

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF DEFENCE DIPLOMACY IN ENHANCING  
REGIONAL STABILITY IN AFRICA:  
CASE STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES

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A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Masters of Arts in  
International Studies

**May 2021**

**DECLARATION**

I **Col Edward M O Nyamao** hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any award in any other institution.

Signature ..... 

Date ..... *23 May 2021*

**Col Edward M O Nyamao**

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor;

Signature ..... 

Dare ..... 

**Prof Amb. Maria Nzomo**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family who have given me an immense support during my entire course work. Special dedication to my wife Roselyne Kwamboka Omanwa for material and mutual support, my sons Collins Okindo and Steve Keno, and my daughter Michelle Tyra Kwamboka whose mutual support inspired me to complete this work even when the mountain seemed hard to climb.

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## **Abstract**

The multifaceted existence of threats to state security has posed a major challenge to states' strategic posture in Africa. This very dynamic environment has brought with it complex and ever evolving security implications for states. Diplomatic and military means therefore can be viewed as some of the means by which states pursue global and regional security using a mixture of policies and non-policy means. African states have struggled to develop effective security arrangements at the regional level. The main objective of this study is to examine the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa with a focus on the Kenya Defense Forces. The study examines the trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security, assesses the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa and analyzes the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy. The study is informed by the neo-liberalism theory. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative research designs including both primary and secondary data. The research paper establishes that defense diplomacy is gaining ground in Africa with gradual but steady adoption being noted. The utilization of defence diplomacy is evident through bilateral and multilateral partnerships as well as through cooperation agreements. Defence diplomacy is associated with western countries and attached to the idea of colonial masters “keeping in touch” with their former colonies. The research paper also establishes that defense diplomacy plays a key role in fostering unity through regional institutions and organizations in Africa. Through avenues such as joint military training, sports, exchange programs, defense attaches and peace keeping missions, African states are moving towards full utility of defense diplomacy to secure the continent. Further, the study establishes that the complete operationalization of defense diplomacy faces challenges including unclear link between the objectives, means and ends, loopholes in policies, limited fitting of country legislation into regional defense policies, lack of a single conceptualization of defense diplomacy, limited resources and self-interests among African nations who want to forge their own defense policies. In view of the future prospects of using defense diplomacy to secure Africa, it is noted that strengthening of multilateral and bilateral institutions, incorporation of members of the public and diverse constituencies in decision making and capitalizing on communication especially digital communication would give defense diplomacy more mileage. In addition, maximizing on the ideology of the “African solutions to African problems” would place defense diplomacy at a vantage point to take over defense in Africa.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACRF	African Crisis Response Force
ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
AMISOM-	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	The Association of South East Nations
AU	African Union
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
CWC	Chemical Weapons Conference
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African states
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Agency on Development
KDF	Kenya Defence Force
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCDD	Non-Coercive Defence Diplomacy
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OAS	Organization of America States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PKO	Peace Keeping Operations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCD	United Nations Conference on Disarmament
UNODA	United Nations Office on Disarmament Affairs
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction



## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents an introduction to the study by discussing the background, the statement of the problem, the research objectives and the research questions. The chapter also presents the justification of the study, literature review, theoretical review and the research methodology. The chapter will finally highlight the chapter layout of the rest of the research so as to give an overview of what is expected in the research paper.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

The international arena has witnessed, towards the end of the last century, armed forces and defence ministries taking on a growing range of peacetime cooperative tasks world over.<sup>1</sup> In Europe for example, NATO's longstanding members of the west have rejuvenated collective defence exercises alongside their former enemies from Eastern Europe providing military aid and technical assistance to these states in a bid to reform their militaries. The United States has established a new mutual military cooperation relationship with India and china. The Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) has a security dialogue that has been initiated with the aim of establishing a working military cooperation within the region.<sup>2</sup> Americas' Organization of American States (OAS) defence ministers have held a number of meetings with the Latin American states towards establishing new bilateral military ties.

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson M. S. (1993) *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*. London: Longman.

<sup>2</sup>Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

The United States and its southern neighbors have likewise redirected their goals towards new longstanding military ties. Western states and their governments are supporting African countries in a bid to reform their armed forces and develop local peacekeeping capabilities. Even though there is an established multilateral defence cooperation processes and military ties in the African Union and within the sub-regional groupings such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), “External powers are assisting states and their governments to rebuild and reform their Armed Forces in the post-conflict countries such as Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Mozambique in what can be seen as increased diplomacy patterns of post conflict and peacetime international military cooperation.”<sup>3</sup>

Over the last decade, there has been an increasing trend toward using defense ministries and armed forces to foster cooperative relationships with other countries and assist them in reforming their militaries. States are therefore tasked with not only the more conventional function of planning for and carrying out military operations, but also with the “modern defense diplomacy role of peacetime mutual cooperation with other states.”<sup>4</sup> This includes not only long-standing ally cooperation, but also new partner cooperation and interaction with states going through complex democratic and post-conflict transitions.

In Africa, defense diplomacy is common phenomena among state relations in pursuit of foreign policy objectives and national interests of states. The nature and aspect of security in Africa, especially defense capacities and capabilities has heightened the use of defense diplomacy in realization of national and regional security objectives in a continent that it characterized by state

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<sup>3</sup> Bisley N. (2014) The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy in Asia. Australian National University. *The Centre of Gravity Series*, Vol 17: 12-14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

fragility, protracted conflicts and extra regional dynamics. In the East African region for instance there exists a defense protocol that stipulates defense cooperation and collaboration which aims to harmonize policies and programs aimed at enhancing cooperation among the member countries in military aspects for the benefit of all<sup>5</sup>. The protocol also seeks to promote good relations among partner states and solidify efforts towards regional stability and security. This will seek to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the wellbeing of the citizenry and harness the environment sustainably as well as mitigating the vagaries of climate change. African Military diplomacy has in many instances where conflicts have occurred undertaken Peace Support Operations and Peace Building functions for the resolution of such conflicts.

Kenya's defense diplomacy efforts constitute "an important part of the state's foreign policy in a dynamic and ever changing external security environment. Kenya's foreign policy has become more assertive in Africa, which has considerably influenced the country's defense policy objectives."<sup>6</sup> Due to the ever changing security threats in Africa especially terrorism, refugee problem, climate change and cyber threats, Kenya's defense options have to accommodate these new realities. The Kenya Defense Forces are currently "part of AMISOM troops that are involved in the stabilization efforts of the Horn of Africa region particularly Somalia."<sup>7</sup>

Kenya is seen as a strategic ally, an anchor state in East Africa and a core partner in regional counterterrorism initiatives by the United States and other Western countries. Kenya was ranked among the top ten U.S. foreign aid recipients in 2013 and received a wide range of aid from the

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<sup>5</sup> Booth K. (2017) *Navies and Foreign Policy Goals and Objectives*, In Groom, Helm, London, (2017) *The Political Usages of Sea Power*. Baltimore City: The John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Ebitz A. (2019) *The use of military diplomacy in great power competition: Lessons learned from the Marshall Plan*. Brookings.

United States. In recent years, “US aid to Kenya has surpassed \$1 billion, with the majority of funds going to development and health programs. Although security assistance accounts for only a small portion of total aid received by Kenya, the country is one of the largest recipients of US security assistance in Africa.”<sup>8</sup>

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Regional stability in Africa is facing a myriad of challenges mainly occasioned by state actions both internally and externally. States competition for resources and recognition, conflicting interests, extra regional actor’s interest in Africa and resilient violent non state actors (terrorist groups) all pose security and diplomatic challenges. There is also development of interest in the region by emerging powers which is affecting power balance in the region and in extension, regional stability. If this instability is left unchecked, it may plunge the regions into conflict and chaos.

The multifaceted existence of threats to state security has posed a major challenge to states' strategic posture. Food, health, the climate, society, and physical protection are only a few of the issues posed by new and emerging security interests. This very dynamic environment has brought with it a complex and ever evolving security implications for states. Diplomatic and military means therefore can be viewed as some of the methods by which states pursue global and regional security using a mixture of policies and non-policy means to address external factors ranging from regime sustenance, achievement of reasonable economic standards, and ethnic cohesion, and Trans-boundary resource conflicts among others.

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<sup>8</sup> Blanchard L. P. (2013) *U.S.-Kenya Relations: Current Political and Security Issues*. Congressional Research Service: Issue Brief 1-18. International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center, EBSCO

The application of Defense Diplomacy by the UN in form of peace keeping operations as a tool to gain global stability has been a norm. However, the UN financial crisis and global politics has diminished the linkages between diplomacy (military) and Peacekeeping. The results of this have hindered Peacekeeping operations, where withdrawals and lack of desired expanded support at critical moments have frequently been experienced. Examples include Somalia and Bosnia.

African states have struggled to develop effective security arrangements at the regional level. This was especially true during the Organization of African Unity (OAU) period, when the focus was primarily on political and economic issues. Even in the case of the current version of the union (AU), the creation of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) has not resulted in major changes to the status of regional security arrangements. The considerations of using defense diplomacy as an approach to managing military relations and influencing policies among and between states therefore becomes important in analyzing states relations and security threats in the present world. This paper therefore focuses on addressing the problem of how defense diplomacy enhances regional security in Africa.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. What are the trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security?
- ii. What is the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional security in Africa?
- iii. What are the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy?

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

The main objective of the study is to examine the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa with a focus on the Kenya Defense Forces.

The specific Objectives are to;

- i. Examine the trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security.
- ii. Assess the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa
- iii. Analyze the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy.

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

### **1.5.1 Academic justification**

Regional stability is critical for global peace and stability. The nature of regional conflicts is fueled through conflicting state interest, struggle for scarce resources and political dominance. One of the critical tools needed to achieve regional stability is the employment of Defense diplomacy which has undergone tremendous developments and changes over time in an attempt to cope with the ever changing security realities. Military alliances are shifting with the traditional allies increasingly showing signs of discontent with previous treaties. New groupings are emerging based on the changing interests and dynamics. Socio-political and economic pressures are threatening to reshape regions if not the whole world order and everyone is embracing these changes.

The existing research on this area therefore does not contain the explicit and up- to -date information in this broad field. After conducting the relevant literature review, this research paper

has identified the gap on how Defense Diplomacy can be effectively utilized as a tool to achieve regional stability and in extension, global peace and security. The study therefore focuses on an identified gap on how Defense Diplomacy can be effectively employed to solve the problem of regional and global insecurity and will endeavor to analyse how defense diplomacy can be employed by stakeholders including states and global community to address the regional and global insecurity problem.

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

The peace and security challenges facing the global and regional environment require concerted efforts of states and international bodies through the use of both hard and soft diplomacy. The new challenges which range from terrorism, immigration, the on-going global pandemic, environmental and climate change among other key areas prompt each state to be at the apex of every security decision. The use of military diplomacy is therefore key in ensuring international and regional cooperation through sharing of information and techniques to control the vices. The findings and recommendations in this study will be key in policy formulation by the states and relevant stakeholders.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

The complexity and interconnections of definitional methods, as well as the breadth of the analytical field, distinguish contemporary diplomacy surveys. Surmacz, a Polish scholar, believes that in public debate, the idea of diplomacy is commonly understood intuitively, although attempts at theoretical conceptualization reveal its ambiguity.<sup>9</sup> The new 'so-called' paradigmatic debates in the science of international relations further complicate the situation.

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<sup>9</sup>Surmacz B. (2015); *Ewolucja współczesnej dyplomacji, Aktorzy, struktura, funkcje. Maria Skłodowska-Curie Lubin*, University Publishing House.

In general, they refer to an expanded “circle of these relationships and the extent of their subjectivity, which is described primarily as knowledge of one's own interests, the capacity to act on behalf of actor’s collective interest, and the consequences of this scale in relations with other international actors.”<sup>10</sup> These changes must “impact diplomacy as a foreign policy tool for countries, as well as related instruments created - with particular implications - by other international players, as part of this process.”<sup>11</sup>

According to Marshall, there are a few simple meanings associated with the idea of diplomacy. To begin with, as a synonym for foreign policy or the manner in which this instrumental policy is carried out. Second, as a peaceful means of regulating foreign affairs by mediation or other peaceful means. Finally, as a group of citizens who work in international services. Finally, the term specifies the talent or skills of professional diplomats<sup>12</sup>. Diplomacy is a field that is steadily expanding. Aside from purely political topics, modern diplomacy focuses on issues such as commerce, economics, science, and military ties. Using the KDF as a case study, the main goal of this research is to concentrate on the role of defense diplomacy in shaping regional stability in Africa.

Cottey and Forster held the belief that sources of defense diplomacy ought to be pursued through military diplomacy<sup>13</sup>. Berndt von Staden, the former foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany defined military diplomacy as it “relates to the issues of military missions, as well as the participation of military representatives in disarmament negotiations and arms control.”<sup>14</sup> Military

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Fris J. (2013) *Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes. New Zealand's Defense Diplomacy in Asia*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

<sup>12</sup> Sanyal J. (2018) *Building strategic security: defense diplomacy and the role of army*. The Strategist.

<sup>13</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>14</sup> Ibid



diplomacy may thus be “characterized as a collection of tasks performed exclusively by military representatives, defense attachés, or other military representatives in the course of peacekeeping missions and operations, as well as international military cooperation.”<sup>15</sup> Military diplomacy, on the other hand, was limited to the duties and position of the military attaché in the eyes of the British.

Military diplomacy, according to the conventional viewpoint portrayed in Poland by Julian Sutor, “is the operation of the Ministry of National Defense in the field of state security and defense in the international arena.”<sup>16</sup> This activity entails the Ministry of Defense carrying out tasks only outside the country, without regard for the position of the armed forces, including military education, defense industry cooperation and industrial development. As a result, the presence of broader tasks that are carried out by its professional international apparatus, are key to the security and protection of a states.

Defense diplomacy is, in effect, adaptable to the circumstances of action, expanding in several respects, along with the shift in the framework of contemporary foreign relations, the reach of its impacts and the forms that they must take. It focuses on reducing aggression and increasing inter-state trust. However, unlike traditional military diplomacy, it identifies as many needs as possible, assisted by civilization's achievements that allow knowledge exchange and interpersonal communication.

Defense diplomacy “does not include military operations, but rather encourages modes of collaboration such as staff exchange, ship and aircraft exchange, high-level visits and senior

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<sup>15</sup> United Kingdom Ministry of Defence 2000, p. 2

commanders, bilateral meetings and dialogue, training and drills, regional defense conferences, military aid, confidence-building initiatives, and non-proliferation. Its primary goal is to foster faith and aid in the establishment of democratic armed forces. It contributes significantly to the prevention and resolution of disputes.”<sup>17</sup>

Martin Edmonds and Greg Mills conceived defense diplomacy as “any use of armed forces (except warfare) in the achievement of national goals”<sup>18</sup>. This trait corresponds to Anton du Plessis's narrower concept of defense diplomacy indicating the “peaceful use of military personnel, including military attachés, to prevent conflicts.”<sup>19</sup> In its debates, the South African "school of defense diplomacy" narrows the scope of this term. The position of the Armed Forces is considered by Edmonds and Mills to be their "Centre of Gravity," while du Plessis emphasizes the presence of military personnel, including military attachés. These disparities may point to a purely utilitarian approach to defense diplomacy or a lack of a broader understanding of its position and significance as a tool of state security policy.

Preventive diplomacy, having very close links with defense diplomacy “entered the international security sphere in the 1960s, and was for the first time used in a 1960 Security Council report on South Africa by the then United Nations secretary general, Dag Hammarskjöld.”<sup>20</sup> During the Cold War, however, it received only minor attention. After the Cold War, it was revived by Boutros-Ghali, another UN Secretary General, in his “Agenda for Peace”. He defined preventive diplomacy as “action meant to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes

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<sup>17</sup>Ministry of Defence, London 2011, p. 7

<sup>18</sup> Edmonds M. and Mills G. (1998) *Beyond the horizon; Defence Diplomacy and the south Africa's Naval Opportunities*. Braamfontein. South African Institute Of International Affairs And The Center For Defense And International Security.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur”<sup>21</sup>. Nathan also emphasizes the importance of confidence-building in preventing intra- or inter-state conflicts and tensions from escalating into violence, or in limiting the scope of violence if it does.

In the same vein, and as a favored alternative, Jakobsen and George stress the use of constructive rewards to deter conflict, suggesting that CBMs have a positive effect in preventive diplomacy. They reject the use of coercive diplomacy in the post-Cold War era because it has little usefulness and a low probability of success, if it succeeds at all. The works of Hammarskjöld and Boutros-Ghali on preventive diplomacy tend to agree that since the timing and location of the activities are crucial, early notice is required, as is the requirement that these activities be non-coercive. Furthermore, according to Lund<sup>22</sup> preventive diplomacy encompasses practices such as diplomatic, political, military, economic, and other instruments aimed at preventing a situation from devolving into violence.

A ‘negative peace’ prevails “because although armed force is not deployed, the parties perceive one another as enemies and maintain deterrent military capabilities”.<sup>23</sup> In an unstable peace, it is clear that conflict prevention efforts rely on the ability to recognize the sources of friction and suspicion, as well as the ability to devise effective responses that minimize enmity. CBMs have particular value as a response to the causes of enmity in this way because they seek to create trust and certainty between opposing parties. Although preventive diplomacy is argued to be essential

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<sup>21</sup> Boutros-Ghali B. (1992) *An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping*. New York: United Nations.

