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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

DEFENCE DIPLOMACY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY: CASE
STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES IN SOMALIA

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DECLARATION

I, Soy Dorence Chelangat hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for research in any university.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my mother, Mrs. Emily Soi and my siblings for their emotional and financial support during the cause of my study. Their selfless and unwavering support made this journey possible.

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ABSTRACT

This Research seeks to elaborate the meaning of defence diplomacy and its relationship with foreign policy. It encompasses the concept of statecraft and seeks to examine the utility of defense diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy used to further national interests. The KDF's mission in Somalia is the basis of this research as the same brings together all the variables necessary for the determination of the statement of the problem of this research. Defence diplomacy as utilized by Kenya is still at its infancy stage and the same has not been adequately embraced by the KDF. Defense diplomacy is a vital instrument to politicians, diplomats and even soldiers and yet the same has been given little attention by policy makers in Kenya. This research relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The research established that defence diplomacy is encompassed in a state's foreign policies and is often employed to further national interests. The research illustrated that the KDF's mission in Somalia was in furtherance of Kenya's national interests perpetuated by its defence policies. In conclusion, the research established that in the global arena, defence diplomacy is an essential approach to curbing security concerns to a state's sovereignty. The recommendation of the research is that Kenya's policy makers ought to fully adopt defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft and a strategy for the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AU	-	African Union
CDF	-	Chief of Defence Forces
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
CIMIC	-	Civil Military Cooperation
DDR	-	Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration
EAC	-	East African Community
EU	-	European Union
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
IGAD	-	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
IR	-	International Relations
KDF	-	Kenya Defence Forces
KII	-	Key Informant Interview
MOSD	-	Ministry of State for Defence
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RSA	-	Republic of South Africa
UN	-	United Nations

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This research sought to give an understanding, scope and context of defence diplomacy in relation to foreign policy. It endeavors to examine its peacetime cooperative use by states as a tool of foreign and security policy. In particular, this research sought to resolve the conceptual ambiguity that has afflicted the term defense diplomacy. It then illustrated the effects of the global community embracing globalization highlighting the dramatic effects of states in a bid to promote cooperation. Having analyzed all the highlighted issues, this research concludes by illustrating why it is important for states to seek to balance the influence of other powers and prevent them from undercutting its interests.

In light of the above, the problem and questions which this research addressed are two-fold, namely the strategic analysis of Kenya's use of defence diplomacy for furtherance of national interests and reasons why its use may be under-theorized, underemphasized and, therefore, underutilized.

1.1 Background to the Study

Diplomacy has existed since the 13th Century B.C as illustrated by numerous diplomatic archives that have been found. Permanent diplomatic missions, however, dates back to the Renaissance period in the 15th century¹. Various forms of Diplomacy have emerged ever since. Modern diplomacy is organized around six broad areas: the changing nature of diplomacy, diplomatic methods, developing diplomatic practice, negotiation, groups and networks and regional organizations.² The operation of diplomacy has evolved and now extends to international

¹Op. Cit., The ABC of Diplomacy, P.3

² R. P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, Routledge (Jan, 2019) p (i)

trade, finance, environment, conflict – security, mediation and normalization.³ Defense Diplomacy, for instance, has been compared with a strategy that disarms the mind of the enemy. As such, this allusion passes defense diplomacy as a mechanism for influencing the nature of relations between a state and other states at the time of peace without having to wait for the emergence of a security concern; this being under circumstances where any adversarial relations are still at their early stages.

Whereas defense diplomacy can be traced in medieval times, it became popular in the 1990s when defense forces re-examined their roles in the post-cold war. Various states effectively embraced and utilized it with the European countries particularly finding a grip in it as the states show appreciation to developing strong relationships founded on trust and confidence whilst furthering their foreign policies. The nature of defence forces in international affairs has changed over the years. The defence forces in most states have currently assumed the role of defense diplomacy. This concept has qualified as one of the critical tools of military control amidst efforts to move away from the use of force.

A majority of the states in the developed world including the NATO nations enjoy global reputation when it comes to defence diplomacy. For instance, in recent times it has been reported that China has been flexing its military muscles to the extent that it could be ranked among the states that embrace defence diplomacy. The same as well extends to Australia and India. United States of America, the United Kingdom, and other polities in the developed world have very opted for fairly clear policies and programmes. The deployment of the military to diplomatic roles in support democracies and civilian control feature at the top of their diplomatic objectives. For instance, the USA engages a number of countries across the globe by exercising its theatre

³ Ibid

commands. On the other hand, emerging market economies such as China turn to the developing world.

The defence policy in Kenya has dominated the country's foreign policy since 1963⁴. Kenya's 2014 foreign policy, on the other hand, has been more inclined towards appreciating the essence of globalization, a concept to which most of the government policies have had to conform to.⁵ Global terror has seen Kenya take unprecedented steps towards safeguarding its territory. In light of the various attacks on Kenya, it has become important for the government to become increasingly aware of the various strategies in furtherance of its national interests.

The Kenya Defense Forces remains a crucial actor in the maintenance of foreign policy in furtherance of her national interest with capacity to respond to threats to our national interests. Kenyan policy makers need formulate policies that confer KDF with more diplomatic roles.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Defence diplomacy as utilized by Kenya is still at its infancy stage and the same has not been adequately embraced by the KDF. Defense diplomacy is a vital instrument to politicians, diplomats and even soldiers and yet the same has been given little attention by policy makers especially in Kenya.

It is from the foregoing, that this research drew its interest as to whether KDF's operation in Somalia was a reflection of defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft at play and whether the same was in furtherance of her national interests.

This research additionally elaborated on the value of defence diplomacy in Kenya- Somalia relations.

⁴ https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137558305_11

⁵ Adar, K. (1994). *Kenyan Foreign Policy Behaviour Towards Somalia, 1963–1983*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America

1.3 Research Questions

- (i) Whether KDF's mission in Somalia was a tool of statecraft?
- (ii) Whether KDF's mission in Somalia was informed by her defence policies?
- (iii) How can Kenya utilize defense diplomacy to further its national interests in Somalia?

1.4 Research Objectives

The research investigated into the question of whether KDF's entry into Somalia fell within the ambit of defence diplomacy and whether the said move was occasioned by her foreign policy and her need to protect her national interests.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

- 1) To examine whether KDF's mission in Somalia was a tool of statecraft
- 2) To investigate whether KDF's mission in Somalia was informed by her defence policies
- 3) To examine how Kenya can use defence diplomacy in furtherance of her national interests in Somalia

1.5 Literature Review

There is sufficient literature on the essentials of foreign policy. However, the following research adopts the operational definition of foreign policy to be the mechanism through which states express their interests to the rest of the world and their efforts to mould such expressions in their international relations with these states. Foreign policy comes closer to statecraft which is the instrument through which the government embraces its state power for the competent management of its national affairs. As such, Foreign policy passes as one of the key mechanisms through which statecraft is exercised.

Diplomacy is an instrument of statecraft. The focus of diplomacy is on communication. The utility of diplomacy lies with its mechanism of managing the objectives of foreign policy.

Therefore, the success of foreign policy varies with the deployment of diplomacy. According to British scholars, A. Cottey and A. defense diplomacy refers to amicable cooperation that involves the use of a countries armed forces and similar defence resources as instruments and strategies of the country's foreign and security policy.⁶

Defense diplomacy is a subset of Preventive Diplomacy. This involves tendering action with the underlying objective of averting imminent conflict, or to mitigate the escalation of prevailing conflicts and well as to limit the spread of the same.⁷ Its utility lies with diminishing tension in anticipation of conflict through various interventions such as Confidence-building Measures.

Defence diplomacy has become a critical instrument in the modern day's security context where it aids in the preservation of international peace and security as it allows states to communicate and negotiate as opposed to deploying adversarial mechanisms⁸. This part of my study investigated the relevant and most relatable theoretical and empirical Literature surrounding defense diplomacy and its co relation with foreign policy. More specifically, this section cross examined the existing literature on defense diplomacy and national interests by expounding further on the topic from a global, continental and national level.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

Sun Tzu, a military theorist, became one of the earliest scholars to reconcile the links between the military and diplomacy. While writing on 'The Art of War' he manages to strike the balance between military action and diplomacy, as well as other state instruments. At one point in

⁶A. Cottey, A. Forster, *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, Oxford University Press, New York 2004, p. 6.

⁷ (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 5)

⁸Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, No A/47/277 - S/24111, 17 June 1992, paragraph 20, 5, http://www.unrol.org/files/A_47_277.pdf(accessed November 18, 2013).

his literary works, he draws emphasis to the consequences that warfare registers on economy of states. Such outcomes include a weak demography, the destruction of property and the inevitable set-in of poverty.⁹ This being contextualized within a setting where there has been protracted war between two states.

Sun Tzu reveals the complexity incidental to warfare while discussing the significant role of information and diplomacy when it comes to the use of Offensive Strategy. He observes that in order for a state to be victorious in all a hundred battles that confront it, the said state does not have to seek skill to concur all the battles. Rather, the state should engage its adversarial neighbors in a non-coercive approach, this being the epitome skill. He was conscious of the outright necessity to shape the nature of the political environment between the two states as it would leave them in control of the outcome of their relations. As such, he argues that a meticulous government deploys all mechanisms at its disposal to mold the environment by either forfeiting the war altogether or pursuing victory whenever war becomes inevitable. Hence, being in control of the political environment at a state's advantage is the absolute utility of military diplomacy.

Frederick the Great and Carl von Clausewitz, also establish the connection between military and diplomatic activities terming the integration of the two as the core of a states resource of power. Frederick the Great, embraced formal diplomacy during his reign over Prussia and upheld the significance of defence diplomacy in his government. While writing *On War*, Carl von also connects diplomacy and military action as critical mechanisms for the execution of a state's foreign policy. On the other hand, Clausewitz remarks that military prowess lies with the ability of the state to comprehend the value that is likely to be achieved based on the utility of the resources

⁹Griffith, Samuel B. *Sun Tzu, The Art of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 74.

that are at its disposal while being consistently conscious of prevailing situation.¹⁰ Both Frederick and Carl fail to address the mechanism through which the defence forces realize their states' foreign policy objectives, this being a complicated role than cannot exclusively be discharged during warfare. However, their emphasis on the essence of deploying diverse means of influence to achieve an end cannot be ignored.

Niccolo Machiavelli's wrote a book entitled 'The Prince'. This is one of the most remarkable works on political influence. It talks of how to attain and maintain political power. Machiavelli was of the view that a ruler's concept of influence and power should be anchored on the understanding that man is by nature egocentric.

Machiavelli's interest was concerted in the unity of body politic and power. His perception was advanced by the fact that the era of his study was from 4th century to 15th century which was essentially characterized by the Feudal state. In this era, there were no common laws and central authority and a state of confusion was the order of the day. As a result of the confusion, the church emerged as the superior authority. Consequently, conflict was arose between the spiritual and progressive authorities as Pope claimed superiority over all the rulers.

In this era, the state was basically a department within the church. As such, the issue of sovereignty and nationality struggled in the said era. The feudalism and the church could not work hand in hand and as a consequent, the nature and identity of the state drowned as when compared to the church, the state was but a mere department.

