagree []

SECTION FOUR: IMPLICATIONS OF RAMPANT CORRUPTION ON KENYA'S ECONOMY.

12. In your opinion, how has corruption affected the Kenyan economy?

Effects	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Not sure (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
Underdevelopment					
Unemployment					
Slow economic growth					
Inefficient resource allocation					
Lower Living Standards					

13. Give your general comment on the causes, control strategies, and economic impacts of corruption in Kenya?

.....

.....

END!!

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!!

APPENDIX II: MAP SHOWING THE FLOW OF RIVER



APPENDIX III: LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

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Telefax : 254-2-245566
Fax : 254-2-245566
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke
Telex : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya
E-mail : director-idis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

November 16, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: CELLINE ADHIAMBO OMOLLO – R50/11991/2018

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, **“GRAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY AFRICA: A CASE OF THE NILE BASIN”**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.



Professor
Director, IDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH LICENSE

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 111430	Date of Issue: 23/November/2020
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
This is to Certify that Miss.. celine adhiambo adhiambo of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: GRAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY AFRICA: CASE OF THE NILE BASIN for the period ending ; 23/November/2021.	
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APPENDIX V: PLAGIARISM

FINAL PROJECT

ORIGINALITY REPORT

12%	10%	5%	6%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source	1%
2	www.futuredirections.org.au Internet Source	1%
3	scholar.ufs.ac.za:8080 Internet Source	1%
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