<sup>22</sup> Lund M. (1997) *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*

during an unstable peace, Lund defines stable peace as "wary contact and limited cooperation (for example, trade) within the framework of basic order or national stability."<sup>24</sup>

Value or goal differences "exist and no military cooperation is established, but disputes are generally worked out in nonviolent, more or less predictable ways. As a result, it is necessary to undertake activities such as the establishment of military-to-military cooperation to eliminate or minimize differences during this stage of insecure peace."<sup>25</sup> As a result of the above, preventive diplomacy can be viewed as a broad term stressing the value of non-coercion and confidence-building as alternatives to coercion. It explores the military's position in conflict and the use of defense-related resources during a conflict's life cycle. Following that, the role of defense diplomacy in the sense of preventive diplomacy is usually explored.

Diplomacy has gone far and beyond the "sole preserve of foreign affairs ministries and is continuously being undertaken by most government departments. This is being done in an attempt to support, advice, shape and implement foreign policy to manage inter-state relations and relations with other actors."<sup>26</sup> Other aspects and broader contexts "have emerged in diplomacy including and amongst others, dollar diplomacy, oil diplomacy, governance diplomacy, resource diplomacy and defense diplomacy."<sup>27</sup> Various Scholars as well as countries however differ in their conceptualization of defense diplomacy, often referring to military diplomacy instead. Mohan, however, makes a sensible distinction by defining defense diplomacy as "activities undertaken by the entire defense establishment, including its civilian bureaucracy and the research and

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<sup>24</sup> Lund M. (1997) *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> Barston R.P. (1997). *Modern Diplomacy. Second edition*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman..

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*

development establishments”, and military diplomacy as “interaction and exchanges between the ‘uniformed services”.

In comparison to the narrower definition of military diplomacy, “defense diplomacy is a wider and more inclusive term. As such, it refers to the activity of any member of a defense establishment having official contact with another defense establishment or international organization establishing, broadening, or deepening defense relations, including preventive diplomacy, in support of foreign policy objectives.”<sup>28</sup>

Although defense diplomacy has “historical roots and was used (albeit in a different context) prior to the 1990s, the term was reintroduced to the foreign relations and military realms in the 1990s as defense forces re-examined their positions in a post-Cold War setting.”<sup>29</sup> The United States, France, the People's Republic of China (PRC), NATO member states, India, Indonesia, Singapore and New Zealand are all examples of countries that have adopted defense diplomacy. The African states, through the established regional bodies have as well put concerted efforts toward the same direction. It appealed to European countries in particular for “building trust and mutual confidence with former communist bloc rivals, promoting greater European integration, and forging cooperative security relationships between the United States, Canada, and Eastern and Western European countries.”<sup>30</sup>

Defense diplomacy “marked a shift away from a narrow Cold War focus on forging alliances against a common enemy to a broader focus on improving relations with former or potential enemies, promoting civil-military relations and security sector reform, assisting defense forces in

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

<sup>29</sup> *ibid*

<sup>30</sup> Barston R.P. (1997) *Modern Diplomacy. Second edition*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

transitioning after conflict or political change, supporting regional peacekeeping initiatives, and more.”<sup>31</sup> The contemporary “appeal of defense diplomacy, on the other hand, is complicated by a fear that it would be presented as ‘an expedient catchall mark’ and as a consequence is subject to both positive and negative critique.”<sup>32</sup>

Security diplomacy proponents believe it is the most effective form of avoiding war because it prevents countries from being adversarial. Defense diplomacy, according to Bisley, has three possible benefits: it reduces uncertainty, helps crisis management by avoiding escalation, and promotes knowledge exchange, which increases shared understanding of interests and capabilities. According to Cottey and Forster, “avoiding conflict contributes to a cooperative and stable international order over time.”<sup>33</sup> As added by Tan and Singh, “regional perspective to defense diplomacy uses regional defense forums and institutions such as the Five Power Defense Agreement (FPDA), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Defense Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM-Plus.”<sup>34</sup> These organizations provide strategic scope, allow for constructive interaction, encourage an understanding of member states' strategic cultures, enhance regional relations understanding and management, and promote the sharing of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) resources.

Defense diplomacy, as previously defined and explained, has a generic meaning and accepted usage. However it’s critical to note that defense diplomacy could be either coercive or non-coercive. The distinction made (or suggested by similar concepts) between what is referred to as

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<sup>31</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>32</sup> Tan S. S. (2012) Talking their Walk? The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast. *Introduction. Asian Security*, Vol 8(3): 221-231

<sup>33</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

"coercive defense diplomacy" and "non-coercive defense diplomacy" is at the heart of this. It could be argued that defense diplomacy is inherently non-coercive and non-aggressive by design and in its 'normal' application. As a result, a non-coercive (and therefore coercive) qualification will be redundant. Although not the focus of this study but to explain the variables in these two terms, coercive diplomacy "is a peculiar theme within security literature."<sup>35</sup> Coercive diplomacy, in this context, is characterized as the "deployment of threats and limited force to resolve crises and violent conflict without resorting to full-scale war."<sup>36</sup>

As noted by Cottey and Forster,<sup>37</sup> defense diplomacy will help deter conflict by endorsing political commitments to collaborate, cultivating shared interests, encouraging defense force cooperation, and demonstrating openness to avoid misunderstandings. They however, do not ground their case in a theoretical context for conflict prevention, nor do they differentiate between coercive and non-coercive defense diplomacy. Using the argument of Jakobsen and George that "coercive diplomacy has limited utility, it is therefore contended that coercive defense diplomacy likewise has restricted efficacy and that the alternative of non-coercive defense diplomacy deserves consideration."<sup>38</sup>

Du Plessis believes that "diplomacy is a vehicle for enforcing political, economic, cultural (propaganda), and military tactics, which can vary from non-coercive (non-violent) to coercive (violent) methods when employed in a military context (in the situational context of both

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<sup>35</sup> Fris J. (2013) *Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes. New Zealand's Defense Diplomacy in Asia*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

<sup>36</sup> Jakobsen P.V. (2013) *Coercive Diplomacy. In Contemporary Security Studies*. Third edition, edited by Collins, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>37</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>38</sup> Jakobsen P.V. (2013) *Coercive Diplomacy. In Contemporary Security Studies*. Third edition, edited by Collins, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

cooperation and conflict).”<sup>39</sup> He indirectly proves the presence of non-coercive defensive diplomacy (while not excluding coercive diplomacy) to manipulate and convince in terms of this typology. However, a review of the literature shows that non-coercive defensive diplomacy is seldom discussed.

Substantive research is incomplete, with the exception of an unpublished article by Almeida Silva, which recognizes that non-coercive security diplomacy does not require the deterrent use of threats or the impelling use of force to establish ties between states. It is concluded that non-coercive defense diplomacy is based on the values of openness, reputation, and honesty, as well as peaceful methods, despite the fact that it is used but not comprehensively described in detail and given the limited literature on it. It involves persuading, bargaining, or acting in ways that advance shared interests, reciprocal political obligations, and security cooperation.

As a result, it involves conflict avoidance and focuses on former or future enemies, as well as present or potential allies and partners (rather than current adversaries in an adversarial relationship). Non-coercive defensive diplomacy is a non-violent alternative to force and coercive diplomacy. It builds, nurtures, and extends defense relations in order to alter circumstances, behaviors, or behavior, and it uses positive rewards such as CBMs to instill trust and confidence.

Defense diplomacy's proponents “agree that it has utility and value in preventing conflict and fostering stability, especially by reducing tension, preventing issue escalation, and promoting mutual understanding.”<sup>40</sup> Most commentator nations, on the other hand, remain silent on how defense policy directly and efficiently contributes to conflict prevention and thus to regional and

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<sup>39</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

<sup>40</sup> Bearman S. (1999) New Challenges to Defense Diplomacy. *Strategic Survey*, Vol 100(1): 38-53.



global peace and security. Defense diplomacy does not come without its opponents. White dismisses the idea as “nothing more than a public relations stunt by the military to inform the public about their safety during times of peace.”<sup>41</sup>

Since defense diplomacy involves the military, he specifically warns against the “assumption that it works better than other forms of diplomacy. He rejects the idea that plain-speaking military men can resolve differences and build trust and understanding where civilian diplomats and politicians become mired in half-truths. None of these are true. They are myths.”<sup>42</sup> Yet, despite his criticisms, he recognizes that defense diplomacy can be effective in some circumstances and calls for a realistic approach because, as Bisley points out, it has drawbacks in regions where political cleavages are entrenched and ongoing.

Bearman believes it is “naive or misleading to suggest that military-to-military contacts established through defense diplomacy will prevent conflict between NATO member states and Central and Eastern European (CEE) states because today's friend could be tomorrow's foe.”<sup>43</sup> Hills identifies weaknesses in defense diplomacy, especially its links to Security Sector Reform, in “her critique of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland's (UK) Strategic Defense Review (SDR) from 1998. She stresses the importance of integrating effective defense diplomacy with other government departments' programs and policy instruments for conflict resolution.”<sup>44</sup> She also emphasizes that “defense diplomacy can be a source of conflict between government departments due to rivalry for limited resources.”<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Tan S. S. (2012) Talking their Walk? The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast. *Introduction. Asian Security*, Vol 8(3): 221-231.

<sup>42</sup> Barston R.P. (1997). *Modern Diplomacy. Second edition*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

<sup>43</sup> Bearman S. (1999) New Challenges to Defense Diplomacy. *Strategic Survey*, Vol 100(1): 38-53.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>45</sup> *ibid*

Another outcome of defense diplomacy is the potential for conflict as a result of inclusion and exclusion. Defense diplomacy, according to Leahy, “takes time but does not always produce results, although Taylor maintains that its advantages are nebulous and difficult to measure.”<sup>46</sup> Detractors doubt the efficacy of defense diplomacy (also for conflict prevention) and warn of possible pitfalls. It cannot guarantee the long-term viability of friendly collaboration; it can intensify conflict; it generates unreasonable expectations; it takes time; and its outcomes are difficult to distinguish. However, with caution and foresight, these traps can be avoided.

Defense diplomacy is used for country-specific reasons, despite the opinions of supporters and detractors. In 1993, “Australia's Minister of Defense related Australia's defense to the need to engage regional nations, sustain alliance ties, and affirm a commitment to international peace and stability.”<sup>47</sup> However, as it was with former Warsaw Pact countries “its core mission was to detect and resolve conflict before it escalated to military confrontation. Defense diplomacy similarly “featured as a core mission in the UK’s 1994 SDR. It was defined as the provision of forces to meet the varied activities undertaken by the Ministry of Defense to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces, thereby making a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution.”<sup>48</sup> Canada followed the UK’s example by “adopting defense diplomacy as official policy in 2005, describing it as a defense tool for shaping the international environment to contribute to stability by building relations.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Barston R.P. (1997) *Modern Diplomacy. Second edition*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

<sup>47</sup> Fris J. (2013) *Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes. New Zealand's Defense Diplomacy in Asia*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid*

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

In the 2012 Spanish defense diplomacy plan, defense diplomacy is described as “the various international activities based mainly on dialogue and cooperation, carried out bilaterally by the Ministry of Defense with our allies, partners and other friendly countries to promote the accomplishment of defense policy objectives in support of Spanish foreign policy.”<sup>50</sup> Conflict prevention, security sector restructuring, and the reinforcement of security and defense capabilities are among the international activities. Whereas Canada and Australia are unsure about the role of defense diplomacy in conflict prevention, the United Kingdom and Spain have made a strong case for it. Germany's detailed explanation stresses the significance of predicting and resolving conflict before it escalates, and it prioritizes former adversaries in the military-political sense. The German strategy, which places conflict prevention at the center of defense diplomacy, is an excellent model.

Diplomacy has “bilateral and multilateral modes, promotes sound relations between states and, by extension, prevents crises and conflict.”<sup>51</sup> Contemporary diplomacy is shaped by multilateral and international diplomacy. As Tan points out, “security issues have become so complicated that no single country can deal with them alone, emphasizing the importance of multilateral diplomacy.”<sup>52</sup> They agree with Barston in favor of multilateral and regional diplomacy, based on their assessment of “defense's contribution to Southeast Asia's regional security architecture, in that it promotes intra- and extra-regional cooperation in the ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Kingdom of Spain (2012) *Defense Diplomacy Plan*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa.

<sup>51</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) *Military diplomacy*. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

<sup>52</sup> *ibid*

<sup>53</sup> Barston R.P. (1997) *Modern Diplomacy. Second edition*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.

As an adjunct to bilateral security relations and operations, defense diplomacy must also include multilateral and international aspects. Defense diplomacy operations vary a lot and cover a lot of ground. It entails “bilateral and multilateral contact between military and civilian officials, the appointment of defense attachés or advisors, the signing of defense cooperation agreements, the training of defense and civilian personnel, including the deployment of training teams and other experts, the provision of expertise and advice on defense-related matters, the conduct of ship visits, and other activities.”<sup>54</sup>

Concerning the provision of military equipment, Tan and Singh observe that “it expands influence in recipient countries.”<sup>55</sup> They observe that long-term weapons sales add stability to bilateral security relations. However, they become more complicated from a multilateral viewpoint as the security dilemma worsens, distrust rises, and skepticism grows. As a result, it is critical that “weapons sales and military equipment be handled with caution, and that CBMs be used expressly to prevent conflict escalation.”<sup>56</sup>

Activities related to defense diplomacy can be divided into four groups to minimize their diversity. These pertain to direct military-to-military interaction, which the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has designated as a vehicle for CBMs in order to foster understanding and confidence, facilitate democratic transition, enhance interoperability, and support hard-security objectives.<sup>57</sup> The broad range of defense diplomacy activities described by

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<sup>54</sup>Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>55</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) Military diplomacy. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Anon M. (1999) New challenges to defense diplomacy. *Strategic Survey*, Vol 100(1): 38-53

Cottey and Forster, as well as Tan and Singh, are all linked to military-to-military interaction, and thus have a direct impact on CBMs and conflict prevention, it is argued.

It is concluded that bilateral and multilateral security diplomacy, as well as related operations, can be used to deter confrontation, but only in accordance with the government's political and foreign policy goals. If there are deep and rooted political disagreements or cleavages between the countries concerned, the findings are often suspicious. More significantly, defense diplomacy isn't a one-size-fits-all solution to conflict prevention because it's limited to defense-related issues. Although defense diplomacy has a broad definition, its effectiveness in combating regional and global insecurity remains a critical shortcoming.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.7.1 Neo-Liberalism Theory**

Though Neo-liberalism as a theory has attempted to explain the nature of world politics in our contemporary international system,<sup>58</sup> Goldstein asserts that there is no single theory that can explain the wide range and complexities of international interactions, be it conflicting or cooperative.<sup>59</sup> The fundamentals of “economics, and of the ideology of neoliberalism, go back to Adam Smith and his great work, *The Wealth of Nations*. Over the past two centuries Smith’s arguments have been formalized and developed with greater analytical rigour, but the fundamental assumptions underpinning neoliberalism remain those proposed by Adam Smith.”<sup>60</sup> The liberal doctrines “propounded by Adam Smith came under attack from two directions.”<sup>61</sup> One side is

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid

<sup>59</sup> Joshua G. S. (1999) *International Relations*, 3rd Ed. Washington, D.C.: Longman.

<sup>60</sup> David H. A. (2005) *Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

based on Smith's ideology that "an ideal society was one of isolated individuals, each pursuing his own self-interest."<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, the Neoliberalism view is anchored on the beliefs of the classical liberal theory that seeks to explain the international system on the basis of liberal economic thought.

In international relations, "Neo-liberalism believes that states are concerned with absolute gains rather than relative gains to other states."<sup>63</sup> Based on the democratic peace theory, neoliberalism hopes that no two mature democracies fight wars on each other. The theory recognizes other non-state actors and international institutions role in enhancing democracy and cooperation among states. The international institutions include the United Nations, African Union, IGAD and other institutions that operate on values and strategies to promote international peace and security free of conflict.

In International markets, the Liberal economic theory was the main school of thought in the West Powers before the 1930 Great Depression. Soon after a novel approach replaced classical aspects of liberalism which was to be known as the Neo-Liberalism theory. Neo-Liberalism is based on the belief that capitalism requires significant state regulation in order to be viable. According to neo-liberal Theory, State and market are complementary institutions.<sup>64</sup> The State is the major institution coordinating modern societies and the military is one of the Instruments of national power that states use to achieve their national interests including economic objectives in the international arena. International markets are based on competition and regulated by the

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<sup>62</sup> Smith S. (2012) Address to the Asia-Pacific Chiefs of Defence Force Conference. Department of Defence. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

<sup>64</sup> Luiz C. P (2009) Assault on the State and on the Market: Neoliberalism and Economic Theory. *Estudos Avançados*, Vol 23 (66)

government to help the economy coordinate. Although Liberalism originated in the 18th century to counteract an autocratic state, Neo-liberalism (a major distortion of economic liberalism) has prevailed since the 1980s, mounting a political assault on the State in the name of the market, but actually targeting the market as well.<sup>65</sup> The meta-ideologies that gave this attack a "science" and mathematical allure were neoclassical macroeconomics and public choice theory.

### **1.7.2 Hypothesis**

The research draws the following hypotheses;

- i. Defense diplomacy is a critical enabler of global peace and security.
- ii. Defense diplomacy plays a key role in enhancing regional stability in Africa
- iii. Securing Africa through Defense Diplomacy has a wide range of challenges and the future trends are dependent on how the challenges are addressed.