Machiavelli then opined that religion needed to be separated from politics. He overdrew the medieval tradition that the political authority is confined to the authority of the church or religious leader. He ensure that the state was independent of the church by communicating that the

¹⁰Philips, T.R. *Roots of Strategy: The 5 Greatest Military Classics of All Time*, ed. J.R. Phillips (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1985), 339.

state had its own organs, rules and regulations and was in itself a symbol of sovereignty and authority.¹¹

The underlying principle of this radical scholar's ideas is power. According to Machiavelli religion cannot control the state, it can guide it but not control it. It was his own understanding that the prince as he referred should always remember that success is dependent on power and as such the prince should always strive to acquire power by any means at his disposal. For Niccolo Machiavelli state is the absolute authority and power was key in attaining authority. His theory was encompassed on the idea that it was the duty of the prince to build a fortress that was indestructible to protect his kingdom and if to attain this he had to use conniving and immoral means then so be it.

Alfred Thayer Mahan argues the concept of sea power in which he advances this concept as the mechanism for the realization of diplomatic, military as well as a state's economic objectives through military maritime diplomacy. He has also used this model to account for the spread of the United States influence around the world.¹² While arguing for the utility of sea power, he outlines the link between the diplomatic and military aspects of state power in addition to the economic element. It is against this background that he credits the role that reliability and personal relationships played in influencing actions undertaken by America in the late 19th and 20th century.

Kautilya Mandala is a political realist who assumes that all states act to maximize their power and national interests. Therefore, their initiatives are not driven by moral principles in their international relations with other states. According to mandala, it is wise to have alliances.

Paret, Peter. *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 450.

¹²Mahan, Alfred. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783* (Dover: Dover Publications, 1987), passim. Paragraph paraphrases Mahan's work to provide the reader the critical points of Mahan's theory.

However, the same can only be sustained as long as the partners in the alliance still hold mutual and complementary self-interests. Otherwise, such Arrangements may never live to see the light of the day. Kautilya argues that self-interest lies at the core of influencing the decision of whether or not a state goes to war against another. Further, that a state remains in alliance with another not out of a moral obligation but for the reason that the state is strong enough to advance its own interests and those of the other state. Research on the great minds of military theory and practice clearly established that there is a need for the defence forces to exercise their potential beyond the realms of warfare in the full exercise of national power.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review

The Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) entry into Somalia in October 2011 was in response to the then prevalent security threats to the Kenyan State emanating from Somalia. This response elicited a lot of interest nationally, within the sub-region, regionally and also internationally. This research is therefore an attempt to understand the rationale for KDF's entry into Somalia. Specifically, the literature review contextualizing the event at three levels namely: at the level of diplomacy, that of the military and diplomacy and lastly the KDF's entry to Somalia. Additionally, the study will examine various scholars to establish their views and the arguments that they advance with respect to the topic under study.

This research ultimately sought to establish whether KDF's entry into Somalia was a reflection and practice of defence diplomacy in furtherance of national security objectives under the guidance of the wider National diplomacy prosecuted through the nation's foreign policy.

1.5.3 Defence Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Decisions of foreign policy are indisputably one of the most accessible mechanisms within the reach of a state to deploy in the pursuit of its national interests. It is for this reason that decent

foreign policies are likely to lead a state into realization of its national interests and settling at a desirable position among comity of states.

In the tail end of the first and second world wars, the international community was subjected to sudden growth and development among states. Further, the establishment of the UN and the decolonization era with the effects of self-determination of various polities resulted in the eruption of sovereign entities augmenting the nature of international relations to another level. These events motivated the resulted in the emergence of foreign policies directed towards establishing decisions, strategies and nature of interrelationships between one state and another.¹³Regarding the interactions between relating states, foreign policy remained to be the subtle and intentional action influenced by decisions at the political level among individuals.¹⁴Therefore, it would suffice to infer that foreign policies are not decisions per se but the results incidental to decisions.

George Modelski notes that foreign policy informs the manner in which states attempt to influence the behavior of other states amidst their relations. He further notes that foreign policy is also essential not only for influencing change in behavior but also for sustaining behavior that already exists depending on the nature of the circumstances.¹⁵Therefore, he concludes that Foreign policy is essential for engineering change as well as maintaining the state of affairs to the extent that they are aligned to national interests.

To expound on the afforested, reference is made to Gambia's decision to withdraw its diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 2013. This was occasioned by Gambia change in foreign

¹³Held D, McGrew A, Goldblatt D, Perraton j (1999) Global Transformations, Politics, Economics and Culture, Cambridge: Polity Press

¹⁴Foreign policy and diplomacy with reference to India

¹⁵Laura N (2008) , The new foreign policy: Power seeking in a globalized era, Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

policy and no reasons were given for the decision save to point out that it was within Gambia's national interests to do so.¹⁶ Defence diplomacy can be said to be a decision of foreign policy that governs the behavior of a state amidst its relationships with other polities in a quest to advance its national interests.

1.5.4 Defence Diplomacy and National Interests

According to Padelford and Lincoln, a state's foreign policy is the aggregation of the manner in which it relate with its external environment. Foreign policy represents the overriding outcome of the processes through which states expand their self-interest goals and integrate them into specific deliverables that shall realize its goals and uphold its interests at the same time.¹⁷ On the other hand, national interest is described as the goals and ambitions tied to a country's economy and culture. The concept holds great utility in international relations. As is widely known, each state is a sovereign entity and no obligation to respond to a higher Authority. The nature of the international community is that it lacks a universal government to oversee the regulation of international relations between states. It is for this reason that there are limited rules with an enforceable and binding force when it comes to international relations.

In the prevailing circumstances, pursuing national interests establishes the premise for the conduct, measure of consistency and stability of a state. It is worth noting that foreign policy that addresses national interest is the object of every state. It is within the interest of every state that it co-exists peacefully with its surrounding neighbours. Defence diplomacy offers a situation whereby the interests of a state are well taken care of as these neighboring countries cannot easily become adversarial.

¹⁶Gambia's severs diplomatic ties with Taiwan (2013)

¹⁷PadelfordNj, Lincoln GA(1977) The dynamics of international politics, Macmillan Company

1.5.5 Defence Diplomacy and State Security

Just like people, states have multiple identities and so they respond to the actions of other states depending on how the state views itself and how it views the other states in the international arena. Alexander Wendt (1992)¹⁸ explains that, “states act differently towards enemies than they do towards friends because enemies are threatening, and friends are not.” He further argues that, “anarchy is what states make of it”. This implies that anarchy does not occur naturally within the international community; rather it is a construct of the states in the system. It is wrong to assume that when polities enjoy sovereignty they automatically become legally and politically autonomous. This reduces the impact of the authority of international law compared to that of the domestic legal systems.

In the first instance it is pivotal to point out that the objective of defence diplomacy rests with establishing relationships through defence related programs without manipulating its partners into cooperation. Defence diplomacy is key to improving the military and diplomatic power of a state by establishing the link between the head of state and department of foreign affairs as well as defence.

Traditional practice reveals that poor strategic decisions derive from lack of information and perceptions marred by irrational biases. Another utility of defence diplomacy lies with its ability to ameliorate the flow of information as well as improving the mutual understanding between states in terms of their capacities, self-interests and interests that should not be provoked. It is commonly inferred that Iraq invaded Kuwait based on the assumption that Saddam Hussein weighed the capacity of the US and resorted not respond. Finally, defence diplomacy is a critical

¹⁸ Alexander Wendt, (1992), *Anarchy is what states make it: The social construction of power politics*, MIT press

tool to causing improvement in strategic environments as it imparts ascertainable trust and a sense of collective action through regular interactions and senior defence officials.

When states cooperate with each other, trust is established, strong alliances are built and as a result, states tend to lower their guard since a sense of security both literally and figuratively is achieved. Cooperation even before the eruption of a war is an outstanding quality of defence diplomacy. Consequently, it is safe to say that states that have adopted and utilized defence diplomacy are less perplexed about their state of national Security as they have trust in their neighboring states. This trust emanates from the Cooperation brought about by defence diplomacy.

1.5.6 Defense Diplomacy

The armed forces have traditionally been associated with being the custodians and enforcers of national interests amidst relations with other states through the use of force. During the 18th and 19th centuries the colonial powers abused military force, resulting in the proliferation of '*gunboat diplomacy*'. This refers to the prospective of national foreign policies that flex military capacity to pose as a threat to the welfare of others. It would be inferred that the military had to possess the capacity and the means to act.

As a result, various instances of peaceful deployment of military in the pursuit of a nation's international relations can be recalled. Such soft-power use of the military operations for a country's diplomacy leads to a combination resulting in the phrase 'defence diplomacy'. Therefore, at this point, the term defence diplomacy could be defined as soft-power use of the military amidst diplomacy, as a mechanism of foreign policy. It thus becomes manifest that that defence diplomacy has to be form part of prospects that underlie national diplomatic efforts. Anton du Plessis summarizes UK defence diplomacy to be the utility of military personnel in support of preventive measures as well as dispute resolution.

Defense diplomacy is understood to mean a range of non-war like activities to be carried out by the defence Force of a country in order to build a positive perception of it among other states. As defined earlier, it is generally a peaceful use of military capabilities to further foreign policy objectives. Defense diplomacy is one of the most competent instruments of attaining peaceful relations in the International field¹⁹. The fundamental principle ascribed to defense diplomacy is that diplomatic interactions are more useful and have a more positive impact than Military force in achieving political mileage among states.

There are several outcomes of Defense diplomacy such as hostility or tensions reductions between and/or among states, symbolic positioning through the expression of the intention to cooperate with other stakeholders in the international scene. Defence diplomacy has also contributed to the emergence of military regimes that are more effective based on their commitment to transparency and accountability when it comes to the development and reinforcement of amicable political relationships with relating states to the extent that such states are able to redeem their perceptions of one another.

Defense diplomacy can be exercised both bilaterally and multilaterally as the overall objective of the same is to create cooperation among states²⁰. The concept of defense diplomacy is seen through Programs such as NATO's Partnership for Peace whose implementation has helped the subject states through the democratization of the civil-military interrelations with a view to integrating Eastern Europe into the prevailing international security institutions such as the EU and NATO. This cooperation was in fact the evolution of defence forces acting outside the parameters of violence.

¹⁹https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kenya/34095/how-does-esdc-contribute-defence-diplomacy_vi

²⁰https://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/centres/strategic-studies/documents/21_Defence-Diplomacy-and-Regional-Military-Cooperation.pdf

The above sentiment was further expounded by Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster which examined the transformation in the utility of defense diplomacy following the end of the Cold War era. As at now, Defense Diplomacy plays a vital role in states, foreign and security policies. This stems from the fact it creates reliance and appreciation among states on various avenues. It is to be understood that the use of defense forces beyond the use of force is an imminent necessity at this time and era²¹.

1.5.7 Evolution of Defense Diplomacy

It is apparent that the military and diplomacy are not aligned within similar realms when it comes to government. Diplomacy is the mechanism through which nations interact amicably, which is aimed at reconciling any differences while fostering cooperation at the same time. Since democracy is the initial level over which state interacts, military action becomes the last resort in this line of relationships. Regarding the connection between diplomacy and use of force, it has been the case that states conventionally demonstrate their military capacity to weigh more on their leverage especially when it comes to negotiations with other states. Gunboat diplomacy is a well-established tradition in modern statecraft. Hence, the gunboat diplomacy seems to be well entrenched into modern statecraft.

