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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**SECURING NATIONAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA THROUGH SOFT AND HARD
POWER: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

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REG. NO. R50/5060/2017

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

DECEMBER 2018

DECLARATION

I, Timothy Mcharo Kaluma, hereby declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for an award of a Degree/Diploma in any other University.

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Date

This research paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo

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Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the Almighty God for enabling me to finalize this research project. I also wish to thank my supervisor, Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo for the support and guidance I received from her during the writing of this thesis. Without her direction, it would have been impossible to finalize this thesis. Special thanks also go, to all those who took time, to respond to the questionnaires. Your contribution was invaluable and enriched the document. I also wish to thank Dr. Edward Magara, for the moral support and encouragement he extended to me in the finalization of this thesis.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my wife, Pauline and my children, Jedidah, Alexis and Solomon.

Your support and encouragement in the last two years has been amazing.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AEC - African Economic Community

AfCFTA - Continental Free Trade Area Agreement

AGOA -African Growth Opportunity Act

APRM - African Peer Review Mechanism

ASALs - Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

AU- African Union

COMESA – Common Market for East and Southern Africa Region

CPPCC - Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference

DIME - Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economy

EAC - East African Community

ECCAS - Economic Community of Central African States

ECOMOG-

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

EPA- Economic Partnership Agreements

ERSWEC - Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation

EU- European Union

FOCAC -Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

FTA - Free Trade Area

G77- Group of 77 Countries

IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority on Development

ILO - International Labour Organization

IMF – International Monetary Fund

KIRDI - Kenya Industrial Research Development Institute

LPA - Lagos Plan of Action

MDAs - Ministries, Departments and Agencies

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

NAI - New African Initiative

NAM - Non-Aligned Movement

NARC - National Rainbow Coalition

NDC - National Documentation Centre

NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa’s Development

NIEO – New International Economic Order

NPEP - National Poverty Eradication Plan

OAU - Organization of African Unity

REC – Regional Economic Communities

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAPs - Structural Adjustment Programmes

TICAD -Tokyo International Conference on African Development

UAM - Union of the Arab Maghreb

UK – United Kingdom

UN - United Nations

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

USA-United States of America

USD – United States Dollars

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABSTRACT

The study sought to explore how African states can secure their national interests through soft and hard power using Kenya as a case study. The objectives of the study were; firstly, to examine how African states have defined and secured their national interests since independence; secondly, to examine and analyze the strategies that African states have put in place to secure their national interests; and thirdly, to examine and assess the extent to which Kenya has employed hard and soft power to secure its national interests.

The hypotheses of the study were; African states have adequately defined and secured their national interests; African states have put in place relevant and adequate strategies to secure their national interests; and Kenya has effectively utilized hard and soft power to secure its national interests. This study employed an eclectic approach combining the realism and liberalism theories, to analyse how African states can secure their national interests through use of soft and hard power.

The major findings of the study are; most African states have defined their national interests. At the continental level, African states have developed strategies to secure their national interests. These strategies are driven by pan-Africanism and emphasize on Africa unity, integration, development and self-reliance.

The policy recommendations arising from the study include the need to; adopt a realistic model of integration based on connectivity and trade; develop national economies; bridge the language barrier between Anglophone and Francophone Africa by adopting English and French as official languages; and streamline membership in regional economic communities.

The academic recommendations include the need to interrogate why Africa has failed to integrate despite developing strategies since 1980s and which model of integration is appropriate for Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

Africa has been the theatre for great powers struggles and advancement of their national interests. Slavery in the 18th century took away able bodied men to work in sugar plantations in the new worlds, i.e West Indies and America.¹ The Berlin Conference in 1884 ushered in formal colonialization and divided Africa into spheres of influence for great powers to control and exploit its rich resources.² While Africa is free, the effects of colonial subjugation are still evident in most countries.

Africa as in colonial times continues to export raw materials to the developed world which determine the terms of trade through skewed trade agreements. This has denied African countries a fair share of the value of their enormous resources which can be used to develop their economies. In addition, the divide and rule policies which split African people on the basis of ethnicity have negatively affected nation building and are a source of instability in most parts of Africa. While there have been few wars among independent states in Africa, intra-state conflicts have been prevalent as different ethnic communities jostle for control of state power and resources. This has been made worse by neo-colonial interests which continue to manifest themselves in Africa.

A 'second wave' for the scramble of Africa seems to be taking place with major powers making forays into Africa in a bid to control its natural resources and markets. The rapid growth of China has resulted in huge demand for natural resources and this has led to renewed interest in Africa. This has given rise to trade agreements and cooperation forums between Africa and major powers, such as; the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Tokyo International

¹ Matthias A. O. & Kenyanchui S. S, *An introduction to African History*, (Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2007), pp 131-132

² Ibid, pp 154-155

Conference on African Development (TICAD), United States of America (USA) Africa Leaders-Summit, Brazil Africa Forum, India Africa Forum–Summit, USA-African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA), European Union (EU)-Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA), to mention a few.

Africa finds itself on the receiving end once again with outsider interests determining the terms of cooperation. This is manifested on the surface by the names of the forums which start with the names of the countries concerned followed by Africa, signifying asymmetry power relations. This is a big challenge for Africa given that despite its enormous resources, it is not able to dictate the terms of engagement due to its inability to convert its enormous resources into hard and soft power that can help it influence its interactions with other actors in the international environment to its advantage.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

States exist to safeguard and advance the interests of their people.³ In the process, they compete or cooperate with each other in order to secure these interests. States normally employ a number of tools such as diplomatic, economic, military, and information which may take the form of hard or soft power to achieve these interests. Those states which have been able to effectively apply these tools have been able to advance their national interests for the benefit of their citizens while those that have not been able to do so remain backward and dependent on other states. The USA for example, has employed the economic, diplomatic and military tools to advance its national interests at the global level. China has also been able to transform its economic power into soft power which it has employed to win the minds and hearts of people around the globe as it advances its national interests.

³ Freeman, Chas. W, jr., *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy*, (Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), pp 3

Africa states however have not been able to convert their enormous natural and human resources into soft and hard power as a means to advance their national interests. Despite gaining independence more than 50 years ago, most African states still maintain colonial modes of production and consumption where they export raw materials and import finished goods from the developed world. Further, they still rely on foreign assistance which has locked their potential thereby undermining their long-term development. This contrasts markedly with Asia and Latin American which despite having faced similar challenges seem to be making inroads in development. In order for African states to effectively advance their national interests, they would have to build and utilize both soft and hard power to further their national interests.

The purpose of this study therefore is to explore how African states can secure their national interests through effective use of soft and hard power by using Kenya as a case study. The case of Kenya would provide a good analytical tool since Kenya like most African countries has not been able to effectively secure its national interests. Despite gaining independence 55 years ago, Kenya still exports raw materials to the developed world and imports finished products. For it to secure its interests effectively, it will have to develop and utilize soft and hard power through effective use of diplomatic, economic and military tools. Furthermore, the study will seek to fill the knowledge gap in this area since the existing literature does not adequately address the problem.

1.2 Research Questions

1. How have African states defined and secured their national interests since independence?
2. What strategies have African states put in place to secure their national interests?
3. How, and to what extent, has Kenya employed hard and soft power to secure its national interests?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To examine how African states have defined and secured their national interests since independence.
2. To examine and analyze the strategies that African states have put in place to secure their national interests.
3. To examine and assess the extent to which Kenya has employed hard and soft power to secure its national interests.

1.4 Literature Review

This section will review literature on national interests, national power and instruments of national power.

1.4.1 Concept of National Interest

Many political theorists and philosophers maintain that nations are driven by self-interest which is normally referred to 'national interest' or *raison d'état*.⁴ Moral, religious and other altruistic considerations may also be included as part of the national interest if they are considered as such by the nation. Discussions on national interest assume that the state is the supreme good.⁵ This is not only the basis of the Hegelian theory of the modern totalitarian state but is also true of any narrowly conceived nationalistic ideas. From this understanding, the continued existence of the state as an independent entity becomes the overarching objective. The other possible explanation, which is more consistent with democratic theories, is that the state is a tool designed to meet the desires of its people.

⁴ Frankel, Joseph, *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp 54-55

⁵ Ibid, pp 55

Despite these different perspectives, it is generally accepted that states are the entities which define their interests and determine how they will achieve them⁶. This raises the question of who within the state defines the national interest and what should count when the national interest is being defined.⁷ This has given rise to differences in opinion between those who believe that national interest can be arrived at objectively and rationally and those who see the definition of national interest as struggle among various subjective views and preferences, a struggle in which the national interest is the political outcome.⁸

The first group belong to a school of thought which is usually viewed as elitist while the second group belong to a school of thought which is viewed as democratic. The father of the first school of thought is Plato. For him, the good of the polis (that is the public good) can best be arrived at by a philosopher-king aided by a few highly learned, detached and fair-minded advisors who can make wise and well-informed decisions regarding the common good devoid of selfish and sectarian pressures.⁹ The basic assumption of this school of thought is that wise and well-informed decisions can be made by a few carefully selected individuals who have been expressly trained to think in terms of the collective good.¹⁰ These individuals, despite possessing tremendous power, are unlikely to be corrupted by the power they possess. Lastly, once socially optimal decisions have been made, they can be implemented effectively by loyal, well-trained, and obedient bureaucracies

The father of the second school of thought is Aristotle. For him the public good (that is the national interest) can be best defined through a democratic process which involves open and continual debate and the expression of various perceptions regarding the collective

⁶ Papp, Daniel S, *Contemporary International Relations: Frameworks for Understanding 5th edition*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997), pp 43

⁷ Ibid, pp 44

⁸ Coulombis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, *Introduction to International Relations; Power and Justice, 4th edition*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1990), pp 97

⁹ Ibid, pp 97

¹⁰ Ibid, pp 97

interest.¹¹ Decisions which are synthesis of conflicting interests are shaped by majority of the people through their representatives.

This divergence of thoughts has resulted in difficulties in defining the national interest. Definitions vary not only within the state but also from state to state depending on relative standing of the state, type of governance, social structure, degree of dependence on other states and many other factors.¹² Despite the diversity in definitions, there have been attempts to define the national interest in more concrete terms using criteria such as military, economic, ideology, morality and legality, to mention but a few. One such notable attempt has been by Donald Nuechterlein.

Donald Nuechterlein defines national interest as, “the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states which comprise the external environment.”¹³ According to him, national interests can be divided into four basic categories as follows; “defence interests” which are concerned with the safeguarding a nation-state, its type of governance and its people from external attacks and control; “economic interests” which entail the economic advancement of a country in the external environment; “world order interests” which are concerned with the creation of an conducive international environment for the country to pursue its interests; and “ideological interests” which are concerned with the promotion of the country’s ideals beyond its borders.¹⁴

Furthermore, he identifies four levels of measuring the intensity of an interest as follows;¹⁵ the first level is “survival issues” which are concerned with the very existence of a country. A country will commit all its resources as a matter of priority to protect its

¹¹ Ibid, pp 97

¹² Op.cit, Frankel, Joseph, pp 56

¹³ Nuechterlein, Donald E., National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making, *British Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Oct., 1976) pp. 246-266

¹⁴ Ibid, pp 246-266

¹⁵ Ibid, pp 246-266

independence from external attacks and control, and if need be, go to war to safeguard it.¹⁶ For an issue to be considered as survival, the threat to the country should be one that will lead to massive physical harm and must be credible and immediate.

The second level is “vital issues” where serious harm is likely to occur to a country if it does not take robust action to deal with threats from another state. These may include: protection of national unity and stability; gaining mileage over adversaries; having resources to pursue its interests; and immunity from intimidation and freedom from subversion or sabotage by other states.¹⁷ A vital issue can threaten the survival of a country but differs from a survival issue in that it affords the state sufficient time to resolve it. A state may forgo other interests and even go to war, to safeguard its vital interests, if it can do so without risking its existence.

The third level is “major issues” where the wellbeing of a country may be negatively affected by what is happening in the global scene and therefore requires remedial action to stop the situation from degenerating into serious threats. If a state is to prosper, its policies and relationships must be adjusted to address the situation and to change it to its greatest advantage or least disadvantage. Such strategic interests include: those arising from the strengthening or weakening of adversaries and allies; shifting international alignments and patterns of influence; discovery of new resources and technologies; changes in the international state system and in regulatory regimes established under it; the emergence of new patterns of economic development and trade, as well as new doctrines and ideologies; and challenges to the status and treatment of its citizens and their property abroad.¹⁸ It is in the interest of a country to maintain an international order and state system favouring its continued independence, its

¹⁶ Op.cit, Freeman, Chas. W, jr. pp 9-10

¹⁷ Op.cit, Freeman, Chas. W, jr, pp 10

¹⁸ Ibid, pp 10-11

capacity to cooperate with other states in addressing matters of common concern, and its ability to effectively promote and defend the broad range of its national interests.

The last level is “peripheral issues” where the interests of individuals and companies operating abroad may be affected by what is happening in those countries. This includes, changes in multilateral or bilateral agreements regulating trade, finance, travel, and other activities of companies or nationals abroad; foreign respect for national laws, institutions, and frontiers; the international operations of ships and aircrafts; status of diplomats, military officers, and state property; communication between governments and peoples, or due deference to national sovereignty or dignity.¹⁹

Hans Morgenthau another scholar who has attempted to define national interests see it in terms of power. He sees power as being important for the survival of a country and therefore avers that it is in the interest of all states to acquire power.²⁰ In this regard, he posits that any action or policy that advances a country’s power promotes its national interests while any action or policy that does not maximize its power is not in its national interests.

National interests of a country can be considered to be permanent in character and can be categorized into major and minor interests.²¹ Some interests must be defended at all costs, others can only be protected in certain situations while others, while important cannot be protected. It is therefore the role of foreign policy to decide the relative importance of each interest to guide its decisions and actions in the international arena. Securing the national interests of a nation is therefore critical in ensuring its independence, territory, promoting welfare and tranquillity of its people.

¹⁹ Op.cit, Freeman Chas. W, jr., pp 11-12.

²⁰ Morgenthau, Hans J, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th edition (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 2001), pp5

²¹ Thompson, Kenneth W and Macridis, Roy C, *The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy in Macridis Roy ed, Foreign Policy in World Politics*, 3rd edition (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp 2

1.4.2 Great Powers Conception of National Interest and their Interests in Africa

1.4.2.1 The United States of America (USA)

The United States of America has a tradition of formulating national security strategy when a new president takes office. The strategy serves as a guide to the new government in articulating its vision in advancing USA national interests. Ronald Reagan's National Security Strategy of 1987 which was formulated at time when the Cold War was waning was expansionist in nature and identified a number of interests. These included: the existence of the USA as a sovereign nation with a strong economy; the spread of liberty, independent political institutions and open societies around the world; a liberal international trading system; enhancement of international security; and strong alliances.²²

On economic and social fronts, the objectives included; securing markets, foreign oil and natural resources; promotion of an open international economic order; advancing democracy and freedom across the world; and supporting developing countries in their development endeavours.²³ Some of the objectives advanced to secure the national interest included: deterring hostile attack of the USA and its partners; maintaining strong alliances; preventing the spread of nuclear weapons; maintaining freedom of navigation; and forging cooperation with China.²⁴

The USA considered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) as the biggest threat to its national interests and therefore sought to limit its influence in the world. This was to be done through promotion of liberalization within USSR and supporting developing countries to protect them from its influence.

²² National Security Strategy Archive, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, January 1987, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1987.pdf>, accessed on 6/04/2018, pp 4

²³ Ibid, pp 5

²⁴ Ibid, pp 4 -5

On Africa, the strategy noted that Africa required attention because of its abundant natural resources, its increased influence in the global arena and the risk of spreading of communism in the region.²⁵ It therefore identified the importance of working with a wide range of partners to reform Africa's economies and encourage private sector development.

This orientation shaped the world order and remained in operation until recently when Donald Trump took over the Presidency of USA. Donald Trump has steered USA from expansionist policies of his predecessors and is trying to reshape the international system to promote protectionism at home. His campaign clarion, "Make America Great Again" and "America First" shaped the development of his national security strategy.²⁶ While the interests remain the same, the orientation has changed.

The strategy identifies unfair trade practices as one of the main threats to the USA economy. In order to deal with unfair trade, the administration would like to create an international trading system based on equality, which has seen the country withdraw from or renegotiate existing trade agreements.²⁷ It would also like to see the emergence of independent states with the capacity to pursue their own interests peacefully, which in a sense heralds the end of policy of domination and spreading democracy across the world which dominated the earlier administrations.²⁸ The strategy has added China to the traditional threat posed by Russia as countries which are out to challenge the American power, influence, and interests.²⁹

On Africa, the strategy sees Africa as potential markets for USA goods and services. It would like to see the emergence of independent African that can participate in the world economy and with the capacity to meet the needs and security of its people.³⁰ It would like to

²⁵ Ibid, pp 18

²⁶ The White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, (Washington. D.C: White House, December 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>, accessed on 4/04/2018, pp 1

²⁷ Ibid, pp I

²⁸ Ibid, pp II

²⁹ Ibid, pp 2

³⁰ Ibid, pp 52

work with those governments that are willing to improve their business environment and therefore become partners in trade. In addition, it would support activities aimed ensuring the integration of Africa economies.

1.4.2.2 China

China's foreign policy and its analysis of the international environment is guided by Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping theory.³¹ During the 1st session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) which was held in 1949, a number of principles were adopted to guide its foreign policy. These principles include: safeguarding China's territorial integrity, sovereignty and freedom; promoting international peace and security; promoting cooperation among nations; and resisting domination by other nations.³²

These principles were reinforced in China's 1982 Constitution which provides the policy orientation and principles of its foreign policy. These principles include: pursuance of a foreign policy based on its national interests and free from external influence; respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states; non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; and equality and cooperation among states.³³ These principles were supposed to protect China's independence and create a conducive environment for opening up and developing its economy.³⁴

During the speech delivered on 16th January, 1980, Deng outlined what he thought to be China's major tasks.³⁵ The address laid out the goals to be achieved in the 1980s which focussed on adoption of policies to drive the four modernizations: agriculture, industry, science

³¹ Huaipu, Zhao, *Basic Principles and Overall Strategies of China's Diplomacy* in Yang Fuchang (eds) *Contemporary China and its Foreign Policy*, (Beijing: World Affairs Press, 2002), pp 181

³² *Ibid*, pg 182

³³ *Ibid*, pp 182

³⁴ *Ibid*, pp 181

³⁵ Vogel, Ezra F, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), pp 359

and technology and national defence.³⁶ Modernization was critical for solving domestic and external problems including the role China would play in international affairs. The role of foreign policy was therefore to ensure that there was a peaceful environment for achieving the four modernizations.

With regard to its relationship with Africa, China's interactions with Africa have increased since the beginning of the 21st century. Rapid industrialization which accelerated in the 21st century made it focus on Africa as a source of natural resources, market for its goods and as a place to serve other strategic interests.³⁷ To expand its influence in the continent, China has employed several instruments such as increasing trade, investments, loans and infrastructural aid. This has resulted in China becoming the biggest trading and financial partner with Africa. For example, trade with Africa totalled USD160 billion in 2015 while it signed infrastructural contracts amounted to more than USD 70 billion in 2014.³⁸

In order to consolidate its relationship with Africa, it established FOCAC meetings which are held at ministerial and summit level to discuss cooperation mechanisms. During the FOCAC meeting held in 2015, China and Africa transformed their cooperation into a “comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership” and decided to forge cooperation in a number of areas. The areas identified for cooperation included the following: manufacturing, agriculture, infrastructure, finance, green economy, trade, development, health, cultural exchange, and security.³⁹ China allocated USD 60 billion to fund the programmes.

