



**ROLE OF PARLIAMENT IN IMPLEMENTING FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA:**

**THE CASE OF PARLIAMENT IN RWANDA**

**BY**

**SENGABO CHARLES**

**REG. NUMBER: R50/5410/2017**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES TO THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**2018**

## DECLARATION

I, SENGABO Charles the author of this Thesis do here by declare that except for references to other people's work which I have duly acknowledged, the study herein presented is the first of its kind to be carried out in the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi, during the 2017/2018 academic year under objective supervision of Professor Maria NZOMO. This work has never been submitted in any form, whole or in part for a degree in this University or elsewhere.

Signature ----- Date -----

**SENGABO CHARLES**

**R50/5410/2017**

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

Signature----- Date -----

**Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo**

Lecturer,

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

University of Nairobi

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work first to the almighty God by whose grace I continue to live and to the loving memory of my late beloved father, MULIGANDE Michel who served as a source of great inspiration and also taught me values of hard work, commitment and discipline, to never give up but aspire to greater heights even when the road gets tough. These values and words of wisdom have helped a great deal in helping shape my life and bringing me to the successful completion of this work. You be greatly missed, cherished and forever remembered.

*May your soul rest in Peace*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My biggest thanks goes to the Lord Almighty, for endowing me with absolute health and life and strength to come close to the end of the tunnel in my education.

I owe special appreciation to Professor Amb. Maria NZOMO for her patience, encouragement and useful criticisms in the course of the work to successful completion.

My heartfelt appreciation also goes to Ms. Hope KAYIBANDA and Honourable MUKOBWA Justine for their invaluable assistance at the input stage as well as for providing me with useful materials to assist in completing this work.

Not forgetting the immense role my family, friends and colleagues played for their encouragement, support, and prayer's and believing in my capabilities which impelled me to study and complete the programme successfully.

And finally I wish to give special thanks and appreciation to the Government of Rwanda (Rwanda Education Board) for their moral and financial support in making this all possible.

*God richly bless you all*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>DEFINITION OF TERMS.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	4
1.3 Statement of the Research Problem .....	8
1.4 Research Questions .....	9
1.5 Objectives of the Study .....	9
1.6 Justification of the Study.....	9
1.6.1 Academic Justification .....	9
1.6.2 Policy Justification .....	10
1.7 Literature Review .....	10
1.7.1 Foreign Policy.....	10
1.7.2 Legislature and Foreign Policy Implementation .....	14

1.7.3 Challenges of Effective Legislature Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation .	17
1.8 Hypotheses .....	20
1.9 Theoretical Framework .....	21
1.9.1 Institutionalism Theory.....	21
1.10 Research Methodology.....	22
1.10.1 Research Design .....	22
1.10.2 Target Population .....	23
1.10.3 Sampling Procedures and Techniques .....	23
1.10.4 Data Collection Method.....	24
1.10.5 Data Analysis and Reporting.....	24
1.10.6 Ethical Considerations.....	24
1.11 Scope and Limitations of the Study .....	24
1.11.1 Limitations of the Study .....	25
1.12 Chapter Outline .....	25
<b>CHAPTER TWO: ROLE OF PARLIAMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING IN AFRICA.....</b>	<b>27</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	27
2.2 Overview of making of Foreign Policy in Africa .....	27
2.3 Determinants of the Foreign Policy .....	30
2.3.1 The External Environment.....	33

2.3.2 Leadership Regimes .....	35
2.3.3 Insecurity Challenges .....	36
<b>CHAPTER THREE: PARLIAMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN RWANDA .....</b>	<b>40</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	40
3.2 Rwanda’s Foreign Policy since Independence.....	40
3.3 Foreign Policy Implementation Process.....	43
3.4 Parliament Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation .....	46
Conclusion.....	48
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: CHALLENGES INFLUENCING EFFECTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF PARLIAMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION .....</b>	<b>49</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	49
4.2 Challenges of Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa .....	49
4.3 Limited Economic Power and Policy Dependence .....	52
4.4 Pressure from External/Role of Non-State Actors .....	54
4.5 The Rwandan Parliament Experience .....	56
4.6 Conclusion.....	57
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>59</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	59
5.2 Summary of Key Findings .....	59
5.3 Conclusion.....	61

5.4 Recommendations .....	63
5.5 Suggestions for Further Research .....	64
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>71</b>
APPENDIX I: Interview Schedule.....	71



## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

**Parliament-** A legislative elected and appointed body of the government mainly responsible for making laws, representing the electorate, overseeing government activities.

**Foreign Policy-** Comprises self-interest strategies developed by a country to safeguard its domestic interests and attain its national goals within the international relations milieu.

## ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS

APRM	: African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	: African Union
GoR	: Government of Rwanda
HLIC	: High Level Aid Policy Implementation Committee
ICC	: International Criminal Court
MINECOFIN	: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MINAFFET	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs International Relations and East Africa Community Affairs
NDP	: National Decentralization Policy
PAP	: Pan African Parliament
US	: United States

## **ABSTRACT**

The fact that no state in the world is self-sufficient cannot be over-emphasized. To the extent that states are interdependent and thus, a particular state's policy detailing how it will relate to international actors (states, international organisations, etc.) affect the lives of its citizenry, the involvement of the of the legislature in that policy formulation process should be paramount. In Rwanda, the act of foreign policy making rests with the Executive and legislative arms of government. The processes involve start from setting of the agenda through to consultations and then approval for execution. This study was aimed at analyzing the role of parliament in the conduct of Rwanda's Foreign policy making after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi specifically between 2003 and 2017, investigating the factors that stem against effective involvement of parliament in Rwanda's foreign policy making as well as proffer recommendations towards enhancing parliaments role in Rwanda's foreign policy, the study involved the use of both primary and secondary data for analysis. For the secondary source the major stakeholders, thus members of the parliamentary standing committee on foreign Affairs, cooperation and security were interviewed and information collected was analyzed. Results from the study showed that in as much as the parliament plays a monumental role in the making of Rwanda's foreign policy by scrutinizing Rwanda's foreign policy direction through constructive debating of issues, it has not fully utilized its mandate to ensure that actions of the executive arm of government regarding foreign policy is fully examined and monitored. Implications of the study have been thoroughly discussed.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

Foreign policy advancement of a country's goals is a challenged ground. Foreign policy is developed in tandem with a country's strategic interest<sup>1</sup>. The decision-making process of foreign policy can be contextualized at three levels; the international system level, the state level and the individual level<sup>2</sup>.

In most democracies, the engagement of the legislature in the implementation of foreign policy has often been narrowed down to the approval and ratification of international regimes and agreements alongside oversight of the executive<sup>3</sup>. Traditionally, the development of any country's foreign policy is not anchored on the legislature; this role is always done by the executive. The executive plays a critical role and has the mandate of overseeing actions of the executive on matters of both involving passage of law and foreign policy so as to establish the international diplomatic bureaucracy. Consequently, parliament often defers foreign policy matters and participation in international affairs to the executive. However, it is the presidency that dominates foreign policy in most contexts<sup>4</sup>.

Foreign policy is a multifaceted and complex element. Ripley and Lindsay classifies foreign policy into these three categories; crisis policy, strategic policy and finally, strategic policy. Strategic

---

<sup>1</sup> Goldstein, S. J. and Pevenhouse, C. J. (2011) *International Relations*. 9th ed. Boston: Longman.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenau, J. N. (1980). *Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*. New York: Nicholas.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed A.K (2009) The role of parliament in South Africa's foreign policy development process: lessons from the United States' Congress, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 16:3, 291-310, DOI: 10.1080/10220460903495116

<sup>4</sup> Hughes T, (2004) *Composers, Conductors and Players: Harmony and Discord in South African Foreign Policy Making*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for International Affairs.

policy embodies tactics of foreign policy and goals, entailing much of what is often understood as the realm of foreign policy. Structural policy governs the use of resources while crisis policy denotes deterioration and huge threat in matters of national interest often; this often involves employment of force. The area of crisis policy can easily be justified as a sphere of executive authority given the intrinsic benefits of the presidency and the cabinet in convening immediate action as and when is necessary. In this case, the legislature would most likely defer matters that are a hindrance and a threat to national interest.

Despite the fact that it is argued by scholars that the parliament is of great importance in the implementation of foreign policy hence the parliament is of great benefit, the involvement of the parliament though is still marred with uncertainty. Norton<sup>5</sup> posits three broad levels of parliament involvement in the process of policy making. He further distinguishes legislatures into three as well by categorizing them into three too: policy making legislatures, legislatures with great influence in the process of policy making and finally, legislatures with no policy impact. While basing evidence from this classification one will simply disagree to agree with the researcher that Rwandans parliament would definitely fall between the second and third categorization being that it possesses some influence on foreign policy but not so in a substantial manner as to be regarded an influential role player in the arena of foreign policy.

From a foreign legislature perspective, the US congress can be classified as a policy implementing legislature while the UK's legislature is an example of a policy influencing legislature<sup>6,7</sup>. The

---

<sup>5</sup> Norton P, *Parliament in British Politics*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2005

<sup>6</sup> Lindsay JM, 'Deference and defiance: the shifting rhythms of executive-legislative relations in foreign policy', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33, 2003, p. 530

<sup>7</sup> Grantham C & B George, (1988) 'The influence of the British parliament on foreign policy', in Sondhi ML (ed.) *Foreign Policy and Legislatures: An Analysis of Seven Parliaments*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

Brazilian Congress<sup>8</sup> and the Indian parliament<sup>9</sup> which seem to be torn into three different factions which appear to fall between legislature that can influence of policy making and those with little or sometimes absolutely no influence in the process of formulation of policies. This is contrary to the case of Canadian parliament. The Canadian parliament appears to fall between a policy-implementation and policy-influencing legislature<sup>10</sup>. The Chinese People's Congress<sup>11</sup> and the Turkish Parliament<sup>12</sup> can be classified as legislatures with very little or no influence in foreign policy. This is due to the fact that in Turkey and China, the executive has the final say on matters foreign policy formulation and implementation. Chinese ruling party; the Communists Party for instance has been in power since 1949. The party has therefore wielded too much power at the top-most pinnacle of authority.

In the South African Context, the legislature is considered to assume role of either between policy influencing and a legislature with little or no policy impact. The South African legislature tends to fluctuate between a policy influencing legislature and a legislature with no policy impact in regards to the foreign policy issue at hand or to be dealt with. The parliament's involvement in the African Peer Review mechanism (APRM) and establishment of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) depicts a positive influence that can be played in the sphere of foreign policy. Contrastingly, parliament's

---

<sup>8</sup> da Lima MRS & F Santos, 'Brazilian Congress and Foreign Trade Policy', Paper prepared for presentation at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Chicago, USA, 24-26 September 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Cutler, RM, (2001) 'The emergence of international parliamentary institutions: new networks of influence in world society', in GS Smith & D Wolfish (eds.), *Who Is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 201-229

<sup>11</sup> Lantaigne M, (2009) *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

<sup>12</sup> Kesgin B & J Kaarbo, 'When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision', Paper prepared for presentation at the *Annual Meeting of the ISA's 50th Annual Convention 'Exploring the Past, Anticipating the Future'*, New York Marriott Marquis, New York, USA, 15 February 2009

limited (or lack thereof) involvement in the Zimbabwean crisis portrays the body's limited policy impact.

Following the 1994 war and genocide that resonated crosswise over Central Africa, Rwanda has been at the epicenter of much global consideration. Rwandan foreign policy is hinged on two major pillars, firstly, being able to contribute to attainment of peace, security and stability within the country, regionally and on a global scale through the establishment and maintenance of good relations with all countries. Secondly, it seeks to contribute to wealth creation through development cooperation, tourism and investment promotion knowledge and technology transfer equitable world trade as well as regional integration.

While the parliaments of many African states tend to adhere to the traditional approach, deferring to the executive matters foreign policy, this study seeks to argue that a collaborative approach between both the legislature and the executive arms of government as articulated in most constitutional dispensations should rather form the basis if the foreign policy making process. This study explores the challenges of foreign policy implementation with a focus on the case of the parliament of Rwanda. The study explores the foreign policy implementation process by the Rwandan legislature, the role of the legislature in foreign policy implementation in Rwanda and constraints to effective involvement of this institution in the foreign policy implementation. It seeks to argue from a liberalism theoretical perspective examining the association of states thereby reducing conflict and also in its principles that argues for public opinion that checks for behavior of elected leaders hence defining the external behavior of a country.

## **1.2 Background to the Study**

Foreign Policy refers to the extensive and viable outline of a state to manage matter that is outstretched past its regional fringes. It is a total intend to emerge the national goals and increase

the national pick up. Making this complete arrangement or the policy is an unpredictable procedure and normally, arranged by the best political administration with the assistance of senior bureaucrats<sup>13</sup>. Like domestic policy, foreign policy is formulated within a state but is directed and must be implemented in an environment that is external to the state. Thus foreign policy can be conceptualized as to consist of decision and actions that involve to some level of appreciation, relation between a state and another.