The concept of defence diplomacy has become prevalent in recent years being one of the inevitable outcomes of the Cold War. For instance, the role of military operations then evolved from peace-keeping to provision of humanitarian relief at the face of disaster. The practical aspect of defence diplomacy became manifest at the time when the Western nations resort to restructure the security sector in Eastern Europe and Africa following the end of the Cold War. As things stand, scholars and experts point to minimal chances of the rekindling conflict between the

²¹ Gates, Robert. "Landon Lecture." Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS. November 26, 2007.

traditionally controversial major powers as the focus in the world today has shifted to the sprouting internal conflicts and civil disturbance in the developing countries. To this end, military diplomacy has taken centre stage in the international community. As such, the concept assumes the definition of the deployment of the armed forces towards operations out of the context of war while deploying their utility and expertise towards upholding the national interests of the sending and host states. As the military capacities of emerging market economies such as China and India expand, many of such players continue to join in the arena of defence diplomacy.²²

1.5.8 Summary of Gaps in the Literature

Most theories recognize the theory of defense diplomacy as an important utility in international relations, but the same lacks an outstanding theory as the relevant theories of international relations do not agree on the nature of Defense diplomacy.

Defence diplomacy creates a connection between the realization of the tenets of foreign policy and those in defence, and its potential in to achieve national interests. There is a wanting under-appreciation of how invaluable an instrument of statecraft ship that defence diplomacy is when it comes to national interests.

1.6 Justification of the Study

The currency of defence diplomacy and its relevance to the prevailing state of international affairs has not been emphasized with seriousness that it deserves. When implemented, it becomes difficult to integrate with foreign policy as well as diplomacy. On one hand, its value in changing the narrative when it comes to the objectives of foreign and security policy cannot be ignored. On the other hand, it has merited the general term for defence foreign relations. Therefore, defence diplomacy ends up being underestimated. This is attributable to the disconnection between

²²Rory Medcalf, 'Unselfish Giants? Understanding China and India as Security Providers', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, July 2011, DOI:10.1080/10357718.2011.570244.

manifest in mechanisms of implementation of foreign policy in addition to the underestimation of the utility that underlies defence diplomacy. Such disconnect can be blamed upon the lack of incorporation of defence into foreign policy and strategy.²³

1.6.1 Policy Justification

Article 241(3) of the Constitution of Kenya outlines the functions of the KDF as the responsibility to defend and protect the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Further, it is tasked with engaging the relevant authorities at the face of emergency besides reporting to the legislature whenever. KDF may be deployed to restore peace countrywide in places affected by instability, a decision that depends on the endorsement of the National Assembly.

There are no statutes that expressly mandate the KDF to engage in Diplomatic missions. It is not enough that Parliamentary decisions can be passed to this effect. There is need to exercise Defense Diplomacy by lending a hand to a neighboring country when need be. My study will aim to inform the relevant authorities further and thereby bring more awareness to the subject

1.6.2 Academic Justification

This study purposes to strengthen the understanding of defense diplomacy as a necessary instrument to be used to further national interest. As has been previously mentioned, defense diplomacy has received little scholarly attention over the years. This study aims to create the much needed awareness in this field and especially its relationship with foreign policy in pursuit of national interests.

1.6.3 General Justification

To many states, the involvement of the military in the field of diplomacy adds a new dimension to diplomacy. To some states, however, there are unsure of its efficacy. Be as it may,

²³Plessis, Anton Du, see note. 1.

defence diplomacy passes as an efficient mechanism for the reinforcement of trust and confidence among countries while promoting steps taken to cement the state of international peace and security. Hence, in a globalized world, it has become manifest that diplomacy is no longer a strict role attached to diplomats. A state that acknowledges and appreciates defence diplomacy understands that for one to further its objectives and interests in an interdependent world, the same can only be achieved through cooperation and alliances.

1.7 Hypotheses

This study is premised upon three hypotheses;

1. KDF's mission in Somalia was a tool of statecraft.
2. KDF's mission in Somalia was informed by Kenya's defence policies.
3. Kenya can utilize defense diplomacy as a statecraft to further her national interests in Somalia

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This research applied the Systematic Theory of international relations in evaluating the nexus between defense diplomacy and foreign policy with relevance to KDF Kenya in Somalia. In the first sense, the systemic theory of IR hails from the background that assume states to are conscious of the impact of their foreign policy decisions on other states. The systemic theory of IR perceives states as joint actors that rationally pursue their goals regardless of the cost. Rationality in this context involves the manner in which states take to account what other states are doing as well to inform their decisions. This research is backed by the Neo-liberalists theory and the same attempts to illustrate the relationship between defence diplomacy, foreign policy and ultimately national interests.

Defense diplomacy embraces the concepts of Confidence, trust and utmost good faith. As discussed states are prone to taking all the measures necessary to ensure their national interests are met. For Kenya to have a peaceful state of mind, engaging in diplomatic activities such as defence diplomacy is quite a small price to pay for the overall objective that will be obtained.

1.9 Research Methodology

This research applied a mixed method of data collection. The advantage of this mixed research method is that it promoted the conduct of excellent educational research. This study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The research relied on Key Informant interviews (KII) and focused group discussions (FGD) to draw out relevant data from the respective state departments in the Ministry of Defence as well as Foreign Affairs. The respondents were comprised of senior civil servants in touch with policy formulation and implementation.

The research focused on the middle and lower cadre levels of commanders and especially those who have participated in Combat. It sought to establish whether defence diplomacy has been utilized. The research then analyzed the data with a view to confirming or otherwise, whether the assumptions upon which this research was premised remain valid.

1.9.1 Research Design

This research utilized both Qualitative and quantitative analysis of data. In addition to being primarily descriptive-analytical, this research was also exploratory in nature considering its focus on the gaps in the literature as well as practice that remain unexplored.

1.9.2 Research Site

This is the designated area wherein a potential research is carried out. The site relevant to my research was the KDF base in Nairobi, Kenya and the ministry of security and defence and the Ministry of foreign Affairs both situated in Nairobi.

1.9.3 Target Population

The target population for the purpose of this research included officials of Kenya's Ministry of Security and Defence and Foreign Affairs and the Soldiers in the Kenya Defence Forces.

1.9.4 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

For this research, the sample consisted of fifteen respondents and interviewees selected accordingly from the target population. The fifteen persons were selected from the KDF, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign affairs. The persons selected were discretionally selected based on their individual capacities, ranks, area of specialty and even the willingness to cooperate and give substantial and credible information.

The approach towards sampling deliberately targeted professionals whose expertise could inform the core of the core of the research problem.²⁴ Consequently, probability sampling technique was used by the researcher to select the sample²⁵.

1.9.5 Methods of Data Collection

The Primary data that was used for this research was overseen by the use of Interviews and questionnaires that elicited information from a selected number of defense personnel and civil servants in the Ministry of defence and the Ministry Foreign Affairs. Soldiers were interviewed to enable the researcher to get a vivid picture of what aggression in war entails.

The questionnaire was first be pre-tested on a smaller sample for correction and validation purposes after which it was administered to the sampled population.

²⁴ Gall, Borg, & Gall, Educational Research, 2013, Pearson limited

²⁵ <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/dissertation-population-sample-sampling-procedure-thiensi-le>

1.9.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

A mixed research design was adopted for this research when it comes to the verification, organization, transformation and integration of the data collected from the respondents to inform the substance of this research.²⁶ The mixed design was preferred as it borrowed the best of qualitative and quantitative research designs whereas disregarding their cons. To this end optimum results were achieved.

1.9.7 Ethical Consideration

The ethical considerations in this research were three-fold; informed consent, privacy and confidentiality and researcher's responsibility. The onus to properly inform any respondent subject to the research fell on the researcher. The researcher strived to respect the concerns, entitlements and rights of the respondents who took part in the research and the same were strictly taken to account²⁷ Adherence to the human rights provisions entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other relevant aspects of the law such as data protection, during collection, analysis and reporting of data remained at the top of the priorities of this research. Thus, data was only collected from respondents who tendered informed consent having been well appraised with the nature of the research.

Finally, the researcher was guided by the highest form of restraint and utmost discipline towards the respondent in the course of the research.

1.9.8 Scope of Limitation of Study

The nature of this research posed the aspect of sensitivity and confidentiality as the information gathered were highly classified for security reasons. Conducting interviews on military personnel

²⁶https://sisu.ut.ee/rdm_course1/data-collection-processing-and-analysis

²⁷ <http://www.dummies.com/education/college/dissertation-ethics-in-a-nutshell/>

in the operation area was challenging due to security concerns. Secondly, some of the Key respondents from the Department of Foreign Affairs and the military were not cooperative and remained indisposed due to their busy schedules.

1.9.9 Outline of the Study

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one introduced the topic on area of study, namely ‘Defense Diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy. The chapter offered a basic definition of Defense Diplomacy, its characteristics and its merits and demerits and how the same has been said to be a decision of foreign policy of a state. The chapter also illustrated the changing nature of diplomacy over the years and therefore demonstrated the relevance of the topic under review. It also captured the following aspects of the study: background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, the conceptual framework, justification or purpose of the study, hypotheses and the research methodology.

Chapter Two: KDF’s mission in Somalia was a tool of statecraft

This chapter brought out the link between Defense Diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft and National Interests. This chapter cemented the relationship between the two aspects by illustrating how complementary they are as a team and how defence diplomacy can be used by states in relation with each other and as a calculative move to achieve national interests.

Chapter Three: KDF’s mission in Somalia was informed by Kenya’s defence policies

Chapter three focused on Defense Diplomacy as a decision of foreign policy. The chapter brought out the co relation between defence diplomacy and foreign policy. It also illustrates how self- interest strategies chosen by states safeguard national interests. This chapter discusses in depth how defence diplomacy can be seen as a strategy of foreign policy.

Chapter Four: How Kenya utilized defense diplomacy to further its national interests in Somalia

This chapter illustrated in depth how KDF's entry into Somalia was in pursuit of her national interests whilst buttressed by her foreign policy. It further offered a primary data perspective that was derived from the interviews, questionnaires, reports and other relevant sources based on the research.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.

This chapter discussed the relevant conclusion arrived at from the data analysis and then suggested recommendations accordingly. The chapter availed a detailed discussion of the findings arrived vis-a-vis the objectives and hypothesis of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

KDF's MISSION IN SOMALIA WAS A TOOL OF STATECRAFT

2.1 Overview

The following chapter brought out the link between Defense Diplomacy as an instrument of Statecraft and National Interests. This chapter cements the relationship between the two aspects by illustrating how complementary they are as a team and how defense diplomacy can be used by states in relation with each other and as a calculative move to achieve national interests.

It answers the question whether KDF's mission in Somalia was defence diplomacy as a tool of statecraft.

2.2 Introduction

Defense Diplomacy is an instrument of preserving international security through the peaceful use of military forces and other defense assets to avert future conflict or mitigate the effect of the prevailing disputes.²⁸ This is carried out with the underlying aim of cementing bilateral and multilateral relationships between states. The initial role of defense diplomacy in the management of state affairs (statecraft) is to influence the establishment of a firm foundation in the relationship between a state and its near neighbors. Defence diplomacy provides a literary insight regarding the establishment of strong political relationships with their neighbors which is essential for statecraft.

According to Aristotle, diplomacy and power are the first indispensable instruments of statecraft.²⁹ He emphasizes that the two cannot be separated and the state has no alternative but to use them for the best effect that would result from their integration. As a result, the state must be strategic on how it chooses from the range of policy options it may exercise to advance its national

²⁸Cottey A., Forster A., *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, Oxford University Press, New York 2004.