³⁶ Ibid, pp 359-360

³⁷ Kuo, Frederick, What China Knows About Africa That the West Doesn't; *The National Interest*, May 22, 2016; <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-china-knows-about-africa-the-west-doesnt-16295>; accessed on 9/04/2018

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Lin Songtian, Policy Dialogue between China and IDA, *The New Thinking and New Measures of China's Policy to Africa: Helping boost Transformation and Development of African Economy* <http://ke.china-embassy.org/eng/zfgx/t1372756.htm>, accessed on 9/04/2018

1.4.3 The Concept of Power

Power is at the core of state relations. Most people associate power with military capacity. This can be attributed to the fact that historically war has been the ultima ratio of power in interstate politics.⁴⁰ Power at the most basic level resides in the minds of people and therefore others estimate of a nation's power whether correct or not is important in the power of a nation.⁴¹ If a nation or its leadership has prestige, it is less likely to be challenged; if its prestige is declining, challenges not only from powers of equal strength but also from less powerful states are likely.

According to Robert Dahl, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."⁴² He sees power as being relational between political actors who may be individuals, groups, political parties, institutions, international organizations or states. In order to be useful as a concept, he proposes that it would be important to specify its basis, means, extent and scope.⁴³ Max Weber sees power in similar terms. To him, power is "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which the probability rests."⁴⁴

Hans Morgenthau asserts that power is at the core of international politics. He sees international politics as a competition for power which is critical in advancing a country's interests in the international arena.⁴⁵ He therefore views power as, "anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man."⁴⁶ This power is based on anticipation of benefits,

⁴⁰ Spanier, John, *The Games Nation Play; Analysing International Politics, 4th edition*, (New York: CBS Publishing House, 1981), pp 133

⁴¹ Ibid, pp 133

⁴² Dahl, Robert A, Concept of Power, *Behaviour Science* Vol I, (1950), pp 202-203

⁴³ Ibid, pp 202-203

⁴⁴ Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947) pp152

⁴⁵ Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans J, pp 31

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp 117

the fear of losing the benefits and reverence for individuals and institutions and can be exercised through coercion or rewards.⁴⁷

Power can also be defined as “the capacity to influence the behaviour of other states in accordance with one’s own objectives.”⁴⁸ Implicit in this definition is the understanding that without the exercise of power, the other states will not accede to the demands made upon them. Power then is several things; it is something that a state has; it is also a tool to achieve its various objectives; and lastly, it is a reciprocal relationship among two or more states.⁴⁹

For power relations to exist, three factors must be present; there must be a conflict of values or interests; B must accede, however unwillingly to A’s demands; and lastly, one party must invoke sanctions that the other party regards as likely to inflict severe deprivations or pain upon itself.⁵⁰

Couloumbis and Wolfe, define power as, “anything that establishes and maintains the control of actor A over actor B.”⁵¹ Power in turn can be seen as having three important ingredients. The first one is force, which is the use of military, economic, and other instruments of coercion by a state to pursue its interests. The second ingredient is influence, which is the use of persuasion to achieve a state’s interest and thirdly and power, which is the authority to induce a state to obey orders issued to it.⁵²

1.4.3.1 Soft and Hard Power

Soft power is, “the ability to affect others through co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes while

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp 32-33

⁴⁸ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 134

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp 134

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp 135

⁵¹ Op.cit, Couloumbis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 79

⁵² Ibid, pp 79

hard power is the ability to get the desired outcomes through coercion and payment.”⁵³ “Smart power” conversely, “is the combination of the hard power of coercion and payment with the soft power of persuasion and attraction.”⁵⁴ It can also be defined as, “the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor’s purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently.”⁵⁵

Hard power can be derived from a variety of sources such as military power, force, sanctions and resources while soft power can be obtained from persuasion, rewards, values, culture, respect, institutions and policies. However, it is difficult to have a clear criterion of resources that can give rise to hard power and those which result in soft power as they are dependent on the situation and how they are applied. For example, economic resources can produce soft as well as hard power behaviour as they can be used to attract as well as to coerce. Military resources can also produce soft power as they can be a source of attraction and can also be used to protect allies. This kind of mutually reinforcing relationship has led some scholars such as Nye and Wilson to advocate for the use of both soft and hard power in what they call smart power.

1.4.3.2 Elements of National Power

The power of a state rests on its ability to change and direct the actions of other states. It depends on the will of a state to apply its national strength and potential in contests with others. A state’s own estimate of its power helps it to decide the degree to which it will insist on its view and take risks to see them prevail. Calculations of a nation’s power and power balance therefore must include a mix of tangible components, like population, men in uniform and numbers of tanks and missiles and intangible components like morale, political systems,

⁵³ Nye, Joseph S, Jr, *The Future of Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), pp16

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp xiii

⁵⁵ Wilson, Ernest J. III, Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power, *The Annals of The American Academy of Political Science*, 616, (2008) pp110-124; <http://ann.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/616/1/110>, accessed on 23/08/2016

and leadership.⁵⁶ In addition, the power of state is also dependent on how the adversaries perceive it.⁵⁷

The elements of national power determine the relative power of one country in relation to another. These elements include those which are stable such as geography, location on the globe, resource endowments and those which are dynamic in nature and therefore are bound to fluctuate such as the state of the economy, industrial development, military capacity, population, national pride, diplomacy and political system. The elements of national power can also be viewed in terms of those which are easy to measure and those which are difficult to measure. There are however overlaps with the first category as elements such as population which is dynamic, is also easy to measure while others such as nation pride which is dynamic, is difficult to measure. These elements to a large extent determine the foreign policy and the national interests to be pursued.

Among the stable elements of national power is geography. The location of a country in the globe, the size, and the surrounding features such as high and rugged mountains, oceans, plains to a large extent determine whether the country is vulnerable to attack or not.⁵⁸ An assumption is normally made that countries that are big in size are likely to have more power than those that are small in size.⁵⁹ While this may be true, the size of a country alone may not be sufficient to determine the power of one state relative to another. Other factors such as location, the terrain of the territory such as mountains, oceans, arable land, and neighbouring nations, are also critical in the assessment of power. Countries protected by water bodies like the United States and Britain or mountains like Spain and Italy may be difficult to attack while those exposed or lie in plains like France and Russia may be easy to attack. This was more so

⁵⁶ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 136

⁵⁷ Op.cit, Freeman, Chas. W, jr., pp 15

⁵⁸ Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans, pp 127

⁵⁹Op.cit, Coulombis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 88

during the olden days when distance from other countries and terrain were critical factors for invasions. However, location and size are no longer of such benefit in an all-out war because modern weapons can fly far and fast and can be very accurate over long ranges. Technology has therefore reduced the significance of geography.

The second tangible element of power is population. Population figures are good initial indicators of a nation's power ranking and possible changes in its ranking.⁶⁰ Population figures can readily be counted and compared, and an assumption is normally made that populous countries are also powerful which tends to favour powerful nations like USA, Russia and China. To some extent this could be true, but it would be wrong to assume that there is a direct relationship between population and power. It is therefore important to consider other factors such as age distribution, educational and skills patterns, ethnic composition and the characteristics of population. Furthermore, large populations can only ensure great power status when there is also industry. It is the combination of a large population with an industrialized economy that constitutes power. The power rating of a nation characterised by poverty, a largely agrarian and unskilled population, a high birth rate, and great difficulties in urbanizing and industrializing is certain to be low.⁶¹

A large population in a developed nation clearly confers advantages as it translates into a big army if the age distribution is such that the country has a sizeable percentage of youth. In addition, a large population means that the industries which develop to serve so many consumers tend to be large scale and the country is likely to be productive. A large economy with many consumers means many nations will want access to that nation's market to sell their products. This gives the country leverage. It also means that the country can use its wealth as a foreign policy/ foreign aid tool.

⁶⁰ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 139

⁶¹ Ibid, pp 137

Furthermore, a big population when combined with advantages of geography, natural resources, and industrial capacity can confer a country enormous advantage over others while it can exert a negative influence on national power where natural resources are limited, and the industrial capacity is low. A declining population in comparison to other states can affect the power of a nation relative to other states where other factors are held constant.

Another important element of nation power is natural resources. Natural resources provide raw materials for industrial production and therefore it is difficult for a country to industrialize without natural resources.⁶² The abundant availability of raw materials for industrial production in a country and ability to acquire and control those that it does not have confers power to the country in relations to those that are not well endowed with raw materials. If these resources are properly utilized, then the power of the nation greatly increases. It is noted that natural resources such as coal, iron, uranium, oil, rubber, bauxite and manganese played a big role in early industrialization of Britain, Germany and the United States.⁶³

Another important element of national power is industrial capacity. A country's ability to transform natural resources into finished products can determine the power that a country wields.⁶⁴ In evaluating the importance of natural resources, the industrial capacity of a country becomes critical as it determines whether a country is able to transform the resources into finished products which can be consumed both in the domestic and external markets. The industrial capacity of a country on the other hand is determined by the availability of appropriate technology which is important in production of high quality and affordable products. This is further influenced by availability of ready markets for the finished goods as it determines the cost and level of production. While most African states are endowed with abundant natural resources, they lack appropriate technology to transform them into finished

⁶² Op.cit, Morgethau, Hans, pp 131-132

⁶³ Op.cit, Couloumbis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 89

⁶⁴ Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans, pp 136

products, a situation which has limited its power. The Democratic Republic of Congo, despite having abundance of natural resources has been unable to transform them into finished goods due to its low levels of technology and industrial capacity, thereby limiting its power. On the other hand, countries such as USA and former Soviet Union which were nearly self-sufficient in raw materials and have been able to utilize them in industrial production have had great advantage over those which do not have abundant resources and the technology to utilize them. This partly explains the power that these two countries have wielded particularly in the 20th century. The quality and productive capacity of the industry, technology, skilled manpower, innovation, and managerial capacity are critical for the industrial capacity of the nation and therefore their power.⁶⁵ Therefore, the abundance of natural resources coupled with technology to transform them is critical in conferring power to nation.

The agricultural capacity or food sufficiency is also a critical element of natural resources.⁶⁶ A country which has good arable land and can produce enough food to feed its population can wield more power than a country which is unable to produce enough food for its people and therefore has to depend on other countries to feed its population. If a country is unable to produce enough food to feed its population and has to rely on other nations, then its capacity to import the food and to secure those imports becomes a critical element in its survival. The capacity to produce enough food therefore is a great source of power in international politics and foreign relations while food scarcity is a source of weakness.

Another critical element of national power is the military strength. Military strength has been used as a measure of power between nations. Military strength can be measured in terms of budget, number of men in uniform and by the number of different weapons that it has.⁶⁷ In addition, the mobility of the military is also critical as it determines the ability of a state to

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp 137

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp 130

⁶⁷ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 149

move its military over sea, land and air to distant locations from its borders to support military operations.⁶⁸ Other important consideration in military power include leadership, quality of officer corps, training, adaptability, morale, strategic doctrine, discipline, motivation, tactics and source of equipment.⁶⁹ Countries with big population have the largest armed forces. When the size of nation, availability of natural resources and its industrial capacity are combined with its military preparedness, its power is greatly enhanced.

The political system is also critical in determining national power. While there is a correlation between type of government (or polity) and national power, it is hard to determine which type of government confers more power than the other. Some scholars believe that some systems of governments such as aristocracies and democracies provide good government while others such as tyrannies and ochlocracies tend to have bad government.⁷⁰ However, the reality is more complicated as the system of governments which are thought to be good such as democracies tend to take long in making decisions while those which are assumed to be bad tend to make decisions quickly which could confer power to them.

The quality of leadership is also important element of national power. Leaders who are wise, competent and effective in leading their nations tend to increase the power of their nations while those who are incompetent, irrational and ineffective tend to reduce the power of their nations.⁷¹ This when combined with an efficient bureaucracy to implement its policies greatly increases the power of a nation. To be effective, a government must also balance material and human resources available with the foreign policy to be pursued.⁷² A nation which limits the interests and foreign policy to be pursued even when it has capacity to do so, limits its power,

⁶⁸ Op.cit, Couloumbis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 90

⁶⁹ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 151

⁷⁰ Op.cit, Couloumbis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 91

⁷¹ Ibid, pp 90

⁷² Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans J, pp 162

while a nation which pursues interests and foreign policy beyond its capacity risks undermining its power, if it ends up not achieving them.⁷³

National character and national morale also play a role in national power. National moral is important in ensuring national support for a country's policies and sacrifice to achieve them.⁷⁴ Governments cannot do without mass support even in undemocratic states as they require public acceptance and commitment to its policies. National morale also determines the kind of foreign policies that will be pursued and influences critical sectors such as the economy and diplomacy.⁷⁵

In addition, cooperation and alliances can also determine the power a country wields. A country which has a wide network of alliances can wield more power than one which has fewer or no alliances.⁷⁶ However, alliances and dependence on external support does not always confer more power to a nation as reliance on foreign powers can limit the flexibility and ability of a country to make independent decisions which could be to its advantage thereby limiting its power.

The quality of a country's diplomacy is also critical in determining national power of a state. Diplomacy is important in bringing together the various elements of national power in the pursuance of national objectives.⁷⁷ This requires focus and clarity on the objectives to be pursued. Where the objectives are clear, then diplomacy can amplify the advantages of various elements of national power while in cases where they are not clear, it is likely to diminish the advantages. Diplomacy is therefore critical in determining the national power of a country and

⁷³ Ibid, pp 162-163

⁷⁴ Op.cit, Spanier, John, pp 156

⁷⁵ Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans J, pp 153

⁷⁶ Op.cit, Couloumbis, Theodore A and Wolfe, James H, pp 92

⁷⁷ Op.cit, Morgenthau, Hans J, pp 158

can either increase it or diminish it. It is also critical in harmonizing the goals and strategies of foreign policy with available resources of national power.

1.4.3.3 Instruments of National Power

Power is critical in protecting and advancing national interests. This is more so given that the international system is characterised by a power struggle and therefore the power a nation wields becomes crucial in securing its interests. Stronger nations are able to pursue their interests more easily while those which are deemed to be weak have a difficult task in securing their interests. The instruments of national power and how they are deployed to meet various interests therefore are critical in securing a country's interests. These instruments include diplomacy, information, military, and economy, which are commonly identified by the acronym DIME.⁷⁸ Other scholars have expanded the instruments to include elements like law enforcement, intelligence, and financial resources reflecting the increasing complexity in the pursuit of national interests. While a nation may not excel in each of the instruments, it has to know how and when to deploy each instrument, if it is to succeed in securing its national instruments.

Diplomacy is a key instrument of national power that governments utilize to pursue their national interests.⁷⁹ It serves as the official means by which states relate with each other. Diplomacy is critical in bringing together the other instruments of national power and directing them in a manner that is effective in securing a nation's interests. Given that nations are in constant competition for power, control, markets and influence in various issues in the international system, diplomacy becomes critical in ensuring harmony and balance in pursuit

⁷⁸ Farlin, Jeff, *Instruments of National Power: How America Earned Independence*, United States Navy <http://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/87.pdf>; accessed on 3/8/2018

⁷⁹ Fedrick R J, Diplomacy as An Instrument of National Power in Bartholomees J B, ed, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security, Policy and Strategy*, (Carlisle, Pa: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004), pp 179-184, <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/strategy2004/13fendrick.pdf>, accessed on 3/8/2018

of these interests. This is done through peaceful approaches such as negotiation and signing of treaties and agreements that regulate the relationships among nations. Through such mechanisms, nations are able to pursue their interests without creating conflict and where it arises, it serves to smoothen the differences through negotiations.

However, behind the veneer of peace and harmony, diplomacy carries the potential of the threat of use of force.⁸⁰ This is more so in situations where competition between nations becomes a threat to vital national interests. In such situations, diplomacy becomes an adjunct to overt or masked displays or use of armed force and is used to build coalitions, influence publics and elites in other countries towards the use of force. Diplomacy therefore works closely with the military in securing spaces, rights and authority to use other nations for deployment of armed forces (i.e., aircraft overflight rights, port visits, shipment of men and materiel) to further the nations interests. During conflict, diplomacy is used to bring the conflict to an end in terms that are acceptable to both parties.

In peace times, diplomacy is focused on analysis and assessment of other countries power both economic and military, their perceived vital interests, alliances and coalitions with other nations and how to balance the competing interests to achieve a country's interests. Diplomacy utilizes a variety of tools and strategies to obtain the protection or furtherance of the national goals or interests. This includes negotiation be it structured or unstructured. Diplomacy therefore endeavours to create harmony among nations and where necessary alter the relations to the advantage of a country.

Information as an instrument of national power involves the use of information by a nation to shape the global environment to make it favourable in the pursuit of its national interests. Information which is often associated with intelligence, is a means used by nations

⁸⁰ Ibid

to understand the complex nature of international and domestic relations. This instrument also employs the cultural strength of a nation to influence other nations to adopt its ideas, language, national system and way of life so as to make them receptive and accommodative in the pursuits of its interests. It also seeks to project the moral, intellectual, scientific, artistic, and cultural achievement of a country so as to gain prestige abroad. Such prestige enhances the attentiveness and raises the receptivity of foreigners to proposals from those possessing it. It therefore adds weight to a nation's political, economic and military power.

The military power is the most important instrument of national power available to a country as it represents the military might of a nation. It is associated with hard power due to its kinetic nature and is measured in military capabilities. These capabilities are a product of recruitment, training, discipline, equipment, logistics and command.⁸¹ Since international system operates in a state of anarchy, the military power or the threat to use it, is critical for the pursuit of a nations interests. While the military power is important in balancing of relations among nations and proper functioning of the international system, it can lead to the destruction of a nation and is normally used as a measure of last resort. Despite this downside, the credible threat of use of force when used in combination with other instruments of national power such as economic can often allow a nation to achieve its interests.

The economic instrument of national power uses the advantages of national resources, technology, industrial development, population and transforms them into national power. The instrument is important in ensuring the country has the capacity both in terms of human and financial resources to pursue it interests abroad. The economic power is also used to influence other nations through offering of financial assistance, markets to their goods and imports of critical goods and services which they may be lacking.

⁸¹ Op.cit, Freeman, Chas. W., jr. pp16-18

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The question of securing national interests in Africa has received little attention in literature. Most scholars on African issues devote their attention to describing its history, colonial heritage, conflicts, poverty, underdevelopment, debt crisis, among others, without delving into any meaningful analysis on how African states can secure their interests in a difficult and challenging international environment. In particular, the question of how African states can utilize soft and hard power to advance their national interests has not received adequate attention. This study will attempt to fill this gap and therefore add value to knowledge in this area.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

Securing national interests is a big challenge for most states in Africa. This is demonstrated by the fact that most African states have not been able to effectively employ soft and hard power to secure their national interests in their relations with the external world. The research findings and the policy recommendations arising from the study would therefore be useful to policy makers as they may be utilized to formulate better policies.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study will utilize an eclectic approach combining the realism and liberalism theories, to analyse how African states can secure their national interests through use of soft and hard power. The realist theory would be utilized to explain how and to what extent African states utilize hard power to secure their national interests while the liberalism theory would be utilized to explain how states utilize soft power to advance the same.