In United Kingdom, the part of the Legislative Authority in parliament is exceptionally constrained uncommonly in the external field. The power of the parliament is to examine the legislature. It practices this expertise in such a solid exercise. The principle duty in this is mandated to the House of Commons<sup>14</sup>. In Germany, parliament is advised on every one of the records the government is consulting with the EU. The Parliament has the obligation to look at these issues inside and out and take action on them<sup>15</sup>. Inside the Legislative Authority, there are various boards, the most imperative of which is the "Foreign Affairs Committee". This advisory group audits the outside government's proposition and prescribes to the individuals from the Authority either endorsement or dismissal. The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Democratic States assumes a role not less than that of the Foreign Minister. Based on his conviction and the power of his impact,

---

<sup>13</sup> Wallace, W. (1971). *Foreign policy and the political process*. Macmillan.

<sup>14</sup> Epstein, J. M., & Axtell, R. (1996). *Growing artificial societies: social science from the bottom up*. Brookings Institution Press.

<sup>15</sup> Leyton-Brown, D. (1982). *The nation-state and multinational enterprise: erosion or assertion* (Vol. 40, No. 1). Canadian Institute of International Affairs.



regardless of whether in the advisory group or the legislative authority, the section of the government's recommendations on foreign policy is ceased<sup>16</sup>.

According to Barber<sup>17</sup>, in his investigation he asserts that South Africa's foreign policy is commanded, to its impairment, by the old guard. He likewise recommends an alternate arrangement of presumptions to help the public analysis, the investigation, the detailing, and completing of South Africa's foreign policy. Manby Bronwen<sup>18</sup> sets out the irregularities amongst hypothesis and practice in South Africa's foreign policy, in connection to human rights issues. The study additionally plots the seven standards of South Africa's foreign policy and spotlights on South Africa's foreign policy in practice (human rights administration, peacekeeping, respective relations with East Asia, Nigeria and Lesotho, and arms sale). The study concludes that while South Africa's hypothetical responsibility regarding human rights has been completely acknowledged, it isn't the light that aides the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA).

According to Banjo<sup>19</sup>, there has been critical institutionalization of legislatures in new majority rules systems over the most recent two decades with increased extending academic intrigue particularly in East and Central Europe. Late insightful proof recommends governing bodies to be vital in the procedures for democratization with commendable results for the political systems.

---

<sup>16</sup> Leyton-Brown, D. (1983). The role of congress in the making of foreign policy. *International Journal*, 38(1), 59-76.

<sup>17</sup> Barber, J., & Barratt, J. (1990). *South Africa's foreign policy: The Search for status and security, 1945-1988* (Vol. 11). CUP Archive.

<sup>18</sup> Manby, B. (2000). The South African independent complaints directorate. *Civilian oversight of policing: Governance, democracy, and human rights*, 195-221.

<sup>19</sup> Banjo, A. (2009). A review of parliament-foreign policy nexus in South Africa and Namibia. *Journal of Politics & Law.*, 2, 61.

Most investigations of parliaments however stay concentrated on the Western experience, drawing especially from two institutions; the US Congress and British House of Commons<sup>20</sup>.

Almost the whole African continent was at one time under the colonial rule and while each country does things differently, most structures were borrowed from the western powers. This closely relates to the fact that countries with greater resources are more powerful and have greater influence on foreign policy. The policy making process has for a long time been assumed to a prerequisite in order to initiate state action but today it is commonplace to assume that foreign policy is a function of decisions and how these decisions are made substantially affect other continents<sup>21</sup>.

With the RPF triumph and takeover of government in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, the key test was how to accommodate its expressed goals of rebuilding the Rwandan culture and guaranteeing a comprehensive state after policies of division and separation that were maintained for quite a long time prompting the 1994 disaster. This requested social compromise at one level and the requests for equity as seen by the casualties of genocide at another<sup>22</sup>. With all the pressures from the genocide, a new dawn was experienced in Rwanda and this is the period of peace that was coupled with many advancements including the formation of the parliament and putting in place of foreign policy which is the focus of the study.

---

<sup>20</sup> Esaiasson, P., & Heidar, K. (Eds.). (2000). *Beyond Westminster and congress: The Nordic experience*. Ohio State University Press.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Clarke and Brian White Edward Elgar &, *Understanding Foreign Policy*, 2000, p 15.

<sup>22</sup> Kumar, K. (Ed.). *Rebuilding societies after civil war: Critical roles for international assistance* (p.1). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997

### **1.3 Statement of the Research Problem**

In most African states, foreign policy remains dominated by executive and presidency, while the action of parliament in matters foreign policy remains largely constrained. The success of implementation of foreign policy objectives within the African context is at best limited, most states lagging in practical implementation of foreign policy<sup>23</sup> and most states experience challenges of reconciling principles with a practical implementation of foreign policy<sup>24</sup>. Notably, some studies about the parliament, notably in the country settings like Sub-Sahara Africa exist, compared to the Euro-American axis. Previous research studies have failed to demonstrate using a holistic and comprehensive approach, the parliament-foreign policy nexus in Africa, a few existing studies are focused on Southern Africa and no studies on Rwanda in particular, one of the fastest growing African economies.

In most democracies, legislative engagement in matters of foreign policy has often been limited to international organizations documents and executive oversight. The legislature remains to check, monitor, challenge and legitimize policies structured by the executive on behalf of the state with an absence of tension between the two arms of governments could validate an argument of limited functionality of the former. While the Rwandan legislature has tended to adhere to this normative approach, matters foreign policy largely remain developed and implemented by the executive arm, signaling the absence of a collaborative approach. Consequently, the involvement of the parliament in the implementation process as stipulated by the constitution lags at bare minimum. The Rwandan parliament falls somewhere between a policy influencing legislature and a legislature with limited or no policy impact depending on the policy question at hand.

---

<sup>23</sup> A Foreign Policy Handbook: *An overview of South Africa's Foreign Policy in Context*. For Parliament, 2014

<sup>24</sup> A Foreign Policy Handbook: *An overview of South Africa's Foreign Policy in Context*. For Parliament, 2014

Consequently, there is need for a centralized foreign policy approach and overcome potential barriers. The analysis of the role of parliament in Rwanda's foreign policy aims to shed light on parliamentary -foreign policy nexus in Africa, potential pitfalls and how possibly the legislature as an institution can be leveraged upon to further the prospects of effectiveness in foreign policy implementation.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What is the foreign policy implementation role of parliament in Africa?
- ii. What role does the parliament of Rwanda play in foreign policy implementation?
- iii. What are the challenges faced and prospects for effective involvement of the legislature in foreign policy implementation?

#### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

1. To examine and evaluate the foreign policy implementation role of the parliament in Africa.
2. To examine and analyze the role of parliament in foreign policy implementation in Rwanda.
3. To investigate the challenges faced and prospects for effective involvement of the legislature in foreign policy implementation.

#### **1.6 Justification of the Study**

##### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

Study findings seek to contribute to knowledge towards the understanding parliament-foreign policy nexus in Africa, drawing inference from Rwanda. It seeks to draw a theoretical understanding of the role of the legislature, its effectiveness and constraints in its effectiveness. The study is equally envisioned to fill a gap in knowledge in the sphere of foreign policy

development in post-conflict settings for which there is a paucity of information especially in Africa.

### **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

This study is expected to contribute to significant improvement in policy making and actions of the government in the process of formulating and implementing foreign policy. The study addressed the need to enhance parliamentary role in foreign policy formulation and implementation, pointing to the need competency of foreign relations committee and members of parliament on country's foreign policy issues.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

The section herein presents reviews scholarly evidence published recently on foreign policy and the parliament-foreign policy nexus.

### **1.7.1 Foreign Policy**

The way toward characterizing an unmistakable and far reaching meaning of the foreign policy idea has been connected to the different schools that finally form the political science field. Consequently, there are numerous of definitions trying to explain and analyze the concept of foreign policy. A few people see this idea as far as intrigue. Hill characterized foreign policy of a state as an arrangement of procedures of exercises picked by a state with the perspective of shielding its national advantages while in the meantime accomplishing its objectives inside the global field<sup>25</sup>. Then again, James Rosenau sees foreign policy as an arrangement of introductions directed by the historical experience, qualities and observations that portray the key conditions of

---

<sup>25</sup>Hill, C. (2003). *The changing politics of foreign policy*. Palgrave.

the state in global governmental issues, established in the considerable conventions and incredible desires of social orders, and crossing with the arrangement of outer duties<sup>26</sup>.

The same number of other political ideas of foreign policy makes it a challenged ground, however here it is characterized as a structure laying out how the nation will cooperate, relate and work with different nations and with non-state performing actors in commonly gainful routes and inside the setting of a nation's national intrigue and financial thriving. While referring to the Parliament; this is considered as a group of people working for the sake of others in an official and true blue way and settling on choice all in all however with formal fairness. This meaning of the parliament suggests an arrangement of key capacities: legitimating, linkage, and basic leadership<sup>27</sup>.

A more broadened list may incorporate a scope of capacities, for example, administrative oversight, guidance and assent, enlistment, cathartic discharge, field for discuss, leave, support, campaign, socialization, voting demographic administrations, determination of the official, etc. These useful parliaments with broad-spectrum mandates were the ones that renewed and revamped Huntingtonian third wave of democratization in the period immediately after the cold war. This wave has changed political landscape in the third world countries has therefore changed ambiguously, at any rate in setting, if not totally in content. Going with this change has been the twist in activism within the parliament in East, Africa and Central Europe<sup>28</sup>.

---

<sup>26</sup> Rosenau, J. N. (1992). Citizenship in a changing global order. *Governance without government: Order and change in world politics*, 272-94.

<sup>27</sup> Strange, S. (1996). *The retreat of the state: The diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge university press.

<sup>28</sup> Bilgin, P., & Morton, A. D. (2002). Historicising representations of 'failed states': beyond the cold-war annexation of the social sciences? *Third world quarterly*, 23(1), 55-80.

In most African countries, financial constraints are faced very often and most countries struggle to fund some of the embassies and also lack well-trained individuals who can help in working out international affairs issues. Because of this diversity, most African countries have no single foreign policy but many and this shows both the weaknesses and strengths of these nations. In some African countries, their foreign policies exhibit great resemblances while other countries have completely differing policies. Some of the countries in Africa differ in terms of the former powers, and also on the focus of how they perceive foreign policy. Most if not all African countries are aware of the pluralities that characterize their countries. Nonetheless, their foreign policies are identifiable according to the different strategies and preferences. For instance, Africa in most cases seeks to promote democratization, peace and security, regional integration, and economic growth in their foreign policies<sup>29</sup>. However, African countries have not achieved all their foreign policy objectives and this seems not taking place any soon. This has been attributed by the sovereignty norms that tend to be so strong and in turn become unable to incorporate various diplomatic practices when implementing their foreign policies<sup>30</sup>. Generally, it is the political actions that influence foreign policies in most African countries and this ends up shattering the image of African countries in spite of the efforts put in place by diplomats in Africa to explain the stance in Africa. This has made most of the efforts become fruitless leaving most African countries with an absolute definition of national sovereignty. Some of the instances that can be attributed to this is the Genocide case in Rwanda, the mysterious peace and security in South Sudan, and the case of Kenya versus International Criminal Court (ICC) of between 2010 and 2015. Most of the leaders

---

<sup>29</sup> Khadiagala, G. M., & Lyons, T. (Eds.). (2001). *African foreign policies: power and process*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>30</sup> Barkin, J. S., & Cronin, B. (1994). The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations. *International organization*, 48(1), 107-130.

in Africa, treat their citizens without considering the reaction of the international community. This is seen in matters of internal affairs and human rights which are today becoming vital as elements of foreign policy.

Foreign policies of various nations are inclined to change if there is change in their national security or if there are factors that tend to influence their strength as a nation. In like manner, the foreign policy of a state can have overpowering and durable impact on numerous states which in actuality could prompt significant change on how global undertakings are completed globally. Business in the International field changed with the eleventh September 2001 assaults on the Twin Tower assaults in US. US President George W. Hedge in his State of the Union Address after the assault gave a final offer to states to pick on the off chance that they were for or against the US, since states which helped terrorists were additionally insidious and through their activities security in the world had been traded off. Because of the chain of occasions that were realized by the 9/11 as the September assaults have been alluded to, an assertion of a —war on dread began vigorously.

The quest for a foreign policy is thusly the push to do an imagined technique by a state. To put it plainly, foreign policy takes a gander at the political focal point of a country in connection with different countries. The legislative issues are constantly changing relying upon the country and where it is territorially situated. We are living in sensational circumstances where each political activity of a state affects foreign policy both in an individual state and in the universal level. Foreign policy is tied in with advancing success and security as C. Hill adds. Truth be told, the principle government's system is protecting its natives, working with different states by interceding straightforwardly or in an indirect in order to accomplish peace and steadiness in the world and in the meantime accomplish monetary success.



In understanding the post-1994 Rwanda's foreign policy, the whole process should and must commence with the collection of artifacts of the civil war that took place in Rwanda to be more specific those from the genocide. Some of the most critical issues were the perpetrators involved in the genocide including the political perpetrators and the military officials. In Summary, foreign policy differs from individual states, governments and transnational performers. Foreign and domestic policies are perceived as progressively indistinguishable and they are interconnected as a piece of the general political procedures in a nation. Petrec takes note of that foreign policy influences domestic approach I terms of policy, while interior policy and a given circumstance in any nation frequently unmistakably impacts foreign policy together toward its direction and execution.