### **1.8 Research Methodology**

Research methodology can be described as a way to logically and systematically solve the research problem. It may be taken as a science of studying how research is done to achieve desired results. According to Crotty, research methodology can be described as the plan of actions, strategy, processes or design influencing the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of these methods to the desired results<sup>66</sup>. Methodology explains the method used in the research and it therefore becomes the reference point for checking the suitability of ideas and issues for empirical investigation<sup>67</sup>. This study has utilized both qualitative and quantitative research methods to actualize the purpose of the research.

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<sup>65</sup> David H. A. (2005) *Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

<sup>66</sup> Crotty M. (1998) *Foundation of social Research*. London: Sage publishing.

<sup>67</sup> Flick U. (2006) *An Introduction To Qualitative Research*. London: Sage publishing

### 1.8.1 Research Design

Research design essentially refers to “the plan or strategy of shaping the research that might include the entire process of research from conceptualizing a problem to writing research questions, data collection, analysis, interpretation and the final writing of the report.”<sup>68</sup> It provides the basic framework for data collection and analysis and subsequently indicating which research methods were appropriate. The most common, useful purposes and main aims of this research are exploration, description and rational explanation based on data. This research has used both qualitative and quantitative designs. Primary data has been collected using a semi-structured questionnaire. Secondary data was obtained from relevant articles, reports and authored documents relevant to the study topic.

### 1.9 Chapter Outline

The chapters are organized as follows: **Chapter 1** covers the background of the study, statement of the research problem, research questions, Research objectives, literature review, and justification of the study, theoretical framework, hypotheses and research methodology have also been presented in this chapter. **Chapter 2** examines the trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security. **Chapter 3** assess the role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa, **Chapter 4** analyzes the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy. **Chapter 5** covers the analysis and presentation of research findings. **Chapter 6** entails the conclusion and recommendations arising from the study.

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<sup>68</sup> Simpson M. and Tuson, J. (2003) *Using Observations in Small-Scale Research: A Beginner’s Guide*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.



## **CHAPTER 2: TRENDS IN DEFENSE DIPLOMACY AS AN ENABLER OF GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **2.1 Introduction**

These chapter will assess how defense diplomacy is used as an enabler of global peace and security as viewed from the international system notion, taking NATO and ASEAN as relevant military associated institutions that spear headed defense diplomacy in various regions. Regionally it will assess ECOWAS contribution to regional peace and security and advocacy from movement to use of force to the employment of soft power to resolve conflicts. The role of UN disarmament in the utilization of defense diplomacy in managing conflicts is through deterrence related approaches that has enhanced regional peace keeping capabilities.

### **2.2 Global and Regional Diplomacy and Defense**

The international system continues to experience profound challenges in the realm of peace and security. This requires that “states do away with cold war approaches to peace and security and develop a new understanding and conceptualization of all dimensions of security that is responsive to the current and future needs.”<sup>69</sup> This will entail a broad and expanded notion of security which reflects all the levels of analysis in global system. The Defense forces and Ministries “in the world over the last decades have embraced these new conceptualization of security and responded to the new realities and challenges in peace and security realm.”<sup>70</sup> This has seen them take on a range of more cooperative and collaborative tasks during war times and peacetimes. For instance, European

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<sup>69</sup> Atkinson C. (2006) Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol 50 (3):509–537.

<sup>70</sup> Blaxland J. (2014) *Defending defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 7–9. Canberra: Australian National University

countries under NATO member states “do conduct joint military exercises even with some states that are against them during war times, and have participated in the formation and strengthening of Defense capacities of these countries.”<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, in Asia, “many regional countries have participated in the Defense cooperation during both peace and war times.”<sup>72</sup> For instance, “the United States of America has had a military cooperation with India and China yet it also engages ASEAN member states in other capacities.”<sup>73</sup>

The Defense Ministers in the Organization of American States have also adopted Defense Diplomacy as a means of addressing some of the peace and security challenges in their region. This also entails bilateral relations between and among states on matters of mutual security interest. According to Cottey “State in the Latin America region have also been practicing bilateral Defense diplomacy for a long time.”<sup>74</sup> Indeed, most states in the region have independent defense relations with the United States of America with varied goals.

In Africa, Extra-Regional governments “have adopted varied defense relations with countries in the continent.”<sup>75</sup> Most European countries are “focused on supporting African countries build capacity and professionalize their Defense forces as well as developing local peace keeping capabilities for purposes of resolving the many conflicts in the region.”<sup>76</sup> The African Union and its sub-regional organizations specifically the Economic Community of West African States

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<sup>71</sup> Cheyre J. E. (2013) *Defense Diplomacy*. In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, edited by Andrew Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, 369–382. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<sup>72</sup> Capie D. (2013) Structures, Shocks and Norm Change: Explaining the Late Rise of Asia’s Defense Diplomacy. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol 35 (1):1–26.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid pp. 23

<sup>74</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>75</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies

<sup>76</sup> Ibid p. 97

(ECOWAS) East African Community (EAC) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), have established multilateral Defense cooperation processes.

External powers are supporting governments in “post-conflict countries such as Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Afghanistan in their attempts to restore and reform their armed forces.”<sup>77</sup> These operations, taken together, mark a major change in trends of international military collaboration during times of peace. This change is encapsulated by the idea of defense diplomacy. The traditional position of defense forces has been characterized by the “practical imperative of using or threatening force, whether for defense, deterrence, compile or interference.”<sup>78</sup> Defense diplomacy, on the other hand, “is the use of armed forces and associated infrastructure (primarily defense ministries) as a means of foreign and security policy during times of peace.”<sup>79</sup>

Over the last decade, “there has been a growing trend, especially among Western democracies, to use defense ministries and armed forces to cultivate cooperative partnerships with other countries and to assist other countries in reforming their militaries.”<sup>80</sup> As a result, modern security forces are increasingly charged with not only the conventional function of planning for and carrying out the use of force, but also with the current defense diplomacy role of peacetime cooperative cooperation with other nations.<sup>81</sup> This includes not only long-standing ally cooperation, but also new partner cooperation and interaction with states going through complex democratic and post-conflict transitions.

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77 Strachan H. (2005) The Lost Meaning of Strategy. *Survival*, Vol 47 (3):33–54.

78 Ibid p. 48

79 Winger G. (2014) *The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*. Paper presented at the What Do Ideas Do: Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences, Vienna.

80 Strachan H. (2005) The Lost Meaning of Strategy. *Survival*, Vol 47 (3):33–54.

81 Williams E. S. (2000) *Cold War, Hot Seat: A Western Defence Attache in the Soviet Union*. London: Robert Hale

### 2.3 The Notion of Defense Diplomacy in the International System

Defense diplomacy “covers a broad variety of operations that were previously referred to as military collaboration or military assistance.”<sup>82</sup> Protection attachés were first appointed “as part of nineteenth-century European diplomacy. Multinational military cooperation between European states dates back much further, and it has long been a hallmark of intra-alliance actions in the modern European state system.”<sup>83</sup> Strong military ties established between European imperial powers and their colonies. The Imperial Defense College was established in 1922 by the United Kingdom to “train senior military officers and create a common military doctrine in defense of the British Empire.”<sup>84</sup>

The Ecole Supérieur de Guerre in France served a similar purpose. Following WWII, “many former colonies chose to retain extensive military relations with their former colonial powers, especially Britain and France, as decolonization progressed.”<sup>85</sup> During the Cold War, “the United States and the Soviet Union established military relations with their respective allies all over the world, offering weapons, military training, and other forms of assistance, as well as participating in comprehensive bilateral and multilateral security cooperation.”<sup>86</sup> For decades, much of what could be called security diplomacy was “standard practice within NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and other alliance relationships.”<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Tan S. S. (2012) Talking their Walk? The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast. *Introduction. Asian Security*, Vol 8(3): 221-231.

<sup>83</sup> Winger G. (2014) *The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*. Paper presented at the What Do Ideas Do?: Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, Vienna.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid* p. 119

<sup>85</sup> Taylor B., Bisley N., Hugh W., Blaxland J., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defense Diplomacy: The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 1–22. Canberra: National Defense University South Africa.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid* p. 412

<sup>87</sup> McDonald H. and Deborah S. (2012) *Seeing Red: ADF at the Crossroads. The Age*. Melbourne: Fairfax.

However, since the 1990s, “there has been a significant change in the nature and goals of international military cooperation, especially among Western democracies.”<sup>88</sup> Military cooperation and assistance has historically been primarily synonymous with “international realpolitik, balance-of-power politics, and the promotion of broadly defined national interests.”<sup>89</sup> To counterbalance or discourage rivals, preserve spheres of control, help “friendly regimes in suppressing domestic opponents, or foster commercial interests, states engaged in security cooperation with and provided military assistance to other states (such as arms sales or more general trade relations).”<sup>90</sup> This logic was embodied in defense collaboration between European imperial powers and their colonies, which was strengthened by the Cold War.<sup>91</sup> The strategic priority given to “countering the Soviet Union and communism in the West, especially the United States, resulted in military cooperation with authoritarian regimes in many parts of the world.”<sup>92</sup>

Defense cooperation is “now being used not only in its long-standing realpolitik position of helping allies' armed forces and stability, but also as a way of achieving broader foreign and security policy objectives, which is a crucial change of the last decade.”<sup>93</sup> For starters, rather than being used to counterbalance rivals, “military cooperation and assistance are now being used to help former or future enemies develop cooperative relationships.”<sup>94</sup> This process is “referred to here as strategic

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<sup>88</sup> Regan K. (2012) *Pacific Partnership Wraps up Mission in Cambodia*. Commander United States Pacific Fleet. Pearl Harbour: Pentagon, United States of America.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid p. 32

<sup>90</sup> Gray C. S. (1999) *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 103

<sup>91</sup> Ibid p. 211

<sup>92</sup> Regan K. (2012) *Pacific Partnership Wraps up Mission in Cambodia*. Commander United States Pacific Fleet. Pearl Harbour: Pentagon, United States of America.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid p. 49

<sup>94</sup> Smith S. (2012) Address to the Asia-Pacific Chiefs of Defence Force Conference. Department of Defence. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

engagement and in terms of great power relations, it is most obvious in the West's efforts to develop military cooperation with Russia and China.”<sup>95</sup>

Regionally, similar processes can be observed, for example, “between post-apartheid South Africa and its neighbors, and between post-communist Poland and its neighbors.”<sup>96</sup> Second, unlike in the past, when Western democracies maintained military cooperation with authoritarian regimes, they are “gradually using military cooperation and assistance to encourage democratic civilian control of armed forces as part of broader efforts to support liberal democracy and good governance.”<sup>97</sup> Third, “military cooperation and assistance are increasingly being used to help partner states build the capacity to participate in peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations.”<sup>98</sup> NATO, in particular, has aided Eastern European countries in improving peacekeeping capabilities, as have the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

The United Kingdom has the most evolved security diplomacy concept. Defense diplomacy “was named one of the eight key missions of British defense policy in the 1998 Strategic Defense Review.”<sup>99</sup> The British definition is “divided into three sections: a partnership outreach initiative with Central and Eastern European countries, security diplomacy initiatives in other parts of the world, and weapons control, nonproliferation, and confidence-building.”<sup>100</sup> The United Kingdom has taken the lead in expanding defense diplomacy cooperation with post-communist European

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<sup>95</sup>David Shambaugh, (2012), *Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press),; and David Shambaugh, (2013) *Enhancing SinoAmerican Military Relations*, Sigur Center Asia Paper 4 (Washington DC: Sigur Center for Asian Studies,) P. 201

<sup>96</sup> Ibid p. 223

<sup>97</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>98</sup> Ibid p. 359

<sup>99</sup> Taylor B., Bisley N., Hugh W., Blaxland J., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defense Diplomacy: The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 1–22. Canberra: National Defense University South Africa.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid p. 220

countries, as well as strengthening long-standing defense relations with countries in the Middle East and Africa.<sup>101</sup> Through the establishment of a shared Global Conflict Prevention fund, the UK has also attempted to combine “the Ministry of Defense's defense diplomacy with the concurrent activities of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Department for International Development.”<sup>102</sup>

Since the 1990s, other European governments “have developed new defense diplomacy initiatives. France, which had maintained strong security links with its former colonies, has focused more on Central and Eastern Europe; within Africa, it has shifted its focus from narrow economic interests, such as weapons sales, to broader objectives, such as the promotion of democratic civil-military relations and support for regional peacekeeping capability growth.”<sup>103</sup> Germany, on the other hand, has established a broad range of bilateral defense cooperation activities with Central and Eastern European countries, “especially its immediate neighbors Poland and the Czech Republic, as well as Russia, in order to promote reform and improve historically tense relations with these countries.”<sup>104</sup>

Similar systems have been established in other West European countries, mostly on the basis of “special relationships with their eastern neighbors: Norway with Russia on their far northern frontier, Denmark with the Baltic States, and Italy with the Balkan countries.”<sup>105</sup> Finland and Sweden have formed “separate initiatives with the Baltic states; Austria with Hungary, Croatia,

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<sup>101</sup> David Shambaugh, (2012), *Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press),; and David Shambaugh, (2013) *Enhancing SinoAmerican Military Relations*, Sigur Center Asia Paper 4 (Washington DC: Sigur Center for Asian Studies,).

<sup>102</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>103</sup> Ibid p. 363

<sup>104</sup> Carr A. (2015) *Winning the Peace: Australia's Campaign to Change the Asia-Pacific*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid p. 122

Slovenia and Switzerland through the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, and Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining.”<sup>106</sup> Central and Eastern European states have “established defense diplomacy cooperation with their neighbors, despite being recipients of PfP-type assistance.”<sup>107</sup> Military cooperation has been used by Poland and Hungary, for example, to strengthen relations with their eastern and southern neighbors. The globalization of security diplomacy elsewhere in the world has not been as drastic, but there have been major changes.

In Asia, the US has attempted to establish new cooperative partnerships with China and India through defense diplomacy. The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) has taken cautious steps toward multilateral security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region, which is being supplemented by a track-two mechanism of cooperation among regional security studies institutes.<sup>108</sup> Australia has established new military relations with Indonesia and China as part of a broader policy of increased cooperation, and has made efforts to assist smaller Pacific Island states in areas such as peacekeeping and the protection of weapons stockpiles.<sup>109</sup>

Japan is increasingly beginning to seek bilateral and multilateral security dialogue and exchanges with its neighbors, including China and South Korea, following the revision of its defense guidelines.<sup>110</sup> Since the mid-1990s, OAS defense ministers have met many times in the Americas. They've taken some small steps toward expanding multilateral defense cooperation, and they've formed new bilateral defense cooperation relationships (notably between Argentina and Brazil).

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<sup>106</sup> Cooper D. (2002) *Competing Western Strategies Against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Comparing the United States to a Close Ally*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid

<sup>108</sup> Cheyre J. E. (2013) *Defense Diplomacy*. In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, edited by Andrew Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, 369–382. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid p. 39

<sup>110</sup> Ibid p. 47



Long-standing US security links with its southern neighbors have been refocused on new goals, such as the promotion of democratic civil-military relations and collaboration in the "war on drugs" and "war on terror."<sup>111</sup> In Africa, the African Union and sub-regional organizations such as SAOC have started multilateral security cooperation processes, which include official meetings and multilateral military exercises.<sup>112</sup> The United States, the United Kingdom, and France are assisting African countries in improving indigenous peacekeeping capabilities.

#### **2.4 The Role of UN Disarmament Conference in Global Peace and Security**

The UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) was established by the United Nations during its General Assembly's 10<sup>th</sup> Special Session in 1978 in Geneva as a single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of the International community. The body is currently focusing its attention on the cessation of the nuclear arm race and disarmament, preventing nuclear wars, outer space arms race, safeguarding non-nuclear-states from nuclear threats and limiting the use of Weapons of Mass destruction (WMD). The conference employs comprehensive programmes on disarmament and ensures transparency in armaments within the international system.

The CD and its predecessors have "negotiated major multilateral arms limitation and disarmament agreements. These include the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (BWC), the Convention on the

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<sup>111</sup> Cooper D. (2002) *Competing Western Strategies Against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Comparing the United States to a Close Ally*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger

<sup>112</sup> Ibid p 301

Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction (CWC) and Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).”<sup>113</sup>

The Conference comprises of 65 member states “including the five NPT nuclear-weapon States and 60 other States of key military significance. In addition, every year, non-member States participate, upon their request, in the CD’s work. Their number reached 50 in 2019, the highest in 20 years.”<sup>114</sup>

In his address to the UN General Assembly on 26<sup>th</sup> February 2018, the UNSG noted “that Disarmament and arms control are top priorities to the United Nations organization and are central to the system for international security as agreed in the United Nations Charter. The dangers of nuclear proliferation are clear and of catastrophic risk to both the human life and global environment causing a lot of anxiety.”<sup>115</sup> He noted that “In East Asia, millions of people face this threat up close on a daily basis.”<sup>116</sup> The positive developments by the Republic of Korea on “denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and sustainable peace in the region and the completion of reductions by the United States and the Russian Federation under the START treaty are some of the progresses made by the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA).”<sup>117</sup>

In order to achieve sustainable peace, a concerted effort by the global community to support the UNODA on disarmament and arms control measures is necessary. The efforts should be “focused on conflict prevention, upholding humanitarian principles, promoting sustainable development

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<sup>113</sup> UN Office Office for Disarmament Affairs : <https://www.un.org/disarmament/conference-on-disarmament/> accessed on 30th Jan 21

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

<sup>115</sup> UNSG address to the General assembly (26 feb 2018); <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2018-02-26/remarks-conference-disarmament>, Assessed on 30<sup>th</sup> Feb 2021

<sup>116</sup> Ibid

<sup>117</sup> Ibid

and dealing with future threats.”<sup>118</sup> On prevention, attention is given to Responses “to dangers of the over-accumulation and proliferation of weapons, and reinforcing the need to integrate disarmament into the United Nations’ efforts on preventive diplomacy and peacemaking.”<sup>119</sup> On humanitarian action, “focus is on the growing and unacceptable impact of conventional weapons on civilians and infrastructure, particularly in urban areas, which represents also a clear violation of human rights.”<sup>120</sup>

On sustainable development, the office focuses on “strengthening the links between disarmament and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, reducing the illicit arms flows that feed conflict and divert resources, and understanding the dire economic consequences of excessive military spending.”<sup>121</sup> The global community therefore need to examine and assess the risks posed by the ‘Weapons of the Future’ and the relationship between the changing technological environments composed of sophisticated military hardware and artificial intelligence, and international humanitarian and human rights law.