The realist theory traces its origins to the works of Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, E.H. Carr, and Hans Morgenthau.⁸² Realists maintain that there are laws which regulate individual and state behaviour. States are driven by self-interest and are likely to pursue their interests to the disadvantage of others despite the existence of laws regulating human and relations among nations. They consider nations as the main players in an international system which is anarchical in nature, as there is no world government to enforce the rule of law and punish those who do wrong. In this regard, it is difficult to have one authority at the international level as no nation would be willing to surrender their independence to another body or government. In such a situation, there is high likelihood of conflict, and hence it is important to prepare how to deal with it or avoid it.

Realists see world politics as characterised by a competition for power with each nation focused on ensuring its own security.⁸³ They therefore posit that competition to acquire power as a means of securing national interests is the main driver of world politics, and in that regard, most states covet military power. Despite the existence of laws and morality to regulate the international system, enforcement of laws and morality can only be guaranteed by threat of use of force.

Liberalism theory dates back to eighteen and nineteenth century when liberalists deliberated on how to establish just, orderly and peaceful societies. The key proponents of liberalism theory include Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and John Maynard Keynes.⁸⁴ The basic tenet of the theory is that people are in general good and have no desire to fight one another. Furthermore, war causes a lot of suffering to people and therefore if they had a choice, they would choose cooperation over conflict. It is

⁸² Jill Steans et al, *An Introduction to International Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes*, 3rd edition, (London, Pearson Education Limited, 2010), pp 53-57

⁸³ Ibid, pp 53-57

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp 23-32

therefore possible to end wars through the establishment of institutions at international level to promote peace and security and through enforcement of rule of law.

In addition, human beings are rational beings and can therefore articulate and pursue their interests within the confines of laws and moral principles regulating society.⁸⁵ Further, the pursuance of their interests does not necessarily have to be in conflict with those of others as people have a number of interests in common. It therefore possible to have agreement and cooperation among people, both at national and international level. It challenges the differentiation between the domestic and international realms, as there exists relationships among people that go beyond the national borders. Last but not least, while it sees government as being necessary, it is against the centralization of power. It therefore emphasizes the importance of individual liberty, political pluralism, democracy and human rights.

1.7 Hypotheses

1. African states have adequately defined and secured their national interests.
2. African states have put in place relevant and adequate strategies to secure their national interests.
3. Kenya has effectively utilized hard and soft power to secure its national interests.

1.8 Methodology

This study will employ primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary data will be collected from oral administered questionnaires while secondary data will be collected from books, journals, websites, theses, relevant documents from government, UN and other organizations.

The questionnaires will be administered through random sampling technique to senior staff in government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs). Specifically,

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp 23-32

questionnaires would be administered to staff in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Devolution and Planning, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Cooperatives, Ministry of East African Community, Labour and Social Protection, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, Ministry of Tourism, Vision 2030 Secretariat, Brand Kenya Board and KenInvest. The aim of the questionnaire would be to gauge the understanding of the staff of the national interests and the policies and strategies in place to achieve them. Primary data obtained would be collated and analysed using qualitative methods.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study will be organized as follows:

1. Chapter One: Background
2. Chapter Two: Defining National Interests: A Case Study of Selected Africa States
3. Chapter Three: African States Strategies to Secure National Interests
4. Chapter Four: Securing National Interests in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya
5. Chapter Five: Analysis: How African States can secure their national interests
6. Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING NATIONAL INTERESTS: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED AFRICAN STATES

2.0 Role of Foreign Policy

Krieger defines foreign policy as, “the sum total of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations.”⁸⁶ It is a tool that countries develop and employ to meet their national interests through participation in international affairs. Foreign policy also seeks to transform the international system so as to make it favourable in meeting a country’s national interests.

Since countries are principally concerned with their own survival, foreign policy becomes a critical tool to navigate the international system which is characterised by competition for resources and influence. In this regard, internal attributes of a state play a critical role in foreign policy making as it shapes and constrains foreign policy choices. This is further circumscribed by the prevailing international environment which the realists view as anarchical. This has implications for states as the manner in which power is dispersed can affect the strategies and choices of countries. During the Cold War for example, the prevailing global environment affected African leaders’ decisions which were either aligned to Soviet communism or USA capitalism even though the majority of states claimed that they were non-aligned.⁸⁷

Furthermore, the national power of state can determine its foreign policy. For a country to realize its goals in the international environment and to influence others, it would need to harness its resources in a manner that can generate power that is commensurate with its desired

⁸⁶ Krieger, Joel, *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (London: Oxford University Press Inc., 1993), pp. 312

⁸⁷ Gebe, Boni Yao, Ghana’s Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D’état, *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.2, No.3, March 2008, pp 160-186, <http://www.jpanafrican.org/docs/vol2no3/GhanasForeignPolicyAtIndependenceAnd.pdf>, accessed on 4/5/2017

goals and objectives. In this regard, where a country is located in the globe, its terrain, neighbours, natural resources, population, technological and manufacturing capacity, and military capabilities determine the direction that the foreign policy will follow.

2.1 Role of National Security Strategy

A National Security Strategy is a document which outlines how a nation will apply the various instruments of national power, such as diplomacy/political, economic, military and informational power to ensure its survival. The strategy normally incorporates various elements of national power in a manner that promotes the interests of a country.⁸⁸ For the strategy to be effective, it should be based on a country's national interests and objectives, integrate all relevant facets of national power and be supported by adequate resources.⁸⁹ Once formulated, the national security strategy serves as a guide through which the various actors can develop plans and strategies to meet the national interests.

2.2 Ghana's National Interests

After attaining independence, Ghana adopted a foreign policy grounded on pan-Africanism.⁹⁰ This policy was geared towards the integration of Africa in various facets, culminating in a united Africa through the establishment of an overarching continental institution endowed with supranational powers.⁹¹ Ghana therefore was among the countries that advocated for the formation of the Organization of African Unity which was supposed to be the forerunner of the United States of Africa.

⁸⁸ The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*, (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, Press and Audio-visual Department, 2002), http://www.ethiopiaembassy.ru/pages/docs/Foreign_Police_English.pdf, accessed on 14/04/2018, pp 2

⁸⁹ Op.cit, National Security Strategy Archive, (1987), pp 1

⁹⁰ Adibe, Clement A, Foreign Policy Decision Making in Anglophone West Africa, in: Khadiagala G. M. and Lyons T. (eds.), *African Foreign Policies; Power and Process*, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp 20

⁹¹ Ghana Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, *Ghana's Foreign Policy Guidelines*, http://mfa.gov.gh/?page_id=11079, accessed on 4/5/2017

The quest for pan-Africanism was informed by the realization that Africa states lacked the capacity to advance their interests individually and therefore needed to forge a common front to deal with their challenges. In this regard, Ghana changed its Constitution in readiness for the unification of Ghana, Guinea and Mali. Furthermore, Ghana believed that total decolonization and liberation of Africa was critical for the pursuit of unity and therefore financed and trained freedom fighters in southern Africa.

In addition, Ghana's foreign policy supported the principles and ideals of non-alignment movement. Non-alignment was supposed to insulate developing countries from the competition for influence between the USA and Soviet Union. It therefore advocated for neutrality and formation of unity among newly independent countries with a view to developing their own policies to meet their development goals. Ghana therefore pursued cordial relations with all states regardless of their political inclinations based on the principle of respect for sovereignty and independence of other states.

Furthermore, Ghana supported independence and freedom of all nations including the right to self-determination. It advocated for the right of every nation to chart its own development path without external control and direction. In addition, it embraced the principles enshrined in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) charter, developed cooperation with neighbouring countries which culminated in joining the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 where it is still an active member.⁹²

Apart from the above principles, Ghana's foreign policy also focuses on traditional issues such as protection of Ghana's sovereignty and territorial integrity, promotion of peace and security and projection of a positive image of the country abroad. In addition, it also endeavours to promote its interests abroad through the creation of a conducive international

⁹² La Verle Berry, ed. *Ghana: A Country Study*, (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994), <http://countrystudies.us/ghana/107.htm>, accessed on 4/5/2017

environment. Other important principles governing its relations include adherence to international law and obligations arising from treaties, resolution of disputes through peaceful means, and respect for the obligations arising from international and regional instruments such as the UN charter and the African Union.⁹³

In addition to the principles, Ghana pursues the following foreign policy objectives; good neighbourliness, promotion of regional integration, and support for the African Union. Other objectives include promotion of cooperation in various fields such as human resource development, research and development, trade, and development of international norms.⁹⁴ Within the West African sub-region, its primary objective is to promote integration of the region through cultivation of friendly relations with all its neighbours, promotion of peace and security, and cooperation in addressing common development challenges.

2.3 Nigeria's National Interests and Foreign Policy

Nigeria's foreign policy objectives have been consistent since the country became independent and through various administrations. These objectives include, at the domestic level, defence of Nigeria's independence and its territory, promotion of prosperity and welfare of its citizens, and projection of a positive image of the country abroad. Others, which are more focussed on the regional level include, integration of the continent, liberation of the continent and all peoples of Africa from external domination both politically, economically, socially and culturally, and promotion of cooperation both at regional and international levels. At the international level, the objectives include the creation of a conducive international environment for the pursuit of its interests, promotion of international peace and security, promotion of cordial and friendly relations among all nations and people, creation of a level playing field to

⁹³ Republic of Ghana, *The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana*; <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php?id=Gconst6.html>, accessed on 14/04/2018

⁹⁴ Ghana Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, *Ghana's Foreign Policy Objectives*; <https://mfa.gov.gh/index.php/foreign-policy/foreign-policy-objectives/>; accessed on 14/04/2018

enable developing countries pursue their development aspirations, and promotion of mutual respect and equality of all persons of the world.⁹⁵

These objectives were reaffirmed by the Adedeji Commission which was mandated to undertake a comprehensive assessment of the country's foreign policy and its external relations.⁹⁶ The Adedeji Commission made wide ranging recommendations which codified the foreign policy objectives which Nigeria was to pursue. These objectives include protection of the country's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, the creation of an enabling environment to enable every African country to protect its independence, sovereignty, and territory from external control and domination, promotion of self-reliance and accelerated economic development in Africa and other developing countries so as to meet domestic challenges, protection and advancement of human rights, justice and human dignity and promotion of world peace.

In addition, Nigeria has put a lot of emphasis on Africa and has committed tremendous efforts and resources to support the liberation of African countries that were still under the yoke of colonialism. Further, it has committed human, financial and military resources to bring about peace in countries rocked by internal strife, particularly in ECOWAS through its military arm ECOMOG, where Nigeria has been the largest troop contributor and financier of operations. It has also participated in peace keeping operations and dispute resolution in various countries in Africa such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote d' Ivoire, to mention, but a few. Through these efforts, Nigeria has demonstrated its commitment to the vision of pan-Africanism, liberation of continent from external domination and also from internal conflicts and strife.

⁹⁵ Ade-Ibijola, Aderemi Opeyemi, Overview of National Interest, Continuities and Flaws in Nigeria Foreign Policy, *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* January 2013, Vol. 3, No.1, <http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/1526.pdf>, accessed on 06/04/2017

⁹⁶ Ibid

2.3.1 National Security Strategy of Nigeria

The National Security Strategy of Nigeria views the country's national interests as being protection of its independence, sovereignty and territory, promotion of the wellbeing of its people including ensuring their safety and security, promotion of economic development, peace and democracy and human dignity and justice for all.⁹⁷ Other areas of national interest include the promotion of economic cooperation and security at the sub-regional level and Africa in general through its membership in ECOWAS and Africa Union.

The vision of the strategy is predicated upon creating a secure, stable and peaceful country which is free from violence and conflict.⁹⁸ In addition, it aims at making the country prosperous by employing all elements of national power to enhance individual and community security, prosperity for all and general economic development of the country. It therefore considers security of the nation to be all encompassing comprising of traditional security components such as political and defence, and human security involving elements such as economic, social and environment. Further, the country pursues its national interests within the context of the unity of the African continent and aims to enhance cooperation in the political realm, economy, as well as foreign, security and defence policies. Further, the strategy seeks to enhance the standing and influence of the country, both regionally and globally. The policy is driven by realism, reciprocity, bilateralism, multilateralism, regionalism and constructive engagement even with those nations that do not agree with it.⁹⁹

Accordingly, Nigeria considers the following as its national security interests: the safeguarding of its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; respect for rule of law, constitutionalism, and good governance; promotion of multiparty democracy, growth of free

⁹⁷ Federal Republic of Nigeria: *National Security Strategy 2014*, https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://ctc.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/NIGERIAN-NATIONAL-SECURITY-STRATEGY-2014.pdf&hl=en_US; accessed on 1/04/2018, pp 6-7

⁹⁸ Ibid, pp 4

⁹⁹ Ibid, pp 61

enterprise, individual freedoms, and human rights; national stability, economic, social and cultural advancement; employment creation particularly in the agricultural and industrial sectors, including in the extraction sectors; promotion of social security policies so as to protect the poor, the vulnerable; promotion of equity, fairness in the distribution of resources; contribution to the promotion of international peace and security; participation in regional peace initiatives; resolution of regional and intercommunal conflicts within the confines of the international law; and promotion of democratic values in Africa and beyond.¹⁰⁰

2.4 South Africa's National Interests and Foreign Policy

Since gaining independence in 1994, South Africa has pursued a foreign policy which is focused on Africa's development, ensuring freedom of all people and nations of Africa, and reversing the effects of colonial subjugation and dependence.¹⁰¹ In this regard, the focus of South Africa foreign policy immediately after independence had a heavy orientation on human rights, promotion of peace, justice and reconciliation and democracy. South Africa asserted its newly found freedom through taking an independent position in international affairs in an attempt to re-orient its engagement with partners including those countries which supported its quest for freedom. Guiding these interactions was a desire to create a prosperous and stable nation and carving itself a role in the global arena. This included holding the developed countries accountable for their actions and values including going against some of their decisions.

Its focus on Africa was evident in the role it played in various initiatives aimed at jumpstarting Africa's development. This included the changing of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU), the development of the New Partnership for Africa's

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, pp 5-6

¹⁰¹ Republic of South Africa, *White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy*; https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/foreignpolicy_0.pdf, accessed on 06/04/2017, pp 7

Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).¹⁰² This placed Africa at the centre of South Africa's foreign policy and deepened its pan-Africanism credentials. There was also increasing focus on cooperation with the global south as a mechanism to develop shared and widespread development not only within South Africa but also with countries in Africa and the global south generally.

South Africa's foreign policy can therefore be viewed in terms of concentric circles, whose core is the Southern African Development Community, followed by the African continent, then the global South and finally the countries of the North.¹⁰³ In addition, a lot of focus is placed on multilateralism as a forum where countries of the South can jointly articulate their interests in a bid to rebalance their relations with countries of the North. In the articulation of its foreign policy at these various levels, there is a deliberate attempt to develop mutual beneficial relationships based on cooperation at international level, unity of the African continent and the global south, freedom from all forms of imperialism and subjugation, African renaissance particularly in political, social and economic realms, acceleration of economic development around the world and rebalancing of international system.¹⁰⁴

It's important to note that the definition of South Africa's national interests goes beyond the needs of its citizen and country to include interests of people and countries in the SADC region, and Africa as a whole. This in a sense implies that its conception of its national interests is informed by the realization that securing its national interests is dependent upon its neighbours and the continent where it is located. In this regard, it places the unity of Africa, as being critical not only for its own prosperity but also for all countries in Africa. Based on this understanding, South Africa is an active participant in regional and continental initiatives to address problems bedevilling the continent, speed up regional integration, increase trade

¹⁰² Ibid, pp 7

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp6

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, pp 10-11

among countries in Africa, and ensuring that development takes into account the needs of future generation even as it meets the needs of the current generation.¹⁰⁵

Other key pillars of South Africa's foreign policy include ensuring there is peace and stability in the country, by making sure that the law enforcement agencies, governance institutions and the criminal justice system are responsive to the needs and aspiration of the people. In addition, the policy also puts emphasis on the needs of the individuals and seek to a create a conducive environment where they are able to meet their basic requirements including food, shelter and personal security. This requires a stable and growing economy, the SADC region and African continent. The policy therefore endeavours to achieve rapid economic development so as to deal with problems of poverty, inequality and lack of unemployment.

Despite the importance it gives to cooperation and solidarity with all partners at various levels, South Africa like any other nation is also concerned with safeguarding its independence, sovereignty and integrity of its territory, advancement of its interests through its bilateral and multilateral engagement and creating a conducive environment for its development through negotiation of treaties and rule based international system.¹⁰⁶

2.5 Ethiopia National Interests and Foreign Policy

Ethiopia has formulated a comprehensive national security strategy and foreign policy to secure the interests of its people and to ensure its survival as a country. The national interests which are clearly elaborated in the policy encompasses the interests of all people. These interests include rapid development that benefits the population, democracy and good

¹⁰⁵ Ibid pp 20

¹⁰⁶ Republic of South Africa, *International Relations and Cooperation Revised Strategic Plan 2015-2020*; http://www.dirco.gov.za/departement/strategic_plan_2015_2020_revised2/strategic_plan2015_2020_revised2.pdf; accessed on 14/04/2018; pp 2

governance.¹⁰⁷ The policy is centred on the development of the economy as a means to deal with the threats it faces. It therefore gives a lot of emphasis to the achievement of rapid economic growth, expansion of the democratic space and political stability as being critical for its continued existence.¹⁰⁸ The policy gives priority to eradication of poverty through rapid economic development and promotion of peace and democracy. It therefore focuses on the internal environment as a basis for deriving strength to deal with the external environment.

The policy also aims at creating a favourable global environment for the achievement of its development and democratic objectives. The policy is therefore geared towards the integration of Ethiopia into the international system through cooperation, negotiation of mutual beneficial partnerships and respect for each other. The policy is also designed to enable the country to pursue its interest both as a sovereign country and also in solidarity with other countries so as to rebalance the rules governing the international system to its advantage.¹⁰⁹

The policy also identifies economic diplomacy as being critical to its development. Its foreign engagement is focussed on identification of markets, investments, finance and technical support.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the policy aims at reducing external security threats by developing alliances with countries within the region and globally so as to promote peace and stability.¹¹¹ In addition, it is focussed on building a robust economy that it can enable it develop capabilities to fend off threats from within and without.

Ethiopia pursues a pragmatic foreign policy based on its national interests. It therefore prioritises its relationship based on their contribution to their development. At the time of development of the policy, Ethiopia did not think that most African states could play a role in

¹⁰⁷ Republic of Ethiopia, *Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy*, (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, Press and Audio-Visual Department, 2002),

http://www.ethiopiaembassy.ru/pages/docs/Foreign_Police_English.pdf, accessed on 14/04/2018, pg7

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp 1

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, pp 22-23

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp 23-34

¹¹¹ Ibid, pp24

its development and democratization process. It therefore looked at its relationship in terms of ports and security to enable it to achieve rapid development.