### **1.7.2 Legislature and Foreign Policy Implementation**

Medieval in origin, the legislature is a paradoxical institution that exists in almost all contemporary political systems. While the institution has often been associated with democracy, it has equally had its place in aristocracies and dictatorships. Wahlke<sup>31</sup> argues that the conception of the representative body and the place it assumes in the governmental system envisions it as essentially a "dominant input-processor". Legislators are equally viewed as targets as well as receivers of communications from lobbyists, administrators, constituents among other demand inputters. These communications put into the legislative body demands for or against specific policy decisions. Hence "making policy-decisions" remains the cardinal function of the legislature as a body.

There are relatively fewer scholarly works characterizing Parliaments role in foreign policy implementation in Africa. Suttner (1994) argued on whether parliament should or shouldn't be

---

<sup>31</sup> Wahlke, J. C. (1970). Policy determinants and legislative decisions. *Political Decision-Making*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 76-120.

involved with matters of formulating foreign policies; in his case he explored the post-apartheid situation in South Africa. Nel & Van Wyk<sup>32</sup> explores in her work a broader context of South Africa's external relations, focusing on activities within the parliamentary bodies and foreign policy making instruments. Further she explores the influence the institutions may have on foreign policy making while equally providing a frank overview of structures and procedures in the making of the foreign policies.

Hughes Tim (2001) investigated the role of the parliamentary portfolio committee on foreign policy (PCFA), focusing on its activities in South Africa between 2000-2001 and a brief evaluation of their performance. Hughes questioned the compilation of recommendations as he claimed that the committee seemed to have done too little. Further, Tim Hughes (2005) explores the process and exercise of democracy across all legislative organs throughout southern Africa. He seeks to contribute to strengthening parliamentary democracy throughout the region making recommendations on how its implementation can get to levels of improvement and sustainability in each country.

According to Robinson<sup>33</sup>, the parliament plays a very vital role in policy making as a legislative organ of any government in the world however functions and duties of parliament differ from one state to another in accordance to the country's constitution. Within the constitution the role and function of the parliament is stipulated. It is therefore evident that the parliament derives its role from the constitution which is the main source of law of the land of any state. Strength and power

---

<sup>32</sup> Nel, P., & Van Wyk, J. A. (2003). Foreign policy making in South Africa: from public participation to democratic participation. *Politeia*, 22(3), 49-71.

<sup>33</sup> Robinson, J. A. (1962). *Congress and foreign policy-making: a study in legislative influence and initiative*. Dorsey Press.

of the parliament is also likely to differ from one country to the other, based on the constitutional framework. The strength of parliament can also hugely depend on members' competencies and the democratic space accorded to it and the immunity members enjoy. These factors contribute immensely in the achievement of the parliament's goals and objectives in policy making.

States all over the world have devised mechanisms by which they strive to achieve their foreign policy objectives. One of the key ways to pursue national interest and foreign policy at the international level is by use of parliament. Due to the fact that a parliament is a representative of the people mandated to form and amend laws, the members are therefore expected to have a good rapport to the people whom they borrow their power to legislate from. In matters foreign policy, parliaments play the role of managing people's expectations and try to ensure there is peace by managing conflict and war. This is often achieved when the legislature is cooperative to members of public. The parliament is an autonomous organ of parliament that should not be influenced by anybody. Prima facie that is how parliament ought to function, however defacto; parliaments all over the world are greatly influenced by the executive arm of government<sup>34</sup>.

With the paradigm shift on how international relations between states, globalization, interdependence between states and the dehumanizing reality about the nature of the anarchic international system, there is need to embrace and nature cooperation between parliamentarians across the globe so that they can bench mark across the board and analyze better practices in the globe. The concept; "parliamentary cooperation" is therefore important in ensuring that there is

---

<sup>34</sup> Leftwich, A. (1994). Governance, the State and the Politics of Development. *Development and change*, 25(2), 363-386.

coordination and harmonization of legal frameworks across continents. This will help in bringing socio-economic and political approaches closer to the international level.

According to Manheim<sup>35</sup>, the new world order brought into surface the idea of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy has made it possible for the parliamentarians to test the public. Social media platforms and various websites are today used to collect the public opinion and view courtesy of ICT advancements in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Kuwait for instance created a constituent assembly to address the outrage and the frowsy relations between Kuwait and Iraq. The main bone of contention had been the 1990 Iraqi invasion into Kuwait and also issues pertaining Iraqi and Kuwait border dispute. The parliament of Kuwait played a significant role in settlement of dispute between the two member states making to be a cog in a wheel in foreign policy.

The Kuwaiti parliament has Diplomacy Parliament became a part of Kuwait's foreign policy<sup>36</sup>.

In conclusion, it suffices that scholarly works selected for review underscore extensively the core of foreign policy, the options and actions and further the role of the parliaments. However, there are no significant studies that have explored the parliament-foreign policy nexus in Rwanda.

### **1.7.3 Challenges of Effective Legislature Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation**

In most cases of Africa's foreign policy, Africa has been seeking to advance her integration, security, peace, and democratization region-wide. With all these advancements, foreign policy of most African countries is characterized by a lot of challenges. The process of foreign policy

---

<sup>35</sup> Manheim, J. B. (1994). *Strategic public diplomacy and American foreign policy: The evolution of influence*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>36</sup> Bennett, W. L., & Paletz, D. L. (Eds.). (1994). *Taken by storm: The media, public opinion, and US foreign policy in the Gulf War*. University of Chicago Press.

making and implementation has affected both the domestic and international political settings and this has led to a domestic and international constrain<sup>37</sup>. Many African states are usually aware of pluralities that characterize their continent. Therefore, do these make the African countries perceive these weaknesses to the coalescence of common interests? Or to the evolution of a common stand or role in the international affair? In the past years, Africa has been polarized due to the diversified views caused by some crucial issues. The ethnic diversities in Africa make foreign policy making and implementation require a structured permit that classifies and shows clearly the ownership of all its initiatives according to the diverse interests of the groups. In order to avoid the misinterpretations that come with the objectives and aims of the policy, the whole structure of foreign policy and needs to be accessible and inclusive. This therefore makes formulation of the foreign policy structure be one of the limitations in foreign policy making and implementation. Because introduction of policy structure is a challenge, implementing the foreign policy would even be more challenging than the initial process. The structure would therefore be the key reason to the fluctuating sphere of the diplomacy of a country as well as the hindrance to the practice of foreign policy and the actions therein<sup>38</sup>.

The Legislature-Executive engagements in the African states give a definition to the foreign policy implementation. Other than having the annual financial plans done rated by the parliament, the nominees of the diplomatic process are also endorsed by the parliament. This regular conduct of foreign affair engagement by the parliament brings about a shortcoming that is often triggered by communication breakdown. For instance, in 2003, the Nigerian House of representatives made a visit to Pakistan in order to mediate the conflict between Kashmir without making the foreign

---

<sup>37</sup> Wallace, W. (1975). *The foreign policy process in Britain*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

<sup>38</sup> Landsberg, C. (2005). Toward a developmental foreign policy? Challenges for South Africa's diplomacy in the second decade of liberation. *Social Research*, 723-756.

affair ministry aware of the visit. This made the chairman of the foreign affairs ministry pronounce the visit as a tour that was devoid of background understanding of the delicate balances of associations. In response to that statement, the legislatures responded angrily saying that they are in no way bound by the foreign minister's foreign policy strategy<sup>39</sup>. In Tanzania, a committee from the National Assembly on foreign affairs was established to enable the legislative members to propagate information concerning the country's foreign policy. They were to purely scrutinize and advise the strategies of foreign policy implementation according to the objectives of foreign policy. From this, they were to enlighten the general public on what is trending in the international scene. From this committee that was set, nothing much was achieved because it was not successful in enlightening the general public in regard to what was taking place globally.<sup>40</sup>

Africa has involved the UN in reforming part of its foreign policy. The policy used in the reform was based on the concept of achieving the objectives that require African's to develop a structured and a good response to the globalization according to other multilateral institutions. This was to help the African countries meet the MDG's and also find a way of restructuring the worldwide application of power. Most powerful countries in the west have pursued strategies and interests mainly through financial means because any political justification no longer require the involvement of the military or a direct physical contact. This economic manipulation and isolation did not end with the cold war but escalated to greater heights. One of the ways that Africa could use to end the influences from the ex-colonial powers was to promote a strategy that make African's speak with one voice and for strong alliances to be formed within African states. Partnership with civil society is one of the instruments that highlight the external dominance

---

<sup>39</sup> Simmons, B. A. (1997). *Who adjusts? domestic sources of foreign economic policy during the interwar years*. Princeton University Press.

<sup>40</sup> Materu, P. N. (2007). *Higher education quality assurance in Sub-Saharan Africa: status, challenges, opportunities and promising practices* (No. 124). World Bank Publications.

problem in Africa both in terms of media and other forums.<sup>41</sup> For instance, in the foreign policy of South Africa, an African Agenda that was put forth was the idea that, Africa must not admit globalization in the age of neoliberalism as hegemonic and put forward an economic model. This model should be modern and be able to integrate the democratic government and a responsible market that is reliable. The model should also be one that articulates the problems of underdevelopment including the division of labor, the unmerited distribution of global wealth, and the increasing power of multinational cooperation, and the effects of liberal administration and governance. Almost all these contemptuous ideals were expressed by policy architects, the government has always found it challenging to implement the African Agenda policy effectively. For instance, while the government considered the internal and foreign economic policies as the hindrances to neo-colonialism, some critics including the civil society, termed the strategy as neo-imperialist<sup>42</sup>.

## **1.8 Hypotheses**

This study will be guided by three hypotheses;

1. Parliaments in Africa do not play a significant role in the foreign policy implementation process
2. The parliament of Rwanda does not play a significant role in foreign policy implementation.
3. Parliament does not face significant challenges for effective involvement in foreign policy implementation.

---

<sup>41</sup> Alden, C., & Le Pere, G. (2009). South Africa in Africa: bound to lead? *Politikon*, 36(1), 145-169.

<sup>42</sup> Alden, C., & Le Pere, G. (2009). South Africa in Africa: bound to lead? *Politikon*, 36(1), 145-169.

## **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

Different conflicting approaches have been adopted in the study of foreign policy, considering that foreign policy studies continue to be a matter of both academic and national importance. This study seeks to employ the institutionalism theory to describe, explain and analyze the role of parliament in implementing foreign policy in Africa.

### **1.9.1 Institutionalism Theory**

This study is anchored on the Institutionalism theory in explaining the theoretical concepts that governs the study. The theory of Institutionalism pinpoints facts on the social structure of an organization. It also includes schemes as well as routines which are later established as mandatory guidelines for social behavior. The theory uses the assumption that social structures have attained the greatest degree of resilience and they are characterized by cultural cultural-cognitive, normative as well as regulative elements that give stability and meaning to social life. The theory further reveals that in order for an organization to survive then it has to conform to the rules as well as beliefs that surrounds its set up.

Lammers and Barbour<sup>43</sup> connote that the parliament consisting of a team of legislators, have the ability of making rules on which country they are to relate with. In any democratic state, it is the public opinion that is reflected in the domestic policy of the state including the foreign policy. This is because it the general public help in providing important matters that are to be addressed at the national level by their political representatives. Freethinking unlike pragmatism, focuses more on the analytical importance of the purpose of public opinion in terms of foreign policy making and implementation. Realism on the other hand, contends that public opinion is very inappropriate

---

<sup>43</sup> Lammers, J. C., & Barbour, J. B. (2006). An institutional theory of organizational communication. *Communication Theory*, 16(3), 356-377.



when dealing with foreign policy because, in most instances, foreign policy is a product of the struggle between states and international politics.

According to realists, foreign policy is made by elites of foreign policy who are pursuing the interests of the nation under the influence of an international system that is anarchic rather than pursuing it under the influence of the public. The problem of foreign policy implementation can always be solved using the analytical platform of liberalism to shape the opinion of the public and in turn influence the foreign policy decisions<sup>44</sup>. This theory is applied in this study to demonstrate how the social structure affects the institutions of foreign policy issues in a country.

## **1.10 Research Methodology**

This section encompasses the methodological approaches to be employed in this study, the research design, target population, sampling procedures, data collection approaches, data analysis methods and ethical considerations.

### **1.10.1 Research Design**

This study seeks to employ an exploratory research design. This design is a style of non-experimental investigation conducted for a problem that hasn't been studied more clearly, there are no data or limited studies for reference and explores the research problem with varying levels of depth<sup>45</sup>. The role of parliament in foreign policy making has been least a subject of scholarly concern in Rwanda hence the relevance of this approach. Further, the study seeks to adopt a qualitative approach as it seeks to answer the what, why and how questions of the parliament-foreign policy nexus in Rwanda.

---

<sup>44</sup> Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy. *World politics*, 51(1), 144- 172.

<sup>45</sup> Robert A. Stebbins, *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001.

### **1.10.2 Target Population**

Population refers to the entirety of objects, people events having a shared characteristic of interest to the study<sup>46</sup>. The study target population comprises parliamentarians, members of the committee of foreign affairs, cooperation and East African affairs, and officials from the Ministry of Foreign affairs, diplomats and ambassadors. In a limited set of circumstances, broader opinion will be sought by the researcher from academics and analysts having taken part in the formulation of foreign policy and operated in a sphere of important foreign policy debate.