## **2.5 Defense Diplomacy as a Means of Conflict Management**

One of the most significant shifts in defense diplomacy patterns since the early 1990s is the increased use of military cooperation and assistance in crisis management.<sup>122</sup> Their growth, on the other hand, has not occurred as a result of their conventional task of bolstering allies' defense capabilities, but rather as a tool for attempting to establish cooperative relationships with former or future adversaries, thus averting potential conflicts. Defense diplomacy has been used by the

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<sup>118</sup> UNSG address to the General assembly (26 feb 2018)

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> Ibid

<sup>122</sup> Samuel P. H. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

US and its allies at the major power level as part of broader policies to strengthen relations with Russia and China.<sup>123</sup> It has been used by Australia to engage Indonesia, it has been used by Argentina and Brazil to resolve a historic dispute. It has also been used by Balkan states such as Bulgaria and Romania to prevent conflict.

## **2.6 Defense Diplomacy and Enhancing Regional Peace Keeping Capabilities**

Since the 1990s, defense diplomacy has aided international organizations and partner countries in the development of peacekeeping capabilities.<sup>124</sup> Peacekeeping operations have seen a significant rise in demand since the mid-1980s, “with the UN, international organizations, and ad hoc coalitions conducting a large number of new operations.”<sup>125</sup> Traditional UN peacekeeping, which essentially supervised ceasefires, has been phased out. The transition has been toward a series of more demanding peace keeping operations including the use of force to impose a peace, as well as post-conflict operations involving a number of peace-building tasks. These responsibilities include electoral and human rights observation, combatant disarmament and demobilization, and social and economic rehabilitation.<sup>126</sup>

As a result, much of the campaigns conducted in the last two decades have been considerably bigger than before, placing much greater strains on the militaries involved. Many have often resulted in large numbers of soldiers committing to long-term, and frequently open-ended, obligations.<sup>127</sup> Simultaneously, governments, especially those in Western Europe with the greatest

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<sup>123</sup> Cheyre J. E. (2013) *Defense Diplomacy*. In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, edited by Andrew Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur, 369–382. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>124</sup> Hayton B. (2014) *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*. New York: Yale University Press.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid* p. 76

<sup>126</sup> *Allied Approaches to Defence Diplomacy*, Defence Diplomacy Study Report 3, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London, June 2001. p. 334

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid* p. 344

potential to intervene, have become cautious to commit troops to dangerous humanitarian operations where urgent national interests are not at stake. The failure of the international community, especially major Western powers, to participate in the Rwandan genocide in 1994 is a stark example.<sup>128</sup>

As a result of all of these considerations, non-Western states and regional organizations have been under increasing pressure to contribute further to international peacekeeping. During the 1990s, international and sub-regional organizations such as NATO, the European Union (EU), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted peacekeeping as part of their mandate and took measures to strengthen their capacity to conduct missions.<sup>129</sup> The United States, the United Kingdom, and France, in particular, have launched programs to assist international organisations and their representatives in improving peacekeeping capability.

Fears of a Rwanda-style genocide in Burundi caused the United States to propose a new international African Crisis Response Force (ACRF) in 1996. The African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) was formed to provide peacekeeping training to African states in response to criticism that what was required was not a new army, but rather strengthening the capability of states' existing armed forces.<sup>130</sup> Around the same time, France initiated the Reinforcement of

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<sup>128</sup> Tan S. S. (2012) Talking their Walk? The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast. *Introduction. Asian Security*, Vol 8(3): 221-231

<sup>129</sup> Taylor B., Bisley N., Hugh W., Blaxland J., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defense Diplomacy: The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 1–22. Canberra: National Defense University South Africa

<sup>130</sup> Ibid p. 60

African Peacekeeping Capabilities (RECAMP) plan, and the United Kingdom launched the African Peacekeeping Preparation Support Programme.<sup>131</sup>

The P3 Initiative, a joint peacekeeping capacity-building scheme, was initiated by the three countries in May 1997. At their St. Malo summit in December 1998, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac unveiled plans for an EU security role, as well as a commitment to coordinating strategies against Africa, including assistance for African states in improving peacekeeping capability.<sup>132</sup> Other nations, including the Nordic countries and Canada, are also helping to improve African peacekeeping capability. The United Nations convened the first of a series of meetings aimed at improving Africa's peacekeeping capability in December 1997. The Group of Eight (G-8) states have validated these various initiatives and act as a further coordinating mechanism.<sup>133</sup>

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The chapter has examined the trends in respect to defense diplomacy and how it has enabled global peace and security. Since the early 1990s, there have been increasing attempts to improve Africa's capacity to deal with security issues by improving regional conflict avoidance, mediation, and resolution capabilities. This represents both external powers' unwillingness to engage in African disputes, especially the main Western powers, and a tendency within Africa to claim the continent's independence. An initiative to improve regional peacekeeping capabilities is one part of this strategic approach to security-building.

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<sup>131</sup> Tan S. S. (2012) Talking their Walk? The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast. *Introduction. Asian Security*, Vol 8(3): 221-231

<sup>132</sup> Blaxland J. (2013) Game-changer in the Pacific: Surprising Options Open Up with the New Multi-purpose Maritime Capability. *Review of Security Challenges*, Vol 9 (3): 31-41

<sup>133</sup> Ibid p. 61

The reviewed literature in this chapter has confirmed the hypothesis that defense diplomacy is a critical enabler of global peace and security and achieved the desired objective. This has been seen through the various ways in which defense diplomacy has manifested itself in providing solutions to security challenges at the global front. The hypothesis has been confirmed through understanding the role played by defense diplomacy by individual nations, groups of nations under relevant regional organisations as well as non-state actors such as UN, NATO and AU.

Through the theory of Neo-liberalism, defense diplomacy has been observed to be a key strategy used by states to explain nature of world politics in our contemporary international system. The western governments, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, has extensively used defence diplomacy to try to improve African states' peacekeeping capability.<sup>134</sup> These activities are bolstered by a growing commitment on the part of the West in fostering democratic civil-military ties, military tolerance for human rights, and responsible security management. As a result, they signal a larger change in Western military interaction with Africa. The international community's inability to participate in the 1994 Rwandan genocide was a major motivator for attempts to improve regional peacekeeping capability by way of defense diplomacy.<sup>135</sup>

Additionally, the theory of Neo-liberalism recognizes other non-state actors and international institutions role in enhancing democracy and cooperation among states. This chapter has identified non-state actors such as UN, AU, NATO and EU who have played very vital roles in not only

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<sup>134</sup> Blaxland J. (2013) Game-changer in the Pacific: Surprising Options Open Up with the New Multi-purpose Maritime Capability. *Review of Security Challenges*, Vol 9 (3): 31–41

<sup>135</sup> Ibid p. 59

promoting peace and security, but also taking part in restoring and maintaining peace through defense diplomacy.



## **CHAPTER 3: DEFENSE DIPLOMACY AND REGIONAL STABILITY IN AFRICA**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents an analysis of how the military instrument of power has been utilized to enhance regional stability through defense diplomacy while looking at the regional stability in Africa and the contemporary security situation. It will identify the areas of defense diplomacy, the role of defense diplomacy in the regional stabilization efforts and the tools of defense diplomacy including defense attachés, peacekeeping missions, multilateral and bilateral engagements, training foreign military assistances among other specific defense actions.

### **3.2 The Military and Diplomatic Instruments of Power and Regional Stability**

One of the major changes in patterns of enhancing regional Stability in Africa in the last two decades has been the use of defense diplomacy.<sup>136</sup> Since the end of the cold war, Africa has experienced increased defense cooperation, collaborations and mutual assistance for purposes of achieving regional stability and security.<sup>137</sup> However, the increasing use of defense diplomacy has not just been limited to the traditional roles of militaries of strengthening defense capabilities of friendly states but as an instrument of Foreign Policy with the aim of building strong and cooperative state relations with states that were once considered as former or potential adversaries.<sup>138</sup> This will in the end help improve state relations and also avert potential conflicts.

The concept of “Defense Diplomacy fuses two apparently incommensurable extremes, namely violent-coercive (Armed Force) and Pacific- Persuasive (Diplomatic) means to pursue policy

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<sup>136</sup> Atkinson C. (2006) Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol 50 (3):509–537..

<sup>137</sup> Bishop J. and David J. (2014) *Joint Press Conference*. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Department of Defense. JAPAN: National Press Club

<sup>138</sup> Blaxland J. (2013) Game-changer in the Pacific: Surprising Options Open Up with the New Multi-purpose Maritime Capability. *Review of Security Challenges*, Vol 9 (3): 31–41

objectives between and among states.”<sup>139</sup> This incommensurability originates from “the traditional distinction between four instruments of national power namely, political, economic, cultural and military -used to pursue and protect the States National Interests and Foreign Policy objectives.”<sup>140</sup>

Defense diplomacy practices, as a medium of foreign policy and regional stability, assist in the growth of strategic cooperation and the establishment of proper relations between states. It explicitly activates the Ministry of National Defense's capabilities, including the armed forces, in this region. It does not however, establish an external security strategy of its own; rather, it serves as a means for the defense minister to achieve his or her strategic objectives.<sup>141</sup> As a tool of foreign policy and state security, defense diplomacy may involve fostering bilateral or multilateral cooperation in the fields of military affairs, security, and defense. This is done by naming and recognizing defense attachés as well as military and civilian leaders in state capitals.

### **3.3 Regional Stability in Africa and the contemporary Security Environment**

The emergence of non-traditional security threats in Africa and the rest of the world which are also referred to as non-military threats has been on an upward trajectory largely due to the effects of globalization.<sup>142</sup> These emerging non-traditional security threats require both bilateral and multilateral as well as regional and International cooperation between states due to their expansive impacts unlike the traditional security threats.<sup>143</sup> Caballero opines that the new non-military threats

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<sup>139</sup> Dean P. J. (2013) *Africa, Maritime Strategy and Regional Military Diplomacy*. In a Maritime School of Strategic Thought for Africa, edited by Justin Jones, 89–100. Pretoria: Sea Power Centre, Commonwealth of Africa.

<sup>140</sup> Winger G. (2014) *The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*. Paper presented at the What Do Ideas Do?: Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences, Vienna

<sup>141</sup> Dean P. J. (2013) *Africa, Maritime Strategy and Regional Military Diplomacy*. In a Maritime School of Strategic Thought for Africa, edited by Justin Jones, 89–100. Pretoria: Sea Power Centre, Commonwealth of Africa.

<sup>142</sup> Mely C. A. (2010) Non-Traditional Security Challenges, Regional Governance, and the African and ASEAN Political-Security Community (Singapore: RSIS, Asia Security Initiative Policy Series) *Working Paper no. 7*, p. 1

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid* p. 2

can transcend the traditional barriers of diplomacy and national territories hence promote regionalism and regional stability.<sup>144</sup>

This is the case because these threats not only threaten state interest only but also regional security and stability hence the need for regional policy actors pulling together as they seek to address these threats.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, Policy makers within the African Union peace and security Architecture are well alive to the fact that the emerging nontraditional threats in the region do jeopardize the peace and security of not only individual states but also the region at large. Furthermore, Nye notes that the operationalization of regional security governance in Africa through the APSA has the objective of improving the management of the region's security dynamics and environment as a way of enhancing regional stability.

This is the essence of the new form of regionalism where states work together to address common security challenges and promote regional stability.<sup>146</sup> This notion by Nye, is anchored on the idea that regional states especially those of Africa have a shared responsibility of maintaining peace, security and stability of the region. Nye's idea of regional stability and integration is based on two complementing activities of regional activities; the first is on micro-economic activities that involve official economic integration and the second being macro-regional political activities that are about controlling conflict.<sup>147</sup> In the context of AU regional states believe that it is imperious to create "strategic space" and to reduce 'defense disparity'.<sup>148</sup> This is because such terms came

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<sup>144</sup> Cabellero K (2015) *Institutional Foundations of Federated Defense. Federated Defense Project*. Washington, D.C: Centre for Strategic & International Studies.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid pp. 47

<sup>146</sup> Nye J. S. (1971) *Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organizations*. Boston: Little Brown and Co.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid p. 21

<sup>148</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

into being because of the reality that foreign affairs can gradually develop convey their respective political, defense and economic interests.

As a tool and element of state cooperation and building regional stability, Defense diplomacy can also be useful in preventing inter-state conflicts in the African region which is prevalent to such conflicts. The essence of defense diplomacy can be utilized in very diverse ways while operating at different levels in the hierarchy of foreign and security policy options. In this case, Defense diplomacy conducted by the Ministry of Defense and other military actions, can perform a primarily foreign policy role, acting as a symbol of willingness to pursue broader national policy goals and international objectives especially for the African region.<sup>149</sup>

The idea espoused by the concept of defense diplomacy resonates with the myriad of security and other challenges faced in the African region. These challenges range from terrorism, piracy, inter-state conflicts, and boundary disputes as well a renewed extra regional competition for the African region. These challenges are likely to undermine stability in the region and therefore the diplomatic actions of states in Africa must be able to address these and many other challenges if the region is to be safe, stable and secure.<sup>150</sup> Such challenges have never been defined solely in terms of military-related security.<sup>151</sup> To meet these challenges, Africa through the African Union has redefined its framework of security cooperation under APSA.

There is considerable progress in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by African states to address challenges faced in the region. These efforts are well espoused in the African Union idea of African solutions to African problems. Indeed, Cottey notes that since the end of the cold war in the early 1990's, there

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<sup>149</sup> Devare S. (2008) *Southeast Asian Security: The Challenges and Regional Stake Overview*. In Sosidia, N.S. and Datta, Sreedha (ed.), *Changing Security Dynamic in Southeast Asia*. New Delhi: IDSA Magnum Books Pvt Ltd

<sup>150</sup> Emmers R. (2010) *Maritime Security in Southeast Asia*. In Sumit Ganguly et.al, *The Routledge Handbook of Asia Security Studies*. London: Routledge

<sup>151</sup> Ibid p. 234

has been increased efforts by African regional states to strengthen its capacities and capabilities in dealing with conflict and security challenges by developing regional conflict prevention, management and resolution capabilities.<sup>152</sup> This has been necessitated by the slowdown of external actors especially the powerful countries and their reluctance to intervene in African countries as well as the increasing desire among African states to find homegrown solutions to African problems which is also an aspiration within states the African states to avow the continent's independence.<sup>153</sup>

At the core of the regional defense diplomacy as an avenue to enhancing regional stability and security has been an agenda aimed at strengthening regional peacekeeping capabilities in Africa. This use of defense diplomacy is common among the Western states such as the United States, United Kingdom, German and France who have relied on the practice as a means of advancing their regional interests especially in the African continent. Therefore, Africa's states need to recalibrate their agility in the use of this tool of diplomacy so as to protect and promote their interests. The Western states have also used defense diplomacy efforts to promote their greater interests and ideals such as democracy, civil military relations, instilling certain values in the military such as respect for human rights and having a well-managed and responsible defense. It is on this premise that such western powers pursue their defense diplomacy to mark a comprehensive change in Western military engagement with Africa.

