INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS DIPLOMACY TOOLS FOR KENYA:

A CASE STUDY OF UNCTAD

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Peter Mwenda Njagi

R51/9247/2017

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Signature   Date

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Dr. Patrick Maluki

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Signature   Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my family and in particular my parents Mr. and Mrs. Njagi for their solid support all through my life, my wife, and siblings for always being there for me.

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I appreciate my parents and family members for their continuous support. I am appreciative to my supervisor, Dr. Patrick Maluki, for his guidance and supervision all through this project writing and to all my friends for their encouragement in the entire academic journey.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AGOA   African Growth and Opportunity Act

ANEN   African NGOs Environmental Network

AU   African Union

CEGE   Center for European Governance and Economic Development Research

GARP   Global Atmospheric Research Program

IAEA   International Atomic Energy Agency

IGOs   Intergovernmental Organizations

IMF   International Monetary Fund

INGOs   International Nongovernmental Organisations

IPCC   Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

ITU   International Telecommunications Union

IUPN   Union for the Protection of Nature

MEAC   Ministry of East African Community

MEPC   Marine Environment Protection Committee

PAHO   Pan-American Health Organization

UNCLOS   United Nations protocol on the Law of the Seas

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WFP   World Food Programme

WHO   World Health Organization

WMO   World Meteorological Organization

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the role that international institutions play in promoting diplomatic relations. Specifically, the study was set to determine the extent to which international organisations are tools of diplomacy, to investigate the ways that international organisations have influenced diplomatic engagements in the 21st century and to establish the role of UNCTAD in Kenya's diplomatic engagements. The study was guided by neorealist theory. The study employed quantitative and qualitative research designs. This study used both primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary data was collected through interviewing Kenya's sitting and retired foreign affairs minister, ambassadors, and people that participated in the formulation of Kenya's foreign policies in the past and in the present. Secondary data was collected from relevant books, foreign policy documents and resolutions and journal articles. Framework analysis and thematic network evaluation was applied for analysis. From the study it was established that: the 21st century diplomatic engagements are an engine that any developing country should employ to drive its national interests; Kenya is maximizing on its diplomatic ties and engagements to achieve its foreign policy goals; through economic diplomacy Kenya has positioned itself in the regional market for trade thus becoming a regional trade hub; the involvement of other actors in Kenya's pursuance of diplomacy is an effective strategy adopted by the government in promoting its economic diplomacy and the ministries of Foreign Affairs the African Union, private sector and other actors through strong 21st century diplomatic engagements are enhancing strong economic, political and social relations in Africa and the world at large. The study recommends that governments through the African union need to streamline trade procedures and come up with standard procedures effective 21st century diplomatic engagement's procedures, economic strategies and goals that enhance Africa's economic position in the world and more specifically EAC trade liberalizations will enhance Kenya's economical position.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

While the study of the of international organisations on state relations is not new, globalisation and advancements in technology has brought the subject to the fore. Giving his millennium commencement speech, the Former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan expounded on essential responsibility of international organisations in overcoming the challenges being witnessed in the 21st century. In this regard, there is little doubt that diplomacy has continued to evolve over time. Today, the "states only" model to diplomacy is quickly fading away. At the same time, the world is still far from formalising diplomatic recognition of non-state participants, and in particular international organisations, both non-governmental and intergovernmental ones. Nonetheless, there are many evidences of the fact that international organisations now occupy center stages in diplomacy engagements.

Formed in 1889, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) formed provides a classic example of the role of international organisations in diplomatic interactions.[1] Today, IPU has a membership of 157 national parliaments. Another significant example is the League of Nations formed in 1919 which aimed at controlling international conflicts. After failing to achieving its primary mandate, the League of Nations evolved to become the United Nations. Although the League of Nations can be termed a move that failed considering that the Second World War took place only two decades after its

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[1] Šabič, Z. (2008). Building democratic and responsible global governance: The role of international parliamentary institutions. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *61*(2), 255-271.

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formation, it can also be termed as a great success. It successfully shows states that there is need to have a player responsible for providing a forum and means for states to voice their ideas and have a chance to resolve their conflicts peacefully. This realisation contributed to formation of the United Nations, the world's largest international organisation to-date.

The existence and continued functioning of international organisations is thus testament that states deem them as necessary actors in the management of international relations. Implying, states agree that international organisations have central roles in diplomatic relations. Ideally, diplomacy refers to an element of foreign policy additionally the management of relations in a pleasant way allowing for robust bonds and relationships. Moreover, diplomacy also encompasses on how to manage changes in a nation in that stakeholders embrace diplomacy procedures allowing for the progressive institutionalising of change. Diplomatic activities have the force to shape the general direction that a nation, region or the entire world takes socially, politically, environmentally and economically.

From a political viewpoint, diplomatic relations create a good environment for all actors. Friendly parties are considered to have good diplomatic interactions while those deemed unfriendly are perceived to lack good diplomatic engagements. These relations stem from the interactions the relevant parties have either in public in private. For example, after the election violent conflicts of 2007 in Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki and Right Honorable Raila Odinga had good diplomatic interactions leading to

an agreement to peaceably share power. That agreement led to the ending of the ethnic crashes, burning of property and looting happening in the country.[2]

From a social viewpoint, diplomacy offers the opportunity of solving deeply contested issues between parties in a peaceful way. As a function of diplomacy, the Sudanese Civil War ceased and the parties agreed to have two countries: Sudan and South Sudan. Also, diplomacy has made it possible for Uganda and Kenya to relate cordially despite the incessant conflict over Migingo Island.[3] Diplomacy has the ability to make parties having divergent views on a matter live harmoniously with each other.

While international organisations only begun in the 19th century, as already indicated above, diplomacy is not a recent phenomenon. It has been in existence since the time when empires, States or other centers of power related with each other on an official basis. There are many diplomatic archives that have been found in Egypt dating all the way back to the 13th century. Given the variance in the history of diplomacy and international organisations, there is need to understand the roles of these organisations in a thing that had already been going on way before their formation. In other words, it is imperative to understand the ways through which international organisations influence diplomacy. The concern is even more important considering the globalisation of the world. Today, countries are more interconnected and interdependent than ever before. As such, the likelihood of inter-state conflicts is higher than it has ever been through history. Thus, if countries realised the need to have international organisations

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[2]Gettleman, J. (2007). Disputed vote plunges Kenya into bloodshed. *New York Times*. Accessed on 23rd March 2019 from https://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/31/world/africa/31kenya.html

[3]Cox, R. (1995). *"Critical political economy" in Bjorn Hettne eds., International political economy: Understanding Global Disorder*. London: Zed Books.

have a role in facilitating diplomacy after the First World War, the need is more pronounced today.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Global politics and economics are changing drastically. As such, skilled and reliable diplomatic engagement is becoming more essential for states to not only survive, but also enhance their national interests. For that purpose, states create institutions to help them function better. In Africa, this need is even more glaring as the continent has to deal with the developed world, tap into global resources and at the same time not sacrifice its sovereignty. In order to enhance its political and economic positions, Kenya has to identify ways of having successful diplomatic relations within Africa and beyond. Over the years, Kenya has shown that understanding of the central role diplomacy occupies in promoting a country's agendas forward. Resulting from that's Kenya has employed different strategies in its diplomatic engagements Kenya is an affiliate of various international institutions through which it advances its foreign policy objectives as well as national interests. This study explores the different ways Kenya has pursued its national interests through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

1.3 Research Questions

1. Are international organizations diplomacy tools for states?

2. In what ways have international institutions influenced diplomacy in the 21st century?

3. What role has UNCTAD played in Kenya's diplomacy?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

The primary research purpose of this analysis is to determine the role that international institutions play in promoting diplomatic relations.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

To affect this broad objective, the study also has three specific objectives:

1. To determine the extent to which international organisations are tools of diplomacy

2. To investigate the ways that international organisations have influenced diplomatic engagements in the 21st century.

3. To establish the role of UNCTAD in Kenya's diplomatic engagements.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an account of literature on role of institutions as diplomacy tools for Kenya with a case study of UNCTAD as in the previous studies. It also explores the gaps that this research study sought to fill. The distinctive regions covered here comprise of the theoretical framework, empirical review, conceptual framework, summary as well as research gaps.

1.5.2 Theoretical Literature Review

This segment surveys diverse theories that were used to guide the analysis on role of institutions as diplomacy tools for Kenya with a case study of UNCTAD. The analysis is guided by neorealist theory as well as conventional constructivism theory.

The neorealist theory presumes that international organisations have and will always be ineffective in diplomatic relations as they do not have what it takes to sway States from engaging in power politics and self-help initiatives.[4] According to this theory, the formation of the international system is anarchic. In the context of this theory, anarchy does not connote the disorder and chaos, but absence of a government in charge of the world. Owing to the absence of a hierarchical government that directs the world; the international system is characterised by many States each pursuing its own interests using all the power within their means. Given that all states are equal, there is no government with authority to order others on how to act. Thus, there is no state with an obligation to obey.

On top of anarchical structure, capability is the other major tent of this theory. Under capability, this theory posits that each state acts in relation to its capability to meet its own needs. The capabilities of states are seen through natural resource endowments, technological prowess, demographics, economic might, and military capacity.[5] Since the international system is a self-help system by nature, this theory moves that every state act in a way to defend and better its capabilities. On this regard,

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[4]Franceschet, A, (2013). Justice and international organization: Two models of global governance. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations,* 8 (1), 19-34.
[5]Ibid

neo-realists attest that international organisations do not have the capacity to impact diplomatic relations as their survival rely on generosity of the countries.

However, the argument that international organisations are irrelevant in diplomatic relations is flawed. The United Nation's prohibition of the deployment of military force can best exemplify this fact. Many states have complied with UN principles of non-use of force despite the U.N. not being a 'world government'. Like is the case for all other international organisations, the aim of the UN has never been to meddle with the internal affairs of member states, but to promote settle conflicts amicably and peaceably. Thus, the neo-realist argument can be countered from two fronts. First, there is evidence affirming that nations abide by standards imposed by international organisations. Secondly, the likelihood of an international organisation having a single state exerting pressure over its decisions is quite low. For example, European countries, the United States, Japan, and Canada have for a long time accounted for roughly 60 percent of votes in the International Monetary Fund's voting system. The presence of collective principals ensures that no single state can threaten or intimidate IMF to act in ways consistent with the state's national interests. On the same vein, international organisations know that their future and effectiveness lie in being seen as neutral. Barnett as well as Finnemore thought: "The jurisdiction of IOs, along with bureaucracies in general, therefore, lies in their capability to present themselves as non-partisan as well as impartial – as not exercising power but rather serving others".[6]

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[6]Barnett, M., & Finnemore, M. (2004). *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. at p.21

According to conventional constructivists, states act together to develop international organisations including their mandate and how to achieve them. In other words, international organisations only exist based on the mutual agreements between the actors. This theory asserts that economic and army power are not the only sources of influence in the international system. Discursive power also occupies a central position in world politics. Therefore, there are more factors to consider when analysing the actions of actors beyond their quantifiable forces. Thus, the fundamental structures of international organisations are not material, but ideas. These organisations do not exist to promote the material wellbeing of actors, but to uphold ideas and values that the states mutually agreed upon.

1.5.3 Conceptualizing International Institutions

International organizations are the main focus in the research international relations and policymaking efforts.[7] Despite this, extant literature does not provide a generally accepted precision of international institutions. There are numerous clarities of international institutions and theoretical views. As such, scholars employ a range of non-overlapping conceptions. This has led to fragmentation of literature on international institutions, which has in turn hindered theoretical cumulation.[8] The term "international institutions" is often used to point out to evidently diverse empirical phenomena like international regimes and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). This application lead to uncertainty and it also convey that most study findings of "international institutions" appeal to a restricted set of institutional forms. This implies a wide definition of international institutions that encompasses the most relevant

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[7]Duffield, J. (2007). What are international institutions? *International Studies Review*, *9*(1), 1-22.
[8]Ibid

official types. Such a definition will definitely facilitate development of comprehensive theories on the subject, which would in turn provides a general framework in which otherprecise forms of international institutions could be defined and connected to each other, thereby promoting a more comprehensive understanding of their similarities and differences as well as their relations.[9] In any case, "no scientific field can go a long way unless the participants equally understand the main terms."[10]

Holsti and Holsti describe institutions as patterned behaviors, collection of thoughts or opinions, expectations and regulations. While he was very concerned about the underlying relations between these elements, some researchers could find some or all of them as excessive or superfluous to an organizational concept per se.[11]There are various formal and informal bodies containing international institutions. In most cases it is the international public authority is vesed upon international institutions with international legal personality. Nevertheless, there are other institutions such as OECD, and G8 that exercise public authority. These institutions have substantial political clout and their actions raise legitimacy concerns. These are institutions in the sense of organizational sociology, even though they may not have legal personality as in international institutions.

Ishiyama and Breuning point that the terms international regimes, international institutions, and international organisations have been used interchangeably throughout literature, but they are all slightly different. In their view, international institutions are "Persistent and related rules defining behavioral roles, restricting action and forming

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[9]Ibid
[10]Ostrom, E. (1986). An agenda for the study of institutions. *Public choice*, *48*(1), 3-25.
[11] Ibid

9

expectations".[12] Similarly, Zervaki define the term "international organizations" as " guidelines setting out how states ought to collaborate and compete amongst themselves".[13] International regimes refer to the "Principles, principles, rules and administrative processes whereby the interests of participants converge in a specific field of concern."[14] Flowing from these perspectives, it is evident that international institutions stem from states coming together with the intention of defining ways of interaction and cooperation amongst themselves.

Gabriela defines international organization as ' an institutional consensus amongst members of the international system to accomplish goals on a structural basis, representing the strengths, priorities and concerns of its members."[15] From this view, one can define international organisations as international persons that exist and function through international law, agreements and treaties. According to the United Nations, international organisations refer to "intergovernmental organisations, namely, organisations that States have concluded without a treaty or, in exceptional cases (such as that of the OSCE)".[16] Thus, international law affords these organisations with legal personality.

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[12]Ishiyama, J. T., & Breuning, M. (2011). *21st century political science: A reference handbook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Pub, 423.

[13]Zervaki, A. (2014). *Resetting the political culture agenda: From Polis to international organization*. Cham New York : Springer, 10.

[14]Ishiyama, J. T., & Breuning, M. (2011). *21st century political science: A reference handbook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Pub, 423.

[15]Gabriela, S. M. (2013). The role of international organizations in the global economic governance – an assessment. *Romanian Economic and Business Review – Special issue*, 308-316.

[16]United Nations. (2009). *Yearbook of the international law commission 2002: Report of the Commission to the General Assembly on the work of its fifty-fourth session. Vol. 2, part 2. Vol. 2, part 2*. New York: United Nations.

1.5.4 Conceptions of International Institutions: Competing Paradigms

Conceptions of international institutions can be divided into different groups. Such definitions can be divided into roughly four categories: entities as formal bodies, procedures, laws, and norms. Researchers often use the phrase "international institution" in reference to recognized international organizations for instance International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Equating institutions with organizations became sensible in 1950s and 1960s since international organizations were the primary institutional inquest concern by researchers. With the proliferation of studies on other international institutional types in the previous couple of years but such a narrow conception has become misleading and inadequate, and therefore, unfitting.

The advent of research on international systems in late 1970s as well as early 1980s culminated to initial deliberated attempts by academicians and researchers of international relations to look at international institutions in wider terms and to describe them in a more systematic manner. Some of the leading theorists like Oran Young and Robert Keohane claimed that governments are social institutions that, in effect, involve the concept of institutions. Young in particular tried to define international institutions specifically. He started by describing social institutions as ''known behavior patterns or behaviors around which standards overlap. " Young introduced a more refined version in the late 1980s, '' identifiable practices which consist of acknowledged Positions correlated with a group of laws or norms regulating relationships between the occupants of those positions' and therefore, to him, ''International institutions are societal organizations which regulate activities of international societies members. " However this earlier interpretation of sociology was narrow. Young distinguished societal institutions from organizations. He defines them as ''tangible establishments

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having physical address, headquarters, staff, equipment and financial plans.''[17] Young added that social institutions, generally and international institutions, particularly, ''might or might not be supported by explicit organizations.''[18] While Young's idea of institutions might be useful, Keohane noted that it calls for limitation of Accordingly, individual's explanatory goals or avoids making rational error of defining organizations first based on behaviors observed and later applying them to '' define '' a similar behaviour.

The rationalist conception of institutions formal rules is more common in extant literature. In rationalist conceptualization of institutions, agents are presumed to act in a rational manner with the view to maximizing their utilities in light of various external limitations. Among these external constraints, there are institutions that are mechanisms created by people to endorse / cater for their interests in the rationalist conception. Simmons and Martin point out that ''Many researchers view international institutions as guidelines of global governance behavior'' … and that these guidelines ''are usually regarded as declarations that prohibit, necessitate, or allow some specified actions.''[19] Keohane provides a broad-based clarity of institutions as ''purposeful and related sets of regulations (official or non-official) that describe social responsibility, restrain activities and shape anticipations.''[20] The rationalist notion of international institutions as rules differs from the initial sociological notion of institutions as practices in that it differentiates behaviour from institutions. Unfortunately, the rationalist notion of

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[17] Ibid

[18]Young, O. R. (1989). *International cooperation: Building regimes for natural resources and the environment*. Cornell University Press.

[19]Simmons, B. A., & Martin, L. L. (2002). International organizations and institutions. *Handbook of International Relations*, 192-211.

[20]Keohane, R. O. (1988). International institutions: Two approaches. *International Studies Quarterly*, *32*(4), 379-396.

international institutions is inadequate because it is not all-encompassing. It leaves out important classes of international institutions and also fails to define the status of other international organizations.

In recent years, another conception of international institutions has developed in reply to restrictions of the rationalist notion. The constructivist conception give premium to the inter-subjective aspects of international institutions. Fennimore and Sikkink note that ' ' traditionist concentrate on role of thoughts, beliefs, information, traditions and arguments in governance, specifically emphasizing the role of common or ' inter-subjective ' thoughts and understandings in public life. "[21] Constructivists will view institutions as ideational idea that entail thoughts that are common amongst members of an accordance.[22] In addition, constructivists argue that institutions emerge through a less premeditated process as opposed to them being created consciously in a deliberative process.[23] Instead, social institutions consist of norms.[24] Constructivists look at norms as communally mutual understandings, anticipations, or values of suitable behavior for citizens. The types of rules are: ''regulative'' (regulatory/prescriptive), and constitutive. Regulatory norms govern and restrict behavior while constituent norms create agents, provide them with specific abilities and forces, and decide their causal characteristics, desires, and likings. The strict quality of 'toughness' differentiates norms from other types of rules[25] while constitutive norms

[21]Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). Taking stock: the constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *4*(1), 391-416.
[22]Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge University Press.
[23]Keohane, R. O. (1988). International institutions: Two approaches. *International Studies Quarterly*, *32*(4), 379-396.
[24]Klotz, A. (1995). Norms reconstituting interests: global racial equality and US sanctions against South Africa. *International Organization*, *49*(3), 451-478.
[25]Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). Taking stock: the constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *4*(1), 391-416.

define social activities, and creates "the very possibility of certain activities."[26] This conception however ignores the recognized characteristics of international institutions, at least as they are commonly perceived.