These high profile individuals are uniquely placed to comment on foreign policy making in the country and are privy to the broader picture and different strands in bilateral relations and foreign policy.

### **1.10.3 Sampling Procedures and Techniques**

The study shall employ a purposive sampling approach to select a sample of 50 respondents for the study. This technique suffices when there is need to study a given domain with knowledgeable experts within and sampling for proportionality is not the main concern<sup>47</sup>. The researcher will select a heterogeneous purposive sample to provide a diverse range of key stakeholders to provide needed in-depth insight into the research problem.

---

<sup>46</sup> Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: ACTS press, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and applications*, 5, 147-158.

#### **1.10.4 Data Collection Method**

This study seeks to incorporate both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data will be supplemented by semi-structured face to face interviews with key respondents. Secondary data will be collected from data sources including scholarly works, journal articles, books, theses, research monographs, institutional publications, policy documents and the researcher will spend time reading these materials to extract relevant information.

#### **1.10.5 Data Analysis and Reporting**

Findings of the study will be analyzed by qualitative content analysis approach. Qualitative analysis refers to the examination of non-measurable data, exploring feelings expressed about subject matter by respondents and by authors and contributors to scholarly works including journals, academic books, magazines, newspapers and online digital literature that have been reviewed.

#### **1.10.6 Ethical Considerations**

The study will be guided by ethical considerations of confidentiality and anonymity for respondents who will take part in the study and consent will be sought from each respondent to voluntarily take part in the study. Further, the researcher intends to produce non-plagiarized work and free of intellectual fraud and all scholarly works used in this research work will be acknowledged and properly cited. The researcher shall obtain a letter of authorization from the University and relevant institution before embarking on the data collection.

#### **1.11 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The scope of this study entails making of foreign policy in Rwanda and the role of the parliament. The study seeks to understand how the legislature has influence, shaped and transformed the

process of foreign policy in Rwanda and inherent challenges in the foreign policy making process. The sphere of this study is contextualized in the parliament-foreign policy nexus in Rwanda.

### **1.11.1 Limitations of the Study**

The study envisions constraints in being able to marshal an exhaustive body of knowledge given possible difficulty in finding key respondents including parliamentarians who in most cases run busy schedules and may be difficult to find to interview purposes. The researcher will request beforehand from all key respondent's suitable timelines for interviews to navigate this.

### **1.12 Chapter Outline**

This study is structured into six chapters. Chapter one entails the overall layout of the study. It seeks to provide a background to the study, describe the research problem in context, review of empirical and theoretical literature and present methods and procedures to be employed to answer the research questions.

Chapter two evaluates the foreign policy implementation and the role of the parliament in Africa with specific discussion and analysis of the foreign policy making process, the relationship between different actors that are involved in the process of making foreign policy, foreign policy instruments, nature and pillars of Rwanda's foreign policy

Chapter three dealt with the parliament-foreign policy nexus in Rwanda. It also specifically examined and analyzed the parliament's role in the implementation of foreign policy in Rwanda

Chapter four investigates the challenges faced and prospects for effective incorporation and involvement of the parliament in the implementation of foreign policy. It further tries to address and establish the nexus between the parliament and executive in the implementation of foreign

policy. This implementation is focused on contextual understanding of the constraints experienced by the Rwandan legislature in the foreign policy making process

Chapter five presents a synopsis, conclusion, findings summary and recommendations reach upon in this noble study. These recommendations can extremely help expertise in the area of foreign policy so as to better their involvement in matters of foreign policy, especially the parliament.

## **CHAPTER TWO: ROLE OF PARLIAMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING IN AFRICA**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The chapter herein analyses the role of the legislature in legislature in foreign policy making in Africa. It embodies a critical evaluation of foreign policy in Africa and an analysis of the involvement of the law making arm of government; the parliament in foreign policies making.

### **2.2 Overview of making of Foreign Policy in Africa**

There is limited attention toward the foreign policies of developing countries, especially from Africa<sup>48</sup> and for the longest time, this has been characterized by a dearth of empirical evidence on matters foreign policy and foreign policy making drawn from Africa, mainly dominated by western perspectives. The policy making process for many years has been assumed as a necessary prerequisite to initiate state action but today it is a norm to have foreign policy as a function of decisions and their making largely affects their making<sup>49</sup>. Like domestic policy, foreign policy is formulated within the state but directed and implemented to the environment external to the state<sup>50</sup>. Notably, African countries work against the tight financial constraints with several countries unable to sufficiently fund their embassies, recruit skilled personnel and command the necessary financial power to engage in issues of international affairs. While in certain aspects there is a glimmer of resemblance in the African policies, majority exhibit varied national interests, national histories strength and weaknesses, an occurrence ostensibly linked to the diversity of the African states and the pluralities that characterize the continent. However, the identifiable foreign policy

---

<sup>48</sup> Herbert, R. (2011). Dependency, Instability and Shifting Global Power Influences and Interests in African Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. Occasional paper no 95. South African Foreign Policy and African Drivers programme.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Clarke and Brian White Edward Elgar &, Understanding Foreign Policy, 2000, p 15.

<sup>50</sup> Joshua S Goldstein and Jon Pevehouse, International Relations, 5th edition, p72

preferences and strategies are worth a mention. For different African countries, their foreign policy bureaucracies are different although certain elements are shared. Majority of the states have diplomats working in embassies, and those and those that normally remain in the home country having been given the mandate to coordinate and interpret policies. Ambassadors are appointed as official representatives of a country in a foreign land, other organizations too have their lead ambassadors that carry out diplomatic tasks and duties through the established ministry of foreign affairs or the organization they present. As in most African democracies, diplomats often happen to be direct political appointees hence keep changing in respect to the political party in power or regime change. Despite the fact that majority are political appointees there are those that are career diplomats, rising to the top most pinnacle of diplomacy through the diplomatic ranks in Foreign Service.

The African foreign policy landscape has considerably changed over time, although it continues to develop. At independence, the policy making process was mainly shaped by the impact of colonialism, resource endowment, membership in international organizations, among other factors commonly viewed as the traditional approach. In the twenty first century, contemporary issues shape African foreign policies including liberalization and democratization, end of the cold war in the 90s, the African agenda debate and the global economy. In fact, African foreign policy it is considerably a function of actors, contexts and outcomes<sup>51</sup>. The foreign policy making process thus is mainly an attempt to reconcile domestic interests with the prevailing external circumstances but accounting for the means, resources and institutions to enable that to be done. The interaction

---

<sup>51</sup> Khadiagala, Gilbert M., and Terrence Lyons. "Foreign Policy Making in Africa: An Introduction." *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process* (2001): 1-13.

between the specific domestic and external environments thus forms and instrumental platform for the understanding of foreign policy.

According to Wright, the foreign policies of African states are fast being changed by the rapidly changing external and internal environments in so a manner that it remains difficult to isolate what are “foreign” policies. Consequently, there are positive but also detrimental results from the policy options end, with specific influence on the intra-African diplomacy landscape<sup>52</sup>.

The creation of the African Union in (AU) 2002 came with prospects of furthering the African agenda and enhances certain aspects of their foreign policy aims. While the main focus of Africa in her foreign policy largely reflects peace and security, democratization, regional integration and increased economic growth, empirical evidence suggests this may not be achieved any sooner. Many states have been characterized by strong and rigid sovereignty norms and encompasses their inability and unwillingness to bolster their foreign policy implementation by incorporating different diplomatic practices. Domestic political activities often suffice as having considerable influence on the process of making of policy and also in the implementation process hence the observance of such situations. Moreover, since most African states have sought to maintain an absolute definition of national sovereignty hence labeling the continent as to have a shattered image in spite of the existence of immense footing diplomats and other stakeholders have taken to explain the current stance. The case often argued is that Africa affairs require African solutions and the cases in point being the Genocide in Rwanda and the ICC prosecution of Kenyans on the post-election violence. Notably, democracy and international rights that were previously

---

<sup>52</sup> Khadiagala, Gilbert M., and Terrence Lyons, eds. *African foreign policies: power and process*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001.



considered internal affairs in international relations have increasingly become determinants of foreign policy.

### **2.3 Determinants of the Foreign Policy**

The objectives and interests promoted or safeguarded by a state as it seeks to interact with other states need be viewed against the background of the internal social structure and the political power configuration within it. The class that wields state power necessarily shapes foreign policy as expected, along with own class interests, although these may be ideologically rationalized to imply the interests of the entire state. Importantly, current political circumstances, national independence, defense of state sovereignty and the country territorial integrity correspond to the interests of the state as a whole. In most cases however, it is not these 'core interests' that foreign policy making and decisions are based, but rather the routine foreign policy decision making -process seems to be centered on 'middle-range objectives' including commercial, economic, political and interstate relations as well as attempts to influence the behavior of other states in a similar or desired direction<sup>53</sup>.

A comprehensive approach is suggested by Ojo and colleagues<sup>54</sup> who postulates the foreign policy making process is largely defined by five factors; societal structure and forces - social classes, ethnic composition and physiological and cultural factors at work; natural- territory, population, resources, geographic location and the level of economic and technological development; contingency and situational factors like economic and political crises like large scale violence,

---

<sup>53</sup> Dr Olatunde J C B Ojo, Dr D K Orwa, Dr C M Utete, ,African International Relations ,1987,p 44

<sup>54</sup> Ojo, Olatunde JCB, D. K. Orwa, and C. Munhamu Botsio Utete. *African international relations*. Longman Publishing Group, 1985, p45

massive strikes, elections; and leadership which encompasses the utilization of state power by those currently in office<sup>55</sup>.

The aforementioned variables clearly hold water as to define the policy making and implementation. However, assigning ‘weights’ to them indicating a priori the variability in the relative significance for each in the policy making process is certainly impossible. Firstly, these variables may be viewed in three broad contexts; natural permanent and immutable physical realities that are unalterable or greatly cost huge resources and time for any alteration; variables amenable to manipulation by the decision makers; and those that randomly occur but could potentially exert decisive impact. The first set can best be summarized under the umbrella natural material basics and societal structure while the second set make reference to the system including the agencies and institutional framework within the government easily changed by those currently wielding power. Contingency or situational factors comprise the third set of variables whose unpredictability makes them capable of influencing policy-making in sudden and highly decisive ways. For instance, it is no doubt that the 1971 coup de tat experienced in Uganda<sup>56</sup> and the leadership style and personality of the then head of state General Idi Amin significantly influenced the directionality of Uganda’s foreign policy following the coup.

The end of the Cold war and the apartheid in Africa and their departure has been a hallmark change for the continent, as these were two issues that largely defined and shaped much of the African policy. Within the last two to three decades, Africa has undergone far reaching transformation. According to Clapham the post-colonial era is only now coming to an end but the problem that now confronts the continent is discern what currently taking place. The international and domestic

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p44

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p45

transformations witnessed have altered the power and institutional arrangement platform throughout the continent and consequently the context within which foreign policy decisions were made. Way beyond the twenty first century, African foreign policy remains still dominated by overarching constraints. In this regard the imperatives of survival of weak states force those in power to use foreign policy as a tool to garner from the external environment economic and political resources<sup>57</sup>.

An individual African states' capacity to exert pressure on the course of events follows a declining trend with the transition from local to regional and eventually global scale. Ascribed to this are reasons in part, issues tending to be too remote from the preoccupation of the states concerned, partly the inadequacy of resources to tackle issues at hand, inadequacy of information to inform the policy formulation, and that the prior or intensive involvement of other actors may have reduced the capacity of African involvement. A shared interest among African states is the desire to set the economies on rapid growth and in part this may be by inviting foreign capital and technology. However, across the continent divergent views exist for example on whether transnational corporations are appropriate agencies to effect the transfer of such capital and technology. Resultantly, different countries have assumed own positions; Ivory Coast for example pursues an open-door policy in regard to these corporations while socialist Tanzania is rather skeptical of the activities of such TNCs. For a country like Kenya, different administrations have pursued foreign policy in almost different approaches since the country's independence. The country's first president pursued foreign policy mainly earmarked to establish cooperation with neighboring states, support of liberation movements within the continent and that encouraged foreign investment especially from the West. The second president, Daniel Moi although came

---

<sup>57</sup> Clapham, Christopher. "Discerning the new Africa." *International Affairs* 74, no. 2 (1998): 263-269.

through a smooth transition on instances had attempts to topple his government in a coup de tat, and a wind of change through multiparty politics later influenced his stand of the country's foreign policy.

### **2.3.1 The External Environment**

During the foreign policy formulation process, the topmost state agenda remains advancement of the state of their security, and which involves three elements. Firstly, each state is determined to maintain its sovereignty and secondly the countries themselves face from other states threat to their existence hence the need for preparedness to meet external threat from the borders. Thirdly, because of the need to be over-prepared to meet any external threat at any one time, which means the foreign policy forms national security policy. While this is a narrow approach, a wider approach goes beyond the armed strength preparedness to entail economic strength and political stability and cohesiveness. In this regard, how nations meet threats is not only a function of their military prowess but also the national unity and economic strength<sup>58</sup>.

Borrowing largely from the dependency theoretical framework, some states remain conditioned in their development by their dependence on other economies, although in a rather structural manner and different from the dominance relationship between societies of different levels of socioeconomic development and vary in size. For dependence, it's the structure that remains crucial. In the sphere of international relations, dependency embodies the situation for which accumulation of capital cannot be self-sustaining internally. For dependent countries, they have to borrow in order that they may produce goods, pay debts and minimize surplus accumulation<sup>59</sup>.