²⁹ Hill, C. (2010) *Grand Strategies, Literature, Statecraft, and World Order*. Yale University Press, New Haven & London.

interests as they relate to its near neighbors. Hence the essential role of defense diplomacy is to reconcile the two by merging diplomacy with the soft-power-use of defense assets unlike the traditional hard power use of the same in military operations. This balance-of-power strategy is the initial tool of statecraft when it comes to the preservation of national security interests and international peace and order.

2.3 Establishing Political Foundations

With defence diplomacy military power is no longer the sole determinant of statecraft as one of the focal points of the concept is to shun military operations.³⁰ Instead the concept is important for the pursuit of building political relations. A study by the Air Commodore of the Royal Australian Air force demonstrates the role of defence diplomacy (as a tool of statecraft) in providing the required depth in the deteriorating relationship between Australia and Indonesia.³¹ It follows that the establishment of strong political relationships with near neighbors is one of the most important concerns for statecraft. Perhaps the limited success by various foreign policies emanate from their failure to create deep political relationships to eliminate (and not only mitigate) future conflict.

States have, therefore, made significant omissions that have cost them the important foundation that they need to establish with other relating states. For instance, while drawing up its foreign policy a state must appreciate that its neighbors are important to its national security and the role they play in the region.³² The state must not ignore the factors that have previously sent the bilateral ties between two neighbouring states into a deep freeze such as sporadic conflicts, war or

³⁰ Freeman Chas W (1997) *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy*, United States Institute of Peace Press Washington DC.

³¹ Guy Wilson: Defence diplomacy: the right ballast for Australia's troubled relations with Indonesia. *Indo-Pacific Strategic Digest* 2017.

³² Hansen Emmanuel (ed) (1987) *African Perspectives on Peace and Development*, Zed Books London.

irregular immigration policies, diplomatic crises. It is also important for states to avoid putting short-term domestic political interests ahead secure and long-term regional relationships by entrenching only those commitments that serve their best interests.³³ The ultimate goal is to realize a win-win situation instead of driving agenda that advances the short-term priorities which would vary with different political factions endowed with political power.

In its pragmatic nature, defence diplomacy also influences a state's decisions regarding the concentration of its diplomatic mission, increase in bilateral trade, promotion of cultural exchange and commitment to each other's sovereignty.³⁴ Considering that these are the elements that lay a firm foundation, by building trust, increasing familiarity and promoting cooperation. This is an approach that Australia adopted in its statecraft to amend its relations with Indonesia by diminishing the chances of future conflict. This is visible from Australia's commitment of its largest diplomatic mission in Jakarta, Indonesian appreciation of the important role Indonesia plays in Australia's Security.³⁵

2.3.1 The Rationale Behind Building Political Relationships

Defence diplomacy allows the state to think in terms of engineering mutual trust and strengthening connections with its neighbors who are important to its national security. Building firm relationships with neighbouring states ensures that the state avoids political slip-ups that may provoke military action from another state. It is imperative to lay a foundation in any political relationship in order to amend unavoidable security issues between relating states. Secondly, the

³³ Anderson Marlon S (1993) *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919* Longman London.

³⁴ Barston Ronald Peter (2006) *Modern Diplomacy*, Pearson Education Limited New Delhi.

³⁵ Guy Wilson: Defence diplomacy: the right ballast for Australia's troubled relations with Indonesia. *Indo-Pacific Strategic Digest* 2017.

said foundation cements international support between the two states in various international forums that they share.³⁶

Regarding inevitable security, issues for instance, close geographic and demographic proximity increases the chances of military confrontations. In such a setting where relating states share an international border, the two relating states already exist as potential enemies.³⁷ As a result, Defense diplomacy facilitates the deployment of defence assets for the establishment of good relations that ensure sporadic conflicts and other imminent security threats are suppressed amicably. The Bulgarian experience with defence diplomacy in this regard reflects a good illustration. Bulgaria had resorted to defence diplomacy tactics as an instrument of statecraft to manage crises surrounding it. To this end, it invested its national defence infrastructure in the Former Yugoslavia to consolidate a regional consensus that contributed to the stopping the wars in the Former Yugoslavia's territory.³⁸

Similarly, stable relations are also relevant to reinforcing the neighbor's support in international forums such as regional and inter-regional economic communities. For instance, where the relating countries share intersecting interests such as a shared coastal line and ports, it is important that the two speak in one voice while advancing their shared economic interests in the region during summits. Stronger relationships and support in such international fora would as well deter relating states from invoking military conflict with a view to maintaining such support. Drawing from the Bulgarian experience, it is manifest that its defence diplomacy approach earned it an upper hand regarding its membership in NATO by opening opportunities for its performance

³⁶MakumiMwagiru (ed) (2004) African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization,Heinrich Boll Foundation Nairobi.

³⁷ Snow Donald M (2004) National Security for a New Era: *Globalization and Geo-Politics* Pearson Longman New York.

³⁸ Valeri Ratchev, 'Defence Diplomacy: the Bulgarian Experience' in T Edmunds and M Malesic (2005), *Defence Transformation in Europe: Evolving Military Roles*. IOS Press.

in regions such as the Black Sea area and Western Balkans based on the support it received from its relating neighbors.³⁹

2.4 The Role of Leadership in Reconciling Statecraft and Defence Diplomacy

Leadership and the flaws that result from it form a range of factors that statesmen cannot risk neglecting from their manuals of statecraft. While Hobbes advances his theory of the state, he invokes key concerns about the state. First, that in man's constant strife for power, rank and protection from the external enemy, only a monarchy is best suited to restore order amidst such a scramble.⁴⁰ He goes ahead to warn against the chaotic nature of democracy alluding to it as the worst form of institution amidst such a scramble. Based on this premise, it would suffice to conclude that modern democracy is one of the inevitable slip-ups in statecraft in the world today.

The challenge that modern democracies encounter is the unpredictable nature associated with the inevitable rise of political factions with vested interests. Leaders play a critical role in international relations. However, unlike the law which is characterized by rigidity, democracies shall always yield unpredictable leaders.⁴¹ Such fluctuations are prejudicial to the stability of relationships that relating countries intend to build. However, such variables may be stabilized by cementing such relations through binding instruments that eliminate the room for variations resulting from unpredictable leaders. For instance, the relating states may choose to enter into binding bilateral treaties that create international obligations derogation from which would attract sanctions incidental to internationally wrongful acts. For instance, regarding economic relations,

³⁹ Valeri Ratchev, 'Defence Diplomacy: the Bulgarian Experience' in T Edmunds and M Malesic (2005), *Defence Transformation in Europe: Evolving Military Roles*. IOS Press.

⁴⁰ Hill, C. (2010) *Grand Strategies, Literature, Statecraft, and World Order*. Yale University Press, New Haven & London.

⁴¹ Spiegel Steven L et al (2004) *World Politics in a New Era*, Thomson Wadsworth Belmont.

the state could execute defense cooperation agreements that would protect foreign nationals even in the event authoritarian regimes assume power.⁴²

Drawing from this background, there is an inevitable demand in statecraft that cementing relations between relating countries must be based on enforceable relationships that cannot be undermined by authoritarian regimes that bear the tidings of unexpected outcomes. Therefore, even though defence diplomacy is exercised within a cordial setting, the statesmen have the challenge of developing policies that would guarantee certain outcomes or the inevitable results of political change. Even so, strong bilateral relationships built on firm foundations may not succumb to such political change. Yet, defence diplomacy facilitates the development of such foundations.

Political regimes are also likely to be faced by regular changes within democratic settings while militaries remain relatively constant. Therefore, a suitable approach to direct the development of state affairs would be away from political measures, rather defence mechanisms which can be easily kept constant, consistent and cooperative unlike political relations that cannot. For instance, military cooperation through defence diplomacy already creates social and cultural bonds with greater levels of trust that would not be easily breached by mere political change. Hence, another concern for the use of defense diplomacy as a tool of statecraft is to use peaceful means that are not tainted with religious or ideological concerns. Defence diplomacy is, therefore, one of the tools of statecraft that already excludes politics from the affairs of the state. As such, it is a form of diplomatic practice that tames the poisonous effects of political ideologies in in modern democracy.

⁴² Snow Donald M (2004) *National Security for a New Era: Globalization and Geo-Politics*. Pearson Longman New York.

2.5 Sovereign State Authority and Defense Diplomacy as an Instrument of Statecraft

The quest underlying defence diplomacy is the preservation of international order. Even so, the state itself is considered as the basic unit of such international order.⁴³ Hence, the preservation of the sovereign authority of another relating state is a critical concern for statecraft. The concern does not lie with the nature of governance between two states. Rather, statecraft is concerned with sustaining legitimacy of sovereign authority and governance within the other state.⁴⁴ Consequently, concerns drawing from one sovereign state to another would implore them to consider the sustaining sovereignty of the other state as part of their own statecraft. As such, in the modern law of nations, defence diplomacy extends the sovereign right of a state beyond merely pursuing the procurement of the safety of its own people to those of the relating states through deployment of its defence resources therein.⁴⁵

This can be contextualized to the international state of nature in the modern world. In the instance of relating countries, it is possible that a state is confronted with the challenge of sustaining the legitimacy of its sovereign authority. Such instability may result from stubborn belligerent groups that wage erratic attacks against democratic institutions to undermine the government of the day. Such is of a critical concern for a relating country whose national security interests depend on its neighbor who can't sustain a legitimate political authority without internal strife. The aforesaid is a concern for its statecraft to the extent that it may be required to consider mechanisms that would rescue its neighbor's drowning sovereign state authority. It is to this regard that defence diplomacy plays a key role as a deliberate tactic of statecraft.

⁴³Steinbruner John D (2000) Principles of Global Security, Brookings Institution Press Washington DC.

⁴⁴ Cable J., Gunboat Diplomacy 1919-79: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force. Study in International Security, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 1981.

⁴⁵ The Grand Strategy.

2.6 Defense Diplomacy as an Instrument of Statecraft and Security Communities

The notion of security communities sums up the role of defence diplomacy in entrenching strong political relations that are not marred by the shortfalls of democracy in statecraft. The concept of security communities has transformed the traditional perspective of international security. The idea is focused towards the development of economic, social and political forces that are transnational in nature.⁴⁶ It imagines the creation of a security community of states that no longer perceive war as an international practice of social intercourse. Rather, as community of states that practice international peace as a result of shared identities, increased communication and synchronized national interests. Consequently, the establishment of a security community becomes a critical tool of statecraft that results from the reconciliation of defence diplomacy and security concerns that underlie the national interests of relating states.

As a bridge is not supported by one stone,⁴⁷ the burden of international order does not rest with one state. With the creation of a security community, the role of statecraft is to devise strategies which maintain an approach towards increasing communication and building relationships between relating states. Such prospects of statecraft must be to the end that people from one state can express their confidence in their security and welfare in different parts of other countries within the security community. Such utility must be premised on the initial establishment of relationships that make people imagine that they bear common interests with the other nationals. The role of statecraft in this regard is to ensure that the shared values and expectations become the norm in domestic and international affairs of these relating states. On the other hand, the role of

⁴⁶ Emanuel Adler (2005), *Communitarian International Relations: The Epistemic Foundation of International Relations*. Routledge Publishers, London.

⁴⁷ Italo Calvino (2013), *Invisible Cities*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt

defence diplomacy is to broaden the sphere within which states share defence resources towards the joint pursuit of their national security interests.