1.5.5 Empirical Review

To understand the different views scholars have expressed in connection to the responsibility of international organisations in diplomatic relations, it suffices to begin by defining the key terms. Burton explains diplomacy as "the organization of global relationships by arbitration; the procedure in which the associations are changed as well as controlled by diplomats and ambassadors; the professional or art of the ambassador."[27] According to this definition, diplomacy is basically an act of negotiation that takes place between two or more states through their appointed agents. In congruence with this view, Dhia postulates that "diplomacy involves communication among people appointed to further foreign policy either by official consensus or wordless changes".[28] This view insinuates that diplomacy is an implement of foreign policy. Again, this position seems to suggest that diplomacy is a subset of interactions between two or more states. Landsberg expands this conceptualisation by defining diplomacy as the management of two things: politics and relations.[29] Considering all these perspectives, one can define the term "diplomacy" as communication between two parties in an attempt to mediate discrepancies, and settle disputes. Diplomacy influences resolutions as well as conduct of states and citizens by negotiating, one on

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[26] Searle, J. R., & Willis, S. (1995). *The construction of social reality*. Simon and Schuster.
[27]Burton, J. W. (2010). *Systems, states, diplomacy and rules*. London: Cambridge.
[28]Dhia, A. (2006). *The Information Age and diplomacy: An emerging strategic vision in world Affairs*. Boca Raton: Disertation.com.
[29]Landsberg, C. (2004). *The quiet diplomacy of liberation: International politics and South Africa's transition*. Johannesburg: Jacana.

one talks as well as methods that do not cause harm or injury to the citizens. Diplomacy is the main foreign policy instrument. It helps further a state's interests.

1.5.6 Evolution of Diplomacy in International Institutions

While international organisations have come to occupy central roles in multilateral diplomacy in the present day, there has been notable growth over time. Initially, diplomacy was between two states, thus being bilateral in nature. As countries became more connected, the need for multilateral diplomacy continued to gain traction. Since the 19th century, as Karns and Mingst observe, international organisations greatly help states understand concept of multilateral diplomacy.[30] For example, in 19th century, the Concert of Europe brought together multiple European powers. In the early 20th century, the League of Nations also played a key role in promoting multilateral diplomacy. Since then, the United Nations has grown to have a global scope and near universal membership. In this regard, Karns and Mingst point that the UN has become the world's center stage for multilateral diplomacy.[31] In agreement, Ramesh Thakur opines that, "the United Nations is an important platform whereby countries actually categorize norms into resolutions and declarations (soft law) and conventions and treaties (hard law)."[32]

Karns and Mingst point that the complexity of multilateralism in the 21st century has never been witnessed before. They assert that multilateralism has evolved to become multi-leveled involving national, sub-national, regional and international

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[30]Karns, M., & Mingst, K. (2013). *International Organizations and Diplomacy*. In (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy. Oxford University Press.
[31]Ibid
[32]Thakur, R. (2011). Multilateral diplomacy and the United Nations: Global Governance Venue or Actor,' in James Muldoon, Jr., Jo Ann Fagot Aviel, Richard Reitano, and Earl Sullivan (eds), *The New Dynamics of Multilateralism. Diplomacy, International Organizations and Global Governance.* Boulder: Westview, 259-60.

arenas. The number of players has improved greatly. Consequently, hierarchies, rules, issues, and interests have multiplied. In this light, UN-sponsored global conferences draw thousands of delegates from over 190 countries, speaking various languages and stemming from different religious backgrounds. Also, the number of international organisations has ballooned. In 1982, Africa had only 21 NGOs forming the African NGOs Environmental Network (ANEN).[33] By 1990, this number had risen to 530 NGOs.[34] From a global view, the number of international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) has been on the rise. For instance, the number of intergovernmental organisations rose from 118 in 1909 to 1299 in 1999.[35] Similarly, the number of INGOs skyrocketed from 445 to 8988 between 1909 and 1999.[36]

Even further, today's multilateralism integrates also non-state actors like non-governmental organisations (NGOs) into diplomatic meetings. While the involvement of intergovernmental organisations in multilateral diplomacy started in the early 20th century, but inclusion of NGOs in the matter is a much recent phenomenon. Roeder and Simard contend that NGOs started gaining a footing in multilateral relations after the Second World War.[37] In 1992, through the United Nations, states allowed the participation of NGOs in multilateral engagements. Since then, NGOs have taken part in all annual conferences of the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development. To safeguard their interests in multilateral affairs, NGOs rely on

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[33]Manno, J. (2008). NGO Diplomacy: The influence of nongovernmental organizations in international environmental negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics, 8*, 146-148.
[34]Ibid
[35]Weiss, T. G., Seyle, D. C., & Coolidge, K. (2013). The rise of non-state actors in global governance. *One Earth Future Foundation Discussion Paper,* 1-27.
[36]Ibid
[37]Roeder, J. L. W., & Simard, A. (2013). *Diplomacy and negotiation for humanitarian NGOs*. Dordrecht: Springer.

economic strengths, knowledge and ideas to exert pressure. While NGOs do not possess the military capabilities of States, some have sufficient economic resources. In addition, Betsill and Corell argue that NGOs also rely on information and knowledge as their source of power.[38] NGOs have developed the art of translating their capabilities into influence. Some of the tactics NGOs use to exert influence include persuasion, coercive force, and threats to interfere with a country's economic activities.

1.5.7 Rationales behind the Creation of International Institutions

The main reason behind establishment of international institutions by various countries is to address the necessity of a player that can facilitate discussions and agreements. International organisations serve as providers of frameworks for discussions and agreements. For example, during the after-election conflicts of 2007 in Kenya, the United Nations and the African Union did not in any way seek to direct Kenya on how to conduct itself. Rather, through Kofi Annan, the AU sought to facilitate dialogue and agreements between the Party for National Unity (PNU) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Another driver for the creation of the establishment of international institutions is the need for collective action. Nayyar and the World Institute for Development Economics Research observe that these institutions act as mechanisms for international cooperation. For instance, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) facilitates the lowering of transactional costs among member states.

[38]Betsill, Michele Merrill, and Elisabeth Corell. (2008). *NGO diplomacy: The influence of nongovernmental organizations in international environmental negotiations*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

1.5.8 Roles of International Institutions in Diplomacy

International organisations serve as tool of diplomacy by acting as arenas for members to interact. Spies uses the analogy of a sports field to elucidate the role of these organisations.[39] This scholar postulates that a sports field is customised for specific games. In like manner, international organisations serve as the sports field where the game of diplomacy is played under already identified and duly communicated rules. These organisations inform all member states on meeting dates, place of meeting, and order of contributing during sessions. Without these organisations, efforts to hold multilateral diplomacy interactions would most of the times prove futile and chaotic when they would succeed to commence. Through Committee Chairs, these organisations control negotiation procedures, just the same way a referee on a sports field does. There is need to have a director who is regarded as neutral to all parties take charge over diplomatic processes.

1.5.9 Agenda Setting

Another way that international organisations serve as a tool of diplomacy is through their help in setting agendas for discussion. As realists argue, every state has selfish interests it seeks to achieve. Thus, there is need for an institution responsible for setting the agenda so that the states with seemingly weaker capabilities can have their voice heard as well. International organisations ensure that there is a balancing act in the interests of member states. The UN General Assembly exemplify how international organisations help in agenda-setting. Every annual meeting of the General Assembly begins with a general debate and introduction of new topics. For example, in 1967,

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[39]Spies, Y. K. (2019). *Global South perspectives on diplomacy*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Malta argued that high seas as well as deep seabed constitute man's heritage. This principle led to renegotiation of the law regulating the sea.

Beyond facilitating the setting of the agenda, international organisations also go forward to structure it in ways that member states can offer feasible resolutions. Even further, international organisations have been credited with developing new norms in the world that then shape legislations and foreign policies. Karns and Mingst assert that UN has been the originator of so many ideas.[40] Some of these organisations have been recognised as custodians of the world's conscience.

1.5.10 Instruments of Foreign Policy through Coalition Building

International organisations can serve as instruments of pursuing objectives of foreign policy. In these organisations, decisions are usually made through voting. As such, there is an impetus for states to form coalitions as a way of attaining voting majority making it possible to obtain outcomes that they cannot achieve while acting individually. For example, in the case of IMF voting system where the U.S., Europe, Japan and Canada command over 60% of ballots cast, these countries can vote as a block in support of resolutions that will bolster the chances of achieving their respective interests.

Dreher and Jensen conducted a research exploring whether the IMF is an agency or non-state player.[41] Using data from 38 countries and spanning 1997 and 2003, these scholars observed that a country's voting pattern played a huge role in determining its

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[40]Karns, M., & Mingst, K. (2013). *International Organizations and Diplomacy*. In (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy. Oxford University Press.
[41]Dreher, A., & Jensen, N. M. (2007). Independent actor or agent? An empirical analysis of the impact of U.S. Interests on International Monetary Fund conditions. *The Journal of Law & Economics* 50 (1), 105-124.

borrowing capacity.[42] More specifically, these scholars revealed that nations which have good relationship with the United States access funding with lesser terms, especially just before elections.[43] On the basis of the benefits that can be attained by acting as a bloc, member states have to establish rapport between themselves in order to agree on the position of the bloc. While there are measures to prevent hegemony in these organizations, history proves otherwise. In the UN, for instance, the cold war saw the formation of distinct and rival groupings controlled by America, Soviet Union, and the Non-Aligned Movement. In 1964, the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) saw establishment of an alliance consisting of 77 states spread across Asia, Africa and Latin America. Consequently, UNCTAD had two conflicting groups, one in the North and another in the South.

1.5.10.1 Socialising Actors into Multilateral Diplomacy

Participating in international organisations forums can go a long way in socialising member states on the ideals, practices, and processes of multilateral diplomacy. Research conducted on individual states have shown that taking part in these forums have positive impacts on state interests. Checkel investigated the effect of participating in the EU on European states and found positive outcomes.[44] In a similar effort, Kent realised that China's foreign policy had improved significantly since the country started participating in international organisations actively.[45] Thus, one can

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[42]Ibid
[43]Ibid
[44]Checkel, J. T. (2005). International institutions and socialization in Europe: Introduction and framework. *International Organizations*, 59, 801-826.
[45]Kent, A. (2007). *Beyond compliance: China, international organizations, and global security.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

conclude that international organisations serve as a tool of improving the diplomatic skills of member states.

1.5.10.2 Independent Actors

Despite the claim that international organisations exist to aid states to attain their selfish interests, the principal-agent theory contend that it is not possible for any state to dictate the direction of these entities. These organisations have the power and legitimacy to address many issues without being servants to their members. International law constitutes international organisations as independent entities that are separate not only from their member states, but also founding states. Nonetheless, there are people who still argue that international organisations in general and the UN in particular cannot be independent. In making this argument, Bertrand points that the UN Security Council cannot make a resolution without the agreement of at least nine of its nine members.[46] As such, the resolutions are actually made by the members and the UN is basically and agent.

1.5.10.3 Resource for Diplomatic Engagements

In many ways, international organisations serve as sources of the resources that states need in their diplomatic engagements. Essentially, the resolutions, statements and other outputs of international organisations are regarded as having higher authority than the positions of individual states.[47] As such, States have the tendency of using the outputs of international organisations to strengthen their positions. Recognising the power of statements and decisions made by international organisations, States over the

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[46]Bertrand, M. (1997). *The United Nations: Past, present and future*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
[47]Karns, M., & Mingst, K. (2013). *International Organizations and Diplomacy*. In (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy. Oxford University Press.

conclusions these organisations reach and project. For example, through the Security Council Resolution 242, the UN released its position on whether Israel should withdraw from Palestine's territory it seized in 1967. To date, this Resolution has been subject to different and competing interpretations. Using the different interpretations, each party, Israel and Palestine, can argue that the Council supports its position on the matter.

1.5.11 Types of International Institutions

According to Cox and Jacobson, international organisations are either forum or service based.[48] While the former refers to organisations whose primary aim is to serve as arenas of multilateral diplomatic interactions, the latter involve themselves in the provision of services governments are either unable or unwilling to provide. While Karns and Mingst also agree with these scholars that international organisations fall into two broad categories, they prefer to have forum organisations and non-forum organisations. These scholars further categorise non forum organisations into three sub-categories: service organisations, technical organisations, and regulatory organisations.

1.5.11.1 Forum Organisations

These organisations major in organising regular meetings between diplomatic representatives from the different member states. For instance, the European Union (EU) is known for holding regular meetings of finance, environmental, and foreign ministers. Following the United Kingdom decision to leave the EU, the organisation has organised many conferences of respective presidents to discuss the matter. Also, UN has convened many meetings since its founding. Considering that forum

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[48]Robert W. Cox, R. W., & Jacobson, H. K. (1973). *The Anatomy of Influence. Decision Making in International Organization.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

organisations major in bringing people from different backgrounds together, it is important for all diplomatic representatives to be well versed with diversity management. According to Leguey-Feilleux, diplomatic representatives have to be prepared to "Have more cultural differences, work habits and diplomatic styles".[49] Other examples of forum organisations include the African Union (AU), UNGA and ASEAN.

1.5.11.2 Service Organisations

The diplomacy in these organisations revolves around priorities, programmes and budgets involved in the provision of the specific service. To secure the needed supplies as well as logistical support, the organisations have to negotiate with actors in the field. Examples of these organisations include the International Committee of the Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the World Food Programme (WFP).[50]

1.5.11.3 Technical Organisations

As the term technical suggests, these organisations are involved with the provision of specialised knowledge and expertise needed to enhance governance efforts.[51] For instance, in the circumstance of climate change, there is need for state governments to access experts who understand the interaction between the various identified causal factors is pivotal in the preparation and application of appropriate strategies. Diplomacy in these organisations assumes the shape of the experts

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[49]Leguey-Feilleux, J. (2009). *The dynamics of diplomacy.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
[50]Karns, M., & Mingst, K. (2013). *International Organizations and Diplomacy.* In (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy. Oxford University Press.
[51]Ibid

convincing government representatives to develop policies and structures in the areas of interest. Example of technical international organisations includes International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and IAEA.

1.5.11.4 Regulatory Organisations

These organisations have been empowered to draft binding rules and regulations which member states agree to recognise. The IMO, for instance, develops and maintains regulations concerning maritime security, ship design and ship safety.[52] In like manner, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) has been tasked with regulating communications, developing standards for tele-communication infrastructure and equipment and also dealing with internet protocols.[53] Diplomacy in these organisations entails the discussing with representatives of member states on rule and regulations in the respective areas.

1.5.12 Kenya's Diplomatic Relations with the World

Kenya's diplomatic relationship with entire world goes back to the years before acquiring independence. In the 1970s, Kenya's neighbors like Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia either degenerating into violent conflicts or were already in conflicts.[54] Noting the grave danger, Kenya formed close diplomatic connections with America and Great Britain. In 20th century, Kenya's diplomatic relations are really bilateral in nature and only with other states. Before the turn of the 20th century, Kenya started recognising the fact that intergovernmental international organisations are tools of multilateral

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[52] Karns, M., & Mingst, K. (2013). *International Organizations and Diplomacy*. In (Ed.), The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy. Oxford University Press.
[53]Ibid
[54]Kithinji, M. M., Koster, M. M., & Rotich, J. P. (Eds.). (2016). *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*. Springer.

diplomacy. Today, Kenya has joined many international and regional organizations like AU, UN, COMESA, IGAD and EAC.[55] Beyond being a member, Kenya's has demonstrated active participation in the functioning and operations of these organisations. For instance, in terms of contributing to UN operations, Kenya is ranked fourth and eleventh in Africa and the World respectively. Also, Nairobi, Kenya, serves as headquarter of many international intergovernmental organisations such as the UNHCR and the UN.

Kenya's membership and active participation in the affairs of international organisations has come in handy has strengthened its diplomatic arguments, engagements and the entire foreign policy. Following Al-Shabaab terror attacks in Kampala on the July 11, 2010, Kenya ordered its Defence Forces into action to counter Al-Shabaab in Somalia under the umbrella of African Union.[56] In defending the move, Kenya utilised the UN Charter in arguing that it had the right to self-defense. In 2009, two years after the 2007 post-election violent conflict witnessed in Kenya, the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) recommended that Kofi Annan hand the list of chief suspects of the violence to the International Criminal Court (ICC). Again, the country used UN and ICC as tools of cleansing its image to the global community. In 2011, Kenya sought to get a deferment of the ICC trials using UN Security Council and African Union. In this context, it can be argued that Kenya sought to have the AU and the UN serve as independent actors convince the ICC to permit the country prosecute the chief suspects of the post-election violence at home.

[55]Ibid.
[56]Ibid

In other words, Kenya treated these two-international intergovernmental organisations as its agent in dealing with the global community.

Internally, intergovernmental organisations have also played a huge role in Kenya's domestic diplomacy. With respect to its territorial conflict with Uganda over the ownership of Migingo Island, Kenya wrote to the UN asking for intervention in the dispute. In this regard, Kenya sought to use UN's legitimacy and expertise to strengthen its diplomatic position with Uganda. By inviting UN into the dispute, Kenya cushioned itself from any potential escalation. Clearly, Kenya's diplomacy has evolved from being between states to engaging multiple stakeholders including international organisations. It is also clear that Kenya has greatly used international organisations as tools to improve its diplomatic relations.

1.5.13 UNCTAD's Structure and Functions

Created by UNGA in 1964 as a permanent intergovernmental institution, UNCTAD aims at maximizing commerce, investment, and development opportunities for developing countries. UNCTAD seeks to assist developing countries become integrated with the global economy. Through such policies as tariff concessions, UNCTAD aims at promoting exports of manufactured goods from developing countries. Currently, UNCTAD has 195 member states who make decisions through consensus. UNCTAD aims at using economic diplomacy to reduce poverty and enhance growth and development of the economy through national strategies and international support initiatives in support of growth centered globalization. It runs the Positive Agenda Initiative and Commercial Diplomacy Programme to help developing countries in every aspect of their trade discussions. The work of UNCTAD on trade

negotiations and commercial diplomacy enhances economic, competitive, administrative, regulatory and human capacity in developing countries to allow them to trade and to be beneficially involved in the international trading process. There are NGOs that participate in the activities of UNCTAD.