---

<sup>58</sup> Munene, Macharia, JD Olewe Nyunya, and Korwa Gombe Adar, eds. *The United States and Africa: From independence to the end of the cold war*. East African Publishers, 1995.

<sup>59</sup> McDougal III, Serie. "African Foreign Policy: A Question of Methodology." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2, no. 8 (2009).

McDougal postulates that Africa needs to be proactive in the formulation of policies and establishment of institutions to moderate its relationship with countries outside Africa. For instance, the establishment of the Bretton wood system of monetary management to create rules and financial links among the leading industrialized nations does not necessarily mean this has to control the economic development process in Africa. Historically, it is evident Africa has been thrust into the pathway of underdevelopment because of exploitative policies and therefore the need to identify and neutralize anti-African policies that still exist in the trade policies and relationships with outside countries. In retrospect, pro-African development policies on Africa terms cannot co-exist with institutions that are anti-Africa or inconsistent with the development of Africa.

For the United States, it has sought to militarize its relationships with the “blank continent” Africa so as to continue enjoying exploiting African resources. The continent is well known to be a huge supplier of resources including fuel resources, minerals and strategic non-fuel minerals. The growing presence of the US military in West Africa is of particular mention, an observation that McDougal associates to compensating the fact that the region is vulnerable hence when it comes to economic resources then the region is unable to compete and match other regions in the world it faces in Africa from economies like China, India and fast-growing economies in the East. As probably may be the case, African states are at the verge of widening the gap between the poor and the rich within their borders as probably driven by the policies of dominant western countries toward developing nations.

Copson observes that state remain committed to diplomacy based on the nature of the world within which they exist. In instances and regions where the different states and their course of actions seem to influence or affect each other, they are unable to function in an isolated environment, each

state considering options of managing its internal affairs. Consequently, informed by the need to control their own destiny each state remains obliged to considerably account for the neighbors, their interest and those of its citizens. Ideally, independent states are thus compelled to manage the consequences of them enjoying independencies but not absolutely or in isolation, rather in a setting of interdependence<sup>60</sup>.

When states are in a so-called knit system, the political actors impose upon states the awareness that other states possess distinct interests, that are different from its own and that the action of these other states partly may define its policies. The state thus in a way looks outside of itself to know itself, implying the dependence on its external environment and the need to have an interest in what happens beyond its borders. Every state in the global system not only depends in itself but also the whole worldwide environment<sup>61</sup>.

### **2.3.2 Leadership Regimes**

The coercion and manipulation of Africa into the adoption of foreign political practices have consistently resulted into underdevelopment, limited economic strength despite its asset of wealth. Post-independence, the continent has also recorded impressive growth with certain leaders, although amidst are equally a crop of opportunistic and kleptocratic who have by far benefitted the foreign private sector and themselves at the expense of the citizenry for whom they owe first degree commitment<sup>62</sup>.

Foreign policy decision making is considerably the outcome of how well those wielding power then perceive and analyze events. The ruling classes are still within the limits of prejudices, biases,

---

<sup>60</sup> Raymond Copson, *The United States in Africa*, 2007, Gutenberg press Ltd, p19.

<sup>61</sup> Watson, Adam. *Diplomacy: the dialogue between states*. Routledge, 2013.

<sup>62</sup> McDougal III, Serie. "African Foreign Policy: A Question of Methodology." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 2, no. 8 (2009).

subjectivity and assumptions thus the decisions and conclusions they reach are a function of their underlying beliefs and motivations. Brewer discerns this as the psycho-socio milieu of decision making process, where the thoughts are defined considerably influenced by the self-conceptions, geography, ideology, history and culture of the individual<sup>63</sup>. A strong personality that has immensely influenced both the process of implementation and that of formulation of foreign policy can at best be understood within the contexts of Saddam Hussein, Harry Truman and Charles De Gaulle.

While it can be difficult to quantify the influence of personality on decision making, proponents of the interpersonal generalization theory postulate that behavioral differences in interpersonal situations correlate with behavioral differences in international contexts. Perhaps the best of illustrations is the association between dominance or self-assertiveness and the willingness to resort to military interventions<sup>64</sup>. Importantly, while it may be naïve and oversimplified to suggest that personality traits can drive states to war, this can be suggested

### **2.3.3 Insecurity Challenges**

States exist in an anarchical world, living in fear and the need of assurance of its security hence the need for foreign policy taking these into account. Each state must guard its own geographical boundaries in an environment where states view each other as likely adversaries as there is no one world government to protect them. In an ideological sense, countries generally have the mistrust of one another and even in instances where a hand of friendship may be extended by one state to the other, it is view skeptically and the other probably wonders why. This probably remains fundamental and “protecting oneself” is a basic rule since security is a country’s prerequisite

---

<sup>63</sup> Brewer, Thomas L. *American Foreign Policy: A Contemporary Introduction*. Prentice Hall, 1992.

<sup>64</sup> Etheredge, Lloyd S. "Personality effects on American foreign policy, 1898–1968: A test of interpersonal generalization theory." *American Political Science Review* 72, no. 2 (1978): 434-451.

approach to preserving its way of life otherwise if not well checked then the countries territorial space, water and land and even the sovereignty of that specific country shall definitely be jeopardized<sup>65</sup>.

The fast-changing global space means traditional military based security policies do not essentially hold water to solve the everyday challenges. Most of the security challenges witnessed today harbor risks and vulnerabilities that are shared across borders unlike the traditional military threats that emanate from a determined adversary. Resource poor countries remain to bear the greatest brunt of these issues although it suffices to mention that these are beyond the borders issues, crosscutting irrespective of the human drawn borders.

While the pressure dynamics emanating from our societies may not necessarily translate to violence, these potentially can challenge the existent political dynamics in turn leading to polarization and radicalization. In cases where grievances simmer underneath and the general populace remains to struggle with issues of unemployment, chronic poverty, weak and corrupt state institutions and bleak future characterized by political humiliation, then worst case scenarios may occur with extremist movements soaring<sup>66</sup>. The prolonged periods of instability and mass suffering are indicators of the possible compromise of the wellbeing of the society.

World politics have since taken an interesting turn with the security interests of Africa being a key subject. The geopolitical setting of Africa is currently center focus for issues terrorism, climatic catastrophes, and manipulation of weak states. Notably, a line can be drawn showing interconnectedness of security interests of Africa and those of the west which seem by and large

---

<sup>65</sup> Spanier, John W., and Eric M. Uslaner. *American Foreign Policy Making and the Democratic Dilemmas*. Dorsey Press, 1989.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, p3



to affect all even though with varying degree of impact<sup>67</sup>. The threats to security and conflicts witnessed in Africa have had serious gross violations of human rights despite attempts to navigate these. The need and Africa's history of protection and preservation of human rights have further called to the importance and urgency to develop mechanisms. For instance, the Horn of Africa was embroiled in conflict unabated, with more severe internal conflict in Ethiopia and Sudan despite diplomatic developments in the South then. The Soviet Union seemed to support the Ethiopian government against Eritrea that sought autonomy. The United States on the other hand was concerned in the Sudan case where the government was confronted with rebellion from the south fueled by Islamic fundamentalism. The involvement of the external actors certainly however did not get down meaningfully by African standards<sup>68</sup>.

The United States with its increased national security interest in Africa it is probable that the relations with Africa will come dominate policies and programs that have a direct congruence to narrow security concerns contrary reducing the wide poverty burden and promoting democracy and human rights protection. There is considerable reason to assume such belief, that US policy toward Africa is fast changing in ways that point to such consequences. The already muted voice of the US in support of democracy in oil producing countries is already a pointer. Although in its early stages, the emerging dominance of US policy toward Africa primarily affects the Gulf of Guinea, the Sahel and the Horn of Africa. Both government and policy-oriented community widely acknowledge the dangers and postulate the interests of Africa and the US could best be served by long-term policies geared toward bettering the life of the African people<sup>69</sup>.

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p14

<sup>68</sup> Blechman, Barry M., and Edward N. Luttwak. *International Security Yearbook 1983/84*. Springer, 1984.

<sup>69</sup> Copson, Raymond W. *The United States in Africa: Bush Policy and Beyond*. Zed Books, 2007.

This chapter broadly characterizes the issues that define the formulation and implementation of foreign policies by African countries, shedding more light on the actors, contexts of action and the outcomes. In the last few decades, there was less ambiguity in terms of the actors, targets and outcomes of the foreign policies now defined by the multiplicity of actors in the international sphere, African foreign policies have since changes to become more complex. Nonetheless, it suffices that the African foreign policy is an issue considerably under the deliberate action of the elites.

## **CHAPTER THREE: PARLIAMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN RWANDA**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This section outlines various methods and procedures used by the government of Rwanda in implementing foreign policy. It entails more information on some of the issues affecting the government in implementing foreign policies in the Government of Rwanda. The process and independence of the foreign policies will be some of the major issues that the section will be unveiling. Moreover, the section will have some more information on how the government of Rwanda is involved in in the implementation process.

### **3.2 Rwanda's Foreign Policy since Independence**

Rwanda has been known as country of rich diversity because its geographical location as well as history is exotic and captivating<sup>70</sup>. The problem that has been affecting this Country from 1961 is the dictatorship regime that has been taking the leadership of the nation. This has translated to a great effect on social, nation and economic interest since time immemorial. Most of the policies that have been governing the foreign ministry have been faced with historical injustices, ethnic tensions and dysfunctional economy incorporated from the colonial regime that has been taking over the country. Talking about ethnicity the country of Rwanda does not have many ethnic communities or rather there are three main ethnic communities in Rwanda namely, Gatutsi, Gahutu and Gatwa<sup>71</sup>. From the ancient times these communities have been living together with each other

---

<sup>70</sup> Wright, S. (2018). *African foreign policies*. Routledge.

<sup>71</sup> Mills, G. (2018). Why Is Africa Poor?. In *Culture and Civilization* (pp. 52-62). Routledge.

and it's a lie for history to comment that these communities have been living an antagonistic social and political relationships. However, owing to the colonial policies from Belgium that entailed divide and rule, differences took better part of these communities and they started having acute differences in regards to their political interest. The succeeding government from the colonizers did not take an initiative of developing the Rwandan Identity that used to exist before colonizers set their foot in the land. From independence Rwanda was characterized as having virulent sectarianism, prejudice and xenophobia. It is for this reason that Rwanda experienced wars in 1959, 1962, 1972 and later ended up with genocide in 1994<sup>72</sup>. From these events, communities that formed Rwanda came to understand that there is no modern and progressing society can be built on racism, religious fanatics, tribalism, slavery and apartheid. Thus, to present Rwanda has a clear understanding of what wars have done to their people and that has also affected their economic development and thus the government believe that the government has to go extra mile in creating a better place for investors to aid in bringing up the country in terms of development.

The first wave of formation of ties with foreign countries commenced the moment colonizers set their foot in Rwanda though at that time it was a forced relation where the natives were forced to work on their own farms as a means of colonizing them. The US established a sound diplomatic relations in 1962 after the country had received their independence from Belgium. The department of foreign policy have been surviving on two major pillars since its ratification. The first pillar that defines it is how the policy has an effect on the attainment of peace, security as well as stability in Rwanda. The history of Rwanda and what the native faced in 1994 is enough to explain the reason behind their quest for peace and stability in the nation. It's from the peace and stability factors that

---

<sup>72</sup> Mills, G. (2018). Why Is Africa Poor?. In *Culture and Civilization* (pp. 52-62). Routledge.

will govern the directives that gives the country the go ahead to relate with a country. The constantly growing heated conflicts in Africa as well as other developing nations render peace keeping activities unessential if nothing is done to adjust peace and security techniques to the current challenges. Rwanda govern is keen in tackling these issues that might rise to conflict by devising better foreign policies that govern their relationship with other countries. For instance, GoR will be reluctant to sign any investment deal with a country that is likely to cause fear and rage war to the citizens of Rwanda and thus they are keen on this first pillar defining foreign policy department in the country. Callamard (2017)<sup>73</sup> contend that Rwanda is one of the post conflict nations and they actually understand the aftermath of war. The word "Peace and Security" imply all courses of action made to ensure that citizen embraces unity and comply with the law and to the people of Rwanda it surround everything thing that calls for interaction with the foreign entities.

The second pillar that govern the foreign policy in Rwanda are contributions to wealth creation through development of investments as well as promotion that sometimes promotes tourism and exchange of knowledge and technology<sup>74</sup>. This aims at developing the trade with other countries that has a great effect on the economic development of the nation. The obligation of foreign policy department in Rwanda aims at creating a long lasting peace environment that aids in development of trade and development programs. Besides, the GoR through ministry of foreign affairs have a duty of keeping up open appeal, well-being, authorizing the law coupled with averting and distinguishing things that can make Rwanda a better country in terms of development. Similarly, the ministry is often tasked with different inspectional, authorizing and directing activities to deal

---

<sup>73</sup> Callamard, A. (2017). French policy in Rwanda. In *The Path of a Genocide* (pp. 157-184). Routledge.