2.6 Egypt's National Interests and Foreign Policy

Egypt's foreign policy has for a long time been shaped by its location in the globe and its dependence on Nile waters whose source is in various countries and therefore beyond its control. Its location in the globe has thrust unique challenges to the country as it has to deal with realities in Africa where it is located and where its sustenance comes from by virtue of dependence of water originating from other countries. In addition, it has to contend with the reality of being Israel's neighbour and how that affects its relationship with other Arab states whom it shares membership in the League of Arab States.

Egypt's foreign policy is therefore based on two important considerations.¹¹² The first one is ensuring unimpeded flow of Nile waters based on various treaties signed during colonial times which gave it exclusive use of the Nile waters. This is critical for its economic development and agriculture and is therefore a matter of survival which it is prepared to go to any length to defend. The second consideration is safeguarding its sovereignty and territory through dealing with threats coming from outside the country, particularly Israel.

In this regard, Egypt constantly monitors the events and developments in the Nile Basin countries especially the use of Nile waters by the Nile riparian states. In addition, it closely monitors events in the Middle East particularly the Israel- Palestine conflict and how it affects its relationship with other Arab states, as it is seen as being sympathetic to Israel instead of

¹¹² Hassan Nafaa , *Egypt's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Prospects for Correction*, 2010; http://www.aljazeera.net/mritems/streams/2010/2/11/1_971157_1_51.pdf, accessed on 6/4/2017

Palestine. The Nile Basin region and the Middle East region therefore form the core of Egypt's foreign policy.

2.7 Analysis of National Interests from Selected African Countries

An analysis of Ghana's, Nigeria, and South Africa foreign policies show that these countries have pursued policies based on liberalism. These countries foreign policies have a big focus on African unity and integration. Ghana at independence for example reviewed its constitution to pave the way for a union with Guinea and Mali and pursued the pan-Africanism ideal even at the expense of its economy. South Africa on the other hand, sees its national interests as being closely linked with those of other African countries and other developing countries. It has therefore taken part in various initiatives to revive and strengthen the development of the African continent through mechanisms such formation of the African Union, and New Partnership for Africa's Development. Nigeria has equally been focused on pan-Africanism and has committed enormous resources in the resolution of conflicts within the West African region through its membership in ECOWAS and contribution of troops and resources.

The other two countries, Ethiopia and Egypt foreign policies have more realist thinking and are focussed more on their survival as nation states. Ethiopia for example believes that its survival is primarily based on ensuring rapid economic development and democracy and does not see most African states as having anything to contribute to its development and democracy. It sees its relations with Africa and the world in terms of pursuit of economic interests which are critical in ensuring its survival. It therefore only pays lip service to liberalism thinking and only to the extent of ensuring its own survival. In this regard, despite hosting the African Union headquarters, pan-Africanism does not feature prominently in its foreign policy and national security strategy document. Likewise, Egypt foreign policy is predicated on its survival and particularly its continued access and use of the Nile waters reflecting realist thinking. It

therefore monitors the activities of Nile Basin countries and its diplomatic engagement with these countries is based on ensuring the continued flow of Nile waters.

The above analysis clearly demonstrates that African states have defined their national interests. This proves the hypotheses that African states have adequately defined and secured their national interests. The objective of the study under objective one has therefore been met.

CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN STATES STRATEGIES TO SECURE THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS

3.0 Africa States Foreign Policies after Independence

Gilbert Khadiagala notes that after independence, African states leaders used foreign policy as a tool to become effective players in the global scene.¹¹³ Confronted by inadequate resources and competing domestic demands of nation building, African leaders looked outward for solutions to deal with the challenges. Despite the outward looking orientation, African leaders were torn between the desire for national or continental identity, sovereignty or supra-nationalism, and differentiation or integration.¹¹⁴

The desire for continental identity, supra-nationalism and integration arose from the need to unite African countries, pool resources and enhance their influence in the international system. On the other hand, the desire to safeguard their independence, sovereignty, and national identity, was geared towards strengthening the leaders' control of their states, securing their territories, and generating benefits for individual countries and elites through bilateral relations with other countries. As a result of this dilemma and competing choices, practices of nationalism and pan-Africanism existed side by side in African states foreign policies reflecting both liberalism and realist thinking in African foreign policies.

African states choices were however limited by the need to consolidate power and meet domestic social and economic demands. This was compounded by the fact that African leaders had weak control over the states they inherited while former colonial powers still had considerable influence over most spheres of African life. As a result, the first generation of African leaders pursued foreign policies strongly tied to those of the former colonial powers and tended to be more responsive to the foreign policy concerns of their external supporters

¹¹³Khadiagala, G. M. and Lyons, T., *Foreign Policy Making in Africa: An Introduction*, in: G. M. Khadiagala and T. Lyons (eds.), *African Foreign Policies; Power and Process*, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp1-2

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp1-2

than to the popular demands of their people.¹¹⁵ This was more so in francophone Africa, where African presidents signed a variety of defence agreements with France that were more geared towards ensuring their longevity in power than ensuring protection of their states from external threats.¹¹⁶

With limited resources, African foreign policies were largely limited to regional and continental contexts and where leaders articulated national interests beyond the continent they did so for prestige, to establish presence in international institutions and forge alliances with other developing countries in a bid to extract resources from the powerful nations.¹¹⁷ International institutions on the other hand reinforced the principles of independence and sovereignty of African states. Despite these challenges and contradictions, African nationalist like Kwame Nkrumah still pushed for pan-Africanism.¹¹⁸

3.1 Pan Africanism

According to Adibe, pan-Africanism refers to, “the idea of uniting disparate African states under one continental nation-state or failing that under some common intergovernmental institutions.”¹¹⁹ This idea was however met with disagreement over how to achieve the unity. One group, particularly the francophone sought a minimalist approach, which was geared towards creating cooperation through posting of diplomats. On the other hand, some leaders pushed for the unity of African states through the formation of a political union. Another group of African leaders found the formation of a political union to be difficult, and therefore sought

¹¹⁵ Schraeder, Peter J, African International Relations, in: April A Gordon & Donald L Gordon (eds), *Understanding Contemporary Africa*, 3rd edition, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001) pp 147

¹¹⁶ Ibid 147

¹¹⁷ Op.cit, Khadiagala pp 3-4

¹¹⁸ Francis David J, *Uniting Africa; Building Regional Peace and Security Systems*, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp16-21

¹¹⁹ Adibe, Clement A, Foreign Policy Decision Making in Anglophone West Africa, in: G. M. Khadiagala and T. Lyons (eds.), *African Foreign Policies; Power and Process*, (Colorado:2001, Lynne Rienner Publishers,) pp 20

a greater degree of cooperation in various fields through formation of a looser organization of African states.¹²⁰

As a result of these disagreements, the foreign policy process that emerged in the first decade of independence had three principal characteristics; a pragmatic redefinition of pan-Africanism; the reduction of regional institutional linkages and a growing preference for a loose continental organization; and the declaration of the national interest as an integral part of the nation building process.¹²¹ An agreement was therefore reached, which allowed for the formation of a looser continental organization in 1963, in the form of OAU.

3.2 Organization of African Unity (OAU)

The Organization of Africa Unity was formed in 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The treaty forming OAU was signed by 33 independent African countries with the objective of promoting development and unity among African countries.¹²² Specifically, the objectives included to; enhance cooperation in the development of African countries so as to improve the standards of living for its people; safeguard their newly acquired independence, their territories and sovereignty by avoiding conflicts among independent African states; fight for the freedom of all countries that were still under colonial subjugation; and enhance cooperation at international level. To achieve these objectives, member states agreed to cooperate in various fields. This was to be done through development of policies to guide joint action in the areas of; economic development, diplomacy, transportation, telecommunications, education, culture, health, sanitation, science, technology, defence and security.¹²³

Member states also agreed to a number of principles which were to govern their interactions.¹²⁴ These principles included the recognition that all member states were equal

¹²⁰ Op.cit, Schraeder, pp 151

¹²¹ Op.cit, Adibe, Clement A, pp 20

¹²² African Union, *OAU Charter*, https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7759-file-oau_charter_1963.pdf; accessed on 23/1/2017

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ Ibid

regardless of their size and state of development. In this regard, all states were expected to respect each other and were to avoid interfering in internal matters of other states. In addition, they were expected to respect the boundaries that existed before their independence and avoid supporting elements that threatened the peace and stability of other states. Furthermore, all disputes that arose among member states were to be resolved through peaceful means such as through negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration. In addition, all member states were expected in unison to condemn acts resulting in the assassination of leaders and subversive activities which threatened the stability of member states. Last but not least, leaders committed themselves to fight for the freedom of all African countries that were still under colonial subjugation and to avoid aligning themselves to either to the ideologies of USA or Soviet Union.

These principles were informed by the desire to protect their independence and sovereignty. Due to multi-ethnic nature of most African countries, African leaders were fearful that changing the boundaries of states would lead to contestations over territories among states and secessionist movements leading to further balkanization of the African continent into even smaller economic political units. Furthermore, African leaders chose to recognize those who controlled the reins of power within a particular state regardless of how they came into power.

This undermined the capacity of the organization to mediate in internal conflicts or those among member states thereby undermining peace and stability of the continent. Despite this challenge, the OAU contemplated a more active role in resolving disputes and proposed the creation of an African High Command, a multinational military force comprised of military contingents from OAU member states. However, the African High Command never made it beyond the planning stage.

3.2.1 Achievements of OAU

During its existence, the OAU made some achievements in meeting its objectives. Politically the OAU successfully promoted unity and solidarity among its member states resulting in few interstate wars in independent Africa.¹²⁵ The organization was also instrumental in supporting liberation struggles in Africa resulting in freedom and liberation of states that were still under colonial rule. This was done by providing support to liberation movements, military training for freedom fighters and procurement of arms, uniforms, medicines and other necessities.

On the economic front, the OAU set as its goal to coordinate and intensify intra-Africa trade through elimination of trade barriers among its member states. To achieve this, member states formulated the Lagos Plan of Action with the aim of creating African Economic Community. This was to be done through formation of regional economic groupings which were to form the building blocks of a continental organization. In international forums, OAU articulated the common identity of Africa and adopted a common strategy on various issues of Africa's interests.

3.2.2 Weaknesses of OAU

The failure of OAU to coordinate military matters led to a number of military interventions by individual countries and intergovernmental organizations. At least four categories of actors have intervened in African conflicts; the United Nations as demonstrated by the UNSC 1991 decision to sponsor a series of USA led military operations in Somalia, African regional organizations such as ECOWAS which sponsored a series of Nigeria led military interventions in West Africa, foreign powers most notably the former Soviet Union,

¹²⁵ G.W. Uku Organization of African Unity, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (January 1994), pp. 29-33
Published by: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs;
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/41393455.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ace9bde8eda317f2c250b08abbb1480f5>;
accessed on 23/1/2017

USA and France, and African powers such as Nigeria's dispatch of troops to neighbouring Sierra Leone to restore civilian government to power.¹²⁶

Despite efforts to address the problems of underdevelopment, African states in the 1980s found themselves saddled with debt and dependence on external aid for survival. This in turn resulted in the economic policy being controlled from outside the continent through the Bretton Woods institutions. As a result, governments in Africa had to accept the policy prescriptions from the World Bank which called for reduction of government spending, privatization of state corporations, liberalization of foreign exchange controls and introduction of floating exchange rates. These economic reforms were perceived as the main cure for the acute economic difficulties facing African countries. The reforms however, brought with them immense problems to African governments. Government spending cuts undermined social development of societies and resulted in the inability of governments to invest in human development through provision of universal education, health care, infrastructure to mention, but a few areas.

3.3 The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA)

The Lagos Plan of Action was developed to address the economic stagnation in the continent. The plan was Africa's attempt to achieve self-reliance in the economic management and development of the continent.¹²⁷ Despite a myriad of development strategies and prescriptions which were developed to address the problems of the continent, 20 years after gaining independence, most countries in Africa were still unable to meet the social needs of their people, while growth rates in most countries were weak and uneven.¹²⁸ In addition, Africa

¹²⁶ Op.cit Schraeder, pp154

¹²⁷ Adebayo Adedeji, *The Monrovia Strategy and The Lagos Plan of Action for African Development - Five Years After*; A paper presented at the ECA/Dalhousie University Conference on the Lagos Plan of Action and Africa's Future International Relations: Projections and Implications for Policy-Makers; (Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada 2 - 4 November 1984) pp 1

¹²⁸ Organization of Unity, *Lagos Plan of Action*, <https://www.merit.unu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Lagos-Plan-of-Action.pdf>, accessed on 28/08/2018

had the highest number of least developed countries in 1980, 20 out of the 31 countries¹²⁹ (currently the figure stands at 33 out of 47).¹³⁰ This was despite the continent possessing abundant resources which could spur the development of the continent. Furthermore, the continent remained susceptible to economic downturns in the industrialized world which adversely affected the continent.

It is noted that Africa has the largest reserves of critical minerals which contributed to the development of Europe and United States.¹³¹ It possesses the largest deposits of chrome, platinum and manganese than any part of the world. In addition, the continent has substantial deposits of oil, uranium and copper. In the agricultural sector, the continent produces the highest amount of cocoa in the world. It also produces substantial amounts of coffee, palm, tea and other agricultural products.

In a bid to reverse the trend and restructure the economic base of the continent, the Organization of the African Unity conducted a comprehensive analysis of the challenges affecting the African continent culminating in the adoption of the Monrovia Declaration in 1979. The declaration was a commitment by African leaders for African renewal and self-reliance and contained strategies that African leaders had to implement both individually and as a group in order to revamp economic and social development of the countries and rebalance the international system.¹³²

The Lagos Plan of Action was therefore a follow up of the Monrovia declaration and was geared towards renewing the African continent through a series of actions in the economic and social spheres.¹³³ The plan called for a paradigm shift in the economic management of the

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ UNCTAD, *UN list of Least Developed Countries*; <http://unctad.org/en/pages/aldc/Least%20Developed%20Countries/UN-list-of-Least-Developed-Countries.aspx>; accessed on 6/09/2018

¹³¹ Op.cit, Organization of Unity, *Lagos Plan of Action*

¹³² Op.cit, *Lagos Plan of Action*

¹³³ Ibid

African continent by replacing external development policies with inward-looking ones, which were more aligned to Africa development challenges. It also called for growth of domestic market to absorb goods and services which were to be generated to reduce reliance on external markets.

The plan was endogenous in nature and prioritized the need for African countries to become self-sufficient and reliant in the economic sphere through harnessing of their resources. There was therefore need for African countries to unite so as to increase interactions both economically and socially given that there was minimal intra African trade and movement of people.

This required the formation of institutions with supranational powers to guide the integration of the continent, promote human resource development, science and technology, self-sufficiency in food production and supply, and industrial transformation. In addition, there was need to develop guidelines regarding natural resource exploitation and protection of the environment. The implementation of the above measures were expected to result in increased interactions and interlinkages among African states in the economic and social spheres and lay the foundation for the ultimate formation of an African Economic Community through the use of regional economic communities in each of the Africa's five major regions.¹³⁴

Despite the plan, many African countries did not achieve the development envisaged. The situation was so bad to the extent that the United Nations General Assembly in 1983 decided to hold a special session of the Assembly to discuss the deplorable economic situation in many African countries and possible solutions to address it.¹³⁵

¹³⁴Bade Onimode et al, *African Development and Governance Strategies in the 21st Century, Looking Back to Move Forward*, (New York: Zed Books Limited, 2004), pp191

¹³⁵ Op.cit, Adebayo Adedeji, pp 5

3.4 The African Economic Community Treaty (AEC)

The adoption of African Economic Community treaty was informed by the desire to forge closer cooperation among African countries in the economic, social and cultural fields.¹³⁶ The principles which were to guide the community were grounded in the desire to achieve self-reliance and economic development of the continent. This was to be attained through cooperation, development of common policies, forging collaboration in various fields, and enhancing harmony in development programmes. In addition, member states were to adhere to a common legal regime, uphold the rights of their citizens and settle their disputes peacefully.

The community was to be established progressively through the regional economic communities which were to form the building blocks of the community.¹³⁷ In this regard, the regional economic communities were supposed to forge closer links and cooperation among member states through the development of common policies in various sectors, enhancing investments, establishment of a free trade area, custom union and common market, and common development and compensation fund. In addition, the existing regional institutions were supposed to be reviewed to fit into the activities of the community with a view to eventually making them part of the community. Further, member states were also expected to establish new institutions to deal with areas which were not covered by the existing institutions and enhance information sharing among state owned entities.

The community was supposed to be formed progressively over a period of thirty-four years.¹³⁸ The implementation was divided into six phases, where specific activities were to be implemented. During the first phase, the regional economic communities were to be strengthened, and in regions where they were non-existent, they were to be formed. This was to be followed by stabilization of tariffs and other barriers to trade in phase two. During this

¹³⁶ African Union, *The Treaty Establishing The African Economic Community*, 3rd June, 1991, Abuja, Nigeria https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7775-treaty-0016_-_treaty_establishing_the_african_economic_community_e.pdf; accessed on 29/08/2018, pp 8-9

¹³⁷ Ibid, pp 10-11

¹³⁸ Ibid, pp 12-14

phase, measures were to be taken to deepen cooperation in various fields such as industry, trade, energy and agriculture.

The third phase involved the formation of a free trade area, a custom union and a common external tariff in the regional economic communities. This was to be followed by development of common tariffs among regional economic communities and other measures to facilitate trade at the continental level in phase four. During the fifth phase, a common market at the continental level was to be established through the development of uniform policies in various sectors. The last phase involved operationalization of the common market to allow the free movement of people, goods, capital and services. In addition, all sectors of the economy were to be harmonized, including the formation of a common internal market, monetary policy and currency. A pan-African parliament was also to be established to make laws for the community.

3.5 The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

In 2002, the African Union adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) framework. NEPAD emerged from three different processes, one led by Thabo Mbeki, the other by Abdoulaye Wade and the New African Initiative (NAI). These initiatives were brought together to form a common approach to deal with the challenges bedeviling African countries.

The framework is designed to spearhead the transformation of the continent, particularly in social and economic spheres through acceleration of development. Further, the framework is expected to lead to widespread economic growth and prosperity in the continent thereby contributing to poverty reduction.¹³⁹ Through the initiative, it is expected that Africa

¹³⁹ African Union; *New Partnership for African Development*, <https://au.int/en/organs/nepad>, accessed on 29/08/2018

will finally achieve sustained economic growth and development, thereby reversing the marginalization of the continent in the international system.

3.6 The African Union (AU)

The African Union is a continental body which was formed in 2002 to replace the Organization of African Unity. The objectives of the union mirror those of the OAU, though there have been improvements in the governance and dispute resolution mechanisms. Through the organization, member states committed themselves to foster unity and self-reliance in the social, political and economic spheres.¹⁴⁰ In addition, the organization was to protect the independence and territorial boundaries of member states and enhance peace and stability in the continent. To increase their bargaining power, member states agreed to harmonize their positions in negotiations with other partner states. In addition, they also agreed to improve the democratic governance by opening the democratic space and also to practise good governance.

More importantly, member states agreed to create an enabling environment that would foster rapid economic development and raise the standards of living for their people. This was critical as it would enable the continent to gain power and influence in the international arena which was necessary in the pursuit of its national interests. Other objectives were focussed on the strengthening of the regional economic communities and mirrored those of African Economic Community. Member states agreed to develop common policies to guide the activities of regional economic communities and to support the work of the union. In addition, they committed themselves to enhance research and cooperation in various fields.