1.5.14 Theoretical Framework

This study utilized the neorealist theory. The neorealist theory presumes that international organisations have and will always be ineffective in diplomatic relations as they do not have what it takes to sway States from engaging in power politics and self-help initiatives.[57] According to this theory, the formation of the international system is anarchic. In the context of this theory, anarchy does not connote the disorder and chaos, but absence of a government in charge of the world. Owing to the absence of a hierarchical government that directs the world; the international system is characterized by many States each pursuing its own interests using all the power within their means. Given that all states are equal, there is no government with authority to order others on how to act. Thus, there is no state with an obligation to obey.

On top of anarchical structure, capability is the other major tent of this theory. Under capability, this theory posits that each state acts in relation to its capability to meet its own needs. The capabilities of states are seen through natural resource endowments, technological prowess, demographics, economic might, and military capacity.[58] Since the international system is a self-help system by nature, this theory moves that every state acts in a way to defend and better its capabilities. On this regard,

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[57]Franceschet, A, (2013). Justice and international organization: Two models of global governance. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations,* 8 (1), 19-34.
[58]Ibid

neo-realists attest that international organisations do not have the capacity to impact diplomatic relations as their survival rely on generosity of the countries.

However, the argument that international organisations are irrelevant in diplomatic relations is flawed. The United Nation's prohibition of the deployment of military force can best exemplify this fact. Many states have complied with UN principles of non-use of force despite the U.N. not being a 'world government'. Like is the case for all other international organisations, the aim of the UN has never been to meddle with the internal affairs of member states, but to promote settle conflicts amicably and peaceably. Thus, the neo-realist argument can be countered from two fronts. First, there is evidence affirming that nations abide by standards imposed by international organisations. Secondly, the likelihood of an international organisation having a single state exerting pressure over its decisions is quite low. For example, European countries, the United States, Japan, and Canada have for a long time accounted for roughly 60 percent of votes in the International Monetary Fund's voting system. The presence of collective principals ensures that no single state can threaten or intimidate IMF to act in ways consistent with the state's national interests. On the same vein, international organisations know that their future and effectiveness lie in being seen as neutral. Barnett as well as Fennimore thought: "The jurisdiction of IOs, along with bureaucracies in general, therefore, lies in their capability to present themselves as non-partisan as well as impartial – as not exercising power but rather serving others".[59]

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[59]Barnett, M., & Finnemore, M. (2004). *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politic*s. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. at p.21

1.5.15 Conceptual Model

The current study sought to explore how Kenya views UNCTAD as a diplomacy implement to attain foreign policy interests. The study will explore the extent to which Kenya views UNCTAD as a facilitator of her foreign policies through six of the mentioned roles of international institutions. The figure below provides a framework for the study. It is a diagrammatic presentation in the analysis of variables. The conceptual framework illustrates how dependent and independent variables interact.
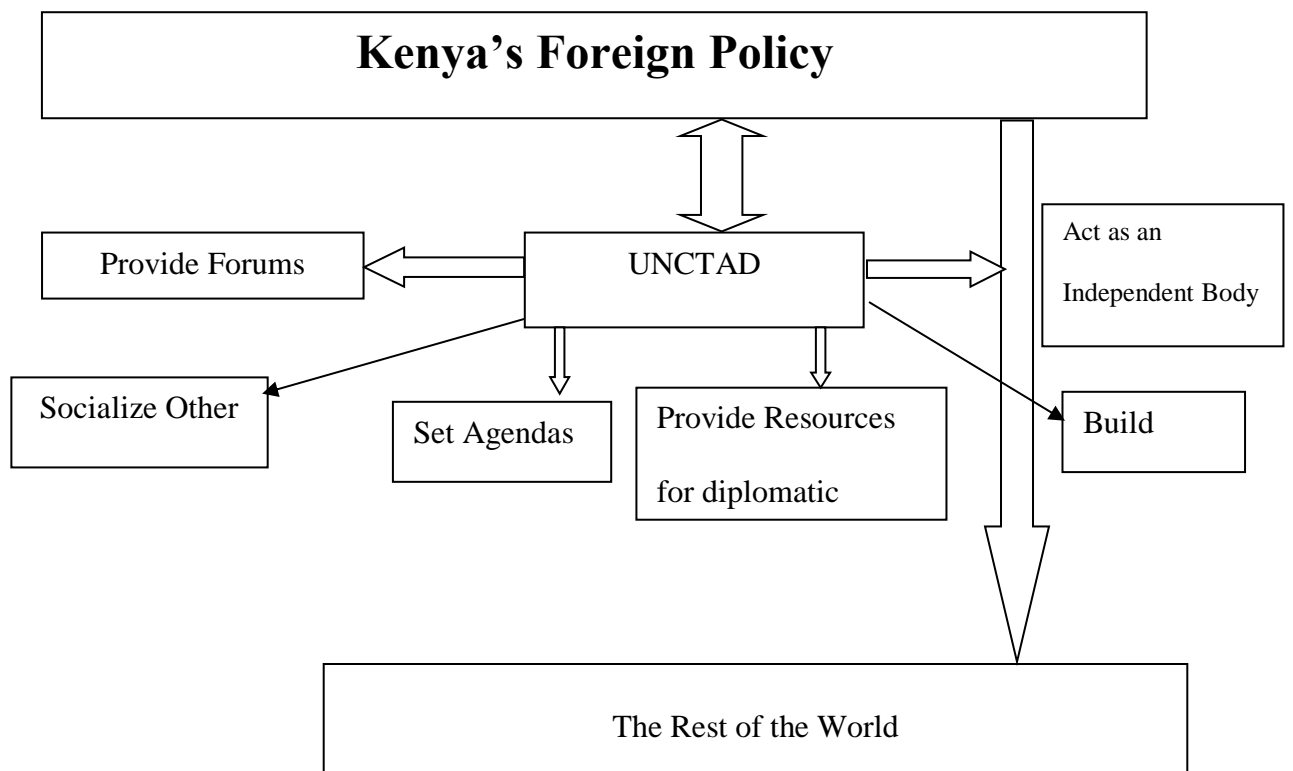
Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework

1.5.16 Literature Gap

While scholars have widely examined evolution diplomacy and the roles of international organisations in diplomatic interactions, there are still glaring gaps. First and foremost, it is not evident what factors led to the need to include international organisations in diplomatic interactions between states. Identifying the gaps that led to the incorporation of these organisations can be vital in determining their performance and success or failure. Second, existing literature does not explore the various ways in which member states use international organisations as tools to enhance their respective diplomatic stands. Thirdly, there is no single research that has been conducted with respect to how international organisations have influenced Kenya's diplomatic relationship with the entire world.

1.5.17 Summary of Literature Review

In summary, this review established that states are the reason why international institutions exist. Over time, states realised that they needed players that can facilitate discussion and agreements among themselves. International institutions are creations of states. these institutions are tasked with many roles including providing forums for multilateral engagements, setting agendas, socialising players into multilateral diplomacy, building coalition, and providing necessary resources for diplomatic interactions. Moreover, these institutions have to remain as independent actors. On this basis, the neorealist theory asserts that international institutions are subjects of states. in stark contrast, conventional constructivists contend that these institutions are independent as economic resources are not the only sources of power.

1.6 Study Justification

Ideally, justification means the value this study will add when completed.

1.6.1 Academic Justification

The current research will provide knowledge on role of international organisations in diplomatic engagements in the 21st century. While there is little doubt that states regard international organisations as actors in diplomatic relations, there is very scarce understanding on how these organisations serve as tools of diplomacy. This study will pinpoint how expound how international organisations help states strengthen ties with each other, maintain peace on a global scale and also protect the sovereignty of each country.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

Kenya's political, economic and social stability has provided the country with unique status over the East African region. Kenya has been at the forefront of fighting militants in Somalia in an attempt to stabilise the neighbour in the east. On the North, Kenya had to intervene and help in the resolution of conflicts in Sudan, efforts the climaxed with the establishment of South Sudan, the world's youngest country. In the west, Kenya's relation with Uganda has never been at ease, especially due to physical boundaries. In the South, the country's relation with Tanzania has been very shaky. The relations between these two countries have been described as "non-existent".[60] Considering all the tensions surrounding Kenya's relations with her neighbors, it is vital

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[60]Karugu, F. (2018). The tale of two neighbours and why Kenya must make smart economic moves. *Standard Media.* Accessed 21st March 2019 from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001280518/the-tale-of-two-neighbors-and-why-kenya-must-make-smart-economic-moves

for the country to seek ways of bolstering her diplomatic engagements. The intent is that policy makers will use the findings of this study to leverage international organisations to improve diplomatic relationships with her neighbors. This study will help improve Kenya's diplomatic relations with other countries in a bid to achieve its diverse national interests.

1.7 Hypotheses

This study sought to test three specific hypotheses:

1. International institutions enhance states diplomatic engagements.

2. Kenya's success in multilateral diplomacy is dependent on expert utilization of international institutions.

3. Kenya has leveraged on its relations with UNCTAD to promote its economic diplomacy.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Introduction

This section details the research method that was used in the study. It comprises of the research design, sampling and sampling procedures, and description of research instruments, data collections procedures, data analysis as well as presentation.

1.8.2 Research Design

The current paper plans on utilising neither quantitative research design nor the qualitative approach. Rather, the researcher intends to employ the mixed research

design. The fact that qualitative and quantitative research designs have serious shortcomings informed this decision. Qualitative research methods are purely based on subjective experiences. Thus, the findings lack the much need credibility and objectivity. Also, qualitative research methods tend to use small sample sizes in data collection. Small sample sizes confront generalisability of findings. Ideally, an illustrative is a subgroup of the populace. It is expected that a sample should have all the characteristics of the population. The challenge of sample sizes is that the researcher is not able to work with all the characteristics in the population. Even further, policy makers tend to rely on quantitative research as opposed to qualitative ones. One of the aims of the current study is to inform policy makers on how to improve Kenya's diplomatic relations. As such, there is an underlying impetus to use a research design that is attractive to policy makers.

On the other hand, quantitative research design also has obvious shortcomings. Bryman defines this design as "a research policies that emphasis quantification in the assemblage as well as analyses of data". One of the most glaring limitations of this approach is that it focuses on numbers and figures at the expense of underlying explanations and meanings. in the context of diplomacy, researchers employing this approach will most likely focus on the number of times an international organisation made a decision in favor of a given state or collective of members without seeking to unearth the reasons behind the resolution. In addition, quantitative research design tends to overlook the perspectives and experiences of actors in controlled settings. In diplomatic relations, the perspective a state possess is key as it can be used to predict the next most likely move.

Considering all the above demerits, this study employed the mixed research design. A by the word suggests, this design entails combining the quantitative and qualitative approaches by merging only the positives. This method allows the research to leverage the strengths of each approach without having to embrace its shortcomings. Therefore, a mixed research design makes it possible for a researcher to use a large sample, remain objective, reach quantifiable findings, and understand the social background of the findings. In identifying research participants, this study utilised the purposive sampling technique.

1.8.3 Data Collection Methods

This study used both primary in addition to secondary data collection methods. Beginning with primary methods, the researcher conducted interviews. The researcher interviewed Kenya's sitting and retired foreign affairs minister, ambassadors, and other country representatives. Also, the researcher interviewed people that participated in the formulation of Kenya's foreign policies in the past and in the present. The interviews were face-to-face and through digital technologies for those abroad at the time. There are many benefits that purposive sampling technique conveys. First, it allows the researcher to pick the participants on the basis of criterion considered important for the subject of study. Second, the method allows for the development of a representative sample. Thus, using the technique made it possible for the study to obtain all relevant data from every person involved in Kenya's diplomatic engagements. In terms of obtaining secondary data, this study utilised relevant books, foreign policy documents and resolutions and journal articles.

1.8.4 Data Analysis Methods

Considering the fact that this study had qualitative and quantitative data, different data analysis methods were used. For qualitative data, two approaches were used: framework analysis and thematic network evaluation. Framework analysis entails having pre-determined interests – these interests encompass the objective and aims of the study.[61] More specifically, the researcher considered all the responses from the interviews and focused on the answers that directly answered the research objectives. Under thematic network analysis, the researcher considered and coded all obtained data.[62] In essence, a code is a word or phrase that descriptively captures the central themes in raw data. Coding is actually the first in thematic analysis. The process entails reducing the quantity of data and interpreting the same. After coding all the data, the next step involves extracting themes.[63] To extract themes, the researcher grouped codes that represent common and significant themes. This approach helps the researcher to identify consistent impressions, views and perspectives. This study used these two methods. Most importantly, before commencing analysis, the researcher first went through the data for the purpose of familiarising with the data. The same way collecting qualitative data is time consuming, analysing data obtained through this approach is not only repetitive, but also time-consuming. For quantitative data, this study used descriptive analysis.

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[61]Pope, C., Ziebland, S., & Mays, N. (2000). 'Analysing qualitative data'. *British Medical Qualitative Research*, *1* (3), 385–405.
[62]Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research, 1* (3), 385–405.
[63]Ibid

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The key limitations of this analysis is that it focuses on a single country – Kenya. While focusing the study on Kenya will help in shaping the country's diplomatic relations, the aspect negatively affects the generalisability and universality of findings. Focusing the study on Kenya's diplomatic engagements means that the findings cannot be implemented in other nations, especially those outside the African continent. Another notable limitation of this study has to do with the accessibility of primary sources of data. In order to reveal how Kenya's diplomatic relations have evolved over time, it is essential to interview different stakeholders spanning different timeframes. More specifically, the study needs to access people in charge of the country's diplomatic relations in the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s to date. Moreover, while records in the ministry of foreign affairs helped to identify all relevant personnel, retrieving information from them was challenging. Given that interviews require people to recall events from memory, recalling every event and the details of the social contexts was challenging for the elderly. The other limitation of this study is identifying and dealing with subjective bias from the side of the interviewees. One of the motives of conducting interviews is to obtain data on the social context around diplomatic interactions.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

2.1 Introduction

The dynamic nature of diplomacy presents new challenges to 21st-century diplomatic players, who have to adjust to their systems to stay pertinent on the international stage. The increasing interdependence and complication of matters demands a more interacted methodology to diplomacy, though countries maintain their diplomatic prevalence. International organizations are the most preferred agencies for diplomacy and policymaking in modern world. Such organizations play a key role in global governance by offering approaches for problem-solving and some programs to tackle international issues. International organizations are independent agencies which concentrate on diplomatic activities to turn on international attention, accomplish their responsibilities and involve the government, non-governmental organizations and other inter-governmental organizations. This paper discuss how multilateral diplomacy is persuade through international organizations.

2.2 Evolution of diplomacy in 21st Century

Diplomacy is traditionally considered to originate in the 17th century as a sophisticated tool for conducting international affairs.[64] Its establishment was equivalent to formulation of transnational relationships based on the principle of national-state independent fairness codified with the Westphalian Peace of 1648. As

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[64] Ferguson, N. 2017. The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power. London: Allen Lane

upcoming countries slowly established their boundary governance, the prerequisite emerged for a more organized relationship between the policies, based on a generally recognized system of processes, rules and legislation.

Thus, diplomacy evolved from the new systems of international relationships while helping to change it. Classical diplomacy was between two countries, related to and exchanged between, representatives of the two governments.[65] The classical diplomats were selected from high ranking people and elite from the community they represented and the matters to be discussed by the countries were considered as a hermetically coded word which could only be understood by the selected people. Diplomacy consequently comprised virtually entirely of affluent discussion amongst a few selected people representatives as well as envoys who could talk directly with the presidents.[66] They managed important matters of *haute politique*; inquiries of authority, boundary, conflicts in addition to amity.

Nevertheless, diplomatic processes and procedures developed gradually during the 18th and 19th centuries and but were later complicated as a reaction to emergence of more complex governance structures and the increasingly more complex matters they sought to discuss with one another. The essence of diplomacy as well altered remarkably in the mid-20th century, with establishment of multilateral diplomacy in the context of international institutions like the League of Nations and its replacement, the United Nations.[67] Diplomatic activities continuous evolved from decolonization period after the Second World War ended, resulting to an abrupt increase of officially accepted sovereign countries in international system.

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[65] Carne Ross, Independent Diplomat – Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite, United States, Cornell University Press, 2007, p. 25.
[66] Ferguson, N. 2017. The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power. London: Allen Lane
[67] Ibid

Adopting the classical diplomatic model for the newly independent countries through sending representatives overseas and welcoming ambassadors from other countries was highly prioritized. This act implied that they were willing to join international organizations. However, as countries accepted the traditional diplomatic values of foreign countries, diplomatic styles did not change notably immediately. Actually, they were first classified in 1961 in a general accord, the Vienna Convention on international relationships, which aided newly independent countries nation-states comprehend the preceding vitally de facto rules governed by countries that had enjoyed independence for long.[68]

However, the existence of new actors advancing promoting their specific interests and the sudden disparity that quickly emerged between them due to their different capabilities and characteristics, diversified furthermore and similarly intricated the element of diplomacy relationships. The Cold War opened up another phase in the history of diplomacy.

The 'steadiness of terror' amongst the Western and Soviet blocs necessitated formulation of laws for diplomacy practice. Individual states were the key players of international relations, official associations were established and nation had common beliefs in the values of national independence, border legitimacy and non-intervention in another country internal concerns, at least with respect to the two main authorities.[69] Indeed, here was a particular extent of understanding in the international system, a feeling of peace and stable economy described as a 'Cold War comfort', he further maintained that country to country relationship was mostly foreseeable.

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[68] Seib, P. 2016. The Future of Diplomacy. Cambridge: Polity.
[69] Acuto, 2013, op cit., p. 20-21.

The Cold War duration created a fairly steady basis of diplomatic activities that supported the foreign policies and diplomatic actions of many states coupled with the African region changing priorities. The forced strictness of the bipolar system somehow muted developments in diplomatic practices. Actually, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) of the lately independent countries of the South created more challenges to the cultural, societal and economic values of the Western countries as well as methods of Western diplomacy.[70]

In addition, new innovations like advancement in technology, restricted globalization and presence of new independent players were happening, even though it was possibly towards end of Cold war that extent to which issues had changed became obvious. The next twenty years after the Cold War witnessed sudden spurt of new innovations especially the fast development of globalization which is still the major historical phenomena of the modern-day period. The practice of globalization is definitely not new because it is easy to trace the first duration of economic integration to the early 20th century. Nonetheless the present-day globalization motivated mainly by economic forces and new modes of communication contributes to an intense interdependence amongst states not just in the economy but also in general activities that people are involved in.

Researcher Raymond Cohen noted that globalization, collapse of inter-country boundaries to international practices of trading, investments, tourism and every type of information brings communities and countries into contact that it has never been witnessed earlier. Globalization and its various consequences are significantly affecting the foreign relationships activities and therefore on diplomacy. Among the

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[70] Seib, op cit., p. 21.

modifications related to globalization is the present 'world-wide conflicts'; the current period of insecurity for countries and the ambassadors after the collapse of the Soviet Union.[71] Forgotten but extremely deep-rooted ethnic, tribal and religious dissimilarities are emerging openly contributing to increase in the number of global agencies and ever increasing internal wars which are usually not foreseen, more complicated and irregular.