<sup>74</sup> Woodward, P. (2016). *US foreign policy and the Horn of Africa*. Routledge.

with the relation that Rwanda has with other countries. The foreign policy in Rwanda is govern by various principles and values where promotion of sovereignty and independence of the country becoming the initial value of the ministry. Besides, it aims at promoting respect between states that will be acting as the best tool of inviting many investors who will be brining help to the country.

### **3.3 Foreign Policy Implementation Process**

Implementation process of foreign policy in Rwanda has district protocol that involves various stakeholders who must ascertain of the kind of policies that are to be implemented. Effective and efficient management of the foreign policies require consultation from legislators who will determine whether the policy ought to be omitted or ratified. Since 1994 the Government of Rwanda came up with a means of putting in place several policies that targeted administrative as well as socio-economic programs<sup>75</sup>. These policies aimed at improving the living standards of Rwandans. Since the adoption of Poverty Reduction Strategy and National Decentralization Policy (NDP) in 2000, the ministries of foreign affairs have been inviting many investors to aid them in alleviating the poverty.

In implementing the foreign policy there are guiding that the GoR takes in consideration and this has to take place according to the already ratified principles and structure that governs the relationship of the country with other states. The government of Rwanda would commence by setting objectives that a foreign firm has to the country and how it will aid the country in reducing the poverty level that is high in many parts of the country. The government would want the visiting

---

<sup>75</sup> Mann, L., & Berry, M. (2016). Understanding the political motivations that shape Rwanda's emergent developmental state. *New Political Economy*, 21(1), 119-144.

foreign investor to provide them with concise and timely information on all the activities that the foreign firm will be undertaking. Rwanda being a nation that has history with the ethnic clashes the implementation of foreign policies is more disturbing more in adopting the effective theory that will be enhancing the best process of implementing foreign policies. Foreign policy implementation process has a distinct structure in Rwanda and it's from the accurate polices that they have been making in this policy that has been making Rwanda to regain its earlier unity that it lost through political wars and ethnic wars. The following is the implementation structure that Rwanda has been using since 1994 and it has been giving viable results that any Rwandan is happy to say and talk about to other foreigners<sup>76</sup>.

The need to strengthen diplomatic functions is one of the factors that Rwanda need being that it has suffered a cold war in the past. In accordance to the rising concern of developed countries like Japan to aid African countries in attaining their development status by 2020, the volume of activities that ministry of foreign affairs in Rwanda has been keen on ending anything that would bring war to and thus create best avenue for investors from developed nations to improve the status of the nation and aids in fighting poverty<sup>77</sup>. In addition to the surge of regular activities taken by Rwanda's foreign affairs, GoR is required to be active in participation of building a new framework targeting world peace, prosperity as well as stability. Thus, enhancing the structure proposed by the ministry aims at improving execution of comprehensive and strategic diplomacy.

The process of implementation of forego policies in Rwanda often has a distinct procedure that must be passed by a policy to be established and adopted by the ministry of foreign affairs.

---

<sup>76</sup> Young, C. (2018). The heritage of colonialism. In *Africa in World Politics* (pp. 9-26). Routledge.

<sup>77</sup> Beswick, D. (2014). The risks of African military capacity building: Lessons from Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 113(451), 212-231.

**Ratification:** This is the initial process of implementing any proposed policy to govern the ministry of foreign affairs. All the financing Agreements that form the Government of Rwanda have to be ratified by the president of the republic after authorization from the parliament. This is explained in Rwanda constitution adopted in the year 2003. The steps that leading to the ratification of a policy by financing agreements between development partner and the GoR are well define in chapter 2 of the constitution section 2.5<sup>78</sup>.

**Institutional structures:** This section pinpoints the major responsibilities of different GoR actors that are concerned with management of external finance flowing in the country. Then High-Level Aid Policy Implementation committee (HLIC) that was established by the Government of Rwanda would then oversee the implementation process of the policy. This committee has all its members drawn from main government institutions managing external assistance. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) would then be responsible for the coordination and mobilization of the external assistance and making sure that all the priorities are aligned to the Government of Rwanda<sup>79</sup>. All the paper in relation to the external financing must pass through MINECOFIN as it has the responsibility of maintaining public debt at substance levels and looking into better public portfolio of investment. After passing all these stages a proposed policy will be allowed to take effect.

---

<sup>78</sup> Kabalisa, R., Cyuzuzo, Y., Yoshida, C., & Ingabire, A. (2016, June). e-Tegeko: A system that will boost citizens' participation on parliamentary regulations in Rwanda. In *Computer and Information Science (ICIS), 2016 IEEE/ACIS 15th International Conference on* (pp. 1-6). IEEE.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid



### 3.4 Parliament Involvement in Foreign Policy Implementation

The first step of understanding the process of foreign policy making and implementation starts from the parliament. History of parliament in response to foreign matters is another thing that will define whether the government will ratify a foreign policy or not. In recent years, the parliament of Rwanda has intensely extended their interest in the foreign policy implementation because it acts a matter that requires their comments and agreement<sup>80</sup>. Matter of foreign have often ignited a heated debate in the parliament session and thus they often have a say on the implementation process. The role of the parliament in the implementation process is a complex issue that it is a subject of various scientific fields and other bodies of life. The inclusion of the parliament on issues of foreign policy is condensed in something called parliamentary diplomacy and there is not accurate definition of this process.

In a concise historical narrative of government administration, Reyntjens, (2016)<sup>81</sup> described government administration as a phenomenon as old as civilization itself -- where there is government and the parliament. Reyntjens (2016), narrated that since its origin in 6,000 B.C., government administrations has gone through different changes in context from its being inseparable from the king, ruler, or leaders in early times to being delegated when the role and function of government expanded through time. Early governments were said to have three levels, with movers or manipulators of power assuming the top level, followed at the mid-level by managers or administrators, and at the bottom level were the people. This is tentatively the process that the government and the parliament that are in most civilized countries operate.

---

<sup>80</sup> Pocock, D., & Whitman, J. (Eds.). (2016). *After Rwanda: the coordination of United Nations humanitarian assistance*. Springer

<sup>81</sup> Reyntjens, F. (2016). (Re-) imagining a reluctant post-genocide society: the Rwandan Patriotic Front's ideology and practice. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 18(1), 61-81.

Parliamentarians are as legislators or rather law makers who have the ability of overseeing all the things that is to happen in a country. They make all the decision regarding all the ministries that the government has in operating. From being a representation of the royal estate or personal property of the king, the early form of government has morphed into the modern principle of nation-state where administration was no longer a servant of the royalty, but a servant of the nation, the people at large, and the public interest which were aired by the parliamentarians.

From culture to culture, or country to country, there could be sharp variations in the sophistication, complexity, and differentiation of effect that parliament has on implementation of foreign policies due to different attendant political, social, and economic circumstances. According to Reyntjens (2016) these differences nonetheless illustrate a set of functions that uniquely belongs to the government sector, which in light of Reyntjens's representation, reinforces the inherent function of bureaucracy as the vehicle for government administration. The political milieu of a nation relates to the dominant pattern of people's attitudes and behavioral manifestations pertaining to the purpose of government and the political systems, leadership modes, decision-making protocols and activities, and political engagements. The political ecology is generally defined by the prevailing culture, socio-economic conditions, and citizen's expectation within the system – evoking the citizen's support and demands for appropriate government action, identifying the proper and acceptable ways the government should address society's problems, and setting general expectations on the level of government performance<sup>82</sup>. According to the authors, a country's administrative capacity can be enhanced by changes and modifications, which then condition the

---

<sup>82</sup> Curtis, D. E. (2015). Development assistance and the lasting legacies of rebellion in Burundi and Rwanda. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(7), 1365-1381

political environment to be more tolerant and supportive of certain administrative practices deemed germane to the goods of society. There are also claims that the political stability of a nation greatly influences the development since in a politically stable nation there are many investors who tend to visit the nation with an aim of investing and ensuring the economy drastically grows<sup>83</sup>. These practices represent the convergence of traditional culture and western thought, a dualism characterizing emergent political programs which can be judged by society either as supportive or non-supportive and for that reason, demand a more balanced approach by the government. This is the same scenario that happens in Rwanda and the parliament act as the voice of people in Rwanda and thus they have the ability of being involved in the issue related to the foreign policy.

## **Conclusion**

The Chapter has described how the parliament of Rwanda has effect on the implementation process of foreign policies. The parliament and its power compel government and ministry well the ministry of foreign affairs to undertake continuous improvements in human and physical capital in order to remain globally competitive and strategically capable to address their short-term and long-terms development needs. The Chapter has identified Rwanda as country that has keen interest on foreign affairs and purposeful strengthening of its administrative as well as development capacity. For this omission, despite its enormous wealth, Rwanda faces critical socio-economic and environmental issues that tend to weaken its strategic capacity to implement successfully Vision 2020, which is Rwanda's central turnaround strategy and thus they take keen interest on countries that they relate with and invite many foreign countries to boost their economy that had been affected by political war.

---

<sup>83</sup> Smith, S., Hadfield, A., & Dunne, T. (Eds.). (2016). *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. Oxford University Press.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: CHALLENGES INFLUENCING EFFECTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF PARLIAMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Arguably, significant challenges for foreign policy lie in its implementation. This chapter seeks to explore and discuss the challenges of foreign policy implementation from a legislature involvement point of view. The challenges of foreign policy implementation are explored at continental level and contextualized to the case of Rwanda.

### **4.2 Challenges of Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa**

From the foregoing in literature, Africa's foreign policy is geared toward advancing regional integration, peace and security, democratization and enhanced levels of economic development despite a myriad of challenges that characterize the foreign policy implementation process. Domestic political setting and international constraints are enough to meet the needs of the process of making foreign policy in the African context.

African continent is unquestionably characterized by its pluralities is no different. While it may be expected these constraints may point toward a greater need for African states to coalesce mutual interests and develop a common stand on matters international affairs, this is yet far from realization. Throughout subsequent years, crucial issues have challenged and brought diversity of views, even threatening the polarization of the continent although following every sitting, a consensus or majority decision has been reached by the OAU. Often considered as the African stand, the adoption of such has not only sent ripples across the continent but also influencing events in the international sphere. With national interests being paramount, foreign policy making is

through a high level decision making process in the government, but due to constraints there may not be much of adequate deliberation.

Implementation remains the biggest challenge to foreign policy. Central to the success of the implementation of foreign policy is the proper management of foreign policy and that of the diplomatic service. Consequently, that brings to the fore the need for a review of the traditional contextualization of foreign affairs into the ‘administrative’ and ‘policy’ aspects. This not being the case, foreign policy implementation could be continually accosted by the turf wars between administrators and policy makers<sup>84</sup>.

Foreign policy implementation for African states is vitally defined by the legislative-executive engagements. Not only are the annual financial plans taken through parliamentary ratification, but also diplomats are grilled and sanctioned by the Parliament. In Tanzania, a National assembly committee on Foreign affairs was established in 1972 with an objective of parliamentarians conveying to the government trends it’s the foreign policy. While the committee was established purposely to offer advice, it equally has to evaluate and examine implementation strategies of the foreign policy objectives and consequently enlighten publics on any trends in the international sphere. Contrastingly, there is limited evidence to showcase the success of the committee on informing the public on trends in international affairs<sup>85</sup>. In Nigeria, a parliamentary delegation visited Pakistan in 2003 purposely to join the course of mediating over Kashmir feud without engaging the Nigerian Ministry of foreign affairs. Following the ministry of foreign affairs communication to the committee to convey disappointment over failing to get in touch and could

---

<sup>84</sup> Makumi Mwangi, *The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: the Management of Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy*.

<sup>85</sup> Kamuhanda, S. (1989). The role of the mass media in the implementation of Tanzania’s foreign policy: Reality and prospects. *Africa Media Review*, 3(3), 25-28.

jeopardize their tour that did not understand a need for balance of alliances, the parliamentarians responded in stating they are never bound by any foreign policy strategy employed by the foreign minister<sup>86</sup>.

Given the variedness and ethnic diversities witnessed within the African continent, it suffices to point out that foreign policy making requires structures that would ostensibly permit classification and ownership of initiatives by the different factions. Consequently, there would be need for an all-inclusive and accessible foreign policy structure to navigate the possibilities of misconception and misinterpretation of foreign policy. However, the introduction of such foreign policy formulation structures presents significant impediments to the foreign policy making and implementation process. Implementation thus presents even a bigger challenge in the event introduction of the structure is accosted by constraints. The rationale for this course is that such structures would be participatory but given the dynamic nature of the sphere of diplomacy, this might impede the practice and or implementation of foreign policy initiatives.

Africa's foreign policy has since seen the need to develop structured adequate response to globalization, meeting the SDGs, restructuring global application of power and a need to reform the UN. As part of their agenda, western nations have since pursued their interests mainly through financial means signaling the continuity of economic manipulation way beyond the Cold War. Landsberg<sup>87</sup> postulates of an absence of relevant structures with existing internal and foreign

---

<sup>86</sup> Lamido, S. (2012, October). Challenges of foreign policy making and implementation in Nigeria: An insider's perspective. In *A Paper Presented at a Conference Organized by Society for International Relations Awareness, (SIRA) in Collaboration with Friedrich Elbert, Stiftung (FES) Nigeria@ Protea Hotel, Asokoro, Abuja, Nigeria, on 31st October.*

<sup>87</sup> Landsberg, C. (2009). South Africa's "African Agenda": Challenges of Policy and Implementation. *Presidency Fifteen Year Review Project*, 1-32.

policies acting as impediments. Consequently, the implementation of the African agenda policy remains within unachievable limits.