When it comes to relating communities such as those that share international borders, the nature of the prospective community is not necessarily imaginary. Geographic proximity and sharing of resources such as coastal lines are physical factors that already make it possible to establish an actual security community.⁴⁸ On the other hand, just as it is easy for relating states to wage war against one another, it makes it simpler for such states to distribute their defence resources and foster stronger relations among themselves. As a result, defence diplomacy strengthens the identity cues among such people who have been organized into a community region to the extent that makes them tightly integrated.⁴⁹ These factors are critical in informing the concerns of statecraft between the two or more states that pursue the establishment of a security community.

2.6.1 Defence Diplomacy as an Instrument of Statecraft in Quelling Crazy Religion Flags

The conduct of modern international relations is fettered by the challenge of crazy religion flags. This significant threat to international order emerges from intolerance when people find liberal opinions against their own religion to be unfathomable. As a result, they are prepared for such actions that undermine national and international security interests (such as setting the world alight) based on such understanding that they maintain on religion.⁵⁰ The ultimate challenge emanates from the repulsive relationship between religion and diplomacy that have traditionally been antagonistic. This is because religion already establishes unitary political units to which

⁴⁸ Matsuda Y., An essay on China's military diplomacy: examination of intentions in foreign strategy, „NIDS Security Reports“, 2006, no. 7.

⁴⁹ Emanuel Adler (2005), *Communitarian International Relations: The Epistemic Foundation of International Relations*. Routledge Publishers, London.

⁵⁰ Paul Sharp (2009), *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge University Press

people restrain their ambitions and establish a common background of reference from which they can rationalize their relations.

However, defence diplomacy emerges as one of the instruments of state craft that can be used to assume the place of religion as a single political unit that neutralizes the detrimental effect of faith-based powers. First, it is apparent that the dominance of democracy in the world today has shattered the existence of prospective existence of faith-based powers. Alternatively, such religious factions that pose a threat to international peace have been reduced to belligerent groups that thrive in internal conflicts and political instability. Their activities are manifested through actual and attempted terror attacks.

Previously, the coming together of religion and diplomacy has been counterproductive. However, at this point defence diplomacy makes it possible through the establishment of security communities. Through meticulously strategic statecraft, it is possible to build imagined communities that attract a sense of togetherness for the purpose of advancing shared national interests. In addition such a community – established through shared defense resources – would thrive in its ability to moderate people’s conduct. Hence, it is applied as a tool of statecraft upon which a common moral frame is established as the pillar of this political unit from which the relationship between these relating states can be evaluated. Such is a clear manifestation of the power of defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft to overcome the longstanding dilemma and standoff between crazy religion and diplomacy in international relations.

2.7 Conclusion

Defense diplomacy is at the center of the image of statecraft in the twenty first century. As an instrument of statecraft, defence diplomacy is deployed towards reconciling instruments of hard power and instruments of soft power with the aim of averting future conflict amidst protection of

national interests. Therefore, at the background of establishing political relationships on firm foundations, it is possible to adopt strategies in statecraft that are free of political influence. The same sets a premise for the development of security communities that represent a single political unit that would sufficiently respond to crazy religious flags and prevent conflicts that threaten international peace.

The KDF mission in Somalia was adopted as mechanism for the preservation of international peace and security by restoring peace and averting any future conflict in Somalia. The mission was also critical for the management of Kenya's state affairs as a means of influencing the establishment of a strong relationship between Kenya and Somalia which is essential for Kenya's statecraft. For instance, such military intervention by the KDF would serve to engineer mutual trust between the two countries to minimize chances of future conflict that may draw from political slip-ups that would ordinarily spark adversarial military action between Kenya and Somalia. The study takes note that the current mission in Somalia is not entrenched under the laws or any of Kenya's foreign policy. Hence, one may infer that it is inspired by the reigning political leadership. It is against this background that one may infer the weakness and vulnerability of the mission as the state of affairs is likely to change suddenly due to inevitable slip-ups in political leadership, hence the volatility in this statecraft.

CHAPTER THREE

KDF'S MISSION IN SOMALIA WAS INFORMED BY KENYA'S DEFENCE POLICIES

3.0 Introduction

Chapter three focuses on Defense Diplomacy as a decision of foreign policy. The chapter brings out the co relation between defence diplomacy and foreign policy. It also illustrates show self- interest strategies chosen by states safeguard national interests. This chapter discusses whether KDF's mission in Somalia was informed by Kenya's defence policies.

3.1 Defense Diplomacy as a Decision of Foreign Policy

Decision-making in foreign policy is an acceptable concept for the accountability of the decisions of states in the establishment of regulations that govern their relations with foreign states. While considering a decision of foreign policy, it is important to focus on the factors that contribute to the decision, the people making the decisions as well as the institution(s) which shall be delegated with the mandate of carrying out such decisions. Hence, this part analyses the role of the endogenous and exogenous factors that influence defence diplomacy as the decision of foreign policy. It also answers the question of where the source of the defence policy decision emanates from, in addition to the objective or subjective factors that affect the consideration of defence diplomacy in foreign-policy decision makings.

3.1.1 The Concept of Foreign Policy Decision-Making

According to this theory, the factors affecting foreign policy decision making could either be subjective or objective. Subjective factors can be attributable to the views, ideology, intellectual faculties, personalities or philosophy of the persons that make the decisions.⁵¹ Objective factors,

⁵¹ Alex Mints & Karl DeRouen (2010). Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making. Cambridge University Press.

however, may originate from the within the country or the international environment. They include public opinion and the position, role or level of development of the state in its regional environment, the nature of its relations with its neighbors among other examples.

It is also important to examine the influences that affect the decisions of foreign policy and where they originate. They could either hail internally from within the state itself or could be attributable to external factors such as the collective interests of the international community (that is the influence could be endogenous or exogenous respectively).⁵² External influences may include intimidation, opposition, integration or otherwise, and transformations in the nature of cooperation between states among others. The process of foreign policy decision making, therefore, applies these factors *mutatis mutandis* and not separately or independently.

It is against this background that Brucan advances five factors that may be alluded to for the accountability of foreign policy decisions. They include;⁵³

- a) The nature of the geographical environment – when it comes to defence diplomacy, the natural and physical infrastructure shared between the sponsoring and the host states is key to informing foreign policy decisions. For instance, when the two states share natural resources, the protection of such natural resources (for example ports) is in the best interest of both the sponsoring state and the hosting state. Thus, it would be their obligation to protect the same especially in the event that the host state depicts lack of capability to protect the resource.
- b) The social variables – this goes to the arrangement of the society and also takes into account public opinion. In one instance, a host state would be infested with belligerent political groups that spire civil war and as a result causing instability within the state and the region

⁵² Ernest Petri (2013), *Foreign Policy: From Conception to Diplomatic Practice*. MartinusNijhoff Publishers.

⁵³*Ibid.*

at large. Due to close proximity and the level of development of the sponsoring state, persons displaced as a result of civil unrest in the host state are forced to seek asylum in the sponsoring state. However, such refugee influx results threaten the security of individuals as well as the nation and its economic interests especially when unrest in the host state threatens to be perpetual in nature. Such economic unsustainability of the refugees may influence the decision of the host state to adopt defence diplomacy as a strategy in its foreign policy to restore order in the neighboring state whose affairs are threatening its welfare.⁵⁴

- c) Economic, political and military dependency – foreign policy decisions may be affected by the nature and the role of a polity as regards its economic, political and military dependency within a region. For example, where a state shows economic dominance within a region in addition to higher levels of development, the state impliedly shoulders the responsibility of pursuing order-making activities in the region during unrest threatening instability.
- d) The decision-making mechanism – when analyzing foreign policy decision-making, it is also important to examine the nature of the institution that is entrusted with the mandate of such decision-making. For instance, one would consider the nature of its composition, and the mode of decision-making (that is whether the decisions are reached by consensus, or a vote based on simple or super majority or whether a single individual is in charge of making such decisions.

⁵⁴ Habert Hoover (2005). American Individualism. Cosimo Inc.

- e) Executive management – this aspect considers the subjective factors that narrows down to the person of those who make the decisions, taking to account their abilities, qualifications and their respective philosophies.

3.1.2 Defence Diplomacy as a Decision of Foreign Policy

Defense diplomacy is a decision of foreign policy that exerts a sponsoring state's national interests in its interaction with other states. It determines the standard of interaction between a state and other foreign states. This study argues that defense diplomacy is a decision of foreign policy based on two elements. First, it is for the reason that it is a strategy that is meant to secure national security interests of the state in relation to its proximate neighbors. Second, it is made amidst its interaction with neighbors whose national security is compromised by belligerent attacks or internal disturbance that may be detrimental to the security and stability of the region.⁵⁵

The traditional practice in terms of developing foreign policy has involved states pursuing the protection of the national interests of the state within the state. However, the level of interdependence incidental to globalization compels states to seek policies that protect their interests within the territory of other states without infringing on their sovereignty or contradicting the standing principle of non-interference. Historically, the decisions of foreign policies of powerful countries have revolved around controlling, organizing and shaping the military forces of foreign countries to exert their national interests against others. However, military-to-military relations in the world today encompass systems of international military trainings for the establishment of foreign military organizations to serve the interests of sponsoring states and the collective interests of the international community in order-making kind of projects. Such

⁵⁵ Knud Erik Jorgensen & Gunther Hellmann(2015). Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Palgrave Macmillan

decisions are influenced by the prevailing nature of economic, political and military dependency of states today.

Unlike other forms of international relations that pursue peace, defence and security (which with use of force may undermine the standing nature of sovereign equality between states) defence diplomacy introduces a system that appreciates the ideology of the formal and equal sovereignty of states. As a result, the nature of defense diplomacy makes it the most viable foreign policy decision that states can make today to regulate their relations with foreign states.

3.2 Self-interest Strategies for the Protection of National Interests

3.2.1 Introduction

It is in the interest of every government to take care of the country's economic security (as regards international trade), environmental security as well as national security. Most of the self-interest strategies that states would pursue may often not auger well with their neighbors. It is difficult for a state to pursue its own interests without undermining another state's interests as shall be illustrated in this part. However, defense diplomacy passes as a double-edged sword that serves to protect national interests as well as honor other states independence through its utility of diplomatic recognition.⁵⁶ Defense diplomacy passes as a tool of international relations as a self-interest strategy that states can adopt as an alternative to the other tools that are likely to bear more adverse outcome.

⁵⁶ John RabuogiAhere (2013), *The Paradox that is Diplomatic Recognition: Unpacking the Somaliland Situation*. Anchor Academic Publishing.

3.2.2 The Foreign Policy of Individualism

The foreign policy of self-interests originates from the idea that the government in charge of a state is perceived as an agency that is meant to exert the social welfare of its citizens. Based on this premise, the government finds it impossible to relinquish the national interests of its citizens when it comes to international relations (regulated by its foreign policy). As a result, the traditional practice regarding the exertion of such policies – which borrow from the ideology of capitalism – demands that a state cannot subordinate its own interests to those of other nations.⁵⁷ Even so, the underlying constant is that the idea of pursuing the self-interests of a state in foreign policy is a morally tainted idea. The ultimate question that lingers is whether the needs of neighboring states imply a moral duty upon a state to fulfill them.