Moreover, globalization the making the governance structures of unstable countries weak contributing to a rise in the number of failed countries worldwide. In addition, because it is naturally not equal, globalization has enhanced creation of victors and failures, beneficiaries and sufferers therefore heightening societal insecurity.[72] The consequent of the world-wide instability is that the responsibilities of ambassadors is turning up to be more complicated. Actually, numerous threats to world-wide stability which is expected to happen as a result of multinational or international activities since they are from collusions of outdated nation-states, have made peaceable practices of international organizations harder. An additional effect of globalization which is important for international relationships is the varying intercontinental issues, display of increased interdependence amongst countries which is accompanied by global assimilation. Since the destiny of states is increasingly becoming inseparable, matters of world agenda have increased and become harder, entwined and practical as compared to the previous years [73]

They consist of, promoting trading and investments, the control of intercontinental monetary systems, the measures to counter terror attacks in the globe

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[71] Samy Cohen, "Introduction : L'art de gérer les turbulences mondiales", in Les Diplomates – Négocier dans un monde chaotique, Paris, Éditions Autrement – Collection Mutations, 2002, p. 5
[72] Acuto, 2013, op cit., Chapter 1.
[73] Ibid p. 2

and criminal organizations, the assistance for long lasting development, the avoidance of violent conflicts and the collaboration on pressing environ and human rights matters.[74] Specific countries have a very little effect on all these matters on which the entire globe collaborates or suspends depending on the pressing issues in an individual country. For diplomatic activities, this new global agenda has caused extra collaboration amongst nations and many activities on various areas of high-tech nature. Globalization could be linked to start of digitization era of innovative media and the fast changes of communication mediums that are straining time and space resulting to freedom of information. This consequently could be associated with a change of conventional duties of people and communities who currently have a chance to conduct operations from anywhere in the globe without the help of the state machinery or funds.[75]

Upcoming non-state players applying technical changes (transnational organizations, international civil society organizations, international terror networks, etc.) are hence becoming powerful self-reliant actors internationally. This condition is changing the roles of countries' ambassadors. Researcher Jan Melissen asserts that globalization's increasing effect is portrayed in the manner in which countries are associating with each other which has changed significantly in the past forty years as compared to the 350 years since the Peace of Westphalia.[76]

In support of Mellisen sentiments, American envoy Henry Kissinger asserts that "not once has the constituents of globe priorities, their ability to cooperate and their aims all transformed reasonably faster, intensely or internationally. It is obviously

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[74] Rana, op cit., p. 12.
[75] Brian Hocking, "Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline'", in Jan Melissen (ed.), Innovation in Diplomatic Practice, United Kingdom, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, p. 24.
[76] Melissen, op cit., p. xiv.

undisputable that globalization is changing the traditions international relationship and the activities of diplomats. Actually, globalization can be regarded as the all-encompassing process which combines all factors which affect changes in consular practices.

It however very clear that traditional diplomatic players cannot overlook the existence of these new actors, but they instead must contemplate on how to integrate them in the international structures in a manner which considers their differences and interests, their strong points and flaws. Conventional diplomatic activities should be accomplished with clear consciousness of this supplementary level of consular dealings and association.[77] Alliance with non-governmental players can benefit governments, because the new actors upgrade their knowledge on how international organizations work and as they establish policies to assets high-priced to administrations. Nevertheless, as stated by researcher Geoffrey Wiseman, "the development of more operational, systematic functioning interactions with independent players calls for states to embrace emerging ideas, expertise, gadgets and viewpoints.[78] One of these new ideas, which is discussed in detail in the following next section, is that of the diplomat as integrator and overseer of all the issues of concern to the foreign policy.

2.3 The Role of International Organizations in Diplomacy

International organizations form when states contract together to create a collective principal and delegate to an external agent the discretion or resources to take actions on their behalf. Some scholars argue they have no self-regulating impacts on the incentives states face to comply with their international commitments because they

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[77] Geoffrey Wiseman, "'Polylateralism' and New Modes of Global Dialogue", in Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne (eds.), Diplomacy Vol. III, London, Sage, 2004, p. 37.
[78] Ibid., p, 42.

are imposed by dominant countries to enforce their welfares. Others believe international organizations codify an already coercive social environment or are locations for norm competition and transmission. This socialization process remains under-theorized if following the logic of appropriateness. Still requires officials to choose among a variety of norms that could cover their behavior in a specific political context.[79] International organizations can have independent effects if, like other international institutions, they provide mechanisms for decision-making.

While international institutions can help align interests with compliance by specifying in advance material rewards or economic sanctions, they also help establish reputations for compliance and facilitate enforcement. International organizations are a special case, using the autonomy of the collective principal or bureaucracy to overcome the existence of multiple feasible policies or uncertain effects, often by helping to bargain, monitor, or implement policy or constrain the influence of powerful states.[80] States benefits from the technocratic supply of goods or services but participation also offers gains from political signaling, access to information, and influence over outcomes.[81]

The autonomy to deny these benefits may enable international agents to impose costs on states flouting their obligations under international law. International organizations can also affect compliance if their officials' expertise can be deployed to signal what they perceived to be the true state of the world. This may shame states into

[79] Pouliot, Vincent. 2008. "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities." International Organization 62 (02): 257–88.
[80] Schneider, Christina J. 2011. "Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations." International Studies Quarterly 55 (2).
[81] Stone, Randall W. 2011. Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

compliance or persuade others to act.[82] International agents can acquire agenda setting power if institutional rules grant them the autonomy to structure the order, timing, or content of decision making: the autonomy to judge compliance or place proposals for enforcement before another actor. The signaling and agenda setting powers of international organizations are more pronounced when they have the autonomy and incentives to invest in policy expertise and impersonally deploy it toward particular goals. This autonomy is costly if the agent takes actions different from those its principals would prefer, becomes trapped in inefficient routines or opens bureaucrats to informal influence.[83]

Much of the delegation literature has therefore examined how states prevent run away agents. Principals can screen and make resources conditional on performance. They also design in impersonality using representation and decision-making rules that manage political influence amongst its principals and, for the bureaucracy, recruitment, socialization, and management procedures that constrain outcomes to those that are supported by their collective principal.[84]

The argument that international organizations affect state compliance through their signaling and agenda powers rest on an audience costs mechanism in which their officials face costs from policy failures. Their leaders may be replaced, resources restricted, or the executive body adjusted to become more responsive to its collective principal.[85] While international organizations designed for impersonality and policy

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[82] Fang, Songying, and Randall W. Stone. 2012. "International Organizations as Policy Advisors." International Organization 66 (4): 537–69.

[83] Urpelainen, Johannes. 2012. "Unilateral Influence on International Bureaucrats: An International Delegation Problem." Journal of Conflict Resolution 56 (4).

[84] Brown, Robert L., and Jeffrey M. Kaplow. 2014. "Talking Peace, Making Weapons: IAEA Technical Cooperation and Nuclear Proliferation." Journal of Conflict Resolution 58 (2).

[85] Morrison, Kevin M. 2013. "Membership No Longer Has Its Privileges: The Declining Informal Influence of Board Members on IDA Lending." Review of International Organizations 8 (2): 291–312.

expertise may acquire some power to affect state compliance, the mechanisms are underdeveloped. Establishing a direct relationship requires, first, resolving how international organizations can simultaneously be bargained outcomes but also rational solutions to specific cooperation problems. Second, why some international organizations only sometimes have the competence to signal or influence the agenda should not be left in the error term.

2.4 Multi-diplomacy

Multilateral diplomacy is the application of including two or more states or communities in attaining diplomatic resolutions to supranational issues. Diplomacy has made a dramatic shift in emphasizing on multilateral diplomacy considering the end of cold war. The globalization fragmentation of work today leads to the multilateral diplomacy than in bilateral diplomacy. Multilateralism provide platform to various nation to raise their voice to protect their national interest and socio-economic growth in international level with the participation of various nation. Multilateral diplomacy is the first choice for small nation to boost he development and representation of nation in international forum. The United Nations is one of the most influential organization which practice multilateral diplomacy. [86]

International organizations like United Nations (UN) and World Trade Organization (WTO) are multidimensional. Where the any country can become a member regardless geographical condition, size or regime type. The universal organizations provide a platform to purse multilateral diplomacy. Where every nation from every nook and cranny of the world took participation and discuss supranational

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[86] Galvez, E (2011, August 8-9), Multilateralism, the United Nation and global governance.

problem in multilateral forum in effective way. Such organizations provide various assistance like peaceful settlement of disputes, provide development assistance, create platform for multilateral trade and agreements, helps to promote the economic stability of nations. Which helps to formulate new foreign policy and protect national interest in international arena and multilateral forum.[87]

Cooperation is a basic necessity which testifies the involvement of new momentum involving development as well as job friendly fiscal policies, structural reforms, as well as appropriate infrastructure investment. Today the geopolitical problems are also solved through multilateral diplomacy where some international organizations plays key role, for instance peaceful settlement of disputes in Africa and Middle East. As the globe tackles developing and continuous ongoing challenges of globalization, worldwide extremism and other international matters, the United Nations and other international organizations which characterize multilateral diplomacy are much more essential at present than even earlier in 21st century.[88]

2.5 International Organizations and Global Governance

International governance is largely achieved through transnational agencies. Transnational agencies are a key element of worldwide dominance that has a significant impact on world development. The organizations particular position in global political affairs is nonetheless debatable. The main theoretical point of view in international relations expounds the activities of global organizations in diverse methods. The Realist school of thought stress the significance of state independence, army strength, as well

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[87] Lamichhane Dhundi Raj (2012)'International Monetary Fund', International Relation and Foreign Affairs, Sopan Monthly, pp.177-185.
[88] Lamichhane Op cit

as state interests in global political affairs and was unlikely to expect states to give crucial authorities to international organizations.[89]

Realists disagree that the structure of associations along with power sharing would preserve command. International organizations play a coordination part in international relations and states might opt to assume international organizations when they disagree while pursuing national self-development.[90] The idealistic concept is that the purpose of international organizations is to resolve usual problems experienced by people. Liberalists contend that international organizations offer a forum where states can collaborate, establish common standards, and work together to resolve communal problems. International organizations also manage actions by giving information, tracking activities, disciplining rebels and promoting transparency to states at low costs. International organizations might have a profound effect on states' decision-making for other approaches. International organizations like United Nations system are key players in worldwide leadership process. International Organization and International Authority focuses on a widespread imperative global and existing matters which include economic affairs of the world, global safety, international law, environ issues globally, etc.

In 1995, the Global Governance Commission described governance as the summation of the various means in which state and privately controlled establishments accomplish their collective affairs. It is an ongoing practice that can accommodate competing or disparate interests and take collective action. This involves both formal and informal agreements that have been accepted or considered by individuals and institutions to be beneficial to them. The Policies of Global governance represent, battle

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[89] Morgenthau. Hans J. 1948. Politics among Nations, New York: Knopf.
[90] Krasner, Stephen. D. 1991. Global Communications and National Power—Life on the Pareto Frontier. World Politics, 43 (April): 336–366.

on the world's treasure, energy and information. Research on intercontinental agencies while Cold War was taking place tried to hypothesize international authority and attempted to define the part played by multinational agencies. The last years of the Cold War marked the international organizations a new phase as the competition of the powers had raised some obstacles that hindered UN intervention.

The Cold War's death therefore created high expectations of increasing the roles, tasks, and authorities of international organizations in international administration. The current world need both states as well as non-state players to correlate actions through international organizations to solve distinct matters. As the international organizations continue to perform more roles in the present world, state supremacy supported with leaders' unwillingness will always challenge the continuing plans of the international organizations for developing effectual systems of international administration. Practicing authority and making decisions for many people is known as governance.[91]

As a result of different organizational structures world-wide, different players are given the authority to rule. International administration is the administrative interconnect of intercontinental players focused at resolving issues that impact many states. It comprises of international laws, rules or, soft laws as well as people's rights. Its system could be recognized or unrecognized. It might be formulated by regions or by various countries from different continents of the world. International organizations operate in various forms whereby the people's influence is implemented internationally.[92] For example, there is control of recognized intergovernmental entities like UN High Commissioner for Asylum seekers; the World Bank has suitable control

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[91] Tyler, P. 2013. A New Power in the Streets. New York: New York Times
[92] Melissen, J. (2011). Beyond the New Public Diplomacy. Clingendael Paper No. 3.

practices for some third world countries as a prerequisite of funding and up taking role of organizations like the International Organization for Migration.

From beginning of 1990s, several international institutions have been encouraging countries to maintain ' good governance ' principles. In ' good governance, ' as illustrated by the United Nations, governance and its foundations are responsible, operational and well-organized, participatory, open, sensitive, and equal.[93] The presidents at 2005 World Summit agreed that suitable leadership is central to economic development, poverty and famine obliteration, and sustainable development. The opinions of the marginalized who include ladies, the young people and those living in poverty, should be listened to and taken into consideration by their leaders since they are very affected if suitable leadership is not attained. For suitable leadership to prevail, people must be helped to take part in policy making processes.[94]They are should have the freedom to access information. While access to information is still a challenge to numerous states, information and communication technology requests like the Internet are one of those ways.

2.6 The United Nations: focal point of global governance

The International organizations' research started with establishment of the League of Nations. The dream of international control was achieved with establishment of the Institute of International Affairs after the League's breakdown. The creation of other agencies paved way for establishment of more efforts to accomplish international governance.[95] During San Francisco Conference, the United Nations was established.

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[93] Ibid
[94] Khanna, P. 2016. Connectography: Mapping the Future of Global Civilization. New York: Random House
[95] Ferguson, N. 2017. Op cit

Julian Huxley formed UNESCO - the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The United Nations Environment Program was established in 1973 after the first global conference which was held in Stockholm in 1972. Three key UN World Commissions converged in 1980s. The Brundtland Commission, came up the idea of "sustainable development."[96]

The activities of the UN comprise of nonviolent solving of issues, collaborative security and keeping peace, searching for justice following legal means, the tools used in conflicts, variations of regional loyalty, globalization, intercontinental links and transnational organization and enhances economic well-being, controls international resources, endorses societal progression and protecting people's rights, international governance and the environ and encourages people's development. The post-Cold War in the 1990s gave rise to a new model based on various matters which included the development of globalization leading to state weakening.[97]

The national-security paradigm, slowly paved way to a developing cooperative principle. Till 1990s, the phrase "interdependence" was used to term the relationship amongst states. In the same period, the United Nations organized 9 international meetings on economy and societal issues. Every sequential meeting pressed the UN itself and its members to prioritize and focus on other matters like protecting the environment, sustainable development, women's rights, girl-child rights, people's shelters, supply of foodstuff or dealing with poverty. In early 1990s, the UN progressively achieved its objective of worldwide control. Actually, a Commission on Global Governance was created in 1993, financed mainly by the United Nations

[96] Ibid
[97] Ibid

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Development Program.[98]   Various UN conferences support the idea of global governance. UN's input is assessed based on its activities in issues which include, resolving ethnic or border clashes, helping in decolonization, safe guarding human rights, improving people's socio-economic status.[99]

2.7 The Role of States and Regional Organizations in Global Governance

The complete analyses on development of existing international organizations consist of regional organizations and non-governmental organizations and international companies which presents international governance. Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) are establishments whose members have signed a similar official intergovernmental accord. Many IGOs are regional whereby common interests influences states to collaborate on matters that affect them directly, which include gathering information and observing developments with the help on UNEP, delivery of services and help using UNHCR, offering platforms for inter-governmental negotiation through European Union and resolves conflicts through International Court of Justice and World Trade Organization. Regional organizations include ASEAN, SAARC, EU, AU and others.[100]

With regards to issues of social and economic prosperity and humanitarian specifically, independent players are very fundamental as well as important mechanisms of bilateral actions. The European Union is an essential actor in international sovereignty. In the past sixty years, European nations have progressed

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[98] McGrew, T., After Globalization? WTO Reform and the New Global Political Economy in Governing the World Trade Organization, edited by Thomas Cottier and Manfred Elsig, New York Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 20-46
[99] Mulligan, S. The Uses of Legitimacy in International Relations, Millennium – Journal of International Studies 34:2, 2006, pp. 349-375
[100] Stone, Randall W. 26 September 2008. Informal Governance: International Organizations and the Limits of U.S. Power, University of Rochester, 27

slowly besides stable pathway on the way to faster integration. The EU is a show of an entity with a good number of developed countries that jointly investment in specific problematic issues through authorizing partnership and making non-formal influence hard to execute.[101]

In the World Trade Organization, the European Union is signified as an individual. Europe 's revolution to a nonviolent zone, a productive neighbor and a global benefactor is a suitable instance to be emulated. People from Europe perceive the region as a peaceful region of different countries with a liking for negotiation and soft governance. There are suggestions to reduce the number of representatives from Europe in the main international organizations and a rearrangement of its balloting power and leadership strategy which is closely allied with its existing international economic and political weightiness.

The quandary and the problems of international governance essential to assuring responsibility and efficiency is transparency. There are the concrete difficulties linked to attaining the answerability for guaranteeing authentic and efficient international organizations. The international organizations formed after Second World War are not relevant to the economic and political actualities of the modern-day world. Freedom, development of international markets, increasing inter-dependence, universal fiscal unsteadiness and climate changes necessitates representation and operational international organizations. This has put a limelight on prevailing global institutions, which include the G8, UN Security Council, IMF, World Bank and their leadership systems.[102]

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[101] Ibid
[102] Mulligan, S. 2006 Op cit

Every international organization show the previous supremacy of European region and the America and should be changed to signify the modern global structures. The globe is experiencing a geopolitical evolution. Nations like China, India, Indonesia and Brazil are upcoming supremacies. Main global organizations have not adjusted to incorporate the changes. Diplomatic practices alone cannot solve all global issues like climatic changes, energy, nuclear explosion, rapid populace escalation and economic stability. The main problem of international sovereignty is dealing with the geographical and political fluctuations and at the same time solving international issues. There is no relationship between sharing of policy making power in global organizations and power sharing in the globe.[103]

Evolving nations, being part of the global economy, have not fully admitted that developed nations practice power sharing and prioritize their interests. Challenges also result from civil societies, which contemplates that the global sovereignty system has turned out to be the actual seat of authority. There are many international rules challenges which calls for international power, the threats caused by terrorism and terror groups network, weaponries of extensive destruction which include nuclear weaponries, worldwide monetary markets, petroleum energy insufficiency, extreme poverty, foodstuff and water challenges, environment challenges, global warming, tribal conflicts etc. are affect almost all countries in the world and need global resolutions.[104]

The supremacy must not be conferred in specific areas. Every country need some sort of collaboration with other states and swelling figure of independent players.