Regional stability as a concept is heavily debated among scholars and practitioners of International Affairs alike. The most notable debate in this realm is that of realists, constructivists and Institutionalists, who differ both conceptually and empirically on the understanding and usage of

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<sup>152</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>153</sup> Devare S. (2008) *Southeast Asian Security: The Challenges and Regional Stake Overview*. In Sosidia, N.S. and Datta, Sreedha (ed.), *Changing Security Dynamic in Southeast Asia*. New Delhi: IDSA Magnum Books Pvt Ltd

regional security. They differ sharply on how to create the necessary conditions that are suitable for the realization of regional security.<sup>154</sup> For the realists, their perspective is of the idea that it is difficult for states to fully cooperate at a regional level due to their selfish nature and the mistrust that exists. According to them therefore, if regional cooperation exists it is due to the existence of a common interest. They further opine that a common interest is very difficult to sustain due to states' calculations of self-interests.<sup>155</sup>

From this realist approach, the integration of the region is a difficult ideal to realize for states especially in Africa which was Balkanized by the colonial governments. Defense diplomacy is likely to enhance military cooperation in Africa especially if there exists a common interest or a common enemy from outside the region. However, once the enemy is dealt with, the relations amongst states will be affected and altered which might lead to conflicts and war in the long run.<sup>156</sup>

From the Institutional theory perspective, on the contrary, such regional arrangements and institutions have the ability to facilitate and enhance regional cooperation as well as dissuade from anarchy, thus promoting stability and security. The argument here is that regional institutions will help to eliminate the self-interests of countries and help create a stable and secure Africa's region.<sup>157</sup>

This entirely is a different approach to that of the realist's perspective which has reservations about the ability of states to put aside their anarchistic tendencies. Friedman, Julian, Christopher and Rosen believes that states can actually successfully pursue cooperation under the principle of "law of cooperation" only when the system of contingency and equivalence is properly articulated and

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<sup>154</sup> Craig A. S. (2007) *Regional Security and Regional Conflict*. Geelong: Australia SIPS

<sup>155</sup> Emmers R. (2010) *Maritime Security in Southeast Asia*. In Sumit Ganguly (et.al), *The Routledge Handbook of Asia Security Studies*. London: Routledge

<sup>156</sup> Ibid pp. 238

<sup>157</sup> Fawcett L. and Hurrell A. (2015) *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

is put in place.<sup>158</sup> Contingency in this instance is understood as an incentive for the efforts of states that are able to cooperate and the provision of punishment for those who refuse to do so.

Cottey and Forster note that this aspect of reward and punishment when well-balanced is necessary for the many complex and intertwined relations between states especially for those that get rewarded.<sup>159</sup> In contemporary development, rewards obtained from the results of those areas of cooperation can be shared between economic progresses, such as within the African Union, or regional stability, such as with APSA.

The major variances between these two opposing views of realists and Institutionalists theories for the most important factors that defines the efficacy of regional security and stability that is put in place by states. The realists are of the idea that defense diplomacy will play the most important role in ensuring regional stability and security. The Institutionalists on the other hand are of a contrary opinion, by advancing an argument that negates the significance of defense diplomacy especially the military, politics. For them, the society might constitute an important element of regional security.<sup>160</sup>

The constructivist theorists, unlike the realist or Institutionalists theorists, argue that regional security is a constructed phenomenon. The argument here is that regional security can be constructed through social interaction that will establish common identity and interests amongst states. According to Winger this condition can be achieved based on three main pillars, namely solid practicality, sharing of material resources and adequate intelligence and knowledge sharing.<sup>161</sup> This is what is likely to lead to a common identity in a region such as Africa hence

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<sup>158</sup> Friedman J. R. (1970) *Alliances in International Politics*. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

<sup>159</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>160</sup> Ibid p. 367

<sup>161</sup> Winger G. (2014) *The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*. Paper presented at the What Do Ideas Do: Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences, Vienna.

forming a solid basis for states to cooperate with the aim of enhancing regional security. This is further explain by Rolfe whose arguments contend that states that pursue regional objectives are indeed involved in political projects at levels of analysis whose main aim is to promote intergovernmental policy cooperation and collaboration.<sup>162</sup>

This idea cannot just work in Africa alone but has actually been successfully implemented in the Southeast Asia defense regional states and can help understand the perspective being advanced by African States. Regional Stability through Defense Diplomacy through regional institutions is a top-down process in intergovernmental policy collaboration at the regional level. Then again, Lal Brij elucidated in seminal paper on how new regionalism is affecting global development and International security. His argument was that there was a correlation between regional stability at any part of the world with defense collaborations and cooperation, which can be referred to as defense diplomacy.<sup>163</sup>

Furthermore, Brij opines that the differences in the changing dynamics of regionalism should be analyzed and taken to account by diplomatic activities and as such defense diplomacy is of a sign of that realization. That defense diplomacy reflects the changing and evolving dynamics of regionalism and security challenges at the regional level.<sup>164</sup> It is through the development of its regionalism that a region moves from being a passive part of the structure to its own right.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies.

<sup>163</sup> Lal B. V. (2012) Fiji: Fishing in Troubled Waters. *Review of Security Challenges*. Vol 8 (4): 85–91.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid p. 34

<sup>165</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies.



### 3.4 Defense Diplomacy in Africa

There is a growing consensus in Africa regarding the use of defense diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy or ‘strategic’ influence, state relations, military behavior and the use of force by states in the region.<sup>166</sup> Many scholars agree that ‘defense relations among states will be a critical component of advancing regional stability, peace, security and other strategic interests in Africa and beyond.’<sup>167</sup> Therefore, there is an ever increasing concern as to whether African States have proper structures, mechanisms and policy frameworks to sufficiently steer the region by aligning the means and ways to meet this noble strategic end of defense diplomacy.

Ball and Kerr posit that ‘whereas the objectives and purposes of these defense diplomatic activities were explicitly vivid, the means, ways and processes by which they might be realized aren’t especially in Africa.’<sup>168</sup> Indeed the APSA framework has not done much to bridge the missing connection between ways, means and ends, and set out to offer ‘recommendations for reshaping defense engagement activities in Africa which are aimed at serving the regions intra and extra strategic interests.

In Africa, defense diplomacy as a tool of state relations is not a relatively new phenomenon as it describes the needs of comprehending the “cooperation of states especially after the end of cold war.”<sup>169</sup> Different States in Africa have attempted to have their own conceptualization of defense diplomacy, which is mostly tailored to suit their national interests and security needs in the region.<sup>170</sup> The growing role of “defense diplomacy, as a tool for the implementation of the foreign

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<sup>166</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies.

<sup>167</sup> L’Estrange M. (2013) International Defense Engagement: Potential and Limitations. *Review of Security Challenges*, Vol 9 (2): 23–34.

<sup>168</sup> Ball and Kerr (1996, 91–92)

<sup>169</sup> Cottey A. and Forster A. (2004) *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*. London: Oxford University Press

<sup>170</sup> Ibid p. 34

policy of the state, also results in displacing and replacing the hitherto widely used term military diplomacy as a term inherently narrow in meaning and in no way either in the objectives or the potential of the former.”<sup>171</sup>

Defense diplomacy in the African context “represents a supplementary approach to manage international affairs as an instrument of foreign Policy and also enhances the use of the other Instruments of National Power.”<sup>172</sup> Additionally, defense diplomacy bridges the gap between the Military and Diplomatic Instruments of power by encouraging a close collaboration between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and that of Defense.<sup>173</sup> Defense diplomacy hence transcends the use of military means alone in the international political arena as an adjunct to diplomacy.<sup>174</sup> It entails the use of military approach in a diplomatic mode for purposes of harnessing the strengths it brings to the field of diplomacy.

### **3.5 The Role of Defense Diplomacy in the Stabilizing the African Region**

#### **3.5.1 Defense Attaches**

The role of military attachés is global encompassing multi-faceted duties from observing a host country’s military to relationship building. The attachés hence contribute significantly to enhancing regional stability. They can improve defense relations in the countries and regions that are posted. The defense attaches can also improve relations between states and international organizations and states that they represent. For a long period of time the main duty of defense attaches was engaging in diplomatic ties with the receiving state’s armed forces though this is

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid

<sup>172</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No. 1

<sup>173</sup> Booth K. (2017) *Navies and Foreign Policy Goals and Objectives*, In Groom, Helm, London, (2017) *The Political Usages of Sea Power*. Baltimore City: The John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>174</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies.

rapidly changing.<sup>175</sup> In the contemporary international system, states are using their defense attaches to advise the Heads of Mission on matter of defense diplomacy. Today, their duty has been comprehensive, by serving as “advisers to the head of mission on how best to pursue defense cooperation with the receiving country.”<sup>176</sup> This function can significantly improve defense relations among states hence reducing the likelihood of states going to war. They also serve the useful function of enhancing and coordinating international defense exchanges that are taking place in the contemporary international system. This ranges from joint defense training, defense operations, military joint exercises, bilateral defense control, defense and security related conferences, defense logistics, to Peace Keeping Operations, where joint, bi-, or multinational units are becoming more common.

The number of defense attaches has grown exponentially in the last decade and this shows their significance on matters of stability and security. In the 1990’s the posting of defense attaches in the world over was only restricted to neighboring states and with the Great Powers.<sup>177</sup> Looking forward in the current period, the practice of posting defense attaches has significantly shifted with their posting going to as far flung geographical areas. Kyriakou notes in his review of how defense attaches are posted and deployed in the world over and noted that; ‘defense attachés from states such as France, Spain, Brazil, and Bolivia “shows that they all have defense attachés in Russia, India, South Africa, Turkey, China, Republic of Korea, Australia, and Israel.”<sup>178</sup> These reflects the existence of defense diplomacy through exchange of defense attaches between and among states

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<sup>175</sup>Kyriakou J. *The Origins of the Service Attache: France, Great Britain and United States*. Discussion Paper 60, Diplomacy Studies Programme, Center for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester

<sup>176</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

<sup>177</sup>Kyriakou J. *The Origins of the Service Attache: France, Great Britain and United States*. Discussion Paper 60, Diplomacy Studies Programme, Center for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester

<sup>178</sup> Ibid

that are geographically distant apart “but whose geopolitical, economic, or technological significance makes it imperative to establish defense links with them.”<sup>179</sup>

Currently, a defense attaché’s key responsibilities entail “advocating for his or her country’s military and security priorities, serving his or her country’s military authorities and liaising with those of the host country, and having a security-policy and military network capable of functioning even though bilateral relations are strained.”<sup>180</sup> They also serve as military and security advisers to diplomats and embassy personnel, monitoring and commenting on security situations in the host country to home country officials, and coordinating and directing military outreach, defense diplomacy, and security coordination programs. This is true of bilateral interactions as well as multilateral projects like ASF’s Partnership for Peace. They often promote the home country’s armaments industry in some situations, and they may play a role in emergency management and recovery operations when emergencies occur.<sup>181</sup>

### **3.5.2 Peace Keeping Operations**

The use of Peace Keeping in Africa as part of regional efforts to address regional security challenges since the end of the cold war in the early 1990s is steadily on the rise. Similarly, Africa’s states have been increasingly pre-occupied with strengthening their abilities to deal with the myriads of security and conflict related challenges through home grown solutions. This has been part of Africa’s efforts towards developing regional conflict prevention, management and

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<sup>179</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No. 1

<sup>180</sup> Ibid

<sup>181</sup> Kyriakou J. *The Origins of the Service Attache: France, Great Britain and United States*. Discussion Paper 60, Diplomacy Studies Programme, Center for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester

resolution capabilities.<sup>182</sup> This interest by regional states in Africa to find home grown solutions to their problems has been necessitated by the unease in extra regional states especially the Great Powers to intervene in African Conflicts.

The desire of the continents ideal of African solutions to Africa problems and the continents desire to assert its independence have been the drivers of majority of defense diplomatic activities such as Peace Keeping Operations.<sup>183</sup> The major aspect of the regional dimension to enhancing regional stability and security in Africa has been the effort to develop militaries in the region that can respond to the security challenges. It is for this reason that majority of African states have been involved in regional peace keeping activities as part of their defense diplomacy which in the long run enhances regional stability.

Western governments, “in particular the US, the UK and France, have used defense diplomacy as a key means of trying to strengthen African states' peacekeeping capabilities.”<sup>184</sup> However, the efforts by western states are often overridden by the hidden western interests of promoting western ideals such as “promoting democratic civil-military relations, military respect for human rights and the responsible management of defense.”<sup>185</sup> Therefore, this marks a greater paradigm shift in the Peace Keeping operations between western countries and their engagement with Africa.

The development of peace keeping operations in Africa was largely driven by the failures of the International community to intervene in the genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1994 which provided a chance to enhance regional peacekeeping capacity.<sup>186</sup> The origins of African peace

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<sup>182</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No. 1

<sup>183</sup> Ibid pp. 45

<sup>184</sup> Ibid pp. 56

<sup>185</sup> Ibid

<sup>186</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

keeping efforts can be traced to the UN Secretary General's report in 1995 which called for international efforts to assist in developing the capabilities their peace keeping. In 1996 there rising fears of the possibility of another genocide in Burundi which promoted the United States of America to propose for the establishment of an African Defense Response force for purposes of addressing such matters whenever they arose. USA proposed the establishment of a new multinational African Crisis Response Force (ACRF).<sup>187</sup> This proposal was not well received by the then government in Burundi who argued that what was needed there was the strengthening of its military capabilities so as to better respond to threats to its security. The idea of African crisis response force was therefore not actualized and it was replaced with the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) which was put in place instead.<sup>188</sup>

The use of Peacekeeping Operations has been a crucial field for defense diplomacy implementation. The United Nations has been forced to interfere, mainly in Africa, as a result of the rise of PKOs in the post-Cold War period as a result of the outbreak of civil wars and other forms of internal strife. In several ways, globalization has made this imperative, laying the groundwork for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding.<sup>189</sup>

The use of PKO as a form of defense diplomacy has been on the rise with the numbers troops involved in such activities increasing exponentially. For Instance, it is estimated that about over one hundred thousand troops from over one hundred and twenty UN member countries take part in peace keeping operations supervised by UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid pp. 202

<sup>188</sup> Kyriakou J. *The Origins of the Service Attache: France, Great Britain and United States*. Discussion Paper 60, Diplomacy Studies Programme, Center for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester

<sup>189</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No.

(DPKO).<sup>190</sup> However, it is worthwhile to note that States decide to participate in peace keeping operations for varied reasons. While for some “it is part of a solution to dealing with the excessive military force that they have in their payroll, for other states, especially those that have never been affected by armed conflicts internally, is a way of enhancing the training of their forces through real life experiences that cannot be simulated in the training exercises.”<sup>191</sup> These dynamics will therefore complicate the success of many PKO in Africa as it can threaten the realization of the objectives of such. This can see PKO being conducted perpetually with no end in sight hence threatening regional stability.

However, for Troop Contributing Countries in a peace keeping operation, such presents invaluable avenues for defense relations to take place and an avenue to share experiences and develop valuable military networks.<sup>192</sup> As a good illustration of the positive results a well-calibrated defense diplomacy can have, African governments have “similar views on UNPKOs in a multicultural context Irrespective of their political persuasions.”<sup>193</sup> PKOs also provide “the forces with the opportunity to interact and cooperate, which builds trust even when they come from countries with a history of border differences, such as Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda among others.”<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid pp. 197

<sup>191</sup> Rolfe J. (2015) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background Paper 21/2015. Wellington, New Zealand: Centre for Strategic Studies.

<sup>192</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid p. 287

<sup>194</sup> Ibid

### 3.5.3 Defense Multilateral and Bilateral Engagements

The practice of Bilateral and Multilateral diplomacy is a critical interaction between and among states in Africa.<sup>195</sup> The aspect of Defense Multilateral and Bilateral diplomacy serve as important tools of pursuing and advancing Foreign Policy objectives such as regional stability.<sup>196</sup> Defense engagements in Africa entail defense bilateral structures and meetings at the regional and extra-regional levels.<sup>197</sup> At the bilateral or state to state level, which is here referred to as bilateral defense diplomacy it entails; defense committee and Joint Defense Commission meetings, Defense to Defense cooperation and also participation in Peace Keeping operations.

At the defense multi-lateral level the activities include, “Regional African Union Structures; The African Peace and Security Architecture, the African Standby Force.”<sup>198</sup> Similar multilateral defense engagements are also conducted in sub-regional groups within Africa. For instance, The East African Community has the East African Standby Force, the South African Development Community has the SADC Brigade, and Economic Community of West African States has the ECOMOG.<sup>199</sup> These interactions include various agreements and MOUs entered into involving issues ranging from bilateral and multilateral defense cooperation, through the status of military and civilian personnel to defense training and technical cooperation.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

<sup>196</sup> Ibid pp. 123

<sup>197</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

<sup>198</sup> Ibid pp. 234

<sup>199</sup> Ibid pp. 240

<sup>200</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No. 1



For example, South Africa has an elaborate Defense Diplomacy program that is anchored in its Defense Policy. This is realized through the bilateral and multilateral defense engagements which gives the South African National Defense Forces (SANDF) an obligation towards the African Standby Force and the SADC Brigade.<sup>201</sup> The SANDF hence contributes to the foreign policy objectives of the state as an instrument of National Power.<sup>202</sup> This means therefore that bilateral and multilateral diplomacy is a critical tool for states to secure their regional interests. Apart from advancing the strategic collaborations and relations to fostering cooperative engagements, the essence of defense diplomacy and the engagements therein is to promote peace support capabilities of member states thereby enhancing regional stability and security in Africa.