In its traditional practice the United States of America has stooped to rely on the self-interests of other states as its standards of measuring its foreign policy actions. Thus, it finds itself sacrificing itself for the sake of weaker nations. It was based on this premise that various policy-makers made self-doubting regulations that delayed action against states posing foreign threat and imminent danger to America's security.⁵⁸ An example is the perception that scholars have over American policy makers who failed to take stern action against the Al-Qaeda prior to 9/11 despite Osama being on the FBI's watch list over the decade preceding the event. Such reluctance of the United States to invade the sovereign state in Iran was based on the fear that such a strategy would amount to 'selfish unilateralism. As a result, the U.S. suffered several attacks in their embassies within different countries in Africa.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Jean-Federic Morin & Jonathan Paquin (2018). *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Tool Box* Springer Publishers

⁵⁸ John E. Rielly, *The American Mood: A Foreign Policy of Self-Interest*. *Foreign Policy* (1979) Vol. 34

⁵⁹ Peter Schwartz, 'The Foreign Policy of Self-Interest: A Moral Ideal for America' Ayb Rand Institute Press.

Retrieved from: <https://ari.aynrand.org/>-

/media/pdf/foreignpolicyofselfinterest_20150103.ashx?la=en&hash=C7FCE204206932037FE15ABB67DB02E5D2E8A068

Today, American policy makers strive to change the narrative to one that accommodates self-interest as a moral principle informing the rational foreign policy that defends its founding values.⁶⁰ Albeit it seems like such an approach is only reactive to the setbacks America has suffered due to a self-sacrificing strategy which preceded the unfortunate events that cost it losses such as the 9/11 attack.

It is already clear that entrenchment of foreign policy involves the development of regulations for advancement of the interests of the state as regards its relations with other states. Hence, policy makers are confronted with the challenge of developing foreign policies that not only exert a state's national interests, rather one that accommodates the interests of other states as well. Even so, before a foreign policy matches a foreign country's interests, it must first meet the state's own self-interests, hence the conventional development of foreign policy founded upon a state's self-interest. Secondly, the state must then adopt the best self-interest strategies in the development of foreign policy that are all-encompassing of all national and foreign interests.

3.2.2.1 Reconciliation of Interests through Soft Power – The Case of South Africa

Drawing from the analysis of South Africa's foreign policy since 1994, various lessons become manifest regarding how the concept of soft power can be implemented to reconcile conflicting national interests and collective international concerns. Since 1994 in its new democratic dispensation, South Africa undertook to redeem its position in world affairs. As such, the new leaders undertook to position South Africa as a 'good global citizen' by electing to

⁶⁰MeitalWaibsnider, How National Self-Interest and Foreign Policy Continue to Influence the U. S. Refugee Admissions Program. *Fordham Law Review*75(1). Retrieved from: <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=4190&context=flr>

incorporate soft power as part of its foreign policy.⁶¹ The decision was premised on the presumption that the approach would effectively advance its national interests as well as the collective international normative objectives. The implementation of this soft power approach has since been easy as it enjoyed the endorsement of the African national Congress, the party making up the government of the day.

However, this the soft power tool of foreign policy in South Africa has not gone without experiencing resistance from different quotas. For instance, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) had for some time succumbed to the harsh realities of national interests with policy-makers arguing that the idea of pursuing both national interests and international interests in its foreign policy was irreconcilable.⁶² Even so, the deployment of soft power as an instrument of has persisted. The prevailing government departments embrace the idea that the states pursuit towards being a good international citizen in the world today is as important to the country's interests as the traditional national interests of economic stability have been to South Africa.

A review and analysis of South Africa's foreign policy since 1994 reveals the absence of coercive strategies in its international relations. As such, it has avoided the outright exertion of its military and economic power over its neighbors. This soft power approach to international relations implies the endorsement of defence diplomacy as part of South Africa's foreign policy. For a better comprehension of how South Africa has been able to navigate the strength and

⁶¹ Karen Smith, 'Soft power: The essence of South Africa's foreign policy' in Chris Landsberg & Jo-Ansie van Wyk (2012), *South African Foreign Policy Review*. African Institute of South Africa.

⁶² Chris Landsberg, 'Towards a post-apartheid South African foreign policy review' in Chris Landsberg & Jo-Ansie van Wyk (2012), *South African Foreign Policy Review*. African Institute of South Africa.

weaknesses of soft power as an instrument of foreign policy, a deeper comprehension of the relationship between foreign policy and defence diplomacy is required.

3.3 Linking Foreign Policy to Defense Diplomacy

3.3.1 Overview

Various links may be drawn to understand the relationship between foreign policy and defence diplomacy. First is the distinction of one in its substantive aspect from the other as a mechanism through which the former is realized. Second is to show the causal link between defence diplomacy and the globalization and the extent to which the latter has made the former inherently inevitable.

3.3.2 Defence Diplomacy as a Means of Foreign Policy

It is important to note that foreign policy and diplomacy are distinct concepts that attract different interpretations. Foreign policy is a representation of the national requirements of the state. On the other hand, diplomacy is the means through which such requirements are met. Unlike diplomacy, the formulation of foreign policy rests with the governments and not diplomats. However, it is the role of diplomats to execute foreign policy through diplomatic craft. Therefore, while foreign policy comprises of substantive content, diplomacy passes as the method or mechanism through which such substance shall be realized or implemented.⁶³ Foreign policy is the end to be achieved, while diplomacy marks the means to this end. Based on the foregoing, we may assume the operating definition that defence diplomacy must, therefore, represent the

⁶³ Patrick Blannin (2017). Defence Diplomacy in the Long War. BRIL

mechanisms through which the national requirements of a sponsoring state – regarding its military relations – are implemented in host states through diplomatic craft.

In the previous section, it was already established that defence diplomacy passes as a measure of material nature that is used to achieve foreign policy goals attributed to a state's military relations with another. That it is the measure through which the state authorizes its defence organs to pursue its foreign policy in the host state with the underlying aim of defending the interest of the sponsoring state in relation with the situation in the hosting state. To this end, defence diplomacy becomes a measure of coercion that a state resort to regulate the nature of its relationship with another state. The coercive measure is not expressly so despite the fact that it involves military intervention. Rather, such intervention is deployed on the soft-power basis to the extent that it is not detrimental to the legitimate interests of the host state.

One is, therefore, implored to inquire why diplomacy appears as the most suitable means to realize a sponsoring states foreign policy. First, the ultimate utility attached to defence diplomacy is the effective reconciliation of defence and diplomacy where the state subjects its defence resources to soft-power use to achieve its foreign policy in a manner that still sustains its relationship with the host state. This is clearer when defence diplomacy is contrasted with other measures that would equally suffice as sufficient means for the exertion of a state's national interests.⁶⁴

Consider the implementation of economic measures such as the imposition of embargos or trade sanctions or the exertion of political measures such as the suspension of diplomatic relations

⁶⁴ Iver B. Neumann (2015). 'Foreign policy in an age of globalization' in Hellmann Gunther, Jørgensen Knud Erik and Link Werner (eds.) *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*. Palgrave Studies in International Relations.

amidst broken political relations, or further the exercise of legal actions such as prosecution of cases or the suspension of obligations under international treaties. A look at these alternative measures makes it clear that their implementation is likely to end up in adversarial relationships between neighboring and other relating states. Their frictional nature fails to guarantee the future existence of amicable relationships between the relating states. Unlike these measures, defence diplomacy is deployed to ensure that the political, economic, and legal interests of one state in another are taken care of without the threat of deterioration in political relationships. The strategy adopted focuses on the exertion of defence resource to respond to specific elements of the host state that undermine the sponsoring states national interests without negatively affecting the former's national interests while upholding its sovereignty at the same time.⁶⁵

Carrying out defence is the role of the concerned state department of defence. Defence diplomacy is, however, unique to the extent that it cannot be solely carried out by diplomats. In addition to diplomatic efforts, it requires the inclusion of defense resources for the realization of the same. It is eminent that these functions are within the state's executive mandate. Hence, it may not be difficult to synchronize the two functions considering that they can be independently exercised by the government of the day with the influence of appropriate leadership.

3.3.3 The Globalization Game-changer in the New Foreign Policy

Globalization is attributed to the proliferation of international relations between states resulting in the increase in density on the levels of interaction between them as well as international organizations. This implies an increase in the flow of information, persons and goods across

⁶⁵ Ernest Petri (2013), *Foreign Policy: From Conception to Diplomatic Practice*. MartinusNijhoff Publishers.

international borders within the shortest time. The resulting effect has been that states and other polities are no longer territorialized, meaning they are no longer defined by borders. The prevailing globalization rush in the international relations between the north and the south has contributed to the need for a modern system of trans-border regulation and governance in their international relations.⁶⁶

For instance, the world today is confronted with the menace caused by global terrorism whose effect in one country is felt in another jurisdiction. In short, the nature and level of interdependence between states has intensified over the centuries resulting in an effect known as the globalization wave.⁶⁷ Its transforming force has compelled the policy makers to adopt different strategies when it comes to development of foreign policies at such times when the concept of self-interest can no longer be the overriding principle. Based on the premise of increased communication and flows of persons and relations between polities, the conventionally known state boundaries have become dissolved. This is to the end that it is difficult to register and absolute distinction between the overlapping foreign and domestic interests. Thus the interests of one polity automatically becomes the interest of another, hence, carrying along with the idea of self-interest foreign policies must be overtaken by the events incidental to the globalization wave.

The reality that undermines the supremacy of selfish unilateralism interests in all this is the state of the global economy today that is at the mercy of the globalization rush. Globalization comes with high levels of interdependence among states to the extent that for a state to protect its own interests, it must be conscious of the interests of a foreign states considering that the former's interests also overflows to the latter. As a result, defence diplomacy qualifies as a decision of

⁶⁶ Martin Khor (2000), Globalization and the South: Some Critical Issues. Third World Network.

⁶⁷ Laura Neack (2008). The New Foreign Policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

foreign policy that is free of the 'immorality' attributable to selfish unilateralism that inherently fits within the contemporary globalization wave. While selfish advancement of national interests is compromised international practice, defence diplomacy ensures that it is not only the interests of the sponsoring states that are fulfilled, but those of the host state as well. Defence diplomacy, therefore, successfully down-plays the traditional practice of the development of foreign policy based on self-interest strategies. It an acceptable way in which national interests can be subordinate to foreign interests as the two interests are overlapping.

3.4 Defense Diplomacy as a Strategy of Foreign Policy

Foreign military relations form a significant aspect of international politics in the world today.⁶⁸ To maintain their relations with their colonies, various world powers have undertaken to train the armed forces of their former colonies. International military training has also formed a significant part of the north-south relations. Pursuant to avoiding the breakout of war or the disturbance of international peace, the deployment of military and defence resources has been a critical tool for handling political projects of local, regional and international concern. The result of such military globalization has been the international organization of force in which military officers are simply diplomats in uniform, being part of a network of international interchange, thanks to the strategy that underlies defence diplomacy.

Defence diplomacy has therefore formed a critical strategy for many country's foreign policies that regulate their relations with their unstable or incapable neighbors. This does not lose the deployment of military resources as a strategy for a country to safeguard its national interests. It depicts a sharp contrast with the use of military security as the conventional guiding principle

⁶⁸TarakBarkawi, 'Defence diplomacy in north-south relations.' *International Journal* 66(3) 597-612

of foreign policy to showcase a nation's capacity to defend itself against military aggression or the deployment of military force to enforce its policies.