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[103] Barkin, J.S., Cronin, B., The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations, International Organization 48, 2009, pp. 107-130

[104] Cohen, M. J., Lupu, N., & Zechmeister, E. J. (2017). The political culture of democracy in the Americas, 2016/17: A comparative study of democracy and governance. Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), VanderBilt University

Development of multinational agencies to enable international responses delays establishment of combined measures to solve problems. There an equally damaging breach between legality and effectiveness. The United Nations turns to be an ineffectual institution for establishing, executing plus practicing joint resolutions. Nevertheless, the vital matters in worldwide political affairs cannot be resolved without transnational organizations. Security interdependence, therefore call for international authority.[105]

Globalization, multinational and intergovernmental systems have been productive and gained a key responsibility in the past years since they are involved in global negotiations. Their existence is however not certain. The international trade is experiencing changes because of online bigwigs like Alibaba and Amazon and international supremacy domination systems are suffering from loopholes in the legitimation that requires to be looked into so as to prevent breakup and a weakening in universal dominance.[106] Whilst some states support international collaboration, others are swayed by patriotic sentimentalities and, like the UK, opt to disorient themselves from controlled activities. Pressure for global dominance are not transversal across nations and particular matters; as evidenced in the diversity of global commerce in the past ten years, disintegration is taking place.[107] Zürn,[108] asserts that existing lobbying and counter-institutionalization might either contribute lead to a breakdown of worldwide dominance or to its strengthening. The result relies on the future actions of the countries and leaders. Policy-making procedures, structures and narratives should be changed, although it's not the first instance that dominance paradigms require to be re-considered. The change from agriculture to industrialization in countries in the

[105] Ibid
[106] Zürn, 2018. Op cit
[107] Acharya, A. (2016). The future of global governance. Global Governance, 22(September), 453–460.
[108] Zurn, Op cit.

nineteenth century prompted the requisite for new institutions to control societal safety. World War II lead to establishment of United Nations.

The development of digitalized innovations is altering all features of private and public lives, and its effect on international dominance is significant. Bulky information as well as analytical study might affect policy-making processes; innovative governance structures might grow citizens' participation through making it easier as well as inexpensive to contribute and entirely new phase might arise for block-chain technologies.[109] Atzori,[110] asserted that digitalization might drastically alter financing modes for transnational establishments and allow a new system of information dominance, based on objectivity, tamper-resistance and transparency. Other scholars like Bogost[111] have claimed that developed countries might also fare under block-chain control.

Generally, scholars globally are enthusiastic on what technology may do to advance administrative procedures in independent nations, provided they consider the risks involved. Some researchers opine that the centralized mode of leadership that is widely recognized is passed by time and the future will necessitate adoption of decentralized mode of governance in an improved U.N. simplifying communication. Others opine that this trend means a new paradigm whereby the private and the third sector becomes more aggressively intricate in international governance structures and procedures. During discussions in the School of International Futures, countries representatives and professionals said that international dominance might evolve into a

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[109] Tzezana, R. (2017). How will disruptive technologies impact global governance? An expert survey. In Global Challenges Quarterly Report: Global Governance in the Age of Disruptive Technology (pp. 17-24)
[110] Ibid
[111] Bogost, I. (2017, July 10). Cryptocurrency might be a path to authoritarianism. The Atlantic. Retrieved August 2, 2018

state-controlled multipolar paradigm in which international dominance was achieved through a system including privately owned entities, countries and civil organizations. What is certainly undisputable is that the international dominance coordination must equate effectiveness with inclusivity without excluding any group and ensuring that people are listened to.[112]

Attaining public engagement and as well as connecting the people in governance procedures could also be significant for this objective, particularly because many people contemplate themselves as "international citizens".[113] An addition alteration happening globally expansion and diversity of companies. Networking is continuously in integral part of entrepreneurship but online connection takes networked companies to better position in the market. Amid the various changes, digitization has caused what Kilpi defined as reverse of Ronald Coase's sentiments. In the theory of geneses of companies, Coase expounded that a business could be established and survive productively it is carried out its planning, organizations and supervisory roles at reduced costs as compared to other businesses or companies in the same market .[114] Competition should therefore keep companies internally productive and monopoly in state corporations generates complicated, non-effective governance models.

Though, the internet has allowed customers and traders of products and services to communicate effortlessly and quicker as compared to earlier years, with a new form of third party facilitating the communication. This has reduced investment in physical offices or shops to reach clients who do not live or work near town centers and creating

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[112] Kawaguchi, Y. (2017). International governance: balancing inclusion and efficiency. In Global Challenges Quarterly Report: Global Governance for Global Citizens (pp. 25 - 29). Global Challenges Foundation.

[113] Milkoreit, M. (2017). Who cares about global governance? In Global Challenges Quarterly Report: Global Governance for Global Citizens (pp. 67 - 73).

[114] Kilpi, E. (2015, February 16). The Future of firms. Is there an app for that? Medium. Retrieved July 3, 2018

a habit of customer constancy and instantaneous satisfaction. More SMES are therefore adopting electronic commerce to enjoy the benefits of the internet.[115] Decentralization essentially suggests lack of a clear integrated perspective of in what way and direction of the economy. It further show the collapse of traditional and firm system of economic units. In agreement with this, demand companies, like Uber or Airbnb, are progressively being created by very skilled people who develop software and algorithms that run the business.

Several companies are preliminary both to implement more flexible and dispersed systems as well as to allocate more funds in invention in readiness for dramatic alterations in the working environment. Despite the recorded development towards a more "decentralized" economy, a different process is happening. In the past couple of years, many industries have become recentralized. Today, less than 10% of state corporations in the world account for 80% of all revenues. This is particularly in the technological sector which is leads the growth of globe productivity. The Wall Street Journal[116], states that many economy professionals and advisors have given a warning on the influence that the "Tech Giants" [117] have in the present world. These firms have developed abruptly, abolishing or integrating their competitors and suppliers into their system.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the role of IOs in multi diplomacy as well as global governance. The challenges of global institutions and their functions in the international matters are still in the center of international dominance tactic, even though it sounded

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[115] Kawaguchi, Y. (2017) op cit
[116] Ibid
[117] Ibid

idealistic initially and considered as unsuccessful in changing the global structures. However, the present difficulties imply that measures to make transnational collaboration stronger should concentrate on forming new organizations and universal regulations, to improving the current organizations for enhanced collaboration of governmental structure in policy making, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS ON DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

3.1 Introduction

International organizations play a critical part in the international structure since in most cases, global organizations form an alternative at the core of most of all the political and economic difficulties of the century. The presence of these organizations, both government and non-government players, has had a hand in international diplomacy. Their presence is crucial because they are often the middlemen between states communication with the international system exerting their interests. These different organizations also set the regulations in the international system as well as how states are supposed to conduct themselves within the international system. This chapter reviews the influence of international organizations in different diplomatic engagements.

3.2 Global Policy-Making Organization

The structures of these as well as other specialized organizations comprises of several provisions that are linked with universal law-making. This article puts an emphasis, consequently, on the World Health Organization (WHO), IMO, FAO, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and World Meteorological Organization (WMO). These organizations environmental obligation is clearly recorded in their constitutions and tasked to safeguard health and property. For instance, the (amended) constitution of the IMO, delivers approval of the greatest attainable standards in matters

that concerns marine security, hindrances and controlling fumes from sea vessels; is one of the drives for the organization.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) functionality is defined or conform to safety standards to protect people's health and reduction of deaths. The World Health Organization's constitution embraces elevation and enhancement of hygiene and other environmental hygiene measures as one of the organizational objectives.[118] The FAO mandate spreads to promotion of the fisheries, marine products, forestry.[119] WMO purposes are further, the meteorological applications to water problems, agriculture and humans.[120] ILO has embraced initiatives protecting employees against work environment dangers. The ICAO environmental policies on plane pollution and irritating sound are stated its mandate to foster global level activities therefore considered to be international organizations. This is evident in different fisheries and fluvial commissions. Some agreements deeply fix the state of their organizations as subjects of international law for instance the International Sea-Bed Authority.[121]

3.3 The Role of International Organizations

The 'central role' of international organizations in the procedure of signing intergovernmental treaties is evident. The function encompasses providing logistical functions of a secretariat, catalyzing and enhancing the negotiation process.[122] The

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[118] Vignes, C. Towards the Harmonisation of Health Legislation: The Role of the World Health Organization, International Digest of Health Legislation 46 (1995), 422 - 427.
[119] Article I paragraph 1 and paragraph 2(c) of the Constitution of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, in: 1.0.1. (note 5), Vol.I.B. at 1.3.a.
[120] Article 2(d) of the Convention of the World Meteorological Organization, in: 1.0.1. (note 5), Vol.I.B. at 1.9.a.
[121] Article 176 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, Montego Bay 1982 (UNCLOS): The Authority shall have international legal personality text in: 21 ILM 1261 (1982).
[122] Lang, op. cit. p.97.

functions of the secretariat consists of documents circulation, holding meetings, documents provision and translation services. By catalyzing and enhancing the arbitration of conflicts in the negotiating process, the organizations attempt delicately to control the talks. This concentrates among others on, mobilization of crucial information, the aiding of research and scripting suggested sections of the accord. Depending on the sponsoring organization leader's personality, the lending might be affected by personal biasness during the negotiation procedure by organizing unofficial meetings between the conflicting parties and inviting the public to participate.[123] Almost all international organizations fulfill the forum role, even where there is absence of important practical requirements in their constitutions. For example, the Vienna Conventions negotiations of 1986 were discussed at IAEA which necessitated the plans for the Convention on Nuclear Safety.

On activities under two states or various states conventions are only legal under the control of IAEA at the request of the states. No evidence in the constitution on the intergovernmental meetings neither reports of draft conventions, as the governance has done. Other global institutions have a specific role of convening meetings for the explanation of states treaties, they include FAO IMO, WHO, and the UNESCO. IMO constitution specifically controls the drafting procedures for an inter-state treaties.

IMO oversees preparation of conventions, agreements or other proper tools as stipulated in Article 3(b). It recommends these channels to states and call for such meetings to facilitate discussions. By a majority vote, the Assembly, also the plenary organ that makes decisions in general, has the capability to decide regarding planning

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[123] Hampson, E. & Hart, M (eds.), Multilateral Negotiations, Lessons from Arms Control, Trade and the Environment: Environmental Diplomacy, Negotiating More Effective Global Agreements (1994).

any global discussions or adopt any other suitable process for the implementation of international conventions.[124] The Marine Environment Protection Committee (MEPC) submits to the Council rules suggestions to prevent seas contamination from boats and modifications to such rules.[125]

Presently, the MEPC functions under MARPOL which concentrates on air contamination emitting from sea vessels. The IMO's Legal Committee (LC) has the duty to elaborate drafts of international protocols, amendments to protocol established and to deliver the reports to the Council. The LC is in process of establishing a protocol on Liability and Compensation for Damages in relation to haulage of dangerous and poisonous gases in the ocean. The Council, considers such matters as the formulation of protocols upon request by the Assembly.[126] The United Nations protocol on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS) states in Article 211 paragraph I for countries to come up with universal guidelines and principles for contamination regulation via the competent international organization or general diplomatic. Under MARPOL, IMO also functions as a voluntary adjustment forum.[127] The forum role is widely recognized as a key part of environmental law-making on international organizations in the environmental law-making process.

3.3.1 Health Diplomacy

From the mid-nineteenth century, legalized international cooperation in health and International Sanitary Conferences resulted to agreements on preventative

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[124] Article 16(k) and Article 53(b) of the Convention on IMO.
[125] Article 40(a), Ibid.
[126] Article 16(i) of the Convention on IMO.
[127] Article 16 of the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, London 1973 (MARPOL), Text in: 12 ILM 1319 (1973).

measures to prevent the quick transmission of ailments like cholera, without interfering with the international trade. The first agreement on cholera was signed in 1892; another treaty focusing on cholera and yellow fever was signed in 1903. These agreements are the basis of the modern-day International Health Regulations treaties controlled by WHO. The International Sanitary Bureau was drafted in meeting held in America in 1902, which finally became the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO). In 1907, the Office International d'Hygiène Publique (OIHP) was opened and it was aimed at accommodating more activities other than the preventative measure to control infectious diseases. After World War 1, the League of Nations Health Organization was created together with OIHP did not just focus on health issues but it also focused on other matters that affect public health.

The World Health Organization (WHO) was formulated in 1948. The organizationwas very determined to achieve a goal that seemed unachievable. WHO aimed at 'ensuring everybody in the globe in safe from infectious diseases.' WHOs constitution defines a variety of tasks, the first was 'to act as the guiding and managing expert on health issues.[128] Since 1948 a lot of issues with regards to health have changed and various initiatives and organizations have come out to challenge the directing and coordinating role of WHO. For example World Bank's involvement in health through giving high valued credit in 1980s; incorporation of organizations established to cope with specified diseases; new public-private partnerships for production of medication like Medicines for Malaria Venture or Drugs for Ignored Diseases initiatives. As a result, WHO's ability to secure funds from governments has been affected therefore the organization opted to rely funding from well-wishers and

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[128] Ibid

other players normally assigned for specified undertakings that the well-wisher donor prefers. In recent years, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has turned out to be among the largest voluntary contributors to WHO. Challenges which result from shortage of funds necessitated the formation of new measures to change the organizations functions by the Director-General Margaret Chan in 2010.

WHO stands out amongst UN agencies because of the formation of regional organizations – this was resulting from PAHO member states that were unwilling to lose their membership after PHO merged with WHO. For same causes, all six WHO regions votes for its regional director, even though it's unspecified in the constitution. The independency of country offices creates uneasiness with the clause in the constitution that they are an 'important part of the Organization'. In its first twenty years, WHO was suitably recognized for its use of technical and medical skills to control infectious ailments– its control programmes for malaria and smallpox. Malaria control was not successful whereas smallpox was very successful.

Despite the fast increasing revenues from members contributions as countries that had just attained their freedom joined, these programmes of infectious disease control relied heavily on voluntary contributions even at that time. 1970s WHO began reflecting fundamentally shifts in the global economic and administrative environment – the 1973 oil deficiency, developing countries voiced calls for a New International Economic Order as well as new measures to attain growth like 'food, shelter and clothing'. For WHO it meant the body had to offer more technical aid to third world nations, an extra function for WHO – Health for All – summarized in the declaration of a revolutionary meeting at Alma-Ata in 1978.

The declaration was established with an aim of promoting basic health care as a way of achieving the objective of Health for All. This was not viewed as a technical modification in the way in which health care is offered to a great effect but as a part of more basic socio-economic changes in line with ambitions of developing nations. A realization that the health agency concentrated more on rather than its core objective of delivering health services. This suggestion of investing in technology was proposed by Director-General Halfdan Mahler, who had a vision of conflicting strong individual interest. The 1977 Model List of important drugs was strongly rejected by pharmaceutical industries as well as the 1981 International Code on the support of Breast-milk alternatives.

3.3.2 Environmental Diplomacy

Every nations requires assistance to be able to solve inter-border problems. Present-day environment challenges include widespread terror attacks and threats, deficiency of ARVs to control the effects of HIV/AIDs and these problems cannot be solved by an individual country on its own. Global organizations have the ability to establish strong materials and tools to resolve specific problems, strengthening their dominance, access and power through collaboration measures, joint accords and formulating policies. Their abilities creates a suitable ground for establishment of new organizations where resolutions can be discussed. An applicable example of international organization formation on climatic changes is the IPCC. Based the field work reports, it is enhancing international comprehension on the effects of climatic

changes on the globe showing that climatic changes matters are scientifically proven and that the shocking rate of climatic change is as a result of anthropogenic activities.[129]

Concentration on globe environment changes is not a new ideology. The initial declarations on peoples responsibility in protecting the environment and the ozone layer are indicated in the book by George Perkins Marsh titled Man and Nature and issued in 1864. In the 1874 new edition where he wrote that "We are not inactive occupants of globe…. We give the World its shape and form. It is our responsibility to take of the Earth".[130] This was the first edition on environmental challenges, paving way for scientific studies on global environment.

When people recognized that they should take care of the environment and they are the main causes of environmental changes, they started to contemplate on how to solve environmental issues. They also understood that environmental challenges were not an epidemic or an individual country's challenge. Actually, many countries have collaborated and signed non-binding contracts of relationship. Many accords have been signed to solve environmental challenges.[131] The first agreement for the conservation of wildlife, Birds and Fish in Africa was signed by European colonizers with an aim of protecting African wildlife species, precisely to control ivory exports, which contributed to harsh poaching laws in Africa.[132] The organizations and states that participated in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conference agreed to establish the organizations and signed a "constitutive act" named International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN), currently known

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[132] Ronald Op cit

as IUCN, its head offices are in Gland, Switzerland.[133] IUCN is classified as an NGO

in Switzerland and USA, although at times is defines itself as a GONGO. It is regarded

as an observer in United Nations meetings.[134] IUCN, the International Union for

Conservation of Nature, assist the globe to find resolutions to acute environmental and

development challenges. It motivates scholars to conduct scientific studies, manage

projects in the field in the whole world and enhances collaboration of countries, non-

governmental organizations, United Nations bodies, firms and local societies to

establish and implement policies, regulations and suitable practices. IUCN is the

globe's oldest and biggest international environment with above 11300 members drawn

from individual countries, NGOS, researchers and other states. IUCN's activities are

funded by more than 1,000 professionals who are employed in their 60 and many

volunteers in the public, NGO and private sectors globally.[135]

IUCN concentrated on resultant effects of environmental activities in countries

in the whole globe, especially formulation of ministries specializing on environment

issues. It was authorized to play a big function in the planning for the first UN forum

on Environment.[136] The meeting contributed directly to the formation of the UNEP;

with an aim of solving environmental issues. However, IUCN employees drafted

reports and played a role of advisors as countries prepared reports to present at the

conferences, they sought assistance from other members of the IUCN.[137] IUCN does

not oppose and state or agency; it performs the cooperative function to improve

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[133] MacDonald, Kenneth Iain (2005) IUCN: A History of Constraint: Text of an Address given to the Permanent workshop of the Centre for Philosophy of Law Higher Institute for Philosophy of the Catholic University of Louvain (UCL)
[134] Ibid
[135] Ibid
[136] Ibid
[137] MacDonald, op cit

common understanding to solve worldwide environ matters particularly climatic change. IUCN has close links with UN agencies to look for ways to solve the climatic changes issues.   Currently majority of big global conservancy organizations are members of IUCN, who have all collaborated to focus on environment issues. IUCN's main programs aim at addressing the climatic changes, including policy petitioning to program implementation in various countries.[138]

UNEP is the United Nations system's selected body for solving environment matters   at the world   and regional level. Its role include coordination of the establishment of environmental policy agreements through tracking the worldwide environment issues and enlightening countries and international community on developing environmental challenges to be acted upon.   UNEP undertakes the roles delegated by the leading council. The UNEPs key responsibilities in the environment issue is widely recognized by head of states. For example, the Malmo declaration No.22 states that: countries and UNEP have a key role in the preparations for 2002 changes of UNCED at regional and international levels making sure that the environment aspect of sustainable development is completely addressed based on wide ranging analysis of the state of environment worldwide. Preparation for the environment meeting should be fastened.[139]

UNEP as a key UN agency in the environmental matters, its duty should be enhanced further. UNEP is a leader in the worldwide environmental power of setting international environment agendas, enhancing comprehensible practicability of the environment aspects of sustainable development in the UN system, acting as a powerful

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[138] MacDonald op cit
[139] UNEP-New York office webpage http://www.nyo.unep.org/emg2.htm (accessed on 03/08/2010)

counsel for the international environment.[140] UNEP greatly facilitated coordination of UN structure preparations for UNCED which took place in 1992. Designated Official on Environmental Matters (DOEM) frequently reviews the common environment activities of UN agencies in preparation for UNCED and participated in talks on post-UNCED institutional treaties.