#### **3.5.4 Foreign Training and Learning Opportunities**

Although developed countries' armed forces aim to maintain contact with those of the twenty-first century's newly established powers in order to better prepare for their own security problems, they are also eager to improve the capabilities of their officer corps and enable it to deal with current threats.<sup>203</sup> In the case of “Latin American armed forces, this has also meant downsizing from 1950s-era technology to smaller, more portable, yet high-tech forces.”<sup>204</sup>

Chile's army has evolved from a “territorially defined force to a functional, inter-operative force of NATO-standard rapid action forces, as well as advanced electronic communications and anti-aircraft artillery.”<sup>205</sup> In doing so, the Chilean army “embarked on an ambitious post-graduate

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<sup>201</sup> Potgieter T. D. (2013) The Geo-Political Role of the South African Navy in the South African Sphere of influence after the 2nd World War. *Strategic Review for African Affairs*, Vol 24, No. 1

<sup>202</sup> Ibid pp. 211

<sup>203</sup> Cabellero K (2015) *Institutional Foundations of Federated Defense. Federated Defense Project*. Washington, D.C: Centre for Strategic & International Studies

<sup>204</sup> Dean P. J. (2013) *Africa, Maritime Strategy and Regional Military Diplomacy*. In a Maritime School of Strategic Thought for Africa, edited by Justin Jones, 89–100. Pretoria: Sea Power Centre, Commonwealth of Africa.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid pp. 112

education program for its officers, searching the globe for the best centers to train them at the doctoral and master's levels in materials science and technology, among other areas. In 2006, 150 Chilean army officers attended foreign universities and military institutes to further their education.”<sup>206</sup> In the same year, 122 foreign army and non-commission officers “attended courses in Chile, including those from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, and the United States, as well as Latin American countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Venezuela.”<sup>207</sup>

### **3.5.5 Foreign Aid and Donor Assistance**

For centuries States have been involved in exchange of Military equipment and foreign Defense assistance programs as part of their larger foreign policy and defense diplomacy activities.<sup>208</sup> For instance, the Republic of South Africa has been assisting South African Development Community member states such as Mozambique with Military equipment as part of helping the country to be stable.<sup>209</sup> This of course is part of South Africa’s Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy to guarantee its own safety, security and prosperity.<sup>210</sup>

There has been an “argument that most states transfer military equipment that is of less significance.”<sup>211</sup> For the case of USA, “Foreign Military Financing enhances its national security by contributing to global and regional stability, strengthening military support for democratically-elected governments, and containing transnational threats including terrorism, piracy and

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<sup>206</sup> du Plessis A. (2008) Defense diplomacy: Conceptual and practical dimensions with specific reference to South Africa. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Vol 30/2. pp 89–90.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid pp. 202

<sup>208</sup> Taylor B., Bisley N., Hugh W., Blaxland J., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defense Diplomacy: The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 1–22. Canberra: National Defense University South Africa.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid pp. 56

<sup>210</sup> Du Plessis A. (2019) *Defense Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific reference to the African Region*. Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

<sup>211</sup> Ibid p. 223

trafficking in narcotics, weapons, and persons.”<sup>212</sup> Many States are “concerned with the prevalence of conflict in Africa and the threats posed by terrorism.”<sup>213</sup> To this end the United States and its allies have made considerable contributions that aim to “bolster counterterrorism capabilities, improve peacekeeping capacity, and enhance border and maritime controls, thereby strengthening regional stability. Key countries such as South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, and Djibouti will receive the bulk of the military assistance for the region.”<sup>214</sup>

### **3.5.6 Specific Defense Diplomacy Actions**

There are many diplomatic activities in any given state within the international system. Indeed, many African countries conduct defense diplomatic activities ranging from post conflict reconstruction to military games and exercises.<sup>215</sup> Some of these defense diplomacy activities involve human security issues such as environmental conservation, climate change and cooperation during natural calamities.<sup>216</sup> These actions and activities indeed improve foreign relations among states and contribute to regional stability. For instance, in the recent past Mozambique received a lot of defense support from regional states in Africa when the island country was faced with natural disasters.

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<sup>212</sup> Karani J. (2018) *Regional Defense Diplomacy: What is it and what are its Limits?* In CSS Strategic Background, National Defense College Journal, Nairobi: Centre for Security Strategic Studies

<sup>213</sup> Ibid

<sup>214</sup> Ibid pp. 21

<sup>215</sup> Kostro, S. S. and Rhys M. (2015) *Institutional Foundations of Federated Defense. Federated Defense Project.* Washington, D.C: Centre for Strategic & International Studies

<sup>216</sup> Ibid pp. 67

### 3.6 Conclusion

Defense diplomacy can no longer be viewed as a passing fad but rather an important activity in the conduct of state relations especially at the regional level.<sup>217</sup> Even though defense diplomacy is a concept that is still gradually gaining traction within the international system, the literature in this chapter has shown that it is significant in contributing to regional stability in Africa.<sup>218</sup> Defence diplomacy slows the likelihood of war especially between and among countries that conduct such defense relations.<sup>219</sup> It can also be useful in de-escalating tensions and conflicts whenever they occur and can be leveraged to manage conflicts that threaten regional stability in Africa.

The hypothetical assertion of defense diplomacy playing a key role in enhancing regional stability in Africa is therefore confirmed. Indeed, defence diplomacy is distinct from coercive diplomacy and its position at the military- diplomacy nexus. Practically and based on the many examples illustrated in this chapter, defense diplomacy has been a strategic choice for states positioned within a policy-strategy and other activities in a very hierarchical order. It is also part of a security and foreign policies focused on defense objectives which are integrated with foreign, defense and security policy objectives. The hypothesis has been confirmed in relation to the diverse ways and means through which defense diplomacy has been operationalized in Africa to the benefit of peace and security on the continent.

The Neo-Liberalism theory postulates that the state is the major institution coordinating modern societies and the military is one of the instruments of national power that states use to achieve their

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<sup>217</sup> Taylor B., Bisley N., Hugh W., Blaxland J., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defense Diplomacy: The Possibilities and Limits of Defense Diplomacy*. In Centre of Gravity, edited by Andrew Carr, 1–22. Canberra: National Defense University South Africa.

<sup>218</sup> Mely C. A. (2010) Non-Traditional Security Challenges, Regional Governance, and the African and ASEAN Political-Security Community (Singapore: RSIS, Asia Security Initiative Policy Series) *Working Paper no. 7*, p. 1

<sup>219</sup> Ibid pp. 20

national interests. Theoretically, there is a coherence and clarity on the concept of defense diplomacy especially in the context of other actions of foreign relations and diplomacy. The findings of this chapter resonates with the propositions of the Neo-Liberalism theory in the sense that in Africa, different nations have used their own military and military capabilities to advance their interests, albeit through defense diplomacy. Multilateral and bilateral relations, military cooperation, peace keeping missions and use of defense attaches have been used as ways through which African nations have achieved national interests while promoting and upholding their foreign policy. Furthermore, as the theory recognizes other non-state actors and international institutions role in enhancing democracy and cooperation among states, the findings of this chapter are that non-state actors such as AU, ECOWAS, SADC and COMESA have played a key role, by use of defense diplomacy, to promote peace and security in Africa.

## **CHAPTER 4: THE CHALLENGES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF SECURING AFRICA THROUGH DEFENSE DIPLOMACY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The chapter will look at the challenges that states face in the utilization of their military instruments of power as a tool for defense diplomacy in Africa in an effort to enhance regional peace and stability. The chapter will also explore the future prospects of securing the African continent through defense diplomacy despite the challenges identified.

### **4.1 Challenges of Employment of Defense Diplomacy in Africa**

Due to methodological flaws, political incoherence, and a lack of alignment with foreign policy, the policy perspective of defense diplomacy offers limited guidance. Security diplomacy is conceptualized differently by academics and governments. Instead of using the term defense diplomacy, the term "military diplomacy" is sometimes used and this has made the conceptualization of defense diplomacy even more complicated. Although a distinction between security diplomacy and military diplomacy should be upheld, Tan<sup>220</sup> acknowledged that the distinctions between the two are becoming increasingly blurred, making it impossible to draw a clear line between them. This has been one of the major obstacles to achieving a unified concept and intent for defense diplomacy.

Different states in Africa have attempted to have their own conceptualization of defense diplomacy, which is mostly tailored to suit their national interests. The lack of a single conceptualization of defense diplomacy across different African nations has made it difficult to

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<sup>220</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) *Military diplomacy*. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

forge and utilize the tools of defense diplomacy<sup>221</sup>. Additionally, the increasing importance of security diplomacy as a means through which a country's foreign policy is implemented has resulted in the word "military diplomacy" being displaced and replaced with defense diplomacy."<sup>222</sup> This word has an intrinsically limited scope and has little to do with the goals or prospects of defense diplomacy. This has made the realistic application and operationalization of defense diplomacy much more difficult, especially in Africa.

Whereas the objectives and purposes of defense diplomacy activities are clearly set out, the means, ways and processes by which they might be realized are not present especially in Africa. Indeed the APSA framework<sup>223</sup> has not done much to bridge the gap between ways, means and ends. The framework has failed to put forward plausible recommendations for restructuring defense activities in Africa which are aimed at serving the regions' strategic interests.

The provision of resources, equipment and training are significant in achieving the aims of defense diplomacy. This, however, has been a significant problem for African countries. Although sharpening skills is important, the most significant stumbling block remains financing accompanied by teamwork and leadership. In terms of committed mission-oriented activities, streamlining cooperation between state militaries, regional organizations, and the AU remains a challenge.

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<sup>221</sup> Sanyal J. (2018) *Building strategic security: defence diplomacy and the role of army*. The Strategist.

<sup>222</sup> Blake R. M. and Spies Y. K. (2019) Non-Coercive Defence Diplomacy For Conflict Prevention. *South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 47, Nr 1.

<sup>223</sup> Ebitz A. (2019) *The use of military diplomacy in great power competition: Lessons learned from the Marshall Plan*. Brookings

Largely, the response to security-based policy has been state-centric<sup>224</sup> and nations like Kenya, which has seen an increase in terrorist attacks, have tried to reconcile the need for fresh security laws with the worst consequences emanating from the military activity in Somalia. The ever changing security environment that is shrouded with emerging threats has made it difficult for African nations to collaboratively and individually utilize defense diplomacy. This is compounded by the notion that coercive methods, as traditionally used, bear results and that a change to defense diplomacy would alter the entire geography of defense and security.

Though diplomacy has been used to fight terrorism in Africa, obstacles such as a lack of an efficient geographic and operational framework, ineffective early warning systems for intelligence, vague foreign policy priorities, and inadequate planning have hampered development. Despite the fact that defense diplomacy techniques have arisen to foster stability and discourage transnational extremism<sup>225</sup>, there seems to be a discernible disparity in the frequency at which each country uses specific military engagement resources.

Peter Leahy<sup>226</sup> points out that defense diplomacy is time-consuming while not always yielding results. Brendan Taylor<sup>227</sup> cautions that the benefits of defense diplomacy are vague and cannot be easily measured. From a different angle, Hugh White<sup>228</sup> dismisses the concept of defense diplomacy as mere public relations activity of defense forces to affirm to their communities that their safety and security is being prioritized. He rejects outright the notion that military officers

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<sup>224</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) *Military diplomacy*. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

<sup>225</sup> Lech D. (2018) *Defence Diplomacy – An Important Tool For The Implementation Of Foreign Policy And Security Of The State*. War Studies University, Poland.

<sup>226</sup> Leahy P. (2014) *Military diplomacy*. Centre of Gravity, Series Paper no. 17. Australian National University.

<sup>227</sup> Brendan T., Blaxland J., White H., Bisley N., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defence Diplomacy Is the game worth the candle?* Centre of Gravity series paper #17

<sup>228</sup> White H. (2014) *Grand expectations, little promise*. Centre of Gravity Series paper no. 17. Australian National University



might resolve complex international political problems. They presume to practice diplomacy simply through “soldierly plain-speaking”. Such connotations are usually a discouragement to the efforts aimed at promoting the utilization of defense diplomacy.

#### **4.2 Future Prospects of Defense Diplomacy in Securing Africa**

In the world we live in, domestic stability, defense, democracy, and civil liberties are inextricably linked to activities occurring outside our borders. The main catalyst of today's transformative protection ecosystem is increased interdependence. Threats must be shared, and ideas must be shared as well. Terrorism, global warming, and the global crisis can demonstrate that the most serious security challenges cannot be addressed in isolation. Threats are shifting as well. Most states are no longer challenged by other states' territorial extension, but by emerging developments that disregard territorial borders, such as radical religious strands, climate change or new technologies.

Coalition-building and greater foreign cooperation are fundamental to contemporary security strategy in the globalized world we live in, with its increasingly changing modern challenges mixed with fiscal constraints for nearly all nations. This global scenario necessitate new alliances and collaborations between governments and the general public all over the world. As a result, a strong multilateral security policy is needed.<sup>229</sup>

Defense diplomacy ought to be combined with other government departments' initiatives and policy instruments for dispute mediation to be effective. If this isn't achieved, defense diplomacy could become a point of contention between government agencies when they compete for limited

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<sup>229</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) *Military diplomacy*. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

resources. Only when defense diplomacy is coordinated with other government levers of power, such as commerce, assistance, political ties, culture, and people-to-people communications, can it be successful.<sup>230</sup> To put it another way, a whole-of-government stance will bolster the message sent by defense diplomacy.

The African Union's primacy in reacting to crises on the continent has been reinforced by the mantra of "African remedies for African issues," which is steadily favored by both western powers and African leadership. In view of maximizing the dictates of this mantra, defense diplomacy has the best opportunity to be absorbed into defense policy at state level, regional level and in the entire continent.

Strengthening multilateral institutions would be critical if defense policy is to achieve widespread acceptance and use in the security and defense arena in the twenty-first century. Democratic processes for making diplomatic decisions must be more flexible and accountable, risk sharing must be more equitable, and they must be the driving force behind greater equipment program coordination. It would be extremely empowering to see each country play a major role in powerful international organizations, which is especially important considering our (African) diplomatic scope. It is essential to advocate for stronger regional groups such as the African Union, IGAD, EAC, SADC, and ECOWAS, among others, and to assist in the development of their ability and involvement in defense diplomacy.<sup>231</sup>

Defense links, on the other hand, are about more than only collaborating with other governments, and these ties can be bolstered by more efficient government-to-people interaction. The general

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<sup>230</sup> Blake R. M. and Spies Y. K. (2019) Non-Coercive Defence Diplomacy for Conflict Prevention. *South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 47, Nr 1

<sup>231</sup> Ebitz A. (2019) *The use of military diplomacy in great power competition: Lessons learned from the Marshall Plan*. Brookings.

population is now an important player in foreign affairs.<sup>232</sup> They have a greater say in how their governments make decisions. If they reject extremism or alter their own behavior to prevent climate change, the choices they make in their own life will have a significant effect on the rest of the planet. Policymakers and negotiators must collaborate with a broader spectrum of stakeholders outside of government in order to move toward a more transparent, collaborative approach to policymaking and implementation.

Defense diplomacy should seek to mitigate hostility, create and sustain trust, and help establish politically accountable armed forces and strategic policies in the future. Domestic and foreign consent, which may result with larger and more successful involvement, can help to deter and settle disputes. One of the ironies of a more global society is that many people are more aware of their cultural, socioeconomic, and political roots.<sup>233</sup> If a modern security diplomacy approach is to be fruitful, it must first gain a greater understanding of local idiosyncrasies in order to keep the approval of those we wish to assist.

During the Kosovo conflict<sup>234</sup> three regular press conferences were held, each targeted at Balkan populations and world opinion. Compare this to the new approach to Afghanistan, where there is relatively little public discussion regarding the military intervention's goals. Any security mission's effectiveness is becoming heavily dependent on the ability to win a debate by digital communications. Communication would be critical if defense diplomacy is to be successful and efficient. This entails being transparent about the motivations behind military activities as well as

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<sup>232</sup> Lech D. (2018) *Defence Diplomacy – An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State*. War Studies University, Poland.

<sup>233</sup> Brendan T., Blaxland J., White H., Bisley N., Leahy P. and Tan S. S. (2014) *Defence Diplomacy Is the game worth the candle?* Centre of Gravity series paper #17

<sup>234</sup> Sanyal J. (2018) *Building strategic security: defence diplomacy and the role of army*. The Strategist.

fighting the misinformation of our adversaries. Defense diplomacy should do more to shift the atmosphere away from confidentiality and toward transparency.<sup>235</sup> State and diplomatic secrets will, of course, still exist. Dialogue with a wide variety of stakeholders would be the default position.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

In summary, in the past, security strategy was often about state rivalries and cultural rivalry. It is necessary to point out that this will always be the case, but today's distinction is that conflicts can be resolved by fusion - the global cooperation of governments and citizens in search of common goals. New military alliances are needed for government-to-government participation. Interoperability, knowledge sharing, and acquisition collaboration are all important for effectively enhancing capabilities. If well planned, asymmetry between the military contributions of states can be an opportunity rather than a problem. It is important to ensure job division, tasking and use of available human and other resources so that everyone has a role that can be executed with the greatest efficiency and minimum friction.

The chapter has confirmed the hypothesis that securing Africa through defense diplomacy has a wide range of challenges and the future trends are dependent on how the challenges are addressed. Various challenges are eminent in the pursuit of regional peace and security through the employment of defense diplomacy strategy. They range from the conceptualization of the defense diplomacy strategy to resource constraint, unclear structures and dynamic operational framework and timeliness.

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<sup>235</sup> Tan S. S. (2016) *Military diplomacy*. In Constantinou, C. P. Kerr & Sharp P. (eds), *The Sage handbook of diplomacy*. London: Sage

To address these challenges from the neo-liberalism perspective, state coordination and recognition of non-state actors and institutions in enhancing cooperation among states needs to take center stage in policy formulation and implementation going forward. While the future prospects of defense diplomacy might not be clear to all and a sundry, their potential to contribute to peace and security not only in African but also in the whole world cannot be under-estimated.