Even though every stage enjoys freedom of action in the international sphere, the absolute nature of state sovereignty bars a state from perpetrating an act of sovereignty over another without the latter's consent. However, defense diplomacy manifests itself as the mechanism through which a state can exert influence over another to diplomatically procure the consent of exercising acts of sovereignty without having to use military force. The fact that it is not adversarial in nature makes it a proper alternative with diminished detrimental effects.

Diplomacy is also strategic as the practice of developing relationships between states⁶⁹ For instance China's Military Operations Other than War (MOOTW) enables it to estimate its military capabilities and its political ambition.⁷⁰China's foreign policy strategy is to reduce instability in neighboring states. This enables them to flourish enough to strengthen their domestic and regional capabilities which is also China's interest. Hence it would suffice to infer that defense diplomacy has become the new security agenda to be developed through foreign policy.

3.5 Conclusion

It is much easier for one state to protect its own interests within the territory of another state once the former recognizes and upholds the sovereignty of the latter. At the disposal of states are various tools of international relations that states have implemented to protect their own interests. A state may impose sanctions against another or impose state regulations to protect its national interests. Even so, the use of force has not been so popularly used in recent history, unless

⁶⁹<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/foreign-policy/>

⁷⁰ Patrick Blannin (2017). Defence Diplomacy in the Long War. BRIL

in a quest to quell belligerent attacks or counter global terrorism. However, such tools of international relations are only pursued as an alternative where diplomacy fails.

The diplomatic aspect of defence diplomacy as a state's foreign policy involves the application of soft power. Through defence diplomacy, a sponsoring state can impart its political influence over the hosting state without the use of force or any other adversarial means. Considering the prevailing state of world peace and globalization, military force is no longer at the core of states' foreign policies. Even so, there are other states whose stability is affected by belligerent groups which as a result depicts them as a threat to world peace. As a result, other peaceful states undertake use military security and resources is to preserve their interests in those states by relegating these resources to soft power use, defence diplomacy.

Globalization is one of the contributors that has influenced the preference of defense diplomacy in foreign policy. It draws from the vision of internationalism where there has been a rise in economic and cultural independence across the planet. Based on this level of interdependence, the economic, cultural and most importantly the security interests of one state will be critical to another state. The latter state may therefore find it necessary to invest its military resources on the other state to protect its own interests there. Therefore, it is under the rubric of globalization that defense diplomacy developed into the modern practice of international relations. This has expanded the scope of security agenda of states to include peacekeeping measures and other humanitarian interventions.

Defence diplomacy must then be a metamorphosed form of diplomacy that reconciles the traditional objectives of diplomacy and the use of force (but with utmost reverence to sovereignty). As a strategy of foreign policy, defence diplomacy serves to advance a state's interests foreign

relations through military assistance programs as well as enhancing the diplomatic and security capacity and capabilities of a state. It is a strategy used to reduce instability in neighboring states affected by global terrorism which is a collective concern of the international community. Today, military officers have to respond to the need to protect their national interests in host countries against such new actors as political groups in war-torn countries and militias among others.⁷¹The underlying objective is to restore sovereignty of the target country.

The KDF's mission in Somalia cannot be accounted for as trite law. However, it may be inferred as a decision informed by the principles and pillars upon which Kenya's defence and foreign policies are anchored. As such, the study establishes the subjective and objective factors that must have informed the decision surrounding KDF mission in Somalia. The objective factors - which emanated from Kenya's internal environment - must have been the prevailing state of security in Kenya, where the country was confronted by sporadic terrorist attacks amounting to the loss of civilian life in addition to the destruction of property. On the other hand, the decision must have been influenced by the popular opinion regarding the state of insecurity in Kenya and the need to take action against the source from which it emanated (which is Kenya's geographically proximate neighbor, Somalia).

Further, the social variables between the two countries that involve the cultural interaction and exchange between Kenya and Somalia's refugees hosted in Kenya made it necessary to intervene into the affairs of Somalia to mitigate the growing influx of asylum seekers in the country who have also been a threat to Kenya's security. For the reason of such proximity, it is inevitable that co-existence between the two countries shall be perpetual considering the interdependencies

⁷¹TarakBarkawi, 'Defence diplomacy in north-south relations.' *International Journal* 66(3) 597-612

in the world today incidental to globalization. Hence, there were no better objective factors to provoke Kenya's intervention into Somalia. Further, the mission also became manifest as a self-interest strategy that was deployed to safeguard the Kenya's national interests in Kenya and in Somalia as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW KENYA UTILIZED DEFENSE DIPLOMACY TO FURTHER ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS IN SOMALIA

4.0 Introduction

The following chapter is a deep illustration of the extent to which KDF's entry into Somalia was in pursuit of her national interests whilst buttressed by her foreign policy. It also offers a primary data perspective that is derived from interviews, questionnaires, reports and other relevant sources of relevance to the research. The analysis spans from the assessment of Kenya's Foreign Policy, defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft and a decision of foreign policy as well as the impending role of defence diplomacy in advancing Kenya's interests in Somalia upon completion of military operations in the said country.

PART A: DATA

4.1 Primary Data

In the court of the research, primary data was collected in a bid to understand the scope and context of defence diplomacy as it understood among fifteen officials from various state departments within the Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs. The respondents were randomly selected without any specific preferences of their gender or ranks as such would not vary the nature of the data that the study sought to collect. The following data was therefore collected through a standard questionnaire from which interviews were carried out as well.

Despite their varied responses, all the respondents demonstrated understanding of statecraft and foreign policy from the points of their definitions to the distinction of one from another. However, 37% of the respondents could not provide a clear response regarding their understanding

of statecraft. Upon deliberation with the respondents, 94% of them showed an understanding of defence diplomacy from their definitions.

All of the respondents were commonly aligned to the position that the main advantages of defence diplomacy include protecting the security interests of Kenya within Kenya, outside the country and restoring stability in the neighbouring Somalia. They also thought that the main role of foreign policy as it relates to national interests is to protect the security and economic interests of Kenyans abroad. Other responses included the need to sustain amicable diplomatic relations so that Kenyans abroad are not subjected to aggression, instead national treatment.

Regarding the premise of KDF mission in Somalia, 82% of the respondents were convinced that the main reason for KDF's entry into Somalia was a reaction towards terrorist attacks that the belligerent Al-Shabaab group has been waging in various parts of Kenya resulting in fear within the demography. Hence, a common reaction among these respondents was that the move was meant to protect Kenya's borders and was in the hope that eventually the events of terror attacks would cease.

The study found that many officials were not able to cite to the best of their knowledge any country that has employed defence diplomacy to advance their national policies. The few (7%) who were able to recall would only mention to the United States of America and its missions in the Arab world. 93% of the respondents were not able to name at least one country that has employed defence diplomacy as a strategy of foreign policy. However, this group of respondents had scanty knowledge of the countries that had initially partnered with Kenya under AMISOM to quell instability in Somalia.

Regarding the alternative of having KDF assume a diplomatic role in Somalia, only 41% of the respondents thought it would be a sound and possible initiative. On the other hand, 47% of

the respondents were apprehensive of the continued stay of the KDF in Somalia upon completion of their military operations. This was premised on the background that in the recent past, Kenya has been subjected to sporadic terrorist attacks and kidnappings, with the belligerent groups demanding for the withdrawal of KDF from Somalia. However, the other 12% were not sure of the impact of KDF assuming a diplomatic role in Somalia or whether their continued stay in Somalia upon completion of their mission would be relevant for Kenya's national interests.

These respondents also reiterated the study's assertion regarding the absence of any policy that evidently promotes defence diplomacy. However, only 13% would cite Kenya's Foreign Policy as the basis upon which defence diplomacy may be legitimately endorsed. The said group would as well confirm that there is no work in progress for the development or amendment of any policies between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Ministry of Defence regarding the promotion of defence diplomacy.

PART B: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

4.2 Introduction to Kenya's Foreign Policy

In November 2014, Kenya wrote its first Foreign Policy since independence. Its framework is broad enough to take to account contemporary dynamics of the complex structure of international relations in the planet today.⁷² It is constructed around looking forward to the realization of the people's collective aspirations and guarding national priorities on the opportunities and threats on the current global economy. The preparation of the policy was preceded by high public participation and consultation of relevant stakeholders. The vision that underlies its agenda is towards developing a 'peaceful, prosperous and competitive' country as a result of its relations with other states. The overriding objective in Kenya's foreign policy has been

⁷² Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international Trade (2014), Kenya Foreign policy.

towards the realization of a peaceful global community. In Kenya, foreign policy is not influenced by domestic pressures rather, it is influenced by historical incidents and personality that are core to the analysis of foreign policy.

Regarding national security interests, the policy is built around the premise that the country's future (in terms of the prosperity in the livelihoods of Kenyans) is pegged on the security and stability of its immediate neighbors. One of the principles upon which it is established is the building of sustainable foreign relations. The policy is alive to the realities of modern international relations such as globalization, regional integration and threats to international peace such as global terrorism. In its mission to protect Kenyans national interests, the policy is fueled by the drive to deploy 'innovative diplomacy' to contribute to peace and equity in the world today.⁷³

Even though decision-making surrounding the development of foreign policy is influenced by the personalities in charge, the policy is reflects the values upheld by Kenyans as enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Kenya Vision 2030, Sessional Papers, Manifestos of ruling parties in addition to executive declarations among others. At the core of its aims is to promote regional peace and security, multilateralism and the prosperity of Kenyans abroad.

The nature of Kenya's bilateral relations as influenced by its foreign policy rests on the peace, economic, diaspora, environmental and cultural pillars. The peace pillar is manifests as the most important pillar as all other four are premised upon it. Its entrenchment is based on the principle that peace and stability and prerequisites to development and prosperity. While the

⁷³ Peter Schwartz, 'The Foreign Policy of Self-Interest: A Moral Ideal for America' Ayb Rand Institute Press.

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/media/pdf/foreignpolicyofselfinterest_20150103.ashx?la=en&hash=C7FCE204206932037FE15ABB67DB02E5D2E8A068

economic pillar anticipates the establishment of robust economic engagements in the sub region, the diaspora pillar targets the integration of Kenyans abroad into the country's development agenda. Kenya also promotes sustainable use of the environment and shared resources through the environmental pillar while the cultural pillar showcases Kenya's commitment to use its culture in promoting its image at the global stage.⁷⁴ This includes the culture of promoting understanding and cementing its bilateral relations at the regional and international levels.

Kenya's mission in Somalia is anchored on the peace diplomacy pillar of its foreign policy. This being founded on the conviction that Kenya's stability and economic welfare varies with the stability of Somalia. Even though it does not involve the deployment of peaceful dispute resolution mechanisms, the mission (as it was previously) was focused on collaborating with other countries and to support collective efforts to restore peace and prevent further conflict in Somalia. These initiatives being part of the objectives upon which these pillars are based.

On the other hand, the country has also been hospitable to victims of civil war in Somalia who cross into the country to find protection. In its respect for cultural diversity, Kenya has been a key player in hosting refugees and promoting cultural exchanges and partnerships between Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia among other countries in the sub region.⁷⁵

This study notes that the Kenya Defence Forces does not form part of the implementation framework for Kenya's foreign policy. Even though the state department in charge of foreign affairs anticipates the implementation of the policies through public diplomacy, defence diplomacy does not appear as an outright implementation mechanism adopted for Kenya's foreign policy under the pillar of peace diplomacy.