UNEP's function of coordinating global environment activities was confirmed by the establishment of agenda 21 by UNCED. It detailed that, in advancement of the UNEP conference and its governance role required to be improved. With respect to policies regulation and management in the field of environment, the governance structure within its function, continuously playing its role focusing on wide ranging development. Agenda 21 insisted that UNEP should focus on "advancing global collaboration in environmental issues and giving suitable recommendations and policies direction.

UNEP has been practicing its watchdog role through monitoring the condition of environment and wildlife globally. It is always and remains an environmental conscious organization. The implementation of global environment agreements and treaties focused on protecting the ozone layer, conserving biological diversity, dealing with climatic changes , safeguarding the maritime, regulating air pollution and regulating trade in threatened wildlife have been achieved through the main roles played by UNEP.[141] The organizing has scarce funds, few employees and program functions that other UN bodies. However, as an international body it has been performing a key function in the formulation of environment organizations. An

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[140] Ibid
[141] Annan Kofi (1997) UNEP: An indispensable Contribution, Our Planet, The Way Ahead, Vol 9, N.1. http://www.unep.org/ourplanet/imgversn/91/ contents.html (accessed on 03/08/2019)

illustration of this type of profound role is the establishment of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Post-World War II progresses in normal environment contributing to improved know how of the mediums of intensive environmental pollution. During the 1957 International Geophysical Year, new geophysical observations were established all aimed at solving pressing global problems.[142] The basis for formulation of the IPCC can be traced to various scientific meetings conducted on the climatic changes and global environmental matters in different periods and countries. The First World Climate Conference was held in Geneva in February 1979 and it was the most significant in addressing environmental issues.[143] The conference concluded that climatic changes pose critical challenges with a declaration that (a) taking optimal advantage of people's existing knowhow on the climate (b) establishing measures aimed at advancing people understanding of the climate ; and (c) forecasting and stopping possible human facilitated climatic changes that may negatively affect people's health.[144] A notable milestone in progressing climatic changes knowhow was achieved after the conference resulting to formulation of World Climate Program (WCP), a big agency of Climate Research regulated by WMO which is the topmost body and controller. Its goal is to give a powerful global professional advice on climatic changes and help nations to practice climatic knowhow to realize sustainable development and the execution of 21.

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[142] John Zillman (2009) A history of climate activities, WMO Bulletin Volume 58(3)
[143] Spencer Weart. The Discovery of Global Warming, Harvard University Press. 2004
[144] UNEP (1990). How policy-makers are responding to global climate change. United Nations Environment Programme Information Unit for Climate Change Fact Sheet 201. Nairobi, Kenya

It started in 1979 as an inheritor of Global Atmospheric Research Program (GARP) with the key goals of determining the degree to which climate changes could be foreseen and the extent of people's impact on climate. The October 1982 WCP conference in Geneva recommended that continuous analyses of carbon dioxide that was considered be the main source of global warming should take place annually and its first conference was held in 1980. After that conference an Interim Assessment was planned. All the meeting concluded that all climatic change challenge resulted from human activities. Members of ICSU played a crucial part to facilitate climatic changes studies although ICSU as a non-state scientific organization did not respond to any government. The e World Meteorological Congress that took place in Geneva in May 1987 affirmed the results of the Villach Conference. The Brundtland Commission Report showed the significance of the worldwide environment, claiming that: "Failure to conserve the environment and to sustain development poses a threat to governance every country". Environment and development are related matters, they are not different. [145]

Development cannot exist under worsening environment resource base; meaning environmental conservation measures cannot be successful if expenses associated with environmental pollution are not accounted for. These challenges cannot be dealt with separately by unstable organizations and structures. They are related in a complicated structure of formation and functions. Villach results in identifying globe warming as a main challenge to sustainable development.[146] The Secretary General sanctioned the discussions on the issues with the UNEP executive director to establish

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[145] Morrissey, Wayne A. (1998) Global Climate Change: A Concise History of Negotiations and Chronology of Major Activities Preceding the 1992 U.N. Framework Convention, UNT Libraries Government Documents Department, The University of North Texas Libraries
[146] John, op cit

the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and formed WMO administrative council. The 70th UN general assembly held in 1988 also recognized the Villach result. "[147]

The concern of the global climatic changes has become a key agenda in the National and international forums; till 1988, there was no international agency that collaborated with scientists to generate an international report on climatic changes. To bridge this gap, the UN General Assembly on December 1988 entitled "Safeguarding of international climate for present-day and forthcoming generations of humanity". Resolution number (5), states: "Authorizes the activities of international agencies on Climate Changes to offer globally supported scientific research of the extent, timing and possible environment and socio-economic effects of climatic changes and practical response measures, and immediate implementation of the activities started by the Panel International conference in Villach, Austria in 1985".[148]

In the early 20th century, global institutions responsibilities mainly focused on security matters. However, the Vienna Congress, the League of Nations and the United Nations enhanced scientific progressions on international environment. The United States and Switzerland were the first countries to focus of environment protection. Unites States leads in natural resources management with regards to research and development. Likewise INGOs and NGOs played a great role in sensitization on International environment. The UN agencies and other states also played a great role in ensuring that governments are conscious of environmental conservation. Consequently, numerous international formal or non-formal agreements and treaties have been

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[147] UN general assembly resolution A/RES/43/53: of 70th plenary meeting of 6 December 1988 Available at http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/43/a43r053. htm (accessed on 03/08/2019).
[148] Ibid

formed. A good example of a state scientific agency that offers the scientific knowhow and advise to countries all over the world is formation of IPCC. [149]

3.3.3 Economic Diplomacy

It is remarkable, that the vibrant developments of the global economy directly affect the practices, methods, tools and principles of the economic diplomacy, while raising the circle of influence and getting other players engaged in diplomacy. Currently, the most imperative economic diplomacy makers are not only states and the global organizations, but also regional economic and monetarist organizations, specialized institutions, private enterprises and non-governmental organizations (chamber of commerce, and business unions), (ordinary persons) and legal entities and etc., the figure of which is constantly growing. Not only tools and policies designed, but also contemporary techniques utilized in economic diplomacy have been substantially changed. More often they are utilized and polished during bilateral and multilateral negotiations. [150]

The universal community is full of polygonal arenas for the conduct of economic diplomacy. In fact, there seems to be a multiplying of global organizations to the point that both state and non-state actors might need to consider cautiously their applicability in addition to the effectiveness and benefits of their affiliation to some of the institutions. All these institutions compete for affiliation and assets besides the need to be significant to the current day society as well as seeking to remain significantly important for posterity. An example of such a scenario is the mushrooming of universal

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[149] Morrissey, 1998, Op cit
[150] Kishan Rana (2007), Economie diplomacy: the experience of developing countries, in: The new economic diplomacy: decision-making and negotiation in international economic relations / N. Bayne; S. Woolcock [eds.]. - 2nd ed. - Aldershot: Ashgate: p. 201

groups and initiatives dealing with energy and renewable energy issues, some ranging from the Universal Energy Agency to International Renewable Energy Agency among others.[151]

Donations from affiliate members are the key sources of resources. In harmony with an amount impose by the organization and influenced by the state's share of the global economy and capability to contribute, ranging from 2.2% - 0.001%. The institution is barred by law from seeking credit facilities from monetized organizations.[152] 'After World War II, the triumphant powers established multilateral economic institutions known as the Bretton Woods Institutions to facilitate management and administration of financial relations, economic development and universal trade. These institutions were created in such a way that the welfares of the countries that funded the most to the organization's assets would have the greatest control over the organization's mutual strategy making.'[153]

The United Nations structure operational Programmes and Resources – socio-economic development, aim at attaining a decent life for individuals all over is a greater part of the United Nations structure of administrations. In addition, ECOSOC is tasked under the General Assembly for coordinating universal financial, societal, cultural, scholastic, health and related matters.[154] With regard to the millennium development goals (MDGs), there are numerous multilateral arenas for the pursuit of agenda and strategy. The United Nations setting there are over twenty (20) UN Partners on MDGs,

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[151] Nicholas, op cit
[152] Barry Turner, (2010), The Statesman's Year Book: The politics, cultures and economies of the world, Palgrave Macmillan. p3
[153] Pigman, G.A., Making room at the negotiating table: The Growth of Diplomacy between Nation-State governments and Non-State Economic Entities in Diplomacy and Statecraft, Vol:16, p. 388-389
[154] Barry, op cit, p.5

sometimes working in harmony or in competition with each other.[155] 'The multilateral system is generally perceived as a necessary component of the global architecture for viable insufficiency reduction. Indeed, many multidimensional organizations are valued associates for growing state regimes, civilians and the private sector. This is because these organizations mobilize significant funding, bring professional capability, support invention, play focal guidance roles with other patrons, have the obligations and legitimacy to assist in dealing with conflict situations, providing an avenue for action in every state in the globe. Most are a favorably imperative match to the processes of mutual benefactors such as DFID.'[156]

3.4 International Organizations in Africa

In 1814, the Conference of Vienna culminated in the establishment of the first international organization (IO), The International Telegraph Union in 1865 (ITU). The study of international organizations and their consequent appreciation has grown phenomenally. The period before formation of the first formal IO saw Congresses and Conferences govern much of international relations order. These however proved inadequate because of subjectivity related to the Congresses. Their short term nature also meant that new congresses had to be convened to solve new problems in the international system.

Moreover discomforts arose as to who would convene the congresses and where they would be held. Archer's International Organizations gives a clear chronology of International organizations emergence.[157] The need for permanent international organizations became unavoidable. Today over 400 international organizations have

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[155] Ibid
[156] Waltz, K. N. (2010).Theory of international politics. Waveland Press.
[157] Archer, C. (2001). International organizations (Vol. 1).Psychology Press.

taken active roles in the various sectors of society. From environment to the high seas and the outer space IO"s have played undeniable roles in shaping and influencing policy.[158]. Organizations actions therefore either render support or provide criticism to the theory as will become apparent. To investigate these claims the author will put forth different arguments accompanied by relevant examples to show cause and provide justification for the said arguments. Although IO's are products of international agreements, in many cases they give the members equal voting powers and hence wield direct influence in the organizations. This chapter will partly illuminate the manner in which rich western powers have use their economic and sometimes military superiority to arm-twist, control and advance their narrow interests against the broad objectives of the international organizations. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) provides good examples of illustrating this point.

Immanuel Kant, , in his Kantian peace tripod advancements claimed that for there to be peace in the world more states must be democratic, more countries must depend on each other and more countries must join international organizations.[159] This declaration explicitly credits the operations of international organizations to the presence or absence of peace. One cannot possibly claim to understand Africa without appreciating its history. As such, this study inspects the role played by international organizations in Africa's struggle for liberation from its former colonies with a close fascination. Majority of African countries became independent in the late 1950" and 1960"s.

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[158] Frieden, J., & Martin, L. L. (2002). International political economy: Global and domestic interactions. Political science: The state of the discipline, 118-146.
[159] Russett, B., Oneal, J. R., & Davis, D. R. (1998). The third leg of the Kantian tripod for peace: International organizations and militarized disputes, 1950–85. International Organization, 52(03), 441-467.

In many ways the workings of the Pan African movement was similar to that of an International organization. It facilitated sharing of information, provision of meeting facilities and effectively lowered costs of those meetings. Although rudimentary in its approach, the Pan African movement did have an impact on the African countries attainment of independence from their colonial masters.[160]

Another is the case of South Africa. South Africa continued to be under the oppressive Boer rule until 1994. Up until then, the native South Africans who comprised over 90% of the residents remained oppressed by apartheid rule. The rights of black South Africans were virtually nonexistent with little or no access to education or jobs and therefore the majority remaining in abject poverty. In an effort to remedy this situation the international community led by the United Nations imposed trade sanctions on the republic of South Africa to apply pressure to the regime of F.W. de Clerk.

Eventually this paid dividends with South Africa becoming independent in 1994 after the abolishment of the apartheid rule. Nelson Mandela was installed as president marking what can termed as the single biggest achievement of an international organization at in the fight against imperialism. However the works or scholars such as Chimni later advance that International organizations are now agents of neo-colonialism acting for the interests of trans-national capitalists to propagate and safeguard their investments.[161]

It will be very interesting to see future scholars give this issue more attention and make conclusive discernments about which side of engagements tilts the scale in international organizations and their stand in neo-colonialism. Contemporary studies

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[160] Shivji, I. G. (2009).Pan-Africanism in Mwalimu Nyerere has thought Third World Resurgence.
[161] Chimni, B. S. (2002). International Organizations Today: An Old Fashioned View From The Third World. Online paper.

put forward by realist scholars however maintain that international organizations remain vehicles of modern day colonialism in Africa arguing that all the tenets of colonialism albeit indirectly are enabled by international organizations in today's Africa. In an effort to remedy this situation the international community led by the United Nations imposed trade sanctions on the republic of South Africa to apply pressure to the regime of F.W. de Clerk.

Eventually this paid dividends with South Africa becoming independent in 1994 after the abolishment of the apartheid rule. Nelson Mandela was installed as president marking what can termed as the single biggest achievement of an international organization at in the fight against imperialism. However the works or scholars such as Chimni later advance that International organizations are now agents of neo-colonialism acting for the interests of trans-national capitalists to propagate and safeguard their investments.[162]

It will be very interesting to see future scholars give this issue more attention and make conclusive discernments about which side of engagements tilts the scale in international organizations and their stand in neo-colonialism. Contemporary studies put forward by realist scholars however maintain that international organizations remain vehicles of modern day colonialism in Africa arguing that all the tenets of colonialism albeit indirectly are enabled by international organizations in today's Africa. In support of certain these views this writer compares the purported gains made as a result of international organizations intervention in Africa against the continued loading of debts and exploitation of African resources and finds the situation heavily

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[162] Ibid

tilted to the favour of the realist. A close inspection will reveal the internal strife in Congo continues on in the background of UN"s largest and most expensive mission.[163]

Such a scenario is reminiscent of the atrocities that happened in Rwanda where the Tutsi ethnic tribe turned on and butchered the Hutu's almost to extinction inside a period of three months.[164] All the while the UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) remained sterile. It was only after the massacre did the UN act to save face. Nonetheless their belated actions did not salvage the deaths of 800,000 Rwandese. Prolonged political conflicts in Darfur and the South Sudan has led to mass murders [165]

The UN"s involvement in these circumstances was through facilitation of humanitarian aid. The clashes in West African states against internal revolts have been wrestled without intercontinental agencies mediation. In the Boko Haram extremists fight with the Nigerian government there was no international agency involvement. The Africa Union's and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) role in Mali rebuilding process thereafter must not go un-noticed but theirs appear reactionary after the onslaught launched by the French troops. Nonetheless, the very fact that the war broke up in Mali and was sustained for ages is testimony that international organizations operations/or presence have non significantly affected clashes and their aftermaths in Africa.

The situation in Kenya's post-election ferocity in 2007- 2008 perhaps offers a different dimension to the arguments above. A UN sponsored delegation of renowned personalities led by its retired Secretary General Kofi Annan successfully mediated an

[163] United Nations.(2013).Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo(Data file). (Accessed on 14th August 2013 fromhttp://monusco.unmissions.org/ MUNUSCO
[164] Hintjens, H. M. (1999). Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 37(02), 241-286.
[165] Ibid

enduring peace agreement between opposition frontrunner Mr. Odinga and Mr. Kibaki, the incumbent president. Lessons from Somalia where the current fragile Somalia government is supported by Africa Union's AMISOM troops also provide something to think about in as much as international organizations involvement to peace is concerned.[166] With the same perspective one cannot imagine what would have become of the internal uprisings in DRC that have been sustained for years but kept at bay by the UN"s largest peace mission, MONUSCO.

Traditional realism is premised on assumptions that the national security of a state takes precedence over all other state concerns. This view treats military as a key enhancer of this national security. Military is therefore classified as high politics whereas other aspects fall further below the cadre and are classified as low politics. Neo realists have however preferred to concern themselves with the overall power distribution among states in the international society.[167] Such thinkers are very skeptical about any contribution claimed by international organizations in shaping the states behavior towards international relations. The neorealist school of thought is not convinced that international organization can substantially influence international relations through creation of norms and advocacy.[168]

The African situation provides an interesting frame of reference to put some of these arguments under the radar. International trade has obviously grown in the post-cold war era due to increased interactions between states and interdependency occasioned by globalization fanned by better communication and transportation channels. Consequently, trade international organizations and agreements have grown

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[166] AMISOM bulletin. (2011). Issue 30. 1 August
[167] Buzan, B., Jones, C. A., & Little, R. (1993). The logic of anarchy: neorealism to structural realism. Columbia University Press.
[168] Waltz, K. N. (2010).Theory of international politics. Waveland Press.

to match the needs. Notwithstanding this growth the relations situation on the ground speak of realist interactions where countries aim to exploit their national welfares sometimes even at the expense of other countries

The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) as an international agreement has not translated in substantial increments in exports from Africa to the United States as initially envisaged. Countable states in Africa among them the republic of Chad that has recorded an increase in its exportation to the United States following the signing of AGOA. Even in its case the growth numbers are caused by exports of oil products. Such a case points analysts to the USA"s quest to access Chad oil resources as has been the trend in the last two decades following unrests of magnanimous scales in the Middle East that put future access of its oil at risk.[169]

The AGOA agreement is riddled with conditions that qualify or disqualify products from Africa as fit or unfit for export to the American market. It therefore continues to promote American trade interests at the expense of African countries interest it purports to promote. Data for the period 2000 to 2005 shows that exports from Africa to the USA in fact increased but as alluded earlier the increases can only be attributed to oil products exports mostly from Chad and Namibia.[170] Trade liberalization as envisioned by the World Trade Organization (WTO) brokered Doha Rounds has also not done much to improve the balance of trade between African countries and the West. The European Union for instance keeps on revising conditions

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[169] Allen, F. (2012). Oil and Security in the Gulf of Guinea: Reflections on the External and Domestic Linkages. Journal of Sustainable Development, 5(4), p132.
[170] Barno, A., Ondanje, B., & Ngwiri, J. (2009, August). Dynamics of Horticultural Export to European Union Market: Challenges and Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa. In I All Africa Horticultural Congress 911 (pp. 61-72).

to be met by African countries wishing to export horticultural produce to the European bloc.[171]

This situation has adversely affected trade volumes with the bloc in favour of Europe. Regional trade international organizations in Africa such as ECOWAS, SADC and COMESA have not exhibited much desire in tackling issues outside their trading blocs by taking advantage of their strengthened negotiation powers. As such they contribute minimally to the impact made by their members in the global or international trade. These excerpts of trading as conducted by African countries are in total agreement with realist perspective that ultimately international organizations prescription of norms in international relations and therefore international trade does little to alter states behavior which is skewed towards protection of national interests and national security. Closely tied to the aspect of international trade is the question of foreign direct investments (FD).