The treaty maintained most of the principles which were contained the OAU Charter.¹⁴¹ This included the equality of member states and need for cooperation. In addition, the Union maintained the *uti possidetis* principle, which provided that the colonial borders existing before

¹⁴⁰ African Union, *The Constitutive Act of the African Union*; https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/32020-file-constitutiveact_en.pdf, accessed on 29/08/2018

¹⁴¹ Ibid

independence would continue to exist after independence. Member states agreed to recognize the colonial borders as being the new borders of independent states. This was born out of the fear of irredentism and the desire to consolidate power. The maintenance of this principle was therefore surprising given the challenges wrought by colonial borders to nation building. The development of a common defence policy which eluded the OAU also found itself in the new AU.

A new addition in the principles, is the provision for the AU to disregard the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs in cases of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. The AU either directly or indirectly through the regional economic communities has the power to move into a country with or without the authorization of the concerned state to stop genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes from occurring. This principle was a response to the genocide which took place in Rwanda while the OAU just watched. This principle is also closely linked to the provision for member states to request assistance from AU in cases where there is a breakdown in law and order, which demonstrates the importance the AU attaches to the maintenance of peace and stability in the continent. In addition, member states decided not to recognize unconstitutional change of governments which is a departure from the norm which obtained during the period of OAU where member states recognized whoever was in power, regardless of how they took over power.

3.7 Africa Union Agenda 2063

The AU Agenda 2063 reflects the desire of African continent to unite as a means to achieve its development aspirations.¹⁴² The Agenda therefore consolidates the desires of African leaders over the years, who have endeavoured to create a continent which is empowered, self-sufficient and providing a high standard of living to its citizens. In addition,

¹⁴² African Union Commission, Agenda 2063: *The African We Want*; popular version, second edition, August 2014 <https://archive.au.int/assets/images/agenda2063.pdf>; accessed on 29/08/2018, pp 1

the agenda emphasizes the importance of accountable leadership as a means to strengthen governance and growth in the continent. The role of regional economic communities as means to achieve continental unity is also given prominence.

The agenda is built around seven aspirations, which are geared towards creating widespread prosperity through uniting the continent.¹⁴³ The agenda envisages an end state where Africa would have overcome its many challenges and therefore is able to assert itself in the international arena. The first aspiration therefore seeks to create widespread growth that will lift millions out of poverty. The desire for united continent is the second aspiration reflecting the enduring desire by African leaders to secure the interests of their people through forging a common front to deal with the international environment. Another aspiration captured in the agenda is good governance. For a long time, Africa has been accused of bad governance and abuse of human rights of their people. This aspiration therefore seeks to reverse this picture, by creating an African continent where leaders are accountable, respect the rule of law and are responsive to the needs of their people. The fourth aspiration deals with peace and security. African has experienced conflicts and civil wars for a long time and therefore this aspiration seeks to reverse the trend by committing leaders to shun violence and discrimination. African common heritage and identity forms the fifth aspiration. This aspiration seeks to use culture and heritage as a means to brand Africa as a unique continent which is proud of its culture.

Some of the mechanisms which the agenda identifies as means to achieve the desired end state include enhancing connectivity of the continent through the development of quality integrated infrastructure comprising of roads, railways, energy, ports and airports.¹⁴⁴ In addition, it prioritizes peace and harmony so as to create an enabling environment for widespread development and prosperity. In this regard, it endeavours to silence all the guns by

¹⁴³ Ibid,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, pp 2-4

2020 so as to ensure that conflict and war are no longer a defining feature of the continent.¹⁴⁵ In addition, a common defense, foreign and security policies will be developed to secure its people and interests. African languages will also be promoted to assist in the integration of Africa.¹⁴⁶

The agenda also seek to hasten the development of a Continental Free Trade Area so as to increase trade among African countries, forge common positions in international negotiations, and develop institutions to support integration, especially in the financial sector.¹⁴⁷ To promote the free movement of people, member states are expected to adopt a common African Passport and remove visa requirements for African citizens travelling within Africa.

3.8 Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AFCFTA)

The Continental Free Trade Area agreement is one of the concrete steps taken by AU member states to actualize the integration of the continent. The main objective of the agreement is to eliminate barriers to trade and movement of people so as to deepen the cooperation and unity of the continent.¹⁴⁸ The agreement therefore seeks to create a common market for goods and services, remove obstacles to movement of people across borders, among other measures. The agreement is also supposed to lay the foundation for further steps for integration such as the creation of a custom union and also rationalize the activities of the regional economic communities, including the duplication in membership. These measures, if implemented well, are supposed to result in sustained economic growth and development, thereby improving the competitiveness of the continent.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, pp 6-7

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, pp 10-11

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp 16

¹⁴⁸ African Union; *Agreement Establishing African Continental Free Trade Area*; March 2018; https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/34248-treaty-consolidated_text_on_cfta_-_en.pdf; accessed on 29/08/2018

The AfCFTA will be member driven and will incorporate RECs' Free Trade Areas (FTAs) which will form its building blocks.¹⁴⁹ In addition, it will take into account the different levels of development and allow member states to move in a speed they comfortable with. Further, it will afford member states who are categorized as least developed countries special treatment and take into account existing provisions and legal frameworks governing trade.

3.9 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

The non-aligned movement traces its roots to the 1955 Bandung Conference. The conference which was attended by 29 first generation Heads of States from independent countries in Asia and Africa was geared towards identifying the issues affecting the world and forging joint policies in international relations. The movement was formally inaugurated in 1961, in Belgrade.

The movement has been instrumental in articulating the interests of developing countries and assisted those countries which were under colonization, in their fight for independence.¹⁵⁰ In addition, it helped members defend their sovereignty and territorial boundaries and maintain their neutrality, especially during the Cold War when there was heightened competition between the USA and Soviet Union. In this regard, members fought against all forms of colonialism and imperialism, including foreign occupation of members territories. The movement also embraced some of the principles contained in the UN charter and the OAU such as peaceful existence among member states, refraining from involvement in internal affairs of members, avoidance of use of force as a means of settling disputes, promotion of socio-economic development and reviewing the international economic system to provide a level playing field.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Government of India, *History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement*; <https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement>; accessed on 30/8/2018

The movement provided support to the decolonization process and independence of many countries. During the 1970s and 1980s, the movement was instrumental in the push for a new international economic order that would allow developing countries to have a bigger voice in international affairs and therefore begin to rebalance the international system in their favour.

3.10 New International Economic Order (NIEO)

The clamour for a NIEO got its impetus from the crisis engulfing the world economy in the 1970s. The situation was so dire that the United Nations had to dedicate a special session to deliberate the problems affecting commodity exporting countries.¹⁵¹ The decision by oil producing countries to increase the price of oil led to an economic crisis in the world and also emboldened other commodity producing countries to take similar action, with the hope that they too could get better prices for their commodities. The session decided to work towards the creation of a NIEO which would rebalance the relations between the developed and developing countries on the basis of fairness, equality of member states, and cooperation for mutual benefit.¹⁵²

The principles that were to govern the NIEO were to a greater extent similar to those of the UN Charter, AU and non-aligned movement. In addition, new principles were to be incorporated such as the liberty of each country to implement an economic model that it deemed fit, independent from any external pressures. In addition, every country was to assume full responsibility over the resources in its territory and could take over their ownership where they were in the hands of external actors. In this regard, developing countries were supposed to regulate and supervise the activities of transnational corporations operating in their countries.

¹⁵¹Nils Gilman, The New International Economic Order: A Reintroduction; *Humanity Journal*, March 15, 2015; <http://humanityjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/HUM-6.1-final-text-GILMAN.pdf>; accessed on 30/8/2018

¹⁵² The United Nations; *Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order*; <http://www.un-documents.net/s6r3201.htm>, accessed on 30/8/2018

Of critical importance was the attempt to link the price of primary commodities with the price of manufactured and semi-manufactured products.¹⁵³ Developing countries sought through the NIEO to have a direct link between the returns they received from the sale of unprocessed commodities with the price they were being charged for finished goods. This was to ensure that they received good revenues from the commodities they were producing to enable them purchase machinery and goods that were important in their development process. Further, in the NIEO, they were to receive assistance without any conditionality or strings attached so that they could decide on how to invest the aid they received. Another area which continues to receive attention up to now, is the transfer of technology. Developing countries have been pushing for technology transfer to enable them to develop their economies to no avail. These among others were to form the basis of the NIEO. Despite these concerted efforts, nothing tangible came out of the initiatives and developing continue to fight for these ideals in various forums in the international system.

3.11 Group of 77 and China

The Group of 77 (G-77) was formed by 77 developing countries during the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD session in 1964.¹⁵⁴ The membership of the group has grown over the years and currently stands at 134 countries, making it the largest intergovernmental organization. The group however has chosen not to change its name to reflect the current membership owing to the significance it places on the historic signing of the declaration that brought it into existence.¹⁵⁵

The founding of the group was the result of recognition by the developing countries on the need for joint action to confront their common problems.¹⁵⁶ While the group was formed

¹⁵³ Ibid

¹⁵⁴ The Group of 77; *About the Group of 77*; <http://www.g77.org/doc/>; accessed on 30/8/2018

¹⁵⁵ Encyclopaedia Britannica; *Group of 77*; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Group-of-77>; accessed on 30/8/2018

¹⁵⁶ The Group of 77; *Origin of Group of 77*; <http://www.g77.org/paris/history/pdf/historyG77.pdf>, accessed on 30/8/2018

to help developing countries to forge common positions on trade and development, it has grown over time to become a major negotiating block in the United Nations system and currently deals with virtually all issues that are of interest to developing countries.¹⁵⁷

The Group works jointly to initiate texts for negotiations, in the UN system and its various committees. Further, it makes statements during the sessions and negotiations thereby leveraging on the strength of its membership to advance positions that are beneficial to its members.¹⁵⁸ The group is therefore the epitome of unity of developing countries which enables weaker members of the group to achieve their interests on issues of common interests to developing countries.

3.12 United Nations

During the independence era of the 1960s, membership in the UN helped African countries to project their foreign policies. In addition to serving as a concrete symbol of African independence, UN membership provided African leaders with an important forum for promoting African view on a variety of international issues, such decolonization, promotion of socio-economic development, disarmament and regional security. Most importantly, the UN provided a unique forum for diplomatic negotiations. Financially unable to maintain embassies throughout the world, African diplomats took advantage of the fact that almost all nations maintained a permanent mission in New York to carry out day-to day business of diplomacy. In addition, the UN agencies assumed a bigger part of the development of most countries as they lacked resources to provide critical services.

¹⁵⁷ UN Chronicle, *The Group of 77 in a Changing World*; <https://unchronicle.un.org/article/group-77-changing-world-0>; accessed on 30/8/2018

¹⁵⁸ Op.cit, *About the Group of 77*

3.13 Analysis of African Strategies to Secure their National Interests

African leaders since attaining independence have grappled with the vision of pan-Africanism and the desire to integrate both economically and politically. The rationale for economic integration and cooperation is based on the realization that through unity, Africa states can overcome the problems associated with smallness, fragility and structural weakness and therefore can acquire greater voice and bargaining power in negotiations with the developed world by building upon the strength of each country and their numbers. Furthermore, integration is supposed to help African countries to assert their power in the global environment controlled by major powers and powerful regional economic entities.

African states have therefore developed various strategies to achieve this beginning with the OAU, Lagos Plan of Action, African Economic Community Treaty, NEPAD, transformation of OAU to African Union, Africa Union Agenda 2063, and African Continental Free Trade Area. The common theme running through all these initiatives and strategies is African unity, integration and self-reliance. In this regard, there has been consistency in thinking among African leaders at continental level which is driven by liberalism which calls for cooperation as a means for achieving common goals. The strategies reflect a build-up of ideas of unity and integration which envision Africa becoming one by 2063 through using regional economic communities as building blocks.

In this regard, African leaders have joined hands to form various organizations to promote regional cooperation and integration. By 1980s, it was projected that at least 160 intergovernmental economic groupings existed on the African continent.¹⁵⁹ The key regional organizations included, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UAM), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Intergovernmental

¹⁵⁹ Op.cit, Schraeder, pp 156

Authority on Development (IGAD). These regional groupings were complemented by a few larger groupings such as the Lome Convention, which promoted preferential trade links between the European Union and countries from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific.

To move the agenda of integration forward, the OAU member states met in 1980 and adopted the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) which called for the formation of the African Economic Community (AEC).¹⁶⁰ The LPA emphasised self-reliance as a panacea to Africa's socio-economic problems. Soon after the adoption of the LPA, the World Bank published the Berg report which propagated the view that Africa should continue to produce and export raw commodities as they were best suited to that sector due to the comparative advantage.¹⁶¹ Following economic crises in several countries between 1980 and 1989, the vision was abandoned as the affected countries sought assistance from the Bretton woods institutions which insisted on implementation of structural adjustment programmes. These programmes had a devastating effect on the economies of African countries as they required governments to divest from provision of social services and instead create a suitable environment for the private sector to thrive. In the process, Africa abandoned its own blueprint which called for self-reliance as a solution to its problems for external solutions which were not suited for its needs.

The vision was however revived through the African Union Agenda 2063 and Africa Continental Free Trade Area. While African leaders were able to surmount the resistance towards the formation of continental body in 1963, they have not been very successful in moving towards deeper integration. The regional economic communities which were supposed to be the building blocks towards Africa integration are still weak and are bedevilled by many

¹⁶⁰ Op.cit. Bade Onimode, pp191

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pp191

challenges including multiple memberships, competition among member states and nationalism.

While the vision of cooperation and unity is good, its achievement is difficult owing to the different experiences during colonization, the Cold War, different levels of development, political systems, religious beliefs, multiple memberships, and different official languages. The fact that most African countries are poor means that they are likely to be in competition with one another rather than complement each other. This in a sense reflects a form of tension between the desire for integration as espoused by liberalism and individual sovereignty which reflects realist thinking. African states therefore may need to rethink their vision and strategies in securing unity and by extension their national interests. They may need to identify areas which they need to cooperate and areas where they need to address individually.

Based on the above discussion and analysis, it is evident that African countries have put adequate strategies to secure their national strategies through various measures aimed at promoting integration. This proves the second hypotheses that African states have put in place relevant and adequate strategies to secure their national interests. The objective number two of the study has therefore been met.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECURING NATIONAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA; A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

Since attaining independence, African states have been preoccupied with how to secure their national interests. Chapter two has highlighted how selected African countries have defined their national interests while chapter three has presented the strategies that African states as a group have put in place in order to secure their national interests. Chapter four will dwell on the case study of Kenya and will utilize both primary and secondary data to analyse how Kenya has secured its national interests through use of soft and hard power.

The primary data was obtained from the research findings from respondents from Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) in Kenya conducted in August 2018. The overall objective of the research was to obtain information on how Kenya has used soft and hard power to secure its national interests. The information sought through the questionnaire therefore related to the following key areas; Kenya's national interests; role of MDAs and staff in the achievement of the identified interests; the strategies and policies that have been put in place in pursuit of the national interests; alignment of strategies/policies with national interests; role of treaties and agreements in the pursuit of national interests; creating an enabling environment to pursue national interests; the tools employed to pursue the national interests; effectiveness of the tools; the most effective tool in pursuit of national interests; use of soft and hard power; collaboration with other states; the form the collaboration should take; obstacles in the pursuit of national interests; and alignment of Kenya's foreign policy in pursuit of national interests. Below are the findings.

4.1 Kenya's National Interest

Kenya's national interests are captured in sessional papers, the Constitution, Kenya Foreign Policy document, Vision 2030, and other policy documents.

Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya identified the goals of societies as stability in the political system, social justice, human dignity, ability to freely hold an opinion, freedom from want, disease, and exploitation, equality, and widespread growth of per capita incomes and opportunities.¹⁶² The paper identified African socialism as the ideology which would guide the country in its political and economic transformation. African socialism rested on African traditions, namely political democracy and social responsibility.¹⁶³ Political democracy implied that every member of the society had equal political rights, and therefore no one was allowed to control the policies of the state. Political democracy was supposed to prevent the concentration of power in a small economic group. In this regard, the country was not supposed to be a tool of special interests or minority interests and had to cater for the interests of all its people. From this ideology, it can be inferred that at independence national interests referred to the interests of majority of Kenyan people.

Article 238 (1) of the Kenya's Constitution 2010 defines Kenya's national security in very broad terms, encompassing both the traditional and human security aspects. In this regard, Kenya's national security includes the safeguarding of the country's territory and sovereignty against internal and external threats, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability, prosperity, and other national interests.¹⁶⁴ This is further amplified in Kenya's Foreign Policy document which identifies the national goals in the pursuit of Kenya's national interests. These include, the safeguarding of Kenya's territory and independence, enhancing sub-regional and regional unity and cooperation, promotion of regional and global peace and stability, advancing Kenya's prosperity and that of its people, enhancing Kenya's image and prestige abroad, promotion of international cooperation and multilateralism, promotion and protection of

¹⁶² Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 10, African Socialism and its Application to Planning to Kenya*, (Nairobi: Government Printer, Nairobi, 1965), pp1-2

¹⁶³ Ibid pp 3

¹⁶⁴ Government of Kenya, *The Constitution of Kenya 2010*, (Nairobi: Government Printer, Nairobi, 2010)

interests of Kenyans living abroad, and enhancing partnership with the diaspora and descendants.¹⁶⁵

Kenya Vision 2030 captures the country’s national interests through providing a framework for its development. The vision of the framework is to transform the country into a developed country status, which is prosperous, competitive, and is able to provide its citizens a high standard of living by the year 2030.¹⁶⁶

These national interests are supported by data from respondents who listed the following as Kenya’s national interests in order of priority; Economic Prosperity, Peace and Security, Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity, Trade and Investments, National Security, National Stability, Political Stability, Global Competitiveness, Environmental Protection, Regional Integration, Observance of Rule of Law, Regional Economic Dominance (Influence), Social Harmony, Cultural Identity, National Prestige, and Achievement of Vision 2030.