The theoretical assertion of neo-liberalism is well illustrated in this chapter with inter-reliance and cooperation among states and multilateral organizations coming together with the objective of achieving peace and security. In international relations, Neo-liberalism believes that states are concerned with absolute gains rather than relative gains to other states. No state can depend solely on one degree of external engagement to handle today's security issues and plan for tomorrow's, regardless of its capabilities in that stream. This chapter therefore confirms that states must specifically identify the limits of application of coercive military power in order to avoid conflict with the use of soft power in form of defence diplomacy. The defense diplomacy must work in tandem with other agencies and be part of a well-defined regional security policy. The application of defense diplomacy can, therefore, provide better returns on investment, especially in the short term, but only if it is part of a well-coordinated whole-of-government approach. After all, it would be less expensive to spend in peace than it is to wage a war, let alone win one.

## CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected by the study. Data collected from secondary sources was analyzed through content analysis and structured into themes. Primary data collected from the questionnaires has been analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The study has made use of triangulation to achieve a wholesome analysis and answer the research questions envisaged in the study.

### 5.2 Demographic information

The study sought to capture the background information of the respondents as a way of finding out whether the targeted respondents possessed the right knowledge and information sought by the study. The information obtained included gender, age, position and duration of service. Demographic information provides data regarding research participants and is necessary in determining whether the individuals in the study are a representative sample of the target population for generalization purposes. Capturing demographic information enables the researcher to actually determine whether the information that is being sought by the study is from the right sources.

#### Gender

The study first sought to establish the distribution of the study participants according to their gender. The results of this enquiry were presented in Table 4.1

**Table 4.1: Gender of respondents**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	6	80%
Female	2	20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

From the data collected, it was established that most of the participants were male. This is noted among 80% (6) of the participants with 20% (2) being females. Females being part of the sample size are an indication that females are not only actively involved in matters to do with defense diplomacy but also are considered as key personnel within the Kenyan defense framework. Matters defense are perceived to be a male affairs. With Kenya being a patriarchal society, the genders roles are clearly defined in the minds of the people. Women have a lot of responsibilities within the family which may not include participation in defense. However, with modernization, enlightenment and globalization in the current generation, females have come forward as a force to reckon with in matters defense and defense diplomacy.

### Age

The study further sought to establish the distribution of the study participants according to their ages. The results of this enquiry were presented in Table 4.2

**Table 4.2: Age of respondents**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
18-28 years	0	0
29-39 years	0	0
40-49 years	5	63%
50 years and above	3	37%
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

It was noted from the data collected that all of the participants were aged above 40 years. Specifically, the study established that 63% (5) of the respondents were aged between 40 and 49 years while 37% (3) were aged 50 years and above. While it is important to understand age distribution among participants in matters defense and defense diplomacy, recent times have seen many young people take up major roles in peace and security. The military use of young adults can therefore be seen to be more biased to combat security and peacekeeping operations as opposed to diplomatic deployments and staff assignments which are for policy making. However, from the

findings of this study, most of the respondents were aged adults who held policy positions and had a direct bearing to decision making on diplomacy issues.

### **Position in the ministry/department**

The study was keen to understand the distribution of respondents according to the position they served in the respective departments and ministries they worked in. The results of this enquiry were presented in Table 4.3

**Table 4.3: Position**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Sn Foreign Affairs officer	1	13%
MoD Officer	5	62%
KDF officer	2	25%
Other	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

The results of the analysis indicated that most of the participants were Ministry of Defense officials. It was noted that 62% (5) of the participants were Ministry of Defense officials, 25% (2) were KDF officials while 1 (13%) was a senior foreign affairs official. The study notes that the positions represented across the study sample is representative of personnel involved with issues to do with defense diplomacy and thus, are well placed to provide adequate information for the study. Enquiring about the position held by the participants is important in the sense that the researcher is able to understand and target those participants who are involved in defense diplomacy and are privy to relevant information regarding the subject under study. The distribution of the respondents within various ministries means that there is a whole-of-government approach in diplomatic engagement with stakeholders drawn across the various ministries.



## Duration of service

It was also important for the study to understand the length of service that each of the participants had in the defense and foreign affairs matters. The results were presented in Table 4.4

**Table 4.4: Duration of service**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Less than 5 years	0	0
6-10 years	2	26%
11-15 years	4	50%
16-20 years	1	12%
21 years and more	1	12%
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

It was established that all the participants had considerable years of experience and service in their respective professions. Those who had 6 to 10 years of service were 2 (26%), those who had 11 to 15 years of service were 4 (50%), 1 participant had 16 to 20 years of service while 1 participant had more than 21 years of service. With the considerable length of service, it is observed that the respondents had adequate knowledge and experience which is relevant to the study. By the study enquiring on the duration of service of the participants, the intent is to know the level of experience with matters defense diplomacy. A longer duration of service indicates that the participants have been exposed to diverse issues relating to defense and defense diplomacy for a longer time and thus, have a considerable breadth of experience and information being sought by the study.

### **5.3 Trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security**

The study set out to understand the trends associated with the use of defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security. By conducting critical content analysis on secondary data collected and in triangulation with primary data collected, the study establishes varying but reliable trends especially taking a cross-sectional perspective of Africa and the West. The study has established that traditionally, roles of defense forces were defined by the functional

authoritative use or threat of force - whether for purposes of defense, deterrence, compellance or intervention. Defense diplomacy on the other hand involves the peacetime cooperative use of armed forces and related infrastructure as a tool of foreign policy and security policy.

It has been observed from the findings of the study that nations do engage in defense cooperation with other nations through provision of military assistance with a view of counterbalancing or deterring enemies. Additionally, such cooperation was fostered to maintain spheres of influence, support friendly regimes in suppressing domestic opponents as well as promote commercial interests. From the analysis of the secondary data obtained, it has been established that defense cooperation between the European imperial powers and their colonies reflected the above logic while the Cold War reinforced it.

Military cooperation and assistance emerged as a key trend being used to help build cooperative relationships with former or potential enemies. This process was generally referred here as strategic engagement by most participants in the study. One of the participants noted:

“We have seen continuous use of military cooperation and assistance to promote democratic civilian control of armed forces as part of broader efforts to support liberal democracy and good governance.” (Key Informant from MoD)

The study has established that military cooperation and assistance have been employed to support partner states to develop their capacity to contribute to peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions. From the analysis of literature, the study has established for instance, NATO has supported Eastern European states in developing peacekeeping capabilities, while the US, the UK and France have provided immense support to African nations. Poland and Hungary on the other hand have actively used military cooperation as a means of fostering better relations with their eastern and southern neighbors. Therefore, it can be concluded here that the new trend in respect to defense diplomacy is the conception of defense diplomacy as an instrument for attempting to

build cooperative relations with former or potential adversaries, and thereby helping to prevent potential conflicts.

The study has also established that defense diplomacy has been used by colonial masters to not only “keep in touch” with their former colonies but also to influence their peace and security frameworks and architectures. France for instance, “which had maintained close defense ties with its former colonies, has devoted greater attention to Central and Eastern Europe. Within Africa, France has shifted from the narrow promotion of French economic interests, such as arms sales, to wider goals, including the promotion of democratic civil-military relations and support for the development of regional peacekeeping capabilities.”<sup>236</sup> The study has observed that such efforts are supplemented by greater Western interest in promoting democratic civil-military relations, military respect for human rights and the responsible management of defense.

The world of defense diplomacy has greatly evolved with the incorporation of personnel from foreign nations into local military operations. In Kenya for instance, there have been numerous exchange programs and bilateral and multilateral training undertaken by respective personnel. One of the participants expressed the optimism of using defense attaches as a means of fostering defense diplomacy. The participant noted:

“The ministry of defense as an institution, has involved itself in issues of defense diplomacy through the deployment of defense attaches, participation in peacekeeping, bilateral, multilateral training and exchange programs for defense college instructors and military sports competition.” (Key Informant from MoD)

It has further been established that multilateral and bilateral relations had direct and indirect benefits. Direct benefits included access to external training and experience which builds multilateral and bilateral partnerships and peacekeeping. Indirect benefits included the enhancement and elevation of a nation’s image in the regional and international front. The study

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid

has also established that multilateral defense relations have become a hallmark of regional integration projects. Within the catchment area of the European Union (EU) and the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), defense ministries have pooled military strategy and institutionalized the type of regular trans-governmental interaction that was otherwise known to be the exclusive mandate of diplomats. Regional institutionalization of defense diplomacy has been found to improve the management of regional relations more generally, and at a grassroots level, promotes the sharing of resources, frameworks and facilities such as Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) efforts as well as Peace Support Operations (PSO).

These findings relate to earlier findings which indicated that the defense forces and ministries in the world over the last decades have embraced these new conceptualization of security and responded to the new realities and challenges in peace and security realm. This has seen them take a more range of cooperative and collaborative tasks during war times and peacetimes. For instance, European countries under NATO member states do conduct joint military exercises even with some states that against them during war times, and have participated in the formation and strengthening of Defense capacities of these countries.

The Defense Ministers in the Organization of American States for instance, have also adopted defense diplomacy as a means of addressing some of the peace and security challenges in their region. This also entails bilateral relations between and among states on matters of mutual security interest. There has been a growing trend, especially among Western democracies, to use defense ministries and armed forces to cultivate cooperative partnerships with other countries and to assist other countries in reforming their militaries. The resultant effect is that modern security forces are increasingly charged with not only the conventional function of planning for and carrying out the

use of force, but also with the current defense diplomacy role of peacetime cooperative cooperation with other nations.

Therefore, from the foregoing, the study has noted that the adoption of defense diplomacy has not been an ideology of the Western developed world only but has found inroads in the African peace and security agenda. While developed nations that include former colonial masters embrace defense diplomacy, African nations are slowly but steadily learning the ropes and embracing this idea in view of maximizing its full benefits with a view of addressing the African challenges of intra and inter-state conflicts and security challenges. Bilateral and multilateral partnership as well as defense cooperation have been the most used avenues of adopting and operationalizing defense diplomacy among African states.

#### **5.4 The role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa**

Regional stability in Africa has been quite elusive despite the efforts by all the great African leaders to have a united continent that has unique and efficient frameworks for enhancing regional stability. The study sought to find out the role played by defense diplomacy in promoting and enhancing the attainment of regional stability in Africa. The study has established that the various activities embedded within defense diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy and regional security, contribute to the development of military cooperation and building correct relations between states. This is the essence of the new form of regionalism whereby, states work collaboratively to address the common security challenges that they face and promote regional stability. This arises from the fact that African states have a shared responsibility of maintaining peace, security and stability.

The study found out that defense diplomacy that is embedded in bilateral and multilateral arrangements serve as important tools of pursuing and advancing foreign policy objectives such as regional stability. It goes without doubt that defense engagements in Africa entail defense bilateral structures and meetings at the regional and extra-regional levels. These interactions include various agreements and MoUs entered into involving issues ranging from bilateral and multilateral defense cooperation, the status of military and civilian personnel, partnered defense training and technical cooperation.

Defense diplomacy has also been found to play a key role in deterring intra-state and inter-state conflicts. Africa is known as a continent prone to intra-state and inter-state conflicts. Defense diplomacy plays a crucial role in preventing inter-state conflicts in the African region. Through regional groups and institutions, defense diplomacy is easily adopted to address intra and inter-state conflicts. One of the participants in the study noted that:

“Regional arrangements and institutions have a great potential to facilitate and enhance regional cooperation as well as discourage anarchy. Through this, they promote regional stability and security.” (Key Informant from Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The key perspective being brought to the fore here is that regional institutions help to eliminate the self-interests of countries and help create a stable and secure Africa.

At the very center of regional defense diplomacy as an avenue of promoting regional stability and security has been an agenda aimed to strengthen regional peacekeeping capabilities in Africa. This use of defense diplomacy is common among the Western states such as the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and France who have relied on the practice as a means of advancing their regional interests especially in the African continent. Therefore, Africa’s states need to recalibrate their agility in the use of this tool of diplomacy so as to protect and promote their interests. Defense diplomacy can play a primarily foreign policy role, acting as a symbol of willingness to pursue

broader national policy goals and international objectives especially for the African region. It can be used to enhance military cooperation in Africa especially if there exists a common interest or a common enemy from outside the region.

The study has observed that in Africa, the regional integration of defense relations has been a Pan-Africanist ideal since Kwame Nkrumah advocated for an ‘African High Command’ in the late 1950s. Yet, at a practical level, this has not materialized. From the secondary data collected, it was found that the most successful institutionalized defense cooperation on the African continent occurs in West Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has presided over several successful peace processes in the region. To cite an example, in January 2017, ECOWAS intervened in The Gambia. Following decades of rapacious authoritarian rule, civilian anger erupted after the then President Jammeh refused to accept electoral defeat. With civil war seemingly imminent, ECOWAS launched ‘Operation Restore Democracy’, and promptly restored order in the country, after which the regional body oversaw (as it continues to do) a peaceful constitutional transition.

It has also been established that regional security can be constructed through social interaction that will establish common identity and interests amongst states. The use of military approach in a diplomatic mode for purposes of harnessing the strengths it brings to the field of diplomacy is a promising perspective. This can be achieved based on three main pillars; solid practicality, sharing of material resources and adequate intelligence and knowledge sharing.

It is further evident from the data analyzed that defense diplomacy represents a supplementary approach to manage international affairs as an instrument of foreign policy and also enhances the use of the other instruments of national power. For instance, one of the participants noted that:

“Different nations, Kenya included, are using defense attaches to advise the Heads of Missions on matter of defense diplomacy. Nowadays, their roles have been comprehensive,

by serving as advisers to the head of missions on how best to pursue defense cooperation with the receiving country.” (Kenya Defense Forces Officer)

I therefore note that this function can significantly improve defense relations among states hence reducing the likelihood of states going to war. Further analysis showed that defense attaches serve the useful function of enhancing and coordinating international defense exchanges that are taking place in the contemporary international system. They include joint defense training, defense operations, military joint exercises, bilateral defense control, defense and security related conferences, defense logistics and Peace Keeping Operations, where joint bilateral or multinational units are becoming more common.

The study has found that defense diplomacy practices, as a tool of foreign policy and state security, lead to the advancement of military cooperation and the establishment of proper relations between states. The armed forces as a policy tool with wide applications that go beyond their war and deterrence duties is one of the most significant instruments of defense diplomacy. They play an important role in direct international relations between countries, as well as in international partnerships and security-related specialist organizations.

The study has established that some of these defense diplomacy activities involve human security issues such as environmental conservation, climate change and cooperation during natural calamities. These actions and activities indeed improve foreign relations among states and contribute to regional stability. For instance, in the most recent disaster in Mozambique, the country received immense defense support from regional states in Africa when the island country was faced with natural disasters.

The findings herein conquer to earlier findings which indicate that defense diplomacy practices, as a medium of foreign policy and regional stability, assist in the growth of strategic cooperation and the establishment of proper relations between states. It does not however, establish an external



security strategy of its own; rather, it serves as a means for the defense minister to achieve his or her strategic objectives. Additionally, the findings weave well into the fact that being tool of state cooperation and building regional stability, defense diplomacy can also be useful in preventing inter-state conflicts in the African region which is prevalent to such conflicts. Defense diplomacy can be utilized in very diverse ways while operating at different levels in the hierarchy of foreign and security policy options. It can perform a primarily foreign policy role, acting as a symbol of willingness to pursue broader national policy goals and international objectives especially for the African region.

In using defense attaches to advance the roles of defense diplomacy, attachés contribute significantly to enhancing regional stability. They can improve defense relations in the countries and regions that are posted. The defense attaches can also improve relations between states and international organizations and states that they represent. They also serve as military and security advisers to diplomats and embassy personnel, monitoring and commenting on security situations in the host country to home country officials, and coordinating and directing military outreach, defense diplomacy, and security coordination programs. This is true of bilateral interactions as well as multilateral projects like ASF's Partnership for Peace.

In the same vein, key aspects of the regional dimension to enhancing regional stability and security in Africa have been the effort to develop militaries in the region that can respond to the security challenges. It is for this reason that majority of African states have been involved in regional peace keeping activities as part of their defense diplomacy which in the long run enhances regional stability. It is the findings of this study that the use of Peacekeeping Operations has been a crucial field for defense diplomacy implementation. The aspect of Defense Multilateral and Bilateral

diplomacy has also come out to serve as important tools of pursuing and advancing Foreign Policy objectives such as regional stability.

Nations in Africa have been increasingly pre-occupied with strengthening their abilities to deal with the myriads of security and conflict related challenges through home grown solutions. This has been part of Africa's efforts towards developing regional conflict prevention, management and resolution capabilities. The study has established that African nations have been involved in regional peace keeping activities as part of their defense diplomacy which in the long run enhances regional stability. For other states, especially those that have never been affected by armed conflicts internally, the study observed that their involvement in regional peacekeeping was a way of enhancing the training of their forces through real life experiences that cannot be simulated in the training exercises. Besides advancing the strategic collaborations and relations to fostering cooperative engagements, the essence of defense diplomacy and the engagements therein is to promote peace support capabilities of member states and therefore enhancing regional stability and security in Africa.

## **5.5 Challenges and future prospect of securing Africa through defense diplomacy**

In relying on defense diplomacy to secure Africa, the study sought to establish the challenges that might be faced by the operationalization of defense diplomacy. The study also seeks to find out the future prospects and capabilities that can be capitalized on in securing Africa through defense diplomacy.