The Center for European Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE) conference report 114 of 2010 reveal that membership in certain international Organizations indeed has its privileges. The discussion illustrates empirically using data collected over a 35 year period that states which belong to certain international organizations tend to receive more FDI than their opposite counterparts. There is evidence that countries occupying momentary affiliation in the UN Security Council receive substantially greater loans from the USA and more programs funding from both the World Bank and the IMF.

The argument is that some establishments restrict states from following policies that are detrimental to stakeholders signaling minimum political jeopardy. Creation of

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[171]Ibid

such an environment can only serve to buoy foreign investments. This new environment is normally communicated to the international system when a country joins an international organization. This idea gels well with realist argument that states would only align themselves or join those organizations that increase their influence. One reason for a state to do this is to raise its economic profile. This normally translates to more funds available to the state and its citizens to pursue other goals. The presence of UN mission in a country for instance drastically raises its profile as an investment destination. This position is not strongly shown by African states.

However, Tanzania provides a talking point in as far as FDI and International Organization is 'concerned. For the most part of its post-independence existence Tanzania held the Ujamaa policy that hampered FDI. This was pioneered by the late Mwalimu Nyerere's socialist philosophy that sought to preserve and distribute economic gains and benefits to the local Tanzanians. This policy is believed to have caused Tanzania's discomfort within first East African Community (EAC) leading to the eventual collapse of the EAC65. However later presidents entered Tanzania in international organizations like South African Development Community (SADC) and the new EAC.

These initiatives may have served to inspire confidence to prospective investors evidenced by the surge of investors in Tanzania in the last decade.[172] The fact that Tanzania is now a member to the EAC and SADC confirms the state realist behavior seeking to maximize gains from both blocs. At broader levels states which are members of IMF and World Bank provide comfort of compliance to certain standards to

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[172] Gibbon, P. (1999). Privatization and foreign direct investment in mainland Tanzania, 1992-98. Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research.

prospective investors. This is especially so in the case of non-democracies which use membership in these institutions as a commitment device.[173]

Numerous states in Africa have had to receive IMF clearance before bi-lateral or multi-lateral aid is given. Prime examples are Mali, Senegal, Botswana, Ghana and Kenya. This requirement must have advised the engineering of structural adjustment programmes which led to massive impoverishment of many African states. Activities of International Organizations as seen in the previous chapter advance the interests of the countries of origin of those IO's. This happens in a myriad of ways. The World Bank and IMF flex their financial muscles to dictate policies in Africa.

From World Bank's recommendation, African countries like Kenya have budgetary allocations for health issues. Inadequate funding in the health sector undesirably affect people's lives. [174] The growing numbers of people in need of treatment against shrinking government budget extremely threatens the fight against the scourge of HIV/AIDS.[175] International Organizations also influence issues like election funding and taxation plans. Zimbabwe's elections of August 2013 were sponsored by the World Bank the government claimed it did not have adequate funds to cater for the elections showing that African countries are benefiting from international organization funding. In Kenya, the Value Added Tax 2013 bill initiated by Uhuru Kenyatta's regime is alleged to be influenced by forces in the IMF and World Bank that seek reassurances that the government have the ability to repay loans granted.

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[173] Fang, S., & Owen, E. 2009.Subtle Signals. Limited Device: International Institutions and Credible Commitment of Non democracies, Rice University.

[174] Ismi, A. (2004). Impoverishing a continent: The World Bank and the IMF in Africa. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

[175] Pathfinder International. (2007). The Impact of Global Gag Rule in Kenya; Population Action International

3.5 Conclusion

The changing aspects of diplomacy relations and involvement of new international players in universal issues, different channels of communication and existence of multinational politics have a profound impression on international relations as a channel of foreign policy and an establishment of universal politics. In order to remain relevant, diplomacy and diplomatic players are encountering emerging challenges which necessitates adoption of new systems. For governments to reach their goals in foreign policy and international governance they should embrace more network-oriented methodology for diplomacy. While styles of international relations are changing to best adopt new technology, the existing challenges for diplomatic activities is to balance between current and emerging aspects to connect and practice diplomatic relations. The change from outdated opinions of the political role has stimulated restructuring of the goals, scope and structure of universal organizations; scrutinizing foreign relations and envisioning of the possible changes in the world. Foreign relations are changing in the whole world to adopt innovative means of communication, emerging treaties and different display of dominance and power. The establishment of innovative diplomatic relations and the emergent of social media are changing the world landscape forcing foreign policy actors to adopt new systems and decentralize the diplomatic procedures. Traditional diplomatic activities still exist but "digitalized international relations" is more than just a way of attaining the same objectives. Global agencies have turned out to be key fields for diplomatic processes and policy-making. They play a key role in the entire world supremacy and provide a platform for collaboration to solve similar problems and address global issues. Nonetheless inter-state dependence which usually causes conflicts has resulted to

bilateral agreements; countries putting efforts to explore the prevailing anomalies in their diplomatic systems. As multilateralism is becoming popular, countries are under pressure to support global economic giants yet main African countries are interested in make them more powerful at the expense of the boundary.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN KENYA'S DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENTS

4.1 Introduction

The 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa major goals are achieving national and regional interests of states. China launched its PRC -African policy in 2006 categorizing its major interests in Africa as political, social, economic, peace and security. The 21st century diplomatic engagement in Africa has many components and dynamics of public diplomacy, "Twiplomacy" Technology and infrastructure and of key interest is the interest of china in Africa. The chapter looks at the role of international organizations in Kenya's diplomatic engagements Participation is basic to the incorporation of any district since it mixes trust. Understanding the hypothetical and exact establishments of the provincial mix in Africa will edify Haas' meaning of Africa's Integration and also make it clear the key interests of SADC, EU, and EAC among others according to the topical lines.

4.2 Determinants of Kenya's Diplomatic Relations

The ruling government is key determinant in the diplomatic engagements of Kenya as a state. As we have seen in the 20th century "Moi era "the economic diplomacy of Kenya was mostly with the former colonialist and the common wealth states, while in the "Kibaki era "Kenya adopted a "look east diplomacy "and intensified its economic relations with china. According to Senarclens and Kazancigil, the key element to which a state can transform goals and interests in to a course of action is through foreign policy. Foreign policy encompasses the wide

range of principles, policies, and practices that influence the direction a country takes with relation to other nations while pursuing its national interests. When cooperation is incorporated in to foreign policy, a country can effectively secure it economic, social, and political, sovereignty and national security.[176] Diplomacy being a tool of foreign policy is very essential through diplomatic engagement to ensuring that the foreign policy implementation process is effective thus a role of the 21st century diplomatic engagement.

As per Kegley, the geopolitical location of a country tends to influence the overall foreign policy. Natural frontiers, the neighbors and the possible economic activities inform the relation that the country will find conducive. Territorial characteristics such as size of the neighbors, their affluence, and territorial influence all influence own a country behaves.[177] Kenya finds itself influenced by the manner in which the ethnic communities overlap with international borders, its position along the India Ocean and the size of itself and its neighbors. Kenya's foreign policy is designed to aid the country attain its economic goals and ambitions. The desire to become a regional power means that the country is readily cooperative with its neighbors.[178] Given this fact, it is apparent that the country find itself with great international relations since its diplomacy must reflect its foreign policy. Foreign Direct Investment continues to come in to the country as the country continues to maintain good relations.

FDI brings in much needed capital from the developed countries in to the African countries. Apart from investment money coming in to the countries, FDI also creates employment opportunities, brings in technological innovation, transfer

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[176] Ibid
[177] Kegley, A. World Politics, 11th Ed Rev. London. (2008).
[178] Government of Kenya, Kenya Foreign Policy. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2009).

managerial skills and by extension, it promotes the economic strength of the African countries. Kenya understands very well the value of FDI on the potential economic growth. Therefore, Kenya continuously seeks continued FDI flow which have contributed immensely to the development seen so far in the country. State functions organized to showcase Kenya as a great business hub continue to characterize the diplomatic engagements Kenya has with its international partners. In the event that the country finds that there is a problem with how it is relating for one reason or the other, Kenya makes corrective measures quite fast so as to promote its economic objectives.

Designing foreign policy for a country takes in to consideration both the local players and the international actors. This is because the most appropriate foreign policy strategy is the one that takes care of the country with respect to its international partners. The executive and other leaders of a country influence the overall foreign policy as employed by a company. This is because they are the executive decision makers politically and thus have tremendous influence on the direction of the company. The characteristics and personality of the leaders, their national interests and local ambitions also inform the manner in which policies are made and the subsequent diplomatic relations.[179]

As per Okoth, Kenya's foreign was a product of the British colony prior to 1963 when Kenya became independent. After British rule came to an end in 1963, Kenya thus began formulating its own foreign policies although the resemblance to the one the British left operational. Kenya's identity on its foreign policy gradually became integrated in to system and eventually, the country's full sovereignty, norms,

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[179] Ibid

culture, and value began to be reflected on the diplomatic engagements based on the foreign policy.[180] The country started showing desire for foreign direct investment post-independence with how it pursued economic development. The diplomatic interactions were also friendly but in the long run, the country developed a dependency on the Western countries for economic development

Okumu explains that Kenya is not very focal on contentious issues within African continent. The lack of aggression makes the country seem neutral but all other countries interrelate well with the country. Hence, Kenya has a high position when it comes to the diplomatic relations of the continent. Maintenance of a low profile amongst the African countries and a rather peaceful sociopolitical climate is advantageous to Kenya when it comes to pursuing its international economic desires. Kenya's diplomacy is powerful because of its continental reputation.[181]

The main reason for Kenya's foreign policy is economic diplomacy directing focus on economic empowerment and trade with other nations. Vision 2030 forms the blueprint upon which the country would like to elevate its economic status to the levels it desires.[182] Diplomacy facilitates the Vision 2030 because it promotes collaboration and cooperation with international developed countries.[183]

Ideological conflicts played a part in Kenya's foreign policy as shown by Howell. He asserts that Kenya's foreign policy rotated between the theory of realism, which he calls conservative, and method of idealism, which he calls radical. He saw two distinct foreign policies in Kenya; the system of realism operated concerning Kenya's objectives in Eastern Africa while continentally and internationally, Kenya

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[180] Kinaro, E.O, Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Kenya. (2006) p. 67.

[181] Otubanjo, F. Foreign Policy Analysis. Unpublished Thesis. (1990), p. 27.
[182] Ibid, p. 27.
[183] Ibid

was guided by idealism.[184] In this approach, national variables were seen to affect Kenya's foreign policy in East Africa only, while systemic variables changed the country's posture on continental and international issues. Adar advanced a similar argument when he wrote on Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia. He argues that steadiness in Kenya's foreign policy was witnessed in its behavior in Somalia, behavior with regards to adhering to the policy of border integrity.[49] National interest defined Kenya's foreign policy in this case. Adair's study shows that national security concerns shaped Kenya's foreign policy in the region. Kenya appeared vulnerable out of real threats from the republic of Somalia which claimed some parts the North-Eastern province of Kenya. While Adair's study shows how the region was critical to the survival of the new state, the study did not go further to explain how Kenya's foreign policy towards other countries outside Africa was aimed at pre-empting expansionist policies and the spread of irredentist interests. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was closely associated with the issue of territorial[185]

4.3 The Evolution of Kenya's Diplomatic Engagement

Colonization started in Kenya in 1890 and ended on 12th December 1963. The colonial state was an abroad extension of cosmopolitan Britain, governed by a few Briton commissioners and therefore build a long-lasting basis for development of the 21st century states in Africa. Its main purpose was to keep law and orderliness, to ensure respect and allegiance to the colonial administrators and protect and advance

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[184] Makinda, S.M, ―From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics, (Third World Quarterly, 1983), Vol. 5, pp.303-304.

[185] Howell, J. ―Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy‖, (Journal of Modern African studies, 1968) Vol. 6 (1).

the political as well as economic interests of the British. The rules and ethics that were advanced during colonization were to benefit the British. Since foreign policy is a country's policy relating to external actors, it is only exercised by sovereign state. Given this background, it is hard to talk about Kenya's foreign policy during this period. We can only talk of Kenya's foreign policy after independence.

Kenya, similar to other African nations that had newly gained freedom joined the universal world as sovereign African country and during this time, its foreign policy was influenced by traditional principles.[186] The wider controlling determinants of Kenya's foreign policy were; attentive protecting of national interests, maintaining peoples' freedom, cooperation to facilitate and uphold African unity, work towards international harmony and non-violent resolution of international conflicts, respect for the government and border honesty of other nations and the policy of noble neighbors.[187] These principles influenced Kenya to join regional and international organizations, took part in to peacekeeping missions and offered humanitarian aid to other nations.

Kenya's foreign policy was founded on the notion of self-determination. The government declared that a country success should not be based on its relationship with another country or grouping of states. The government, hence, signed accords with key international supremacies and benefitted in terms of funding to boost the economy and its security systems. Positive independence was viewed as a way of upholding the state's political freedom and a chance to grow the economy. This principle did not imply that the country had to stay nonaligned on

[186] Adar G. K, The significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the Modal determinant of Relations: A case study of Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia 1963-1983 (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994)

[187] Katete D. Orwa, ―Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi.‖ In Oyugi W. O., (Ed.), Ibid., p. 302

global matters issues. In early 1966, Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, said: ―We totally compel ourselves to backing what we believe to be good and fair in global affairs.[188]

The fact that Kenya lacked a formal foreign policy from independence till February 2015 when it was formalized doesn't imply that the country lacked a system. The propensity to have foreign policies in written format fuels the misconception that the nation may have lacked a foreign policy. Fundamental principles have always informed the conduct of the country on the international scene.[189] The foundation of after-liberation Kenya's foreign policy is traced in three documents, the 1960 Kenya National African Union constitution and the 1961 and 1963 KANU philosophies. At independence, KANU government undertook to work with other African leaders to foster closer association of African states by promoting unity and action among the people of Africa. Her relations with other foreign governments would, however, be influenced by the separation of the globe into two antagonistic alliances, the government rejected this world system and instead adopted the principle of being neutral in global issues. At the moment Kenya's Foreign Policy relies on four related pillars which include; Economic Diplomacy, Peace Diplomacy, Environmental Diplomacy and Diaspora Diplomacy.

John Howell postulated that secessionist have made a blow to the nationalist processions according to Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) movement of sectionalism since they concentrated on regional dominance and not centralization. Orwa found that in Kenyatta and Moi's eras the guiding philosophies for foreign policy were similar: border honesty, national safety, noble neighborliness, liberation

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[188] Ibid., p. 302.
[189] Kenya African National Union (K A N U) manifesto, 1961 and also 1963

and power, neutrality in the global issues of independent countries and non-alignment.[190] To this extent there was steadiness. But steadiness in foreign policy is presumed to be due to long ancient traditions.

Even though it has been claimed in other places that change of governance doesn't affect Foreign policy, Orwa argues that does not apply in third world countries like Kenya. Since it has enjoyed freedom for about fifty years, the country cannot be regarded as having created a norm of continuity in foreign policy. Administration changes in a third word state might imply a substantial change in foreign policy.[191] Although Kenya have experienced changes in regime, the politicians have not changed. Most of them are products of the KANU party that ushered independence to this country in 1963.

Khadiagala and Terrence note that non-alignment provided some meaning to efforts to find a place for Africa outside the Cold War, but as a policy, it was impossible to fully implement, mainly because of economic weakness and ―alignment‖. One foreign policy strategy was to play off the superpowers against each other, but it is arguable whether many states truly could do that. Most countries, such as Kenya, naturally became aligned[192] The Kenya African National Union (KANU), governed for almost 40 years after Kenya's liberation from colonizers in 1963 until it lost in the 2002 elections. Initially, it referred to as Kenya African Union prior to its renaming in 1960 to one or another superpower regarding foreign aid and military assistance.

Moi's policy had not provided an open political environment for the MFA. John Howell who is perhaps the first scholar to undertake a serious look at Kenya's

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[190] Ibid
[191] Ibid
[192] Ochieng, William, A Modern History of Kenya, (Evans Brothers Limited, London, 1989), p. 220

foreign policy in 1963, however, argues that two distinct policies have been guiding Kenyaˈs actions in the international system.   In global terms, he argues that external policy has been characterized by a strong sense of standards and impracticality, while in East African issues, Kenyaˈs policy has been controlled by a slightly more conformist and legitimatized thinking. Economic development and protection of her borders have been a concern to the county. He notes that Kenya's conservatism was clearly demonstrated in her patriotism in Somalia. The border or territorial issues have also emerged between Kenya and Uganda in the past.[193]

Under Kibaki's administration, the governing coalition vowed to concentrate on economic growth, fighting corruption, ensuring every child accesses free basic education and delivering a new constitution. The regime change also contributed to changes in Kenyaˈs foreign policy.   Kenyaˈs foreign policy seemed to concentrate on global matters than in previous years. This is manifested in the new policy whose main aim was to expand Kenya's entry into global markets, suitable and inexpensive technology, foreigners direct investments and infrastructure funding from China, India and other upcoming international economic sovereigns. There are various variables which determine foreign links a part from the administration and the fast environmental changes in the world in the twenty first century.[194] The increase of non-state players in international organizations together with various other upcoming matters.[195] President Kibaki supported various regional and global initiatives which made donors to become more confident   in Kenyan's foreign policy formulation.