Table 1: National Interests as Identified by Respondents

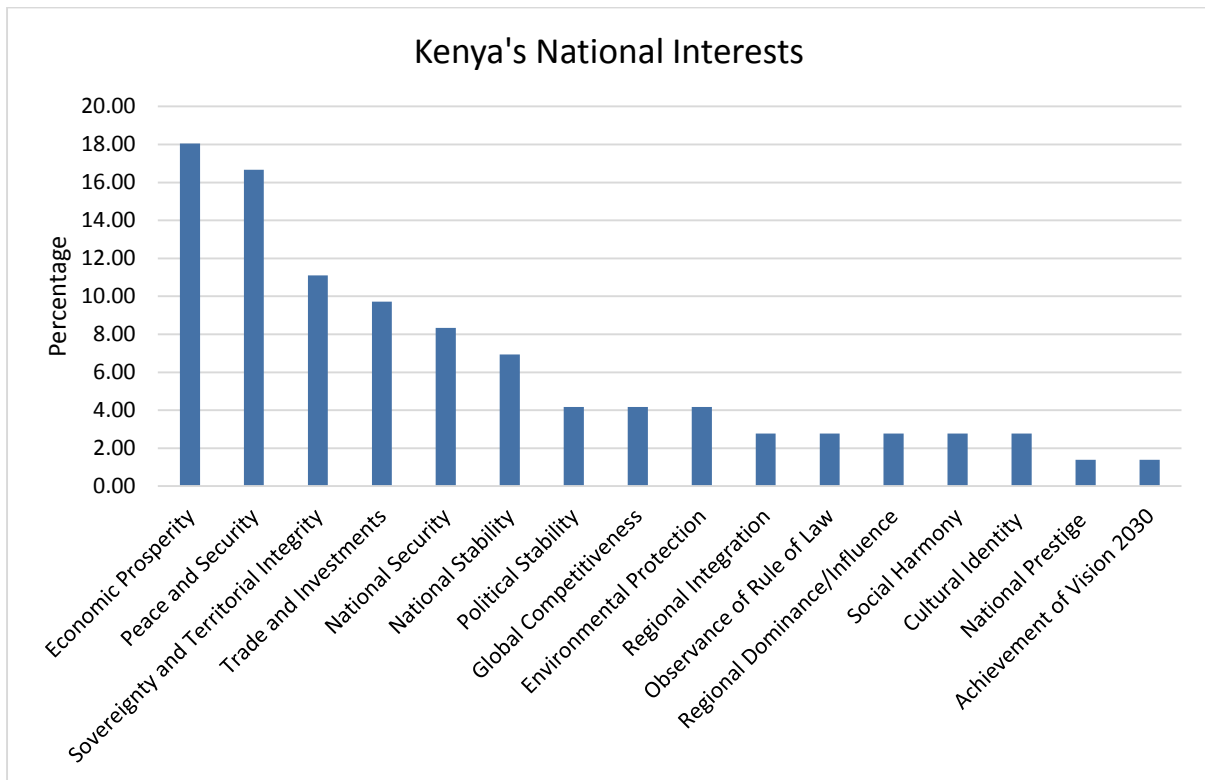
National Interest	Percentage (%)
Economic Prosperity	18.06
Peace and Security	16.67
Sovereignty & Territorial Integrity	11.11
Trade and Investments	9.72
National Security	8.33
National Stability	6.94
Political Stability	4.17
Global Competitiveness	4.17
Environmental Protection	4.17
Regional Integration	2.78
Observance of Rule of Law	2.78
Regional Dominance/Influence	2.78
Social Harmony	2.78
Cultural Identity	2.78
National Prestige	1.39
Achievement of Vision 2030	1.39

Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

¹⁶⁵ Government of Kenya, *Kenya Foreign Policy*, (Nairobi: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2014) pp17

¹⁶⁶ Government of Kenya, *Kenya Vision 2030*, (Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2007) pp vii

Figure 1: National Interests as Identified by Respondents



Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

From the bar chart, it is evident that majority of the respondents identified Economic Prosperity (18%) as the most important national interest, followed by Peace and Security (16.7%), Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity (11.1%), Trade and Investments (9.7%), National Security (8.3%), National Stability (6.9%), Political Stability (4.17%), Global Competitiveness (4.17%) and Environmental Protection (4.17%). Regional Integration (2.8%) did not feature very highly among the respondents and had the same score as Regional Dominance/Influence (2.8%).

4.2 Policies and Strategies that have been put in place in pursuit of National Interests

Kenya has formulated and implemented a number of policies and strategies to advance its national interests. These policies and strategies include development plans, sessional papers, policies targeting specific sectors, strategic plans, treaties and agreements to mention, but a few.

Respondents identified the following strategies/ policies in the pursuit of national interests; Foreign Policy, Strategic Plans, Multilateral Cooperation, Opening Missions Abroad, Bilateral Cooperation, Negotiations of Treaties/ Protocols, Sector Specific Policies, and Regional Peace Initiatives. Others which were more related to human resources capacity and coordination include; Multiagency Frameworks and Coordination, Capacity Building of Human Resources, Harnessing the Skills and Expertise of the Diaspora, Public Awareness and Participation, Lobbying for Positions in International Organizations, Establishment of Institutions, Hosting of Conferences, and Civil Military Coordination.

Table 2: Strategies/Policies to Secure the National Interests

Strategy/Policy	Percentage (%)
Foreign Policy	14.58
Strategic Plans	12.50
Multilateral Cooperation	10.42
Opening Missions Abroad	8.33
Bilateral Cooperation	8.33
Negotiations of Treaties/Protocols	6.25
Sector Specific Policies	6.25
Multiagency Frameworks & Cooperation	6.25
Regional Peace Initiatives	6.25
Capacity Building of Human Resources	4.17
Harnessing the Skills & Expertise of the Diaspora	4.17
Public Awareness and Participation	4.17
Lobbying for Positions in International Organizations	2.08
Establishment of Institutions	2.08
Hosting of Conferences	2.08
Civil Military Coordination	2.08
	100.00

Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

Figure 2: Strategies/Policies to Secure the National Interests



Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

From the table and bar chart, the respondents indicated that the most important policy in pursuit of national interests is the Foreign Policy, followed by individual MDAs Strategic Plans, Multilateral Cooperation, Opening of Missions Abroad, Bilateral Cooperation, Negotiation of Treaties and Protocols, and Sector Specific Policies. Most MDAs have developed strategic plans and policies which outline their roles and functions. These roles and functions are derived from the executive orders which indicate the roles and functions of various MDAs. The MDAs have also developed sector specific policies to achieve their mandates.

Most respondents (78%) indicated that they were aware of the national interests and role in the achievement of the same. In addition, majority (86%) felt that the policies and strategies in their organizations were aligned to the pursuit of national interests. Those who felt

that the policies were not aligned to the national interests identified the following measures to realign them; sensitization of Kenyans on national interests; implementation of the existing policies and strategies; continuous assessment and revaluation of policies, strategies and plans; alignment of policies and objectives to resources and strategies to achieve them; enhancement of interagency cooperation; and need for adequate and suitable skilled staff and other resources. Majority of the respondents (77%) also felt that treaties and agreements assist in the pursuit of national interests.

4.3 Tools Employed in the pursuit of National Interests

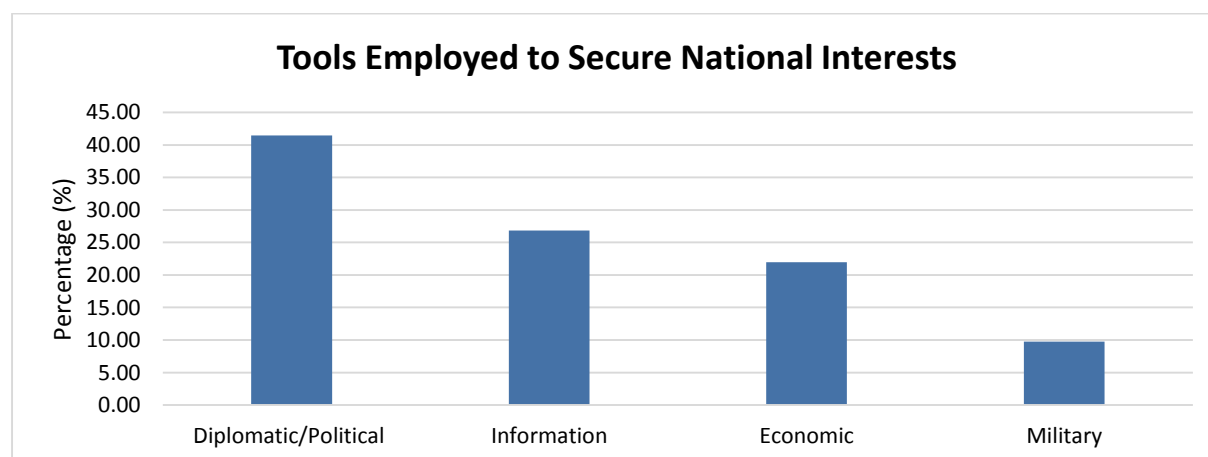
Regarding the tools employed in promotion of national interests, majority of the respondents identified the diplomatic/political tool (41%) as the most important tool, followed by the informational tool (27%), economic tool (22%) and finally military (10%).

Table 3: Tools Employed in the Pursuit of National Interests

Tool	Percentage
Diplomatic/Political	41.46
Information	26.83
Economic	21.95
Military	9.76
	100.00

Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

Figure 3: Tools Employed to Secure National Interests



Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

The responses were the same when asked about the effectiveness of the tools. Majority of the respondents indicated that the diplomatic/political tool was the most effective, followed by informational, economic and military. However, the responses changed slightly when the respondents were asked what tool they thought would be the most effective in the pursuit of the national interests. While the diplomatic/political tool was still identified to be the most effective tool, the economic tool was next followed by informational and military tools.

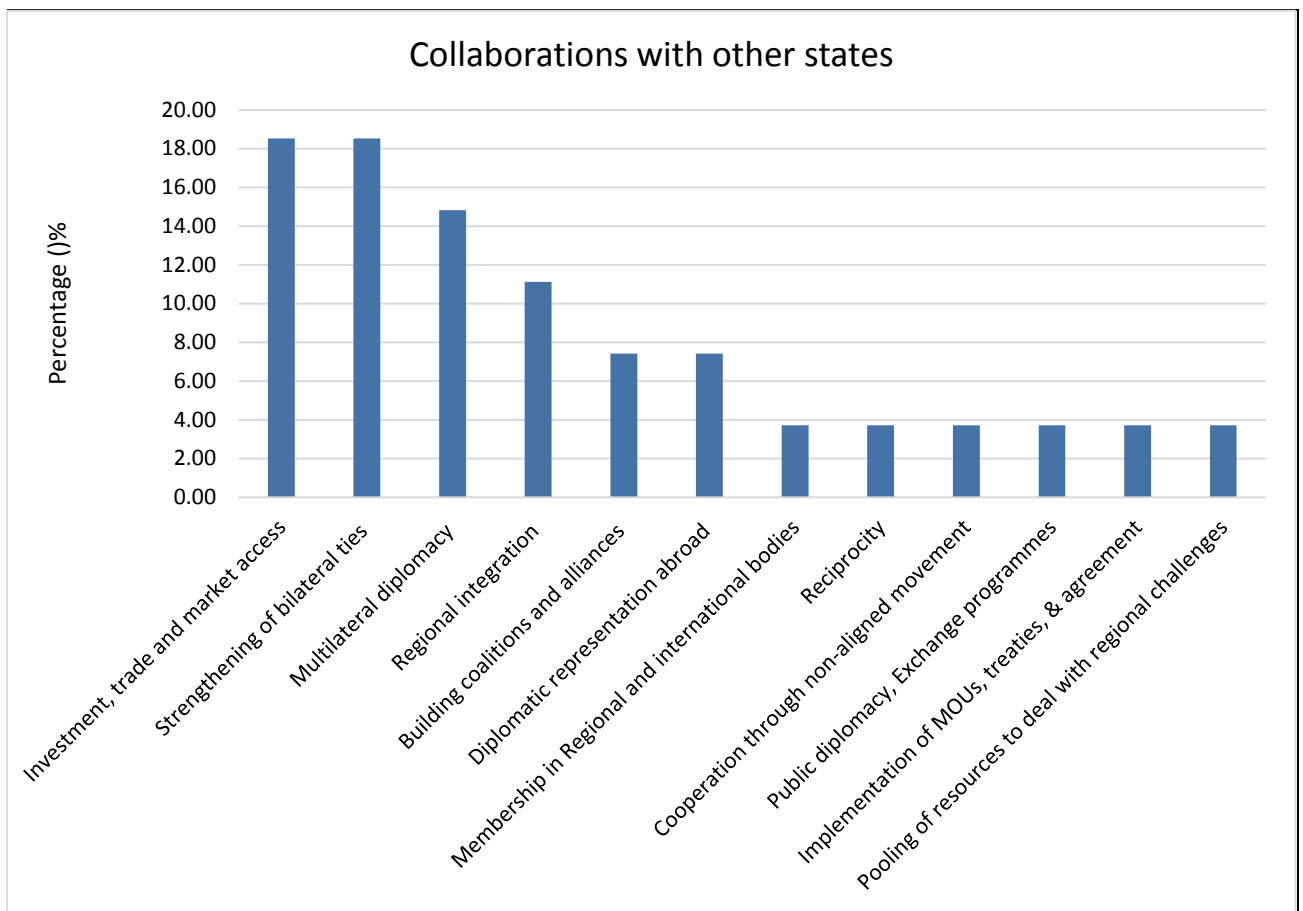
Majority of the respondents (80%) preferred the use of soft power instead of hard power in the pursuit of the interest and favoured collaboration with other states based on Kenya's national interests. The collaboration favoured was in the form of; Cooperation in the Economic Sphere; Investment and Trade (market access); Strengthening of Bilateral Ties; Multilateral Diplomacy; Regional Integration; Building Coalitions and Alliances Based on Common Interests; Diplomatic Representation by Kenya Missions Abroad; Membership in RECs, EAC, COMESA, AU, UN, TICAD, FOCAC; Reciprocity; Collaboration through Non-Aligned Movement; Public Diplomacy; Exchange Programmes; Implementation of Treaties, MOUs, Agreements and Conventions Already in Place; and Pooling of Resources to Deal with Regional Challenges.

Table 4: Collaborations with Other States

Type of Collaborations	
Investment, Trade and Market Access	18.52
Strengthening of Bilateral Ties	18.52
Multilateral Diplomacy	14.81
Regional Integration	11.11
Building Coalitions and Alliances	7.41
Diplomatic Representation Abroad	7.41
Membership in Regional and International Bodies	3.70
Reciprocity	3.70
Cooperation Through Non-Aligned Movement	3.70
Public Diplomacy, Exchange Programmes	3.70
Implementation of MOUs, Treaties, & Agreement	3.70
Pooling of Resources to Deal with Regional Challenges	3.70

Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

Figure 4: Collaborations with Other States



Source: Primary Data Collected by Researcher in August 2018

4.4 Review of Policies and Strategies

The preceding section has examined Kenya national interests as identified by respondents and various policy documents. In addition, the section identified the policies and strategies which respondents indicated had been put in place or are necessary in the pursuit of the national interests. This section will review a few of those policies in order to establish how the country has tried to secure its interests before concluding with a review of Kenya’s Foreign Policy which was captured by respondents as the main instrument in the pursuit of national interests.

4.4.1 Early Policies and Strategies

4.4.2 African Socialism/Non- Alignment

Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya was the first policy instrument which outlined the direction the country was to follow in securing its national interests. The paper indicated that the country was to pursue a policy of positive non-alignment or African socialism.¹⁶⁷ This policy was borne out of the need to steer away from the two competing ideologies of the time, Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism. African socialism as a term therefore denoted a political and economic system that was African, and one which was not derived from any country.¹⁶⁸ In addition, the policy was not supposed to be based on any foreign ideology but should be capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from other countries. This ideology was meant to deal with the pressing problems such as development of agricultural land, industry, attraction of capital, education, unemployment, welfare services, conservation of natural resources to mention, but a few. While the policy emphasised it was African, it was also open to outside assistance in addressing the developmental challenges.

The paper put great emphasis on growth as a mechanism for dealing with the challenges. The first priority area identified to stimulate growth was capital. Given that the country had low levels of internal savings and tax revenues, the country resorted to borrowing from foreign governments and international institutions. The second area identified was skilled manpower. Again, the country resorted to importing skilled manpower from abroad. This clearly demonstrates the importance the leaders attached to external capital and labour as critical ingredients for growth. This called for cooperation including with the colonisers, reflecting liberal thinking.

¹⁶⁷ Op.Cit, Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 10, (statement by the President)*

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pp 2-3

4.4.3 Early Development Plans

Kenya's first development plan like the Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965 placed a lot of emphasis on economic growth. This emphasis was maintained in the revised National Development Plan (1966-1970) which had the following goals; rapid economic development; Kenyanization of the means of production and distribution; encouragement of private investment; and increased government participation in the economy through identification of suitable projects for private sector and its own undertaking.¹⁶⁹

Like the first development plan, Kenya's second National Development Plan (1970-1974) had its major theme as steady and rapid economic growth and national income. Motivated by the high growth rates since gaining independence, the government stated it would continue with the economic strategies that were already in force. These included Kenyanisation of the economy, encouragement of private investment in import substitution industrialization, and agricultural development through the provision of credit facilities, resettlement, imposition of limits to the amount of land owned by individuals, and agricultural research.¹⁷⁰

However, despite rapid economic growth witnessed between 1964 and 1973, the economy encountered challenges due to internal and external shocks. The internal factors included rapid population growth; uneven growth of various sectors of the economy such as agriculture, industry and trade; low levels of productivity; widespread unemployment and underemployment; external dependence; and high-income inequalities.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, the public sector was characterised by administrative and political inertia resulting in failure to implement government programmes and wastage of resources.

¹⁶⁹ Ndege, Peter O, Modernisation of the Economy, 1964-1970, in Ogot, B.A and Ochieng', W.R, *Kenya: Making of a Nation, 1895-1995*, (Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, Maseno University, 2000), pp 109

¹⁷⁰ Ndege, Peter O, Decline of the Economy, 1964-1970, in Ogot, B.A and Ochieng', W.R, *Kenya: Making of a Nation, 1895-1995*, (Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, Maseno University, 2000), pp 205.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, pp 204

The most serious external factors included recessions in the international economy which led to the depression of commodity prices and decline in levels of foreign investments and aid disbursements. There were also two major oil crises in 1973 and 1978-79 which led to dramatic rise in the price of imports. Further, bad weather which manifested itself in the droughts in 1973 and 1979-80 also affected Kenya's agricultural and industrial production.¹⁷² The failure of the East African Community in 1977 also served to contract the regional market for Kenya's exports.

4.4.4 Development Plans and Policies in the 1980s to Mid-2000s

The economic shocks experienced in the 1970s affected the economic growth of the country forcing the country to request for outside help from the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank). These intuitions responded by proposing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) to correct what it deemed to be inbuilt structural weaknesses in the economy. The programmes were first incorporated in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980 on Economic Prospects and Policies and later in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth.

The Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980 called for removal of import controls; increased cooperation with international donor agencies; cuts in recurrent and development expenditures; strict control on wages and prices increases; reduction of rural and urban disparities; a shift from import substitution industrialization; and administrative reforms.¹⁷³ This paper informed the formulation of the National Development Plan (1984-1988) whose main focus was mobilization of domestic resources through privatisation. The plan sought to promote private domestic savings; consolidate the existing industrial base through optimum utilization of installed capacity; increase Kenyanization of the industrial sector through provision of training

¹⁷² Ibid, pp 204

¹⁷³ Ibid, pp 206

and advisory assistance to prospective and indigenous entrepreneurs; expansion of external trade; attraction of private foreign investment; and generation of employment through the establishment of labour-intensive industries.¹⁷⁴

The policy aims were not met due to declining rate of domestic savings and productivity investments, inefficiency, mismanagement and corruption in public corporations, foreign exchange shortfalls, growing deficits in balance of payments, and rapid population growth.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Kenyanization did not fare well as most of the firms set up by Kenyan entrepreneurs failed to sustain operations. The Nile Investments, Chui Soap Factory and Unisack ceased to operate as soon as they were set up; Mathu Paper International and J.K Industries were placed under receivership; while Kenya Furfural Company, KenRen Chemicals and Fertilizers and the Kenya Fibre Corporation stopped operations leading to the mushrooming of the informal sector.¹⁷⁶

The Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth main goal was to achieve rapid economic growth through increased agricultural and industrial productivity.¹⁷⁷ Agriculture was identified as being critical in stimulating economic growth through job creation in the farms.¹⁷⁸ The policy sought to reduce government's involvement in the economy through privatization, and withdrawal from providing services such as education, health and employment. The government was therefore supposed to create an enabling environment through provision of security and infrastructure. In addition, there was a shift from import substitution and protectionism to trade liberalization and decentralization of planning

¹⁷⁴ Maxon, Robert and Ndege, Peter, *The Economics of Structural Adjustments*, in Ogot, B A and Ochieng, W.R, (eds); *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya 1940-93*, (Nairobi; East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1995), pp 168

¹⁷⁵ Op.cit, Ndege, Decline of the Economy, 1964-1970, pp 206

¹⁷⁶ Op.cit, Maxon, Robert and Ndege, Peter, pp 169

¹⁷⁷ Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth*; (Nairobi, Government Printers, 1986), pp1

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, pp2

and implementation of programmes to the districts through the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy.¹⁷⁹

The sixth National Development Plan (1989-1993) gave emphasis to small businesses as a primary mechanism for strengthening Kenya's economy. Through Sessional paper No 2 of 1992 on Small Enterprises and Jua Kali Development in Kenya, the government sought to spur the growth of the sector through government support.¹⁸⁰ The policy identified a number of benefits which were to be derived from the sector which included; the creation of employment at low cost; creation of trained and semi-skilled workforce for the industrial sector; creation of demand and supply of goods; and increased local participation in the economy.¹⁸¹

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought in realignments in the international environment resulting in reduced inflows of resources to Africa as donor countries shifted their assistance to former Soviet Union and the associated communist block of countries.¹⁸² Demands for liberalization and donor conditionality became common, forcing the government to begin to explore new ways to spur economic growth. Through Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the Year 2020, the government sought to reorient the economy towards industrialization as the main engine of growth by providing a raft of measures to spur economic transformation.¹⁸³ The policy also recognized the limitation of agriculture in generation of employment and economic growth and therefore tried to shift government policy from agriculture to manufacturing.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, pp3

¹⁸⁰ Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No.2 of 1992 on Small Enterprise and Jua Kali Development in Kenya*, (Nairobi, Government Printers, 1992), pp1

¹⁸¹ Ibid pp1

¹⁸² Government of Kenya, *National Development Plan, 1997-2001*, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1997) pp 47

¹⁸³ Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the Year 2020*, (Nairobi; Government Printers, 1996), pp iii

The policy was followed by the 8th National Development Plan (1997-2001) whose theme was rapid industrialization for sustained economic growth.¹⁸⁴ The plan adopted a twin strategy which involved both agriculture and industry as key drivers of the economy despite acknowledging that industry offered better prospects for economic growth than agriculture which was prone to vagaries of weather and price volatility of agricultural commodity exports.¹⁸⁵

While industrialization featured strongly in the 8th National Development Plan, the 9th National Development Plan (2002-2008) took a different approach altogether. The plan main focus was sustainable economic development and poverty alleviation as captured in the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP) of 1999, reflecting a change in government policy.¹⁸⁶ Poverty reduction strategies particularly reducing incidences of food poverty were given centre stage while industrialization took a back banner again.

However, a change of government in December 2002 led to a change of strategy again. The incoming National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government developed the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSWEC) (2003 -2007). The strategy was grounded on two main principles; “democracy and empowerment of people.”¹⁸⁷ Democracy was supposed to check bad governance while people empowerment was supposed to reduce manipulation of people due to poverty. The strategy main focus was therefore employment creation as a means to reducing poverty. The strategy therefore aimed at recovering lost ground as a result of poor management and wastage of public resources due to widespread corruption, over borrowing, and poor investment decisions.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Op.cit, *National Development Plan, 1997-2001*, pp 13

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, pp 12

¹⁸⁶ Government of Kenya, *National Development Plan 2002 -2008*, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2002), pp 14

¹⁸⁷ Government of Kenya, *Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003 -2007*, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2003), pp xi

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pp xiv

The strategy also gave emphasis to good governance and rule of law as the basis for economic growth. The government also introduced economic diplomacy in its relation with the external world and a campaign to raise revenue through payment of taxes.¹⁸⁹ To deal with poor implementation of past policies, the policy institutionalized monitoring and evaluation mechanism through the creation of National Economic and Social Council.¹⁹⁰ The government did not come up with new policies, but focussed on improving services which had deteriorated in the past. The policy led to recovery of most sectors of the economy and was followed by the adoption of Vision 2030 which provided a framework for the country's long-term development.

4.4.5 Vision 2030

Vision 2030 was adopted in 2008 as a framework for the country's development. The Vision's main goal is to transform the country into an advanced economy, which is can sustain a high standard of life for all its people, in a secure and clean environment.¹⁹¹ It is based on three building blocks covering the economic, social and political sectors.¹⁹² Under each building block, different projects are carried out to spearhead the achievement of the goals. The economic building block main aim is to accelerate economic growth to 10% per year and maintaining it at that level during the vision's term. The rationale for this is to create widespread development, with a view to generating jobs and prosperity. The 10% growth rate is deemed essential to achieve this, and countries which have attained it have been able to transform their countries and generate employment. The social building block on the other hand seeks to build a society which is secure, united, with equal opportunities for all to exploit their talents and share the benefits of development.¹⁹³ Finally, the political building block aims at

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, pp xv

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, pp xxi

¹⁹¹ Op.cit, *Kenya Vision 2030*, pp vii

¹⁹² Ibid, pp vii

¹⁹³ Ibid, pp vii

creating a society which is politically stable, devoid of tribalism and nepotisms through focussing on issues which affect the public.

The economic building block endeavours to deliver growth in six sectors; hospitality, agricultural sector, industry, trade, personalised services, and finance. On the other hand, the social building block has identified eight areas to support the Vision. These include, manpower development, provision of health services, clean water and sewerage, protection of the environment, provision of housing, empowerment of youth and women and promotion of sports and culture. The political building block focus is on building respect for the rule of law, reform of the governance system, improving the provision of services, public sectors reforms, and peace and stability.¹⁹⁴ These areas are similar to the national interests identified by the respondents as discussed earlier on.

The vision gives more emphasis to the services sector as opposed to manufacturing as it would like the country to avoid the environmental pollution which normally accompanies rapid industrialization by diversifying into the provision of highly specialized services once the foundation for economic development is achieved.¹⁹⁵ There is however some contradictions in the policy given that the enablers identified as the foundations of the socio-economic transformation are more geared towards manufacturing. These include; ensuring availability of adequate energy through diversification of energy sources; use of science, technology and innovation to improve productivity; putting more emphasis on teaching of science, technology and mathematics in the curriculum at all levels, and setting up of technical colleges.¹⁹⁶

Among the challenges identified in the achievement of the Vision is the liberalization of international trade. The country has entered into an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA)

¹⁹⁴Ibid, pp 60

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, pp 60

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, pp viii-ix

with the EU. This will have implications for Kenya as EU goods which are mainly machinery, equipment and other processed goods will be given free market access thereby competing with Kenya's manufacturing which is still weak and inefficient and therefore requires protection for it to grow.¹⁹⁷ In addition, this will affect revenue collection as the goods will access the Kenyan market duty free, thereby denying the government much needed revenue to fund its development programmes.

4.4.6 Defence and Foreign Relations after Independence

On gaining independence, the government entered into a defence agreement with the British government in 1964 to protect its independence against military coups and deal with the threat of secession by Kenyan Somalis. The agreement was instrumental in the establishment of Kenya Defence Forces and securing Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Under the agreement, Britain was to help restructure the Kenya security forces by developing a military force with three units, the army, air force and navy.¹⁹⁸ The Royal Air Force and British land units were to continue to provide security in the north eastern frontier district and to support the government to deal with any internal disturbances. This agreement helped Britain maintain substantial influence in the country and was Kenya's main supplier of military equipment and training until mid-1970s. The Kenyatta government on the other hand was able to deal with internal challenges and remain stable.

Foreign relations were conducted by the President who had the power to negotiate treaties with foreign nations and declare war and recognize states without requiring the approval of parliament.¹⁹⁹ Internationally, Kenya supported non-aligned, pan-African foreign policy combined with commonwealth membership. Relations with Britain were close, and UK was Kenya's biggest military and trading partner, donor, in addition to staffing hundreds of

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, pp5

¹⁹⁸ Hornsby, C., *Kenya; A History Since Independence*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2013), pp 98

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

key administrative and technical posts. The government also sort economic assistance from the East, which resulted in the Soviet Union funding some projects and financial assistance from China.

However, Kenya's foreign policy had contradictions as it tried to balance the need to adhere to the OAU charter and African solidarity which opposed colonial domination and the need to meet its own domestic imperatives through western support. As a result, Kenya played a quiet reactive role in most international events. The problems that Kenyatta experienced at home and the support Egypt, Russia and China gave to the shifta movement buttressed Kenya's pro-western diplomatic stance.

4.5 Kenya's Foreign Policy

Most respondents identified foreign policy as being critical for the pursuit of national interests. In addition, over 90% of the respondents felt that Kenya's foreign policy is aligned to its national interests. Those who felt that the foreign policy was not aligned to the national interests suggested that there was need to implement the foreign policy; provide adequate resources and competent staff in missions; outline clearly the strategies to be pursued; and enhance public participation.

In 2014, Kenya published its foreign policy thereby codifying the principles that have guided its foreign policy since independence into a written document. The policy provides a broad context within which Kenya's engagement with the external world will be based.²⁰⁰ Kenya's experience in fighting against colonial domination and subjugation has influenced its foreign policy which places a lot of emphasis on freedom and independence of mankind. The foreign policy also establishes a connection between the survival of the country with that of its neighbours and the African continent. The country has therefore committed huge resources in

²⁰⁰ Op.cit, *Kenya Foreign Policy*, pp 14

finding peace and stability in its neighbourhood, particularly in Somalia and South Sudan and other continental peace initiatives.

The vision of the policy is to have a country which prosperous, peaceful and competitive in the global arena, while the mission is to project, promote and protect Kenya's interests and image globally through innovative diplomacy, and contribute towards a just, peaceful and equitable world.²⁰¹ The policy is based on its national values as contained in the constitution and the legitimate expectations of the people. The policy is also based on the Vision 2030 and other sectoral policies which are geared towards providing the foundation for its development.

Kenya's foreign policy as a tool to accomplish various interests, focuses, first and foremost, on securing its territory and preserving its independence.²⁰² Further, the policy is geared towards promoting peace, stability, unity and cooperation in its neighbourhood and globally, so as to create a conducive environment for its development. In addition, the policy aims at enhancing the country's influence abroad, including protecting the interests of its citizens.

Kenya adheres to a number of principles as it implements its foreign policy, most of which are similar to those pursued by most countries. These include inviolability of its territory and independence, living in harmony with its neighbours, including solving disputes peacefully, cooperation and adherence to international instruments and covenants.

The policy is based on five broad planks covering peace and security, environment, economic development, culture and Kenyans living abroad.²⁰³ The economic plank seeks to enable the country to achieve rapid economic development so as to support the Vision 2030

²⁰¹ Ibid, pp 11

²⁰² Ibid, pp 12

²⁰³ Ibid, pp 22

goals. The peace pillar on the other hand aims at creating a conducive environment for the country and its the neighbours to pursue various socio-economic programmes leading to widespread prosperity for its people and the region. The environmental pillar seeks to ensure that the country exploits and manages its natural resources in a manner that supports its current and future development goals, while the cultural pillar aims at using Kenya's heritage and its culture to create a niche for itself in the international arena. Last, but not least, the Diaspora pillar recognizes the role Kenyans living abroad can play in its economic development and therefore seeks to utilize their various skills and experiences in economic development.

4.6 Challenges in Securing National Interests

The respondents identified a number of challenges in the pursuit of national interests. These could be categorised into three broad categories, internal, regional and international. The internal challenges include, lack of clear understanding of what Kenya's national interests are, resulting in poor definition of the interests and policies to be pursued to achieve them. This is compounded by personal interests which conflict with the national interests, leading to lack of ownership of the national goals. This has in turn compromised the country's competitiveness in the process undermining its long-term development. Other challenges include, limited resources both financial and human which have limited Kenya's diplomatic capacity and reach. Further, duplication and competition among MDAs has resulted in lack of coordination, synergy and disparate measures in its diplomatic engagement.

Within East African region, lack of goodwill among partner states, imposition of tariff and non-tariff barriers have limited the integration efforts, thereby reducing the benefits that could accrue from trade. This is exemplified by competition among the partner states, lack of adherence to rules of origin leading to dumping of goods and changing regional dynamics.

At the international level, demand for high quality products and competition from other states which have more efficient and productive manufacturing sectors have reduced market

access for Kenyan exports. Further, transnational organized crimes such as terrorism, piracy, money laundering, drug and human trafficking have adversely affected the attractiveness of the country thereby slowing down trade and investments. Other challenges include the rise of protectionism and nationalism.

4.7 Creating an Enabling Environment to Pursue National Interests

The respondents identified a number of measures to create an enabling environment to pursue national interests. These include clear articulation of national interests, sensitization of all state and public officials on the importance of protecting national interests, observance of ethics and integrity, promoting equity and fairness, and respect for diversity. In addition, respondents identified the need to employ competent staff in strategic areas, formulate and implement policies that are pragmatic including legislation that is conducive to investments.

At international level, the measures included the need to expand Kenya diplomatic foot print by providing the necessary resources both human and financial. In addition, there is need to build the capacity of the citizens to engage externally without compromising the national interests. Further, there is need to negotiate treaties and agreements that advance the countries interests through clear articulation of the national interests.

4.8 Analysis

The Kenya case study shows that respondents prefer soft power as opposed to hard power in the pursuit of its national interests. Further, majority of respondents indicated that cooperation was necessary in the pursuit of national interests which indicate liberalism thinking. The objective number three of the study was therefore met. The hypothesis however could not be confirmed since Kenya is yet to secure its interests despite collaboration with other states.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis: How African States Can Secure Their National Interests

5.0 Analysis of African Union Strategies

This study sought to analyse how African states can secure their national interests through hard and soft power using Kenya as a case study. Chapter one provided the background, while chapter two explored how selected African states have defined their national interests. Chapter three looked at the strategies African states as a group have put in place to secure their national interests while chapter four used Kenya as a case study to understand how it has secured its national interests through using hard and soft power.

It is noted that African leaders since attaining independence have grappled with the dilemma on how to secure their national interests. The vision of pan-Africanism and the desire to integrate the continent both economically and politically was borne out of the realization that through unity and integration, Africa states could overcome the problems associated with smallness, fragility and structural weakness and therefore acquire greater voice and bargaining power at the international level by building upon the strengths of each country and their numbers. Furthermore, integration was supposed to help African countries to not only effectively compete in an increasingly competitive international economic system, but also promote self-sustaining economic development and industrialization of the African continent.

African states have therefore developed various strategies to achieve this goal beginning with the Organization of African Unity, Lagos Plan of Action, African Economic Community Treaty, NEPAD, transformation of OAU to African Union, Africa Union Agenda 2063, and African Continental Free Trade Area. The common theme running through all these initiatives and strategies is African unity, integration, development and self-reliance. In this regard, there has been consistency in thinking among African leaders at continental level which is informed by liberalism which calls for cooperation as a means for achieving common goals.

The strategies reflect a build-up of ideas of unity and integration from the time of OAU and envisages Africa becoming one by 2063 through using regional economic communities as building blocks.

In this regard, African leaders have joined hands to form institutions that can promote cooperation and unity. The number of such institutions experienced an exponential growth and was projected to have reached 160 institutions by 1980s.²⁰⁴ These institutions include regional economic communities in every region of the continent, such as the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UAM), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). These regional groupings were complemented by larger groupings such as the Lome Convention, which promoted preferential trade links among countries in Africa, Caribbean and the Pacific and those from Europe.

To move the agenda of integration forward, the OAU member states met in 1980 and adopted a plan of action which called for the establishment of an Economic Community for African states.²⁰⁵ The plan of action emphasised self-reliance as the panacea to the problems bedevilling the African continent. Soon after the adoption of the plan, the World Bank published the Berg report which propagated the view that Africa should continue to produce and export raw commodities as they were best suited to that sector due to the comparative advantage.²⁰⁶ Following economic crises in several African countries between 1980 and 1989, the vision was abandoned as the affected countries sought assistance from the Bretton woods institutions which insisted on implementation of structural adjustment programmes. These programmes had a devastating effect on the economies of African countries as they required

²⁰⁴ Op.cit, Schraeder, pp 156

²⁰⁵ Op.cit, Bade Onimode, pp191

²⁰⁶ Ibid, pp191

governments to divest from provision of social services and instead create a suitable environment for the private sector to thrive. In the process, Africa abandoned its own blueprint which called for self-reliance as a solution to its problems for external solutions which were not suited for its needs.

The vision was however revived through the African Union Agenda 2063 and Africa Continental Free Trade Area. While African leaders were able to surmount the resistance towards the formation of OAU, they have not been very successful in moving towards deeper integration. The Lagos Plan of Action envisioned the formation of an Economic Community for African states by the year 2000. While the agreement, that was to create the Community was adopted in 1991, the processes and milestones which were required for its formation were never met. Furthermore, regional economic communities which were supposed to be the building blocks towards Africa integration are still weak and are bedevilled by many challenges including multiple memberships, competition among member states and nationalism. Internally, most African countries are still weak and have not been able to put in place measures that are critical for integration.

5.1 Analysis of Selected African Countries Foreign Policies and Strategies and Kenya Case Study

An analysis of Ghana's, Nigeria's, South Africa's and Kenya's foreign policies show that these countries support the pan-Africanism and the integration of the continent and therefore subscribe to the liberalism view. Ghana at independence for example reviewed its constitution to pave way for a union with Guinea and Mali and pursued the pan-Africanism ideal even at the expense of its economy. South Africa on the other hand has linked its interests to those of African continent and other developing countries and has been instrumental in various continental initiatives aimed at strengthening the unity of African states. Nigeria has

been at the forefront in the resolution of conflicts within the West African region through its membership in ECOWAS and contribution of troops and resources.

The other two countries, Ethiopia and Egypt foreign policies have more realist thinking and are more focussed on their survival as nation states. Ethiopia, for example, believes that its survival is primarily based on ensuring rapid economic development and democracy and does not see most African states having anything to contribute to its development and democracy. It sees its relations with Africa and the world in terms of pursuit of economic interests which are critical in ensuring its survival. It therefore only pays lip service to liberalism thinking and only to the extent of ensuring its own survival. In this regard, despite hosting the African Union headquarters, pan-Africanism does not feature prominently in its foreign policy and national security strategy document. Likewise, Egypt foreign policy is predicated on its survival and particularly its continued access and use of the Nile waters reflecting realist thinking. It therefore monitors the activities of Nile Basin countries and its diplomatic engagement with these countries is based on ensuring the continued flow of Nile waters.