### **5.5.1 Challenges**

The study has established that there have been a huge disconnect between the goals of defense diplomacy and means of realization of the goals. The objectives and purposes of defense

diplomacy are explicitly vivid. However, the means, ways and processes by which they ought to be realized have not been made available especially in Africa. The results of the analysis suggested that existing frameworks have not done enough to bridge the missing connection between ways, means and ends.

It has further been established that the lack of a single conceptualization of defense diplomacy across different African nations has made it difficult to forge and utilize the tools of defense diplomacy. Different nations in Africa have attempted to have their own conceptualization of defense diplomacy, which is mostly tailored to suit their national interests. Self-interests among nations have hampered the full realization and use of defense diplomacy in Africa. Additionally, it has been established that the growing role of defense diplomacy as a tool for the implementation of the foreign policy of a nation, has resulted in displacing and replacing the hitherto widely used term “military diplomacy” as a term inherently narrow in meaning and in no way either in the objectives or the potential of defense diplomacy.

The policy context of defense diplomacy provides limited direction due to conceptual shortcomings, strategic incoherence and limited coordination with foreign policy. Some nations have struggled to balance the need for new security legislation that fits squarely in the whole discipline of defense diplomacy. Lack of an efficient regional and organizational structure, inefficient early warning mechanisms for intelligence, unclear foreign policy objectives and poor coordination have hindered effective progress in the use of defense diplomacy to secure Africa.

The provision of resources, equipment and training are significant in achieving the aims of defense diplomacy. However, this has been one key challenge for African nations. Although sharpening skills is important, the most significant stumbling block remains financing, which is accompanied

by teamwork and leadership. Defense diplomacy faces a challenge in streamlining cooperation between state militaries, regional organizations, and the African Union in terms of committed mission-oriented operations.

### **5.5.2 Future prospects and opportunities**

The study notes that there is need for the formation of new partnerships and collaborations with governments and the public. While defense is a preserve of the state, there is need to have partnerships with the public. The public is now a vital part of international policy as well as key stakeholders in government decisions made on their behalf. The decisions they make about their own lives can have a direct impact on the rest of the world, thus, the new face of defense diplomacy ought to factor in opinion made by the public. This not only enables defense diplomats to obtain consent but also obtain “buy-in”. In the same vein, policy-makers and diplomats must work with a wider range of constituencies beyond government, moving towards a more open, inclusive style of policy-making and implementation.

The study has also established that defense diplomacy ought to be integrated with programs of other government departments and with other policy instruments for conflict prevention and resolution. Failure to factor in this, defense diplomacy will continue being a source of friction between government departments over competition for scarce resources. The future of defense diplomacy will be effective if it is synchronized with other levers of government power, including trade, aid, political relations, culture and people-to-people contacts.

The study reiterates that there is need to strengthen multilateral and bilateral institutions. Furthermore, strengthening regional groupings such as the African Union, IGAD, EAC, SADC and ECOWAS among others will help build their capacity and encourage their participation in

defense diplomacy. In the foreseeable future, having regional organizations that have capacity and support for defense diplomacy will result in nations that embrace and utilize defense diplomacy to secure Africa.

For defense diplomacy to realize its effectiveness and efficiency, communication will be key. This means being clear about the intentions behind military actions as well as countering the enemies' propaganda. With the immense development in communication, institutions involved in defense diplomacy need to take advantage and provide adequate, reliable, timely and convincing information. The use of digital media can make a great difference in pulling on board all nations to understand the conceptualizations of defense diplomacy and ultimately utilize it.

African nations need to take advantage of the mantra of "African solutions for African problems". This mantra is increasingly gaining ground especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and is receiving overwhelming support from African leaders as well as other international leaders. Defense diplomacy has the best opportunity to capitalize on the wave of this mantra and be absorbed into defense policy at state level, regional level and in the entire continent.

African diplomatic reach is unique and this places African nations at a vantage point of effectively making use of defense diplomacy to secure the continent. Democratic procedures of decisions making can be made must be more flexible and representative, burden sharing should be more equal and they should be the driver of greater co-ordination over equipment programs. It would be so much motivating to see each nation playing a strong role in strong regional institutions as well as international institutions, championing for the full utilization of defense diplomacy in securing Africa.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The research findings in this chapter are based on the data collected from various respondents with 80% response level from different professionals in the defence and diplomacy fields. They included the respondents from the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya Defence Forces Headquarters and various defence attachés in both regional and extra regional deployments. The findings are also based on triangulation of findings from data obtained from secondary sources. The respondents identified the trends of defence diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security that include cooperation among states in an effort to maintain spheres of influence, the various roles of defence diplomacy in enhancing regional stability and the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defence diplomacy. The partnership and collaboration approach by states will be expected to bring synergy in peace and security architecture in Africa in collaboration with multi-agency approach through multilateral institutions like the AU, IGAD, EAC and ECOWAS among others.

The neo-liberalism approach in defence diplomacy is therefore applicable in the form of recognition of states as being the major institutions coordinating regional and global activities such as diplomatic deployments, and ensuring peaceful co-existence of nations through peaceful resolutions of conflicts. This also includes the recognition of the role of non-state actors and international institutions in enhancing cooperation among states since the neo-liberalism theory recognizes other non-state actors and international institutions role in enhancing democracy and cooperation among states. Additionally, the neo-liberalism theory supposes that the role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices; this supposition fits squarely in the findings of this chapter. For future success of defense diplomacy,

individual states have a role to play in creating adequate, democratic and feasible institutional and legislative frameworks to facilitate full adoption of defense diplomacy especially in Africa.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Conclusion**

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations arising from the process of data analysis. The conclusions are drawn based on the specific objectives that the study sought to achieve. The recommendations are made in view of the academic, policy and general perspectives as informed by the data collected.

In relation to defence diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security, the study concludes that while defense has formerly focused on use of threats and military force, the contemporary defense diplomacy has utilized peaceful means, cooperation and soft power including the use of armed forces related infrastructure for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Defense diplomacy has utilized defense cooperation with other nations through engagement and interactions. Additionally, multilateral and bilateral relations have been fostered, leading to regional and international institutionalization of defense diplomacy as a means to improve the management of regional and international security relations.

In enhancing regional security, the study concludes that defense diplomacy is embedded in bilateral and multilateral arrangements and plays a vital role of pursuing and advancing foreign policy objectives such as regional stability. These roles are advanced through defense bilateral structures and meetings at the regional and extra-regional levels. The study concludes that defense diplomacy plays a key role in deterring intra-state and inter-state conflicts through regional institutions, helping to eliminate the self-interests of countries and help create a stable and secure Africa. African nations have been involved in regional peace keeping activities as part of their defense diplomacy which in the long run enhances regional stability. The use of defense attaches



serve the useful function of enhancing and coordinating international defense exchanges. The study further concludes that defense diplomacy contributes to the development of military cooperation and building correct relations between states.

In securing Africa through defence diplomacy, the study identifies disconnect between the goals of defense diplomacy and the means of realizing them as a challenge. Furthermore, absence of a single conceptualization of defense diplomacy across different African nations has made it difficult to forge and utilize the tools of defense diplomacy. It also concludes that the policy context of defense diplomacy provides limited direction due to conceptual shortcomings, strategic incoherence and limited coordination with foreign policy. Other challenges includes lack of an efficient regional and organizational structure, inefficient early warning mechanisms for intelligence, unclear foreign policy objectives and poor coordination of defense activities.

The study also concluded that the future prospects for defense diplomacy lie in the formation of new partnerships and collaborations between governments and the public, incorporation of a wider range of constituencies beyond government and the integration of defense diplomacy with programs of other government departments and with other security policy instruments. The future of defense diplomacy will be effective if it is synchronized with other levers of government power, including trade, aid, political relations, and culture and people-to-people contacts. The study also concludes that for defense diplomacy to realize its effectiveness and efficiency, communication will be key. Further, African nations need to take advantage of the mantra of "African solutions for African problems". African diplomatic reach is unique and this places African nations at a vantage point of effectively making use of defense diplomacy to secure the continent.

## **6.5 Recommendations**

### **6.5.1 Policy Recommendations**

At the policy level, the crafting of the Non-Coercive Defence Diplomacy (NCDD) policy frameworks based on the principles of transparency, reputation and integrity, and investment in its training to allow for its implementation is an essential recommendation. At all levels, NCDD resonates with the historically important integration agenda of the continent and its various sub-regions. This begs a much more vigorous policy research, re-drafting and focused implementation of the policy as well as other allied policies and frameworks.

At the legislative level, it is recommended that supportive legislation towards multilateralism and bilateralism need to be infused into the existing defense legislation to support the full operationalization of defense diplomacy. During the operationalization of the roles of defense diplomacy in a broader strategic policy environment, recognition must be paid to the underlying challenges it faces especially in Africa. It is most useful when defense expertise is applied to build political capital at the lower level that can be used to develop specific bilateral and multilateral relationships as part of a broader strategic effort.

At the Africa security framework level, there is need to reconfigure or to re-conceptualize Africa's Peace and Security Architecture to make it more focused and responsive to the emerging security threats in the region in a timely and coordinated manner. This process needs to factor in and make full utilization of all tools available within defense diplomacy. It is recommended that there is need for the development of a comprehensive resource based security policy document anchored in strong institutions and legal frameworks that will support defence deployment to address the national and regional interests. This is in view of the fact that resources play a key role in defense and security matters. At the regional level, pooling of resources is highly encouraged.

### **6.5.2 Academic Recommendations**

On the academic perspective, defense diplomacy as an area of study should be given more attention especially in Africa. Most of the existing academic literature on the subject is from the West. Although useful insights are evident from South Africa and other countries like India and Pakistan, there is need to have an integrated regional approach involving research based institutes and think tanks with an African bias.

The issues of security should be incorporated into the agenda of regional economic cooperation's as an integral part of regionalism. Indeed, security should be the driver of economic and political integration. There should be strong military capacity building and research institutions that are able to secure African states that are characterized by fragility especially in addressing intra-state conflicts in the exercise of defence diplomacy.

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## APPENDIXES

### 7.1 QUESTIONNAIRES

#### 7.1.1 CLOSE/OPENED ENDED STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Madam,

Kindly receive my salutation and thank you for according me the opportunity to interact with you on the above academic research field. I, Col Edward M Nyamao 'psc'(K), a participant of NDC 23 -2020/21, am conducting a research in fulfilment of a **Master's degree in International Studies** package on the topic **'The Role of Defence Diplomacy in Enhancing Regional Stability in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya Defence Forces.** The global conflict dynamics is changing and there is critical need for states to develop new approaches to conflict management from hard power to soft power. The emergence of symmetric wars, intra and interstate conflicts needs not only coercive diplomacy but also soft diplomacy to achieve state objectives and attain global peace and security. These approaches require global cooperation and military cooperation through employment of necessary state elements of power that include diplomacy and military.

In the recent past, states have used their militaries specifically for coercive deterrence and power projection. Though the strategies are still relevant, there is increased application of defence diplomacy through the use of tools such as defence attaches, sports, peacekeeping missions, military exchange programmes, trainings and joint operations among others. In the regional perspective, states are reluctant to utilise the strategy.

This research is therefore aimed at collecting data that will aid in the analysis of the validity in using defence diplomacy to enhance regional stability. Though the emphasis is on KDF and the ministry of defence institutions, its critical to gutter data from the other relevant ministries and institutions that will contribute to the decision making.

Any information I obtain from you during the research will be kept strictly confidential and used only for research purpose. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in this study at any time. Please choose the

correct options you think suitable and your valuable comments on the followings will be highly appreciated.

Edward M O Nyamao  
Colonel  
Participant NDC Cse 23-20/21

**Section A: The trends in respect to defense diplomacy as an enabler of global peace and security.**

1. How has the institution involved itself in issues of defence diplomacy globally?
2. How has the participation of Kenya in defence diplomacy evolved over time?
3. How many Personnel or units have been involved in global defence diplomacy?
4. What is the percentage rate of involvement of Kenya personnel involved in diplomacy in relation to other regional countries?
5. What are the benefits accrued from engaging in defence diplomacy in the global environment?
6. What's the future prospect of continued participation in the defence diplomacy activities outside the region?

**Section B: The role of defense diplomacy in enhancing regional stability in Africa**

7. How is the contribution of the country in defence diplomacy in Africa and the region?
8. How is defence diplomacy contributing to regional security?

9. Which activities are mostly conducted in an effort to attain the national security objective through defence diplomacy?
10. What are the specific tasks undertaken by Kenya personnel in the region?
11. What additional capabilities does the country have to support regional security other than using diplomacy?

**Section C. The challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy**

12. What are the current challenges faced in the application of defence diplomacy in the region and globally?
13. Do you think Africa's security can be secured using defence diplomacy?
15. What future security prospects are there for the continent through defensive diplomacy?
16. Which opportunities exist for Africa to capitalize through defence diplomacy?
17. What lessons can we learn from the past engagements on defence diplomacy?

## 7. 1.2 QUESTIONNAIRE

General instructions: You are requested to respond to the questions listed as objectively as you can by ticking in the bracket (☐) or by providing the requested information. By responding to these questions, you are affirming your consent to participate in this research. Your individual responses obtained in this questionnaire will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

### Section A: Demographic Information.

1. What is your gender? Male ( ) Female ( )
  
2. What is your age bracket?
  - a) 18-28yrs ( ) b) 29-39yrs ( ) c) 40-40yrs ( ) d) 41-61yrs ( )
  
3. What is your position in the Ministry/Department?
  - a) Snr Foreign Affairs Offr ( ) c) KDF Officer ( )
  - b) MOD Officer ( ) d) Other ( )
  
4. For how many years have you served in the MDA?
  - a) Less than 5yrs ( ) b) 6-10yrs ( )
  - c) 11-15yrs ( ) d) 16-20yrs ( )
  - e) More than 21yrs ( )





High	Medium	Low	Don't Know	Duration

10. In what capacities are the officers deployed?

- a) Defence attachees ( )      b) Ambassadors ( )
- c) Military Ops ( )      d) Other Diplomatic assignment ( )
- e) Civilians ( )

11. How has the deployment/engagement enhanced global and regional peace?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. Does defence diplomacy contributes to long term Peace and security?

- a) Yes ( )      b) No ( )

13. What is your rating on the extent of effectiveness of Kenya's employment of Diplomacy in enhancing peace and security?

Highly	Moderately	Low	Never

**Section D: Evaluating the challenges and future prospects of securing Africa through defense diplomacy**

14. Has the ministry/Department been successful in achieving its desired goals through defence diplomacy?

- a) Yes ( )                      b) No ( )

15. Are there any alternative capabilities that can influence the defence diplomacy engagement in your MDA?

- a) YES ( )                      b) NO ( )

16. If your answer to question 15 is “Yes”, which are they?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

17. What challenges does the ministry experience through engagement in defence diplomacy?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

18. Give suggestions on any alternative approaches towards achieving global peace and security through diplomatic engagement?

.....

.....

.....



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### 7.3 RESEARCH PROJECT BUDGET

**Proposal title: The Role of Defence Diplomacy in Enhancing Regional Stability in Africa:  
Case Study of Kenya Defence Forces**

**Institution:** University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

**Name of Researcher:** Edward Morris Ondabu Nyamao

**Registration Number:** R50/39050/2021 KENYA

**Duration of project:** 2020/2021

#### Fees for Project Personnel

Principle Researcher	Role	Number of Days	Daily Rates	Total Cost	Justification
	Lead Researcher	21	-	-	Researcher will Utilize own resources
<b>Other Project Staff</b>	Research Assistant	5	3,000	15,000.00	Focus on KDF HQ
	Research Assistant	5	3,000	15,000.00	Focus on MOD
	Research Assistant	5	3,000	15,000.00	Focus on MoFA
	Research Assistant	5	3,000	15,000.00	Focus on National Assembly
<b>Total</b>				<b>60,000.00</b>	

#### Data Collection Fees

	Description of Item	Quantity	Rate	Total Cost	Justification
<b>Training</b>	Training workshop for Research Assistants	4	10,000.00	10,000.00	Meeting room hire, tea and snacks, writing material
<b>Field/survey staff salaries</b>	4 Surveyors at 500 per day	4	500.00	2,000.00.00	Surveyors will be used to interview 5 personnel each

<b>Field/survey staff travel</b>	Travel at 200 per day to and fro	5days x 4 Research assistants	200.00 per day	4,000.00	
<b>Materials</b>	Airtime		500.00 per Assistant Researcher	2,000.00	
	Printing and binding of final research report	10 copies	2,000.00	20,000.00	3x University Copy 5 Copies for MoD, MoFA KDF HQs, NDC and Parliament 2x NCOSTI copies
<b>Other data collection costs</b>	Software Subscription	SPSS			
<b>Total</b>				<b>56,000.00</b>	

### Summary of Budget

Fees for project Personnel	60,000.00
Data Collection Fees	56,000.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>116,000.00</b>

# UON Thesis; THE ROLE OF DEFENCE DIPLOMACY IN ENHANCING REGIONAL STABILITY IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES

*by Col Edward Nyamao*

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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF DEFENCE DIPLOMACY IN ENHANCING  
REGIONAL STABILITY IN AFRICA:  
CASE STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES

EDWARD M O NYAMAO  
IDIS Adm No: R50/39050/2021

 SUPERVISOR:  
PROF. AMB. MARIA NZOMO

A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Masters of Arts in  
International Studies

May 2021

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# THE ROLE OF DEFENCE EMPLOYMENT IN BRIBING AND RECEIVING STABILITY IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF ISHARA DEFENCE FORCES

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