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[193] Khadiagala, G.M & Lyons, T. African Foreign Policies Power and Process. Westview Press A Member of the Perseus Books Group, 2014), p. 104
[194] Kabete, D. Odwa (1994), ―Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi‖ in Yogi, W. O., (Politics and Administration in East Africa (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1994), p. 161.
[195] Howell (1968). Op Cit,

Similar to during Moi regime, establishment of the many political parties in Kenya happened after intense pressurization by donor organizations. The donors also meddled with the inside strategies of the nation subsequently a stream impact to the remote approach conduct amid his rule. According to the current foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign policy is based on three inter-linked pillars: environment diplomacy, reconciliation diplomacy and diplomacy. This marks a departure from the traditional emphasis on political issues into strategic concerns that address the current issues in international relations. The orientation toward environmental topics results from acknowledgement of Kenya's massive role in managing national, regional and global resources and recognizing the impact of ecological challenges such as climatic changes, ozone weakening, sea and air contamination and diminishing resources.

With China's policy of not interfering or taking clear positions on human rights and status of its development. Along these lines, the customary western partners were either ejected or their effect on administrative issues controlled. This fact piercingly associates Kenya's remote strategy choice to the developing nature and system of the worldwide framework Kibaki's foreign policy focused on the East. This, amongst various other related initiatives by African presidents, has ignited what several scholars should view as a replica of the competition between the U.S and USSR but the difference is that the Chinese took the place of Russia although socialist in the governance system have adopted the capitalistic urge for competition.[196]

Despite Kenya's until now conventional ace western remote arrangement act,

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[196] Braude W, Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from The East African Community. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2008).

President Uhuru Kenyatta has left couple of questions that Kenya looks for an exceptional and sensational new outside strategy engagement with its customary partners; a serious drive for local and mainland collaboration, and won't be imprisoned by chronicled collaborations and conventions, which could be vital, monetary, army or social links. Outside strategy develops as per rising outskirts. The development of China and India as financial monsters has introduced new open doors. Managing monetary powerhouses, for example, China, India, South Korea and Malaysia could be among emerging matters in Kenya's remote approach. The pressures of globalization have changed the environment and objectives of intercontinental associations. Globalization has reduced significant expenses and enlarged markets. New goals for Kenya's foreign relations must be establishing to focus on security threat as a result of international crimes such as currency laundry, people and drug trades as well terror groups.[197]

Terrorists have attacked Kenya several times, with the most notable ones occurring on August 7, 1998, November 28, 2002, September 21, 2013, April 2, 2015 and 2018. As global terror groupings develop into the greatest threat to worldwide security issues, foreign policy has to come up with new strategies to harness international collaboration on the fight against terrorism. The decision on whether a country should adopt foreign policy is made by the president. Kenya have four presidents since independence namely the late Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki and presently, Uhuru Kenyatta.

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[197] Ibid

4.4 Future Prospects of Kenya's Diplomatic Engagement

President Uhuru Kenyatta propelled the new Kenya Foreign Policy, and also the Diaspora Policy on twentieth January 2015. The new remote strategy archive concentrates more on the local association, exchange, and peace with need being the East Africa Community. The arrangement says that EAC is Kenya's most imperative remote approach means and her significant exchanging and speculation alliance. Kenya keeps on grasping respective in seeking after its remote approach destinations through the reciprocal exchange, political and social concurrences with different nations.

Discretion can be acknowledged inside the epistemology of the traditional system, or it might incorporate the philosophies of the behavioral upheaval. Whatever the case, in any case, its examination from these viewpoints, has shown a missing connection. This lost relationship is focused on the execution of remote strategy. The execution of outside arrangement is best accomplished where there is a compelling and proficient administration of the political administration, and of remote strategy. Where the organization of these does not exist or is frail, there will relate troubles of the execution of remote arrangement. Since the finish of outside approach creation is implementation, this missing connection has sweeping consequences for the remote arrangement of the nation, since a remote strategy that isn't actualized is in actuality a non-outside arrangement. It is therefore that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be legitimately. Staffed with senior and prepared ambassadors who can stand their ground in the field of worldwide relations.[198]

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[198] Mboya T, 'Some Reflections on the Development of a Foreign Policy for an African State', The Challenges of Nationhood: A Collection of Speeches and Writings, Westport (Connecticut): Praeger Publishers, 1970, pp. 234–236

In a perfect world, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is effectively associated with Kenya's remote relations matters and it must, in this manner, re-outline its preparation programs and have responsibility for organization of tact. It must have a progression programs precisely created to maintain a strategic distance from a present deficiency of experienced senior officer framework and have the capacity to channel out substitutions for resigning ambassadors. It should likewise hold the ability of resigned prepared ambassadors and make a research organization to prompt both the President and the service on key outside arrangement headings. Linkages must be built up with government services and offices, the general population and private areas, establishments of higher learning, and the general population on the loose. Data is control, and our negotiators should be very much educated speedily and opportune to have the capacity to convey adequately.[199]

Kenya has indicated the ability to be a piece of the African recovery by taking part in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) which plans to enhance the nature of administration in the mainland. The nation was among the initial four African states alongside Ghana, Rwanda, and Mauritius, to acquiesce to the Mechanism in March 2004 in Abuja Nigeria, which is a commonly concurred instrument willfully, agreed to members of African Union (AU) as an African self-checking system. Kenya has additionally through the IGAD been a dynamic member in advancing peace and steadiness in the area. Kenya has for some time been given a role as a diffident local performing artist.[200]

A stable economy but bad politics negatively affect its impact in the eyes of its citizens. Critics have contended that Kenya is guided by its neighboring countries

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[199] Ibid

[200] Mugomba AT, Regional Organisations and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community, Journal of Modern African Studies, 16, 2, pp. 261–272

and adopts provincial commitment methodologies that are a detached question of the others environment interests. A radical takeoff from Kenya's preservationist way to deal with territorial relations was the attack into Somalia to take up arms against Al-Shabaab; the greatest military adventure that Kenya had attempted since autonomy which demonstrates that Kenya has changed its remote strategy to an all the more ace dynamic approach.[201]

4.5 Kenya's Diplomatic Engagement in the African Region: Actor's and Policies

The 1963 constitution recognized foreign policy as an administrative function under the office of the president; the current president is therefore responsible for the function.[202] In August 2010, Kenya promulgated a new constitution which retains the presidential system although it creates extra checks and balances of authority execution: their implementation will happen gradually facilitated by laws passed in consequent years.[203] It is expected that the conducts of foreign relations will change as changes in the constitution are put into practice; however, during the implementation period the governance recognized in the former constitution are still practice. Since 2003, the national assembly has made significant steps in its oversight responsibility – and the parliament now reviews presidency budgets, appointees and decision-making on foreign policy matters.

Since independent, Kenya's head of states have established a close relationship with other African head of states who help to advance the country's interests through improving Kenya's reputation and at the same time being recognized for its activities.

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[201] Kenyoru AN, Kenya's Foreign Service and Export Trade Promotion. Milton Keynes: Author House, 2009, p. 20
[202] Personal interview, MFA, Nairobi, 01 October 2019
[203] Kenya, 2011, op. cit., p. 16.

The former president, Mwai Kibaki, emphasized on foreign policy as an important facet of the country's economic diplomacy, as evidenced by his lobbying for funds to invest in infrastructure in Kenya and in other countries in Africa.[204]

For example, Kibaki's tight links with Ethiopian premier Meles Zenawi and President Salva Kiir of Southern Sudan greatly helped to lobby for $25 billion funding for Lapsset corridor project. The nation's greatest after-liberation development project.[205] Lapsset is a combination of a road, railway, oil pipeline and airports corridor. After completion, it will directly affect the way of life of 166 million Kenyans, Ethiopians and South Sudanese[206]

The ministry of foreign affairs (MFA), co-ordinates foreign policy under the guidance of the head of state, ministries and agencies in an advisory capacity, as corresponding contributors in the coordinated implementation of foreign policy. Economic diplomacy includes government and private sectors. Government ministries, mainly the MFA; the Ministry of East African Community (MEAC); and the ministry of trade (MoT), strive to harmonize the activities of economic diplomacy. The MEAC was established in 2006 after an EAC summit suggestions for the creation of independent ministries to specifically focus on EAC matters. However, in 1998 the intense of Kenya's intents in the region had been established through creation of the Ministry of East African and Regional Cooperation, obliged to coordinate the matters of the EAC, Comesa and IGAD. In 1999, the functions of the ministry were transferred to a department in the ministry of tourism, trade and industry.

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[204] Daily Nation, 'Kibaki tells presidential hopefuls to go slow', 1 August 2011, http://www. nation.co.ke/News/politics/Kibaki+tells+presidential+hopefuls+to+go+slow/-/1064/1211942/-/ wyvqgiz/-/.
[205] Anyanzwa J, 'State seeks partners to fund Sh2 trillion Lapsset project', The Standard, 20 June 2012
[206] Abdullahi H, 'Lamu Port Project', Kenya News Agency, http://www.information.go.ke/index. php?option=com_content&task=view&id=591.

After Kibaki was elected as the Kenya's head of state in December 2002, the activities of foreign policy were relegated to the MFA. In July 2004, the Kibaki government decided to take back the matters of East African to independent ministry and created MEAC in 2006. The MFA provides general foreign policy directions and bearings and the MEAC is in charge of official diplomatic activities and coordination in the EAC.[207] The MoT executes Kenya's marketing policies at regional and global level.

Finally, the National Economic and Social Council (NESC),which the government think tank is responsible for providing timely, precise and independent socio-economic counsel for economic development.[208] Private sector interests are categorized as domestic or regional. Kenyan economic diplomacy has always concentrated on export promotion since time in memorial. In this reference, the state helps the private sector through informing them of prospects in global world markets and offering special help in designing and implementation of market programmes and sales promotions in foreign countries. The EPC is the main body in marketing Kenya's products. Its responsibility is to coordinate and harmonize export development and advertising activities through providing direction to all national export agencies.

As the leading agency in the growth and marketing of exports, the EPC advices the government on countries where Kenya exports are likely to face stiff international competition. The institution intends to retain the current export markets, increase the products exported through helping new exporters and increasing the Kenya exports

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[207] Personal interview, MEAC, Nairobi, 01 October 2019
[208] Ibid

competitiveness.[209] The increasing demand for investment campaign is illustrated by the establishment of KIA. This investment marketing institution aims at encouraging and facilitating private investments for domestic and overseas investors. Enticement parcels in terms of facilitation, production and competition are aimed at enticing foreign investors and Kenya framers who focus on global markets. As a result, the ambassadors and state officials are obliged to represent Kenya in trade conferences; nurture close relationships which promotes trade; participate in trade consultations; and push for recognizance of the government's plans so as to encourage exports and investments.

4.6 Chapter Summary

Diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy and thus the major role of the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Kenya is enabling of implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and national interests. Kenya has always had a friendly approach in diplomacy ever since its independence. The foreign policy informs the diplomatic processes and engagements as necessary. Kenya intends to become a middle-income nation by 2030 as envisioned in Vision 2030. Thus, economic growth is one of the focuses that the country has. The resultant is that the foreign policy aims at attracting as many investors and FDI as possible.

The main tool that the country is using to attain its goals and objectives is diplomacy thus the 21st century diplomatic engagement is very key. The countries foreign policy puts in to consideration the stakeholders, both domestic and foreign. Former executives in the government form the main advisory council. The

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[209] Murimi KK, Kenya Country Paper – Export Promotion Council of Kenya (EPC), ITC – ISO Regional Workshop on 'Linking Trade Promotion Organisations and National Standards Bodies for Export Success', Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, June 2011

presidency, county governments, parliament and the cabinet form the National Security Advisory Council whose mandate is to ensure that the country has the best possible chance to pursue its foreign policy and diplomatic engagements.

The country in the 21st century aims at cooperating willingly with international bodies such as the AU, IGAD, OAS, UN and EOCOS in a bid to raise its global influence. Regionally, Kenya is considered the most influential country in EAC because of its reputation. Evidence is in the enactment of the Kenya Foreign Policy and in January 2015 by President Uhuru Kenyatta.

The government continuously exploits the opportunities it gets to further its reputation and diplomatic engagements across the entire continent and by extension, on the global stage. All these goals are based on the country's diplomatic strength, geopolitical location, political stability, and economic growth. Thus, the country's diplomatic future is definitely growing and 21st century diplomatic engagement has a role to play in ensuring Kenya implements its foreign policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study aimed at exploring the role of international organizations and 21st century diplomatic engagement in Kenya. Specifically looking at the interconnection between the role of international organizations and Kenya's diplomatic engagement in the 20th century and in the 21st century, how Kenya uses diplomatic engagement to influence her relationship with other African states and the world at large. Finally, it sought to find out if there are any challenges experienced by Kenya in its use of diplomatic engagement in Africa and Africa and suggest possible solutions to these challenges. This chapter therefore summarizes the conclusions as proposed by the researcher, the recommendations and suggestions for further areas of study.

Indeed, international organizations are important to strong and unstable countries. Development of global governance calls for an advanced level of socio-economic, political and cultural orientation between economic giants and third world countries. Even the very sovereign countries cannot attain security alone. Every state and some independent players, face similar challenges and benefits from worldwide public goods. The success of global institutions that comprise of noble leadership globally and regionally partakes the changing functions international organizations and agencies standards, guidelines, and other elements of international dominance. UN Security Council policy-making processes might be weak and imperfect although they are under regulations and subjected to criticism internationally and are thus better compared to individual countries processes. There is no single country

that have withdrawn its membership from the UN even when its acts against its national interests.

5.2 Conclusion

The study found that their various challenges related with accomplishing the role of guaranteeing genuine ad successful international organizations. The international organizations established post Second World War are not in line with the current global issues. The end of colonization, diversification of international markets, increasing inter-dependence, widespread economic instability and environment pollution calls of representation and productive international organizations. This has brought global organizations like and their leadership systems in the limelight. Every organization show the previous sovereignty of European region and America and should be changed to signify the modern-world systems. The globe is going through a geopolitical change. Nations like China, India, Indonesia and Brazil are upcoming sovereigns. Main global organizations are yet to adopt to incorporate these changes. Peace missions alone cannot solve worldwide challenges like climatic change, energy, nuclear explosion, population increase and economic stability. The main problem of international dominance is dealing with geopolitical shifts and at the same time solving inter-territory conflicts. There is no relationship between sharing of decision-making power in global organizations and power sharing globally.

Third world nations after becoming part of the international economy, find it difficult to admit that developed nations distribute power and their own interests always come first. Challenges also emanate from civil societies which think that global dominance structures are turning out to be the actual seats of supremacy. There

are many international policing challenges which calls for global administration. They include, terror threats and terror group networks, weapons that cause great destruction, money markets, scarceness of energy sources, foodstuff and water, environment challenges, climatic changes, tribal conflicts are similar all over the globe and need to be solved by international community. Power must not be conferred in some countries only. All states need to collaborate with countries and the rising independent players. The progression of global institutions to enable facilitation of international response has slowed down the upcoming problems which affect all countries in the globe. There exists a large bridge between legality and productivity. The United Nations is very effective in establishing, practicing and putting into effect collective decisions. Until now, the pressing matters in global governance cannot be resolved without global organizations. Security interdependence, hence, calls for international dominance.

Based on the study findings, the following can be deducted: First and foremost, that the 21st century diplomatic engagements are an engine that any developing country should employ to drive its national interests. Kenya is maximizing on its diplomatic ties and engagements to achieve its foreign policy goals. Through economic diplomacy Kenya has positioned itself in the regional market for trade thus becoming a regional trade hub. Diplomacy has become the center stage of its African affairs, and by this move, the state is expected to grow and achieve its vision 2030. It can be argued that taking an economic front and managing the negative political environment that face the country during every general election will help the country advance its economic interests not only in Africa but in the world at large.

It can also be concluded from the study that there is a need of Kenya to train and empower diplomats and other state and independent diplomacy players to ensure that the state has effective 21st century diplomatic engagements that achieve its national interests in the region. More so Kenya needs to focus on its 21st century economical diplomatic engagements so as to remain as the regions (EAC) economical hub.

Lastly, the researcher also concluded that the involvement of other actors in Kenya's pursuance of diplomacy is an effective strategy adopted by the government in promoting its economic diplomacy. Diplomacy in itself cannot be conducted by the state alone. For its full effectiveness involving third parties ensures that the country is achieving its full potential in the regional and in the world. The researcher, therefore, observed that, the ministries of Foreign Affairs the African Union, private sector and other actors through strong 21st century diplomatic engagements are enhancing strong economic, political and social relations in Africa and the world at large.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 International Organizations

Global governance is important because every country need to safeguard its citizens and their properties. Focus on issues like maintaining international harmonious living and security, developing the economy and international markets, human rights, practical and technical collaboration, protecting the environs and resources, to cope with existing international financial crisis and combating human trafficking calls for collaboration to restore orderliness and consistency to international relations. The above challenges cannot be solved individually with optimal success. Solving the problems

will need new types of transnational collaboration.

1. 2. For multilateral implementation activities to be successful, there should be a shared aim of objectives and actions in global agencies. For collaborative implementation activities to be successful, it must equate the disagreeing states interests amongst various states that are members and evade prioritizing the interests of one over the others.

2. The existence and vigor of international organizations is influenced by ability to adjust and adopt and the superiority of their governance.

3. Global organizations should acknowledge and include non-state players based on a principle that ensures their acceptability and efficiency.

5.3.2 Kenya's diplomatic engagement

There is a need for streamlining the Kenyan policy implementation strategies to curb corruption and improve governance. The country may have excellent diplomatic engagements and trade policies put in place, but when it lacks implementers, the whole process is flawed. The government needs to establish anti-corruption monitoring devices and conduct strict disciplinary action against those found guilty of corruption. Concerning the trade barriers in the EAC region and Africa as a whole that are detrimental to the 21st century economic diplomatic engagements, the researcher recommends that the governments through the African union need to streamline trade procedures and come up with standard procedures effective 21st century diplomatic engagement's procedures, economic strategies and goals that enhance Africa's economic position in the world and more specifically EAC trade liberalizations will enhance Kenya's economical position.

There is a great need to improve positive gains from media contribution to 21st century diplomatic engagement's that are beneficial to Africa and Kenya in particular. The media is a key factor in diplomacy and diplomatic engagements negative propaganda through digital media and media in general can be damaging to a country political, economic and social goals.

Finally, the researcher recommends that Kenya and Africa as a whole need to use the 21st century diplomatic engagements to build strong economic and social relationships with other states as this will greatly enhance and assist Africa and Kenya to achieve its national and regional interest. Strong positive state relations are an issue the researcher foresees will tamper with the 21st century diplomatic engagements in Africa.

5.3.3 Recommendations for further areas of Study

Given that the research was conducted in Kenya; the diplomats in the High Commissions being the respondents, this study recommends the need for a comparative study conducted on the ground in Africa with particular concern on the challenges of the 21st century diplomatic engagement pattern within the region to find out how diplomatic engagement can greatly contribute to the national interests while consulting the decision makers in the states within Africa and their governments. This will ensure a comparative view of the rest of the states and bring out a wholesome concept of diplomacy in Africa.

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