The Kenya case study on the other hand shows that Kenya's foreign policy and its pursuit of national interests is informed more by liberalism than realism. Like Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, Kenya puts a lot of emphasis on pan-Africanism as a means of securing its national interests. It has therefore joined a number of regional economic organizations like East African Community, COMESA, IGAD, and Africa Union to mention but a few. Its foreign policy is predicated on six pillars; peace, economic, diaspora, environment and cultural diplomacy showing the importance it attaches to regional peace and stability in its economic development and that of the region. The policy also views its destiny as being intertwined with that of the region and Africa and therefore puts a lot of importance on Africa in the pursuit of its national interests.

Most respondents in the study conducted in August 2018 revealed that MDAs attach high importance to cooperation and collaboration in the pursuit of national interests. They indicated that Kenya needs to collaborate with other states in order to achieve its national interests. This dovetails well with the pan-Africanism vision and the importance African leaders have given to integration as a means of securing their national interests.

African strategies to integrate Africa, give a lot of emphasis to the development of agriculture, manufacturing sector, science and technology, manpower development, infrastructure development to mention, but a few areas, as a basis for integration at regional and continental level. This emphasis is reflected in Kenya's development policies and strategies which put a lot of importance on economic growth, development of agriculture, manufacturing, infrastructural development, science and technology and manpower development. The question of self-reliance is also prominent in African strategies. Kenya also has grappled with this issue since independence through its Kenyanization programmes. While the programmes have had mixed results, they reflect a realist thinking with regard to being able to control the levers of the economy.

Kenya is a member of several regional and international institutions such as the East African Community, COMESA, IGAD, African Union, United Nations, among other regional and international bodies. This shows that the country subscribes to the Africa's vision, as member states are supposed to join regional economic communities as they prepare for integration. The actions of governments at national and regional level are therefore critical in the success of African integration. At domestic level, Kenya has formulated a number of development plans and sessional papers to guide its economic transformation. This include Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 which was among the first policy documents to address the challenges of economic development in the country. The paper put a lot of emphasis on growth which was seen as being key in the transformation of agriculture and industry. This emphasis

was reflected in subsequent plans culminating in the adoption of Vision 2030 as the main development framework to guide the transformation of the country. While a lot of progress has been made, the country still faces the same challenges it faced at independence, as rapid economic development as envisioned in the development plans, sessional papers and Vision 2030 is still elusive. Part of the challenges relate to the policies adopted since independence, some of which put the country on a shaky development path.

This was first identified in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973 on Employment which was the country's response to the joint report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNDP which were commissioned to study the problems of unemployment in Kenya. The study found that the basic causes of unemployment in Kenya were related to the underlying economic and social problems which began during the period of colonization.²⁰⁷ These problems distorted growth, development patterns and exacerbated poverty. The imbalance in land ownership was identified as being the major source of rural poverty and as such the unemployment problem in rural areas was basically a problem of landlessness.²⁰⁸ The land problem is yet to be resolved thereby constraining the country's development.

Kenya's development planning has been characterised by frequent changes and shifts in policies. A review of the plans shows that the country shifted from import substitution industrialization, to structural adjustment programmes, liberalization, to job creation in small and middle enterprises, industrialization policies, to poverty eradication strategies, most of which were not fully implemented. Beginning the 1980s, economic planning was more externally driven which limited government's control on the management of the economy. Following economic shocks in 1970s, the country could not manage on its own and had to request for external assistance from the Bretton Woods institutions. These institutions

²⁰⁷ Government of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973 on Employment*, (Nairobi, Government Printers, 1973) pp 8

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp 11

recommended the implementation of structural adjustment programmes which formed the basis for formulation of economic plans and policies. The policies were focussed on reduction of expenditure in government, liberalization, and productivity in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

The sixth Development Plan 1989-1993 shifted gears as it put emphasis on small businesses as a key to growing the economy. Through Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992 on Small Enterprise and Jua Kali Development in Kenya, the government sought to spur the growth of the sector through government support.²⁰⁹ The policy identified a number of benefits which were to be derived from the sector which included; the creation of employment at low cost, creation of trained and semi-trained manpower for the industrial sector, and increased local participation in the economy.²¹⁰

However, through Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the Year 2020, the government sought to reorient the economy towards industrialization as the main engine of growth by developing policies that could enhance economic growth and jobs creation through the growth of the manufacturing sector.²¹¹ The policy also recognized the limitation of agriculture in generation of employment and economic growth and therefore tried to shift government policy from agriculture to manufacturing.

The policy was followed by the 8th National Development Plan (1997-2001) whose focus was rapid industrialization for sustained economic growth.²¹² The plan adopted a twin strategy which involved both agriculture and industry as key drivers of the economy despite acknowledging that industry offered better prospects for economic growth than agriculture

²⁰⁹ Op.cit, *Sessional Paper No.2 of 1992 on Small Enterprise and Jua Kali Development in Kenya*, pp1

²¹⁰ Ibid pp1

²¹¹ Op.cit, *Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the Year 2020*, pp iii

²¹² Op.cit, *National Development Plan, 1997-2001*, pp 13

which was prone to vagaries of weather and price volatility of agricultural commodity exports.²¹³

While industrialization featured strongly in the 8th Development Plan, the 9th National Development Plan (2002-2008) took a different approach altogether. The plan's main focus was sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction as captured in the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP) of 1999, reflecting a change in government policy.²¹⁴ Poverty reduction strategies, particularly reducing incidences of food poverty, were given centre stage while industrialization took a back banner again.

A change of government in December 2002 led to change of strategy again. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government developed the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003 -2007). The strategy was based on two main principles; democracy and empowerment of people.²¹⁵ The strategy main focus was employment creation as a means to reducing poverty. Following its successful implementation, the government formulated Vision 2030, which laid the country's long-term development aspirations.

In addition to frequent changes in development plans, the plans tended to be over ambitious, optimistic, and ignored the realities of the world economy and relied on incomplete and unreliable data. For example, the Development Plan 1994-1997 stated that, "once the domestic market is enlarged, manufacturing becomes more productive, and small-scale firms are established as an important force in manufacturing, Kenya's industrialization can proceed on a sound basis, contributing far more effectively to the country's development."²¹⁶

²¹³ Ibid, pp 12

²¹⁴ Op.cit, *National Development Plan 2002 -2008*, pp 14

²¹⁵ Op.cit, *Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003 -2007*, pp xi

²¹⁶ Government of Kenya, *National Development Plan 1994-1997*, (Nairobi, Government Printers), pp15

In addition, implementation tended to be weak and uneven and there was no mechanism put in place to take stock of what was implemented and what was not. These frequent changes and lack of implementation show that the country was not in charge of its economic policies or lacked commitment for their implementation. It is therefore plausible, that the plans were made to please and attract funding from IMF, World Bank and developed countries. This ties up with the developing countries and African states clamour for a new international economic order in the 1970s, which sought to rebalance the economic relations and ensure a steady flow of resources from the developed world.

In the area of industrial development, the leaders of the institutions established to promote industrialization lacked understanding of the structure, resources and constraints of the sector. The failure of development banks to promote industrial development was manifested in lack of clear priority in their investment programmes, investment in low priority industries, concentration of investments in particular companies and over-investment in industries already suffering from excess capacity. Some industries were started only to be abandoned before they became operational. Government inefficiency also manifested itself in the formulation of contradictory policies and inadequate implementation of policy. An institution like the National Documentation Centre (NDC) was inadequately organised, staffed and financed, yet it was supposed to gather and provide information about the country's technological capability. Research by Kenya Industrial Research Development Institute (KIRDI) was haphazard and focused very little on the development of industrial production.

Agriculture faced a number of challenges. Over 80% of Kenya landmass is characterised as Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) and therefore is susceptible to frequent

droughts.²¹⁷ Drought in 1984 led to reduction of growth to 0.8% while the drought in 1991-1992 led to reduction of growth rates to 0.4%.²¹⁸

Furthermore, reliance on donor aid to fund government programmes exposed the government to external influence. This included structural adjustment programmes which were first introduced in 1980/1981 financial year. The programmes had negative impact on industrial development and provision of social welfare programmes as the government was required to liberalize the financial sector, trade and other sectors of the economy, rationalize budget, privatise parastatals and undertake civil service reforms.

Africanization within the existing colonial structure also undermined long term growth. While it was a popular move, the desire to break the dominance of foreigners in the economy and transfer it to Kenyans was not done in an orderly manner and was more geared towards maintaining political support by demonstrating that Africans were indeed in control of the economy. This led to indigenous Kenyans concentrating on soft sectors of the economy and not heavy manufacturing.

From the analysis of the six countries foreign policies and strategies, two perspectives emerge on securing national interests; pan-Africanism reflecting liberalism thinking and individual national survival reflecting realist thinking. Majority of African leaders' declarations show the desire to integrate to secure their national interests. While this may seem logical, and some countries are committed to this ideal, others are more focussed on their own survival and do not see integration as serving their interests. This leads to the question as to whether African integration is feasible and if, so whether the current model is the most appropriate.

²¹⁷ Op.cit, *National Development Plan, 1997-2001*, pp 49

²¹⁸ Op.cit, *National Development Plan 1994-1997*, pp1

This is more so given the challenges which African countries have to surmount in order to integrate. Colonization divided Africa into Anglophone and Francophone Africa which created a language barrier and orientation of policies to either those of the British or the French. Many policies regarding Africa continued to be made by the colonial powers even after their independence. France for example, has maintained extensive political, military and economic relationships with French speaking African countries even after their independence. This relationship was cemented through the biannual Franco-African summit and the common currency in the franc zone in which France served as a central bank.²¹⁹ While British hold over its former colonies has waned over time, it has maintained close ties with former colonies through an annual summit of Commonwealth of Nations of Heads of State.

In addition, the Cold War undermined African unity with the United States becoming the most influential political and military actor in Anglophone Africa. While the Cold War era has ended, the suspicions it bred continue to affect Africa's integration. Another element which has militated against Africa's integration is religion. The divide between the African Muslim states and Christian states has led to development of ties based on religion particularly between North Africa and Middle Eastern countries.

The return of great power rivalry, particularly between the USA and China is likely to present new challenges on African integration efforts. This is more so given that Africa is still dependent on bilateral and multilateral funding for their development. The competition among great powers and other Middle Eastern countries particularly Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, Iran and Turkey is likely to undermine integration efforts.

Furthermore, each regional economic community is supposed to enter separate Economic Partnership Agreements with the European Union. Harmonization of these

²¹⁹ Seyoum Y. Hameso, *Development, State and Society: Theories and Practice in Contemporary Africa*, (New York: Authors Choice Press, 2001), pp 270

agreements is likely to present challenges on integration efforts, in addition to undermining the capacities of African countries to industrialize.

5.2 East African Community as the Building Block to African Integration

The Africa Union strategies are predicated on the success of regional economic communities as the basis for intercontinental integration. Regional economic communities have been established in all the five regions of the continent. In this regard, it would be important to analyse how well the regional economic communities are performing towards the realization of the continental goal by looking at one of the regional economic community, the East African Community.

Economic integration in the East African region has undergone two phases. The first EAC community was established in 1967 but was dissolved in 1977. The main reasons which contributed to its breakdown included; difference in ideologies; lack of political will to resolve the differences; lack of involvement of the private sector and non-governmental organizations in the affairs of the community, and inequitable distribution of benefits accruing from the community among the member states.²²⁰ The community was revived in 1999.

The main goal of the community is to broaden economic, political and social cooperation leading to enhanced unity among the member states.²²¹ In addition, member states are supposed to come up with common policies in the areas of science and technology, military affairs, judiciary and cultural matters. In furtherance of these goals, member states agreed to develop policies aimed at creation of a Customs Union, a Common Market, a Monetary Union and a Political Federation.

²²⁰ EAC, *The Treaty Establishing the East African Community*, <http://eacj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/EACJ-Treaty.pdf>; accessed on 27/10/2018, pp 1

²²¹ Ibid, pp12

The community is supposed to bring about economic growth and development of member states, enhance cooperation in various fields and sustainable utilization of resources.²²² In addition, the community is geared towards strengthening and consolidating the long standing political, economic, social, cultural and traditional ties of the citizens of the community, enhancing the role of women in cultural, social, political, economic and technological development fields, and promoting peace, security.

The operational principles of the community include; centrality of people in the development process, cooperation based on forces of demand and supply, development of common policies and infrastructure to serve the region, establishment of free market economies where there is free movement of goods, persons, labour, services, capital, information and technology, multi-level participation and involvement of a wide range of stakeholders in the process of integration, integration at different speeds based on the economic circumstance of each member state, and equitable sharing of benefits accruing the community.²²³

There has been a lot of progress in the integration process. The custom union was adopted in 2005, while the common market came into force in 2010. Under the custom union, member states agreed to remove tariffs imposed on goods and services originating from the region, and to implement a common external tariff.²²⁴ Under the common market, member states agreed to remove barriers to free movement of people, labour, goods, services, and capital.

Negotiations on the monetary union were launched in 2013 and envisage the establishment of the monetary union in 10 years. However, the negotiations on political federation have been slow resulting in EAC Heads of State to adopt the political confederation

²²² Ibid, pp 12-13

²²³ Ibid, pp 13-14

²²⁴ EAC, *The Custom Union*, <https://www.eac.int/customs-union>; accessed on 27/10/2018

model as a transitional mechanism. While process of integration has been progressing well, it has of late faced a number of challenges. These include, multiple and overlapping membership by partner states making harmonization and coordination of policies difficult, imposition of tariff and non-tariff trade barriers by member states to protect their domestic markets and industries, lack of capacity to enforce sanctions on member states found to be in violation of the community rules, poor infrastructure and connectivity in the region, and mistrust among member states.

From the analysis of the Kenyan case study and the East African Community, it is clear that the policies adopted at national and regional level are aligned to the objectives at the continental level. However, there are challenges both at the national and regional level which may undermine the continental integration.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

This study examined how African countries can secure their national interests through use of soft and hard power by using Kenya as a case study. An examination of foreign policies of selected African countries show that most countries have clearly defined their national interests. The foreign policies of Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Ghana have a pan-Africanism orientation reflecting liberalism thinking while the foreign policies of Ethiopian and Egypt are oriented towards realist thinking.

African strategies to secure national interests have placed great emphasis on unity, integration, development and self-reliance. They are predicated on the establishment of regional economic communities with harmonized policies and tariffs. This implies that national governments must put in place measures and policies which favour regional integration. Majority of African leaders' declarations show the desire to integrate to secure their national interests. While this may seem logical, and some countries are committed to this ideal, others are more focussed on their own survival and do not see integration as serving their interests.

In addition, African countries have to surmount a number of challenges in order to integrate. These include; language barriers; multiple memberships in regional economic organizations making harmonization of policies difficult; competition and protectionism among member states as result of low levels development and production of similar goods; dependence on external assistance which tends to limit the policy space; internal weaknesses in individual countries; different political systems; and religious beliefs.

The fact that most African countries are poor means that they are likely to be in competition with one another and may therefore favour a foreign policy based on national

interests as opposed to one based on pan-Africanism. This in a sense reflects a form of tension between the desire for integration as espoused by liberalism and individual sovereignty which reflects realist thinking. African states therefore may need to rethink their vision and strategies in securing unity and by extension their national interests. They may need to identify areas which they need to cooperate and areas where they need to address individually.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Policy Recommendations

1. African states need to rethink the model of integration they have adopted. While African unity is important, the diversity of African states may make it difficult to have a political federation. There is need therefore to adopt a realistic model of integration based on connectivity and trade.
2. Due to low levels of development, focus on primary goods and low value manufactured goods, African states are likely to compete against each other than to complement each other, thereby reducing the benefits that may accrue from cooperation. African states therefore need to focus on development of their national economies first, before moving to full integration so as to reap the benefits of complementarity.
3. African states need to enhance connectivity by building high quality infrastructure and connectivity among each other in order to promote interactions with each other.
4. To bridge the language divide between Anglophone and Francophone Africa and promote interaction among the people of Africa, all African states should adopt English and French as official languages. This will break the communication barrier that currently exists where over half of Africa cannot communicate with each other due to language barriers.
5. There is need to streamline membership in regional economic communities. The regional economic communities were supposed to be the building blocks for African

integration. Membership in more than one regional economic community will make harmonization of policies among member states difficult. There is need therefore for each member state to belong to only one regional economic community, if Africa is to achieve its goal of integration using regional economic communities as building blocks.

6.2.2 Academic Recommendations

1. There is need for further research on what model of integration is appropriate for Africa, and in what areas.
2. There is also need to interrogate why Africa has failed to integrate despite the development of clear strategies to integrate so as to inform the current integration processes. An examination of the African Economic Community Agreement, the African Union Agenda 2063, and the Africa Continental Free Trade Area show a lot of similarities. It is therefore important to understand why past initiatives failed, so as to avoid falling into similar pitfalls.

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Appendix I: Research Questionnaire

Introduction and Consent

Dear Respondent,

My name is Timothy Kaluma, currently undertaking a M.A course in International Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research on “**Securing National Interests in Africa through Use of Soft and Hard Power: A Case Study of Kenya**”. The research is intended to provide information on how African states can secure their national interests in an increasingly competitive and unbalanced global environment and thereby help policy makers in formulating better policies.

In this regard, I am humbly requesting you to participate in this research and would therefore appreciate your views and contributions by providing responses to this questionnaire. Your participation is voluntary and there is no attribution to your responses. Furthermore, your responses would be handled with utmost confidentiality. As an indication of acceptance to participate in this research, you are requested to append your signature below.

Thanking you in advance.

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

Respondent _____ Date _____

Appendix II: Research Questionnaire

Please provide responses to the questionnaire by way of a short statement or ticking where required.

Part I: Socio-demographics

1. Gender: Male Female

2. Age: Below 30 years 30-40 years 40-50 years 50-60 years

3. Occupation.....

4. Education level: Secondary Tertiary College Undergraduate
 Graduate
Others (specify)
.....
.....

5. Work experience: 0-10 years 10-20 years 20-30 years Above 30 years

Part II:

6. What is the Mission of your organization?
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7. What do you consider to be Kenya's national interests?
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8. How is your organization geared towards the achievement of the interests?

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9. Do you think your organization’s roles and functions are suited for the achievement of the national interests?

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10. Are all staff aware of the national interests and their role in the achievement of the same?

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11. What tools does your organization employ in the achievement of the interests?

Economic Diplomatic/ Political Military Informational

12. Do you consider the tools to be suitable for the achievement of the interests?

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13. If so, how effective are they?

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14. If not, what can be done to make them more focussed to the achievement of the same?

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15. What challenges does your organization face in the pursuit of national interests?

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16. Do you consider the existing policies and strategies to be well aligned to the achievement of national interests?

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17. If not, what can be done to align them to national interests?

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18. Is Kenya's Foreign Policy adequate in the pursuit of its national interests?

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19. Do international agreements and treaties that Kenya has ratified advance its national interests?

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20. If yes, in what ways?

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21. If no, how do they hinder the achievement of the same?

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22. What can be done to create an enabling environment for the achievement of the national interests?

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23. Which tool(s) would you consider to be the most effective in the pursuit of national interests?

Economic Diplomatic/ Political Military Informational

24. What form should its application take?

Soft power Hard power

Please give reasons

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25. Should Kenya collaborate with other states in the pursuit of its national interest?

Please give reasons

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26. If so, what form should the collaboration take?

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