Through its ministry of foreign affairs, Kenya recently launched its foreign policy guide in 2013 as a document to oversee its attainment of foreign policy objectives. For Kenya, the document seeks to explain the advancement of its foreign policy since independence and to highlight its main priorities, objectives, strategies, principles as well as the implementation framework. The country largely embraces public diplomacy and media diplomacy as vital to promoting its brand overseas complemented with new platforms and communication systems to engage with foreign stakeholders<sup>88</sup>.

#### **4.3 Limited Economic Power and Policy Dependence**

Most African states remain underdeveloped, majority of their population living below the poverty level save for a few natural resources endowed countries. Majority of the states have had weak governments given their financial feebleness, limited economic marshal and economic growth. Consequently, this has translated into a compromised foreign policy implementation process in various ways. First, with limited economic ability, most states are unable to finance the establishment of missions and strategic embassies in foreign countries let alone engaging skilled diplomatic staff in sufficient numbers. Similarly, the fact that most of these countries lack substantial military forces or bigger market makes them less attractive a state relative to other powerful countries in the different continents. With limited economic power, Africa countries have extensively relied on foreign aid from relatively more powerful countries thus rendering their

---

<sup>88</sup> Government of Kenya. *Kenyan Foreign policy document (2014-2017)*

internal political activities into matters of foreign policy contest although persistently African countries have sought to assert their national sovereignty and counter external players' involvement in their internal affairs. The limited economic power and financial weakness is highly correlated with internal conflicts and political instability within the states. Nonetheless, it suffices to mention that the reality of Africa's context is a state of shared sovereignty, many aspects of its internal policy being subject to involvement of foreign organizations and countries in the wake of Africa's poverty and over-reliance on aid.

Foreign policy can define the domestic politics and foregoing in a country although the converses have been the main focus of scholarly works. Treaties and agreements bestow upon countries responsibilities and from a liberalist point of view, international organizations play a key role in international cooperation implying that these resultantly constrain nations and individuals. For instance, international financial markets would punish states that cannot manage their finances given their responsibility in monitoring domestic conditions of the financial markets as in the case of Greece<sup>89</sup>. Several indicators point to the wide existent gap between the economic performance of Africa and those of the rest of the world, for instance African countries occupy 95% of the 40 lowest positions on the UN human development index<sup>90</sup>, not to mention their GDP that consistently ranks low for most of the countries. The extent to which regimes thus rely on support from foreign governments' remains an aspect that largely determines African foreign policy, an instance is the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) that provides bilateral support to nearly 50 governments in Sub-Saharan Africa and runs regional missions in half of the countries in the continent.

---

<sup>89</sup> Explaining Greece's Debt Crisis. The New York Times. June 17, 2016

<sup>90</sup> United Nations Development Index Report, 2016.



The solidarity of the continent on especially important international trade engagements has been productive, for instance what was witnessed in the Doha round of trade negotiations where Africa together with other developing nations rose up to highlight the failure of the wealthy nations to live up to promises they consented to in earlier agreements. Several strides were equally achieved through the negotiations mainly driven by African countries to change the WTO accord hence changing the earlier ‘take it or leave it’ narrative of the developed nations. Moreover, African efforts to counterbalance external domination from the West have seen the continent court trade and aid links with the East, mainly China.

#### **4.4 Pressure from External/Role of Non-State Actors**

Irrefutably, all African states often have more than one organization that operate within or without the borders any given state in the world. Such organizations can be either state actors or non-state actors depending on their structure and the jurisdictions as well as the sources from which they derive their powers and regulations. Weiss, Seyle and Coolidge (2013) opine that these non-state actors are formed and controlled by a particular state on behave of the government. Non-state actors are entirely independent from the central government and have the sole role of forming and ratifying international laws in a particular country. These laws defines the legal duties of states in their conducts towards each other as well as their treatment of individuals within state boundaries and whose domain encompasses a wide range of issues of international concern such as human rights, international crime, refugees and many others. These non-state actors have a significant role in making international, law-adjudication as well as law-enforcement processes. The presence of non-state actors in a country often limits the power of the parliament in having full control of the issues of the foreign affairs and thus the parliament are obliged to make the foreign policies

having the non-state actors in mind as they have to ascertain that such policy is good for the country.

Non state actors are organizations having adequate power to produce positive or negative influence that causes a change in a particular country even though they fail to belong to any established agency of that particular state. Besides, non-state actors are non-independent bodies that have a significant influence in politics, economy as well as social power and impact at a national in some of the issues happening in international levels and thus they greatly affect the policies governing the foreign affairs in a country (Nasiritousi, Hjerpe & Linnér, 2016). Consequently, there is no agreement on members of non-state actors since it encompasses different institutions or rather it gets attached to various sectors in the country they operate. For instance, the sectors include trade unions, communal organizations, religious organizations, ethnic alliances, and universities acts as some of the significant players of non-state actors (Nasiritousi, Hjerpe & Linnér, 2016). Normally, there exists some group of organizations as well as individuals which are truly non-state or rather they perform duties not associated with national governments within their territorial boundaries. Schroeder and Lovell (2012) contend that non-state actors are categorized into three groups depending on their structure and operational guidelines as well. The first category being Multinational corporations entails enterprises that manage production or provide services in not less than two countries. In essence, the traditional multinational is a private corporation headquartered in one country and with subsidiaries in others, all operating in accordance with a coordinated global strategy to win market share and achieve cost efficiencies. The second category is Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) which are basically those organizations that are not interested in making profits, those that are task oriented and above all both privatized with a self-government, not the state. Most of these organizations are always volunteer organizations.

Despite the fact that these organizations have got a broad-spectrum parameter that bring them together to look alike, they have a an ambiguous degree of diversity in terms of the [principle that bring them together; self-autonomy hence minimal interference by the government, big business, and other external influences, such as; the procedures under which they operate; funding sources; international reach; and size. They can as well be key in services providence, project implementation within a certain area of operation, promote a certain agenda or rather change the perception of a people about a policy hence influencing policy in a particular state, which they operate.

The third category is Super-empowered individuals, who include persons who have overcome constraints, conventions, and rules to wield unique political, economic, intellectual, or cultural influence over the course of human events. All the above categories of non-state actors operate autonomously from the central governments of the states in which they exist. Even though they are not regulated with the state's regulations, they must act consistently with the constitutional provision of the state (Schroeder & Lovell, 2012).

Non state actors can have positive or negative effect on the policies governing the ministry. For instance, they are not expected in mingling with the politics of a nation and taking sides or rather raise some money when fomenting violence and human suffering. Rwanda ministry recently commented that non-state actors operating the country have no jurisdiction to mingle in the politics of the country and affect justice to victims of conflicts.

#### **4.5 The Rwandan Parliament Experience**

Parliament and the government are political units having sovereignty over an area of territory and a stable population residing within its borders and a government through which the people owes allegiance to and also diplomatically recognized by other state. Conversely, Burns, Yapura and

Giessen (2016) further contend that parliament has effect on people or organizations acting on behalf of a governmental body whose operations as well as duties are subjected to the regulations and doctrines or laws of the body or state he or she is representing. Although government and parliament might seem to include only persons who are directly employed by the state, in a wider view it can as well be interpreted to cover many persons who have only an indirect relationship with the government such as private companies, which are in contractual agreement with the state to provide a given service or product. Parliament only operates at the interest of their constituents they will often pass laws that aim at making the lives of their people better.

There are many pluralities that give Rwanda its characterizing in regards to issue's dealing with the implementation of foreign policies. Rwanda is being characterized to be having varying political maturity because of the past political feuds that have been affecting the country. Thus, Rwandan government has often been on the look for the implementation process of the foreign policies through the ministry who they vet and certify is fit for the organization. This makes an implication that the parliament of Rwanda is experienced in issues dealing with the foreign policy and thus they would know which policy would best for the good of the nation. This has also been creating a great effect on the implementation process as the parliament has to be involved in the policy making process and in any case they do not agree with such policy then it will not be ratified to take effect in the foreign affairs ministry.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Despite the parliament of Rwanda trying to have full control on the foreign policy implementation, they are faced with many challenges more so from non-state actors who are situated in the country. This implies that after the have made polices that govern the foreign ministry the non-state actors will have to be included who in most cases would not agree with one or two policies and thus the

government will have to think again concerning the policies they have discussed before. At independent, the non-state actor had full control of the foreign affairs in Rwanda, however, after several years in recovery from the ethnic feuds that affected the political realm in the country, the parliament have been feeling that they need to be involved in the foreign policy making because it's a matter affecting the entire nation. This slashed off the power of the non-state actors in having full control on the policies affecting the foreign affairs ministry. However, the parliament of Rwanda has been having a great challenge in having a share in the implementation process as the state as well as non-state actors pose a great challenge.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary of the findings discussed in previous chapters. Further, it presents the conclusion, proposes recommendation and suggestions for further research.

### **5.2 Summary of Key Findings**

The involvement of parliament in foreign policy occurs within two contexts, at an institutional level and at a diplomatic level. At an institutional level, this happens within three contexts, first, the legislative process involving the ratification of international treaties as well as in enactment of laws pertaining to the state security and sovereignty. Secondly, this happens under parliamentary control where using the means at their disposal they are able to question, censure and establish committees to oversee certain aspects of foreign policy. Thirdly, within the broader political role parliament is able to hold discussions and consultations of foreign policy issues on various occasions including during budget approval and tabling of reports. At the diplomatic level, the legislature involvement spans multilateral diplomacy and bilateral diplomacy that focuses on fostering cooperation with other parliaments hence strengthen ties of the people. Multilateral diplomacy however occurs in the developed parliaments through the parliamentary delegations in international parliamentary bodies or through parliamentary meetings of international organizations.

According to the above study Rwanda case study, there are evident arguments of the thesis that appear to be have given a strong mantle of validity by the results of the study. The first argument which states about the role of Parliament in Africa in the foreign policy implementation has been expounded to and the effect of the African parliament is evident in regard to the implementation

of foreign policy. This have been expounded and grounded in a cause-and-effect conceptual construct with respect to analysis of the better African countries. In summary the main motive of the parliament being involved in the foreign policy implementation is to make sure that such policies are improving African economy and aiding in alleviating poverty that is high in African countries. Inasmuch as the parliament and government encapsulates the overall competency of stakeholders in undertaking foreign policy issues, which includes the superiority of their vetting process in knowing the polices that affect the relationship of the country with other, they have the power to stop an implementation process in the foreign affair more so if it is not in line with the objective of the development of the nation.

The second argument on the role of the parliament in the implementation process is another area that has been expounded by the theses. Whether it refers to human, economic, social, or environmental development pillar, every initiative affecting the foreign affairs ministry in a country needs the parliament to think through the external and internal factors, strategize on each factor, implement relevant actions, and evaluate corresponding results that will improve the state of Africa nation. Even major development concerns that are principally technology-enabled need technical experts to design, develop, and operate systems, standards, and processes to achieve sustainable institutional efficiency and effectiveness and in Africa the parliament has the role in the entire implementation process and they have to ascertain the policy before its ratification. In essence, without people, everything stops in any strategic development agenda.

Due to the centrality and ubiquity of implementation of foreign policies, it is logical that it is faced with various challenges which are indispensable role in African economic transformation. African countries races against time because as the need for robust development and reduction of high level of poverty that flashes as an immediate concern. The high level of connection with developed

countries as well as foreign experts is an expedient feature of African development regime that accentuates the development of African Countries. While African development is contextually correct and a responsive answer to the desired ties with the African countries, the national strategy often faces challenges from every side which make the role of parliament handicapped. The real dilemma of African countries encapsulates the resounding hitch that non-state actors pose on the implementation process of the foreign policies.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

Findings from this thesis convey an interesting story on the parliament-foreign policy nexus Rwanda and the region. Notably, parliaments have increasingly expanded their scope of interest on matters foreign policy. Both in parliamentary plenary sessions and in the house committee's issues of foreign policy have increasingly become important subject of discussion. It is established that the role and involvement of the legislature in foreign policy making and implementation remains quite a complex phenomenon and viewed from different dispensation or compensated prisms, that of international relations, constitutional law and political science. The involvement of legislature in the foreign policy sphere can be condensed and understood in the context of parliamentary diplomacy. Notably, the involvement and wider role of parliaments within the framework of a country's foreign policy varies, globally and even within the continent, primarily defined by the historical origins of that state, the existing political system and overall position in the international arena.

In Africa, the exercise of foreign policy mainly by the executive is considerably monopolistic, and the political forces are often at play on foreign policy issues to enable effective implementation. On the other hand, the legislature has widely showed interest to through parliamentary control, functionalities and meeting of relevant committees and enhanced involvement of parliamentarians



to challenge the monopolistic executive choices. Importantly, in instances of increasing legislature involvement, this has been influenced by the content of the foreign policy, implying the priorities of the country and its weight in the international community. For countries with relatively higher positions in the international community, there is greater commitment and emphasis on development of diplomatic services and relevant parliamentary committees. Contrasted with countries like the United states where government actions on matters foreign policy are monitored through well-established parliamentary committees, most countries within the African continent coupled with the lower positions in the international community and the struggle from dictatorial leadership to have democratic regimes explain the limited and or weak legislative structures for involvement in matters foreign policy . While this may partly explain for countries like Rwanda the limited involvement of parliament, the landscape is fast changing with increased voices from dictatorship.

Such research presents the best of platforms for development of a more nuanced orientation of the Rwandan foreign policy implementation process and the significant role of the legislature, as it captures contemporary sentiments highlighting changes over time. For a young and fast developing country such as Rwanda research of this nature remains invaluable in furthering its development agenda and shaping interactions.

Rwanda's foreign policy shall continue to evolve being a function of how the country changes and adapts to those changes in external milieu. Irrespective of the nature of the changes and what they may bring, it is clear that parliament will remain an inextricable element of the foreign policy implementation process. The institution and effective foreign policy making and implementation is key to unlocking its developmental challenges that often necessitate cordial and prosperous relations at all times and highlight the need for balance of power.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The study of the foreign policy implementation process in Rwanda is one that continues to demand critical examination as the decision-making process landscape continues to change and as actors change. In light of the main objective of raising the economy of Rwanda through its relationship with foreign countries, it is important for the Rwanda government to establish proper and reliable process of implementation foreign policies incorporating the non-state actors to reduce overdependence on GoR and parliament, but the international communities will feel they are not felt out in the implementation process of these policies. This also undergirds the need for support from state actors in the GoR in spearheading a policy that has been unanimously accepted by Parliament, and the non-state actors.

There is need for the Government of Rwanda to limit influence of non-state actors who might be thinking of implementation policies that only favor their existence but not propelling Rwandan Agenda of development. This would create enabling environment for success of the implementation of the foreign policies. The current structure of foreign policy implementation is not efficient enough however fortification of the implementation process would reduce the time taken for ratification of a foreign policy. It is imperative that African countries should show impartial commitment to guarantee the simplicity in foreign policy implementation.

There is need for GoR to have full inclusion in the implementation process as they are aware of the avenues or rather strategies of things that would aid in seeing the advantages of implementation such foreign policies. Engaging the parliament in the implementation proves haws the ability of limiting biasness from different parties. A comprehensive analysis of the foreign policy implementation process by the parliament in Rwanda is novel and seeks to offer interesting reads.

## **5.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

This study suggests further analysis of the role of parliament in the foreign policy implementation process in Rwanda. There is a shortage of research on the exploration of the role of the parliament in controlling operation of the non-state actors acting in Rwanda. While this study establishes the role of the parliament in the foreign policy implementation, there may various reasons that affect the parliament from fully having full control of the foreign policy implementation. Further research on the impact of non-state actors on foreign policy implementation in Rwanda is an area that needs to be researched.

Moreover, there has been a relative lesser focus on the role that non-state actors have on the implementation process in African countries. This study recommends further research on the role and implications of non-state actors in the foreign policy implementation in Rwanda.

## REFERENCES

- A Foreign Policy Handbook: An overview of South Africa's Foreign Policy in Context. For Parliament, 2014
- Ahmed A.K (2009) The role of parliament in South Africa's foreign policy development process: lessons from the United States' Congress, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 16:3, 291-310, DOI: 10.1080/10220460903495116
- Alden, C., & Le Pere, G. (2009). South Africa in Africa: bound to lead? *Politikon*, 36(1), 145-169.
- Allison, G. T. (1971). *Essence of decision*. Boston: Little, Brown, 536.
- Banjo, A. (2009). A review of parliament-foreign policy nexus in South Africa and Namibia. *Journal of Politics & Law.*, 2, 61.
- Barber, J., & Barratt, J. (1990). *South Africa's foreign policy: The Search for status and security, 1945-1988 (Vol. 11)*. CUP Archive.
- Barkin, J. S., & Cronin, B. (1994). The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations. *International organization*, 48(1), 107-130.
- Bennett, W. L., & Paletz, D. L. (Eds.). (1994). *Taken by storm: The media, public opinion, and US foreign policy in the Gulf War*. University of Chicago Press.
- Beswick, D. (2014). The risks of African military capacity building: Lessons from Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 113(451), 212-231.
- Bilgin, P., & Morton, A. D. (2002). Historicising representations of 'failed states': beyond the cold-war annexation of the social sciences? *Third world quarterly*, 23(1), 55-80.
- Callamard, A. (2017). French policy in Rwanda. In *The Path of a Genocide* (pp. 157-184). Routledge.
- Cornish, D. B., & Clarke, R. V. (Eds.). (2014). *The reasoning criminal: Rational choice perspectives on offending*. Transaction Publishers.

- Curtis, D. E. (2015). Development assistance and the lasting legacies of rebellion in Burundi and Rwanda. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(7), 1365-1381
- Cutler, RM, (2001) 'The emergence of international parliamentary institutions: new networks of influence in world society', in GS Smith & D Wolfish (eds.), *Who Is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 201229
- da Lima MRS & F Santos, 'Brazilian Congress and Foreign Trade Policy', Paper prepared for presentation at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Chicago, USA, 2426 September 1998.
- Dunleavy, P., & O'leary, B. (1987). *Theories of the state: The politics of liberal democracy*. Macmillan.
- Epstein, J. M., & Axtell, R. (1996). *Growing artificial societies: social science from the bottom up*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Esaiasson, P., & Heidar, K. (Eds.). (2000). *Beyond Westminster and congress: The Nordic experience*. Ohio State University Press.
- Finer, H. (2018). Administrative responsibility in democratic government. In *Classics of administrative ethics* (pp. 5-26). Routledge.
- Goldstein, S. J. and Pevenhouse, C. J. (2011) *International Relations*. 9th ed. Boston: Longman.
- Grantham C & B George, (1988) 'The influence of the British parliament on foreign policy', in Sondhi ML (ed.) *Foreign Policy and Legislatures: An Analysis of Seven Parliaments*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Gregorian, H. (1984). Assessing Congressional Involvement in Foreign Policy: Lessons of the Post-Vietnam Period. *The Review of Politics*, 46(1), 91-112. &
- Hill, C. (2003). *The changing politics of foreign policy*. Palgrave.
- Houghton, D. P. (2007). Reinvigorating the study of foreign policy decision making: toward a constructivist approach. *Foreign policy analysis*, 3(1), 24-45.

- Hughes T, (2004) *Composers, Conductors and Players: Harmony and Discord in South African Foreign Policy Making*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for International Affairs.
- Kabalisa, R., Cyuzuzo, Y., Yoshida, C., & Ingabire, A. (2016, June). e-Tegeko: A system that will boost citizens' participation on parliamentary regulations in Rwanda. In *Computer and Information Science (ICIS), 2016 IEEE/ACIS 15th International Conference on* (pp. 1-6). IEEE.
- Kamukama, D. (1997). *Rwanda conflict: Its roots and regional implications*. Fountain Pub Limited.
- Kesgin B & J Kaarbo, 'When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision', Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the ISA's 50th Annual Convention 'Exploring the Past, Anticipating the Future', New York Marriott Marquis, New York, USA, 15 February 2009
- Khadiagala, G. M., & Lyons, T. (Eds.). (2001). *African foreign policies: power and process*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Kumar, K. (Ed.). *Rebuilding societies after civil war: Critical roles for international assistance* (p.1). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997
- Landsberg, C. (2005). Toward a developmental foreign policy? Challenges for South Africa's diplomacy in the second decade of liberation. *Social Research*, 723-756.
- Lantaigne M, (2009) *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Leana, C. R. (1985). A partial test of Janis' groupthink model: Effects of group cohesiveness and leader behavior on defective decision making. *Journal of management*, 11(1), 5-18.
- Leftwich, A. (1994). Governance, the State and the Politics of Development. *Development and change*, 25(2), 363-386.
- Leyton-Brown, D. (1982). The nation-state and multinational enterprise: erosion or assertion (Vol. 40, No. 1). Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

- Leyton-Brown, D. (1983). The role of congress in the making of foreign policy. *International Journal*, 38(1), 59-76.
- Lindsay JM, 'Deference and defiance: the shifting rhythms of executive-legislative relations in foreign policy', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33, 2003, p. 530
- Lindsay, J. M., & Ripley, R. B. (1992). Foreign and Defense Policy in Congress: A Research Agenda for the 1990s. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 417-449.
- Malamud, A., & Stavridis, S. (2011). Parliaments and parliamentarians as international actors. *The Ashgate research companion to non-state actors*, 101-115.
- Manby, B. (2000). The South African independent complaints directorate. Civilian oversight of policing: Governance, democracy, and human rights, 195-221.
- Manheim, J. B. (1994). Strategic public diplomacy and American foreign policy: The evolution of influence. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Manley, J. F. (1970). The politics of finance: The House Committee on Ways and Means. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Mann, L., & Berry, M. (2016). Understanding the political motivations that shape Rwanda's emergent developmental state. *New Political Economy*, 21(1), 119-144.
- Mills, G. (2018). Why Is Africa Poor?. In *Culture and Civilization* (pp. 52-62). Routledge.
- Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches. Nairobi: ACTS press, 2003.
- Nel, P., & Van Wyk, J. A. (2003). Foreign policy making in South Africa: from public participation to democratic participation. *Politeia*, 22(3), 49-71.
- Norton P, *Parliament in British Politics*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2005
- Noulas, G. (2011). The role of parliamentary diplomacy in Foreign Policy. *Foreign Policy Journal*, 22, 46-49.

- Nzewi, O. (2014). Influence and Legitimacy in African Regional Parliamentary Assemblies: The Case of the Pan-African Parliament's Search for Legislative Powers. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 49(4), 488-507.
- Paranjpe S, 'Parliament and foreign policy: a study of the parliamentary discussion on the 1974 nuclear implosion', in Sondhi ML (ed.) *Foreign Policy and Legislatures: An Analysis of Seven Parliaments*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1988, pp. 185-199.
- Pocock, D., & Whitman, J. (Eds.). (2016). *After Rwanda: the coordination of United Nations humanitarian assistance*. Springer.
- Reiman, J. H. (1997). *Critical moral liberalism: theory and practice* (Vol. 70). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Reyntjens, F. (2016). (Re-) imagining a reluctant post-genocide society: the Rwandan Patriotic Front's ideology and practice. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 18(1), 61-81.
- Robert A. Stebbins, *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001.
- Robinson, J. A. (1962). *Congress and foreign policy-making: a study in legislative influence and initiative*. Dorsey Press.
- Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy. *World politics*, 51(1), 144-172.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1980). *Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*. New York: Nicholas.
- Rosenau, J. N. (1992). Citizenship in a changing global order. *Governance without government: Order and change in world politics*, 272-94.
- Simmons, B. A. (1997). *Who adjusts? Domestic sources of foreign economic policy during the interwar years*. Princeton University Press.
- Smith, S., Hadfield, A., & Dunne, T. (Eds.). (2016). *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. Oxford University Press.
- Strange, S. (1996). *The retreat of the state: The diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge university press.



- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and applications*, 5, 147-158.
- Wahlke, J. C. (1970). Policy determinants and legislative decisions. *Political Decision-Making*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 76-120.
- Wallace, W. (1971). *Foreign policy and the political process*. Macmillan.
- Wallace, W. (1975). *The foreign policy process in Britain*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Woodward, P. (2016). *US foreign policy and the Horn of Africa*. Routledge.
- Wright, S. (2018). *African foreign policies*. Routledge.
- Young, C. (2018). The heritage of colonialism. In *Africa in World Politics* (pp. 9-26). Routledge.

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Dear Respondent,

My name is Charles SENGABO MULIGANDE- a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi-Institute of Diplomacy and International studies. I am currently undertaking a Master of Arts degree in International studies at the University. I am undertaking as part of the requirements of this degree, a research on the *“Challenges of Implementation of Foreign Policy in Africa: The Case of the Parliament of Rwanda”*. I am requesting for your participation in answering the questions. The information given will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and for academic purposes only.

#### SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. What is your Gender?  
Male [ ]                      Female [ ]
2. What is your highest level of education?  
No formal education [ ] Primary [ ] Secondary [ ] College/University education [ ]
3. What is your age category?  
18-24 years [ ] 25-30 years [ ] 31-35 years [ ] 36-40 years [ ] 40 years and above [ ]

#### SECTION B: Foreign policy implementation role of the parliament in Africa

4. How important is the parliament a key player in foreign policy implementation?

---

---

---

5. How would you describe the parliament-executive relations on matters foreign policy implementation? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

**SECTION C: Role of parliament in foreign policy implementation in Rwanda**

6. Do you agree that parliament plays an important role in foreign policy implementation in Rwanda? Kindly explain \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

7. To what extent has the parliament been involved in the foreign policy implementation process in Rwanda? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

8. Are there any significant differences between current involvement of the parliament over the last few years or since independence? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

9. Are there any key aspects of foreign policy implementation of greater consideration to the parliament? Please explain \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

**SECTION D: Challenges prospects of parliament involvement foreign policy implementation**

10. Do you agree that the parliament of Rwanda is effectively performing its role in foreign policy implementation in Rwanda? Please explain

---

---

---

---

4. What are the most significant challenges influencing effective involvement of the legislature in foreign policy making

---

---

---

---

In your opinion, what ways can these challenges be overcome?

---

---

---

---