⁷⁴ Constitution of Kenya, 2010

⁷⁵ Ken Oluoch (2017). 'Foreign Policy and the Threat of Global Terrorism: Kenya's Military Intervention in Somalia.' *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. Vol. 5, P. 93-99

4.2.1 Inferring Defense Diplomacy from Kenya's Foreign Policy

It has already been established that there is no outright expression of defense diplomacy in Kenya's foreign policy actions. Even so, the country's Foreign Policy appreciates two concepts that are critical to showing the link between defense diplomacy and Kenya's Foreign Policy. First, the Foreign Policy embraces Kenya's appreciation of the concept of innovative diplomacy and the role of globalization in shaping Kenya's international relations.

4.2.1.1 Defence Diplomacy as a Means of Advancing Kenya's Foreign Policy

In the previous section, this study established that while foreign policy is the substantive representation of the national requirements of the citizens of a state, defense diplomacy comes in as a mechanism through which these interests are represented. Hence, defense diplomacy is the means to which the end objectives of foreign policy are met. A look at the prolonged state of political instability in Somalia besides the deplorable state of its economic affairs, one may not draw an accurate mechanism for the exercise of Kenya's policy actions in Somalia.⁷⁶ Considering that both economic and security interests are at stake, it would only suffice to infer that defence diplomacy is the only amicable means through which Kenya may advance its policies in Somalia. Even though it involves the deployment of Kenya's defense resources, such resources are meant to suppress belligerent groups such as the Al-Shabaab that have been responsible for the country's instability for many decades. Hence, even though the deployment of the forces appears to be coercive, this only amounts to the soft-power use of its military force to restore Somalia's Sovereignty while protecting Kenyans' economic and security interests at the same time. Since the Executive is one of the mechanisms through which Kenya's foreign policy is implemented, it becomes much easier for the Ministry of defence to collaborate with that of foreign affairs to

⁷⁶ Lesley Anne Warner, 'In Somalia, Kenya Risks Death by a Thousand Cuts.' *Prism* 3 (3) 105-115

reconcile Kenya and Somalia's military relations through diplomatic craft. It is important to take notice of the effectiveness of defence diplomacy as an appropriate alternative as opposed to other measures that would equally suffice to guarantee the interests of Kenyans such as the imposition of trade sanctions, suspension of diplomatic relations, or resort to legal action.

4.2.1.2 The Role of Globalization

The examination of Foreign Policy in Kenya reveals that the policy is highly influenced by the dynamics of globalization that have changed the nature of international relations between states in the world today. In the previous section, this study laid out the impact that the recent proliferation in the levels of interaction and interdependence between states to the extent that countries are no longer territorialized per se.⁷⁷ Such level of interdependence also comes with shared responsibility when it comes to global security concerns. Therefore, the advancement of selfish national interests has been carried away by the globalization wave to the extent that such has become compromised international practice.

Therefore, for reasons of regional and continental integration in addition to global security, the political stability of Somalia has been a critical matter of concern when it comes to the combat against global terrorism. Further, strengthening regional integration has become one of the essential tools for advancing cooperation and stability within the continent. Therefore, globalization in the world today accompanied with global security threats such as terrorism, piracy, and proliferation of weapons – with Kenya being a direct victim in various incidences – makes defence diplomacy an inevitable part of Kenya's foreign policy.

⁷⁷ Ken Oluoch (2017). 'Foreign Policy and the Threat of Global Terrorism: Kenya's Military Intervention in Somalia.' *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. Vol. 5, P. 93-99

4.3 Building a Bilateral Security Community with Somalia

For Kenya, the factor that constantly throws Kenya and Somalia's diplomatic ties into a deep freeze has been the sporadic terrorist attacks from militant group Al-Shabaab which has abused Kenya's porous borders and hospitality to confer asylum to refugees to find their way into civilian concentrations and wage attacks. The short-term objective of Kenya's military presence in Somali might be attributable to such sporadic terror attacks waged against the former state.⁷⁸ However, the study considers the long-term effect of the same which would be to secure a stronger regional relationship once the stability is restored in the country that has been war torn for more than five decades.

While the military presence of Kenya in Somali is one of the temporary distractions to forging a stronger foundation between the two states, one cannot miss the role of the prevailing international maritime confrontations the two states that remains pending before the International court of Justice.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the dispute over maritime boundaries in the Indian Ocean between Kenya and Somalia threatens efforts to build such stronger ties between the two states for the future. Yet best practices require the two to commit to what suits their nations best. It would be detrimental to Kenya's national interests if the state approaches the dispute subject to political missteps that may trigger unnecessary military action. Even so, it is apparent that the recent withdrawal of the case for amicable settlement between the two states showcases the development of this political relationship.

When it comes to political influence, it is only in limited events where the Somali Question has formed part of the political agenda between political factions in Kenya. Apart from temporary

⁷⁸ Claire Mc Evoy, 'Shifting priorities: Kenya's changing approach to peace building and peacemaking.' *Norwegian Peace building Resource Centre*. 2013

⁷⁹ ICJ, Maritime Delimitation in the Indian Ocean (Somalia v Kenya). Retrieved from: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/case-related/161/161-20190906-PRE-01-00-EN.pdf>

outry from the political opposition in 2014 to withdraw Kenya Defense forces from Somalia,⁸⁰ the question regarding Kenya's foreign policy and military mission in Somali has never been so contentious that it becomes adversarial. As such, it is anticipated that Kenya's foreign policy as regards its relationship with Somalia shall remain regular despite regular political transitions that the country undergoes as the prevailing relationship is not established on political bases.

Kenya has also demonstrated its commitment to Somalia's sovereignty by facilitating the development of the country's military power while protecting it from terrorist groups. Its consistence in helping restore to firmness Somalia's sovereignty through hospitality to refugees and deployment of military presence has also been critical to strengthening the political relations between the two states. The cultural interaction resulting from Somalia refugee presence in Kenya and KDF presence in Somalia already builds trust and increases familiarity between the two states to an extent that facilitates effortless cooperation between the two in the present and in future.

The imminent deployment of defence diplomacy in Somalia becomes inevitable due to inevitable insecurity issues in the sub region. In addition, due to close geographic proximity between the two countries, there are increased chances of military confrontations from either side. Considering that Kenya already hosts a large percentage of Refugees from Somalia, such hospitality minimizes the chances of military confrontations from Somalia as the same would be prejudicial to the interests of the latter. In the same vein, occupation by the KDF in Somalia is also founded on a noble objective to liberalize the country from the long-standing instability and security threats posed by belligerent groups.

On that note, instead of anticipating to use Kenya's military forces to retaliate future conflicts with Somalia, the country may take advantage of the same to honor Somalia's sovereignty

⁸⁰*Ibid.* 5

and aid in full restoration of the its political stability. Apart from strengthening relations with Somalia, this establishment of good relations already averts any future conflicts that may arise between Kenya and Somali to the extent of warranting military sanctions. Even though such conflicts may be inevitably imminent, the prevailing state of affairs already cements the chances of suppressing such inevitable conflicts amicably.⁸¹

It may be assumed that upon restoration of its stability, Somali shall consider pursuing membership status in the East African Community in addition to Regional Economic Communities in the continent as it may deem fit. Further, premised on the shared coastal line along the Indian Ocean, Kenya and Somalia already hold certain economic interests in common. Its consistency in the prevailing state of affairs shall guarantee Kenya the support of Somalia and vice versa over summits held within such Regional Economic Communities to jointly advance and promote decisions that favor their shared national interests of the two countries within the sub region. As such, Somali can also count on Kenya's cooperation within various international summits. With such a background and support, it would also be difficult for Somalia or Kenya to wage military conflict against the other with a view to maintaining the support system that has already been existence

Even though Kenya is playing a key role restoring democracy in Somalia by helping it set up and strengthen its democratic institutions, such measures must be taken with full awareness of the risks that come with democracy in such young states that are healing from long-term civil unrest. For instance, such as state as Somalia which has been at war for a duration spanning decades is likely to experience unexpected transitions in government. Therefore, in such a democratic setting, the country is likely to produce belligerent regimes that may turn hostile against

⁸¹Luckystar Miyandazi, 'Kenya's military intervention in Somalia: An intricate process.' *Policy and Practice Brief* 2012.

relations already exist between Kenya and the predecessor governments. Yet, defence diplomacy facilitates the development of such impenetrable foundations. This is based on the acknowledgment that political regimes are likely to be faced by regular changes within democratic settings while militaries remain relatively constant. Therefore, a suitable approach to direct the development of state affairs would be away from political measures but rather by use of defence mechanisms in diplomatic capacities. Such institutions are easily kept constant, consistent and cooperative unlike political relations which cannot.⁸² For instance, military cooperation through defence diplomacy already creates social and cultural links with greater levels of trust that would not be easily breached by mere political transitions.

4.4 Whether the KDF Mission in Somalia is a Decision of Foreign Policy

This paper finds that Kenya's mission – through the KDF in Somalia was a decision of foreign policy. This was an objective decision that was made by the government of Kenya initially influenced by exogenous factors but currently influenced by endogenous factors. Due to the AMISON peace-keeping mission in Somalia, it is arguable that Kenya's occupation of Somalia then was influenced by external factors, which in this regard included the collective interests of the international community in the stability of Somalia that has long since been engulfed in civil strife. Even this was also affected by internal factors, after the withdrawal of other states' troops from Somalia, Kenya's continued stay in the country has been motivated by internal factors which range from public opinion, the position, role and level of economic development of Kenya within the East African Union.

⁸² Paul D. Williams, 'To Withdraw or not to Withdraw? Reflections on Kenya's Military Operations in Somalia. *The Elephant*

4.4.1 Brucan's Factors

Brucan's five factors that affect foreign policy may as well be applicable to account for Kenya's diplomatic occupation in Somalia. They include the geographical environment, the social variables, dependency, decision-making mechanism and executive management. Regarding the nature of the geographic environment, it is arguable that Somalia's close proximity to Kenya informed the agenda that drives the country's international relations with Somalia.⁸³ In addition to sharing an international boarder, the two countries also share natural resources such as the Indian Ocean, which has recently been the at the center of a maritime dispute between the two countries. Thus, this paper argues that due to the outright lack of capacity by Somalia to protect such shared resources and the integrity of nations international borders, Kenya initiated a move to occupy Somalia to defend these interests which are as well important to Kenyans.

When it comes to the social variables, this factor is often ends up in public opinion. The perpetual nature of civil strife in Somali has since time immemorial resulted in an influx of asylum seekers in Kenya from Somalia. Such an influx has been with the effect of causing panic within the country and a growing security concerns. This is after recent terror attacks being waged against the innocent public. As a result, the only way to avert such security threats becomes the restoration of stability in Somalia; hence, eliminating the main cause that underlies the influx.⁸⁴

Another factor advanced by Brucan that must have contributed to Kenya's decision to occupy Somali must be its political and military dependency. Within Eastern Africa, Kenya depicts outright economic dominance as well as political and military dependency within the region. For this reason – compared to other countries within the region – the responsibility to shoulder the

⁸³ The Somali conflict; The prospects of peace

⁸⁴ Freeman Chas W (1997) Arts of power; Statecraft and diplomacy, United States Institute of Peace Press Washington, DC

obligations incidental to order-making within the region are during a threat of instability lies with Kenya. This would account for the continued stay of Kenya's forces in Somalia even after the withdrawal by other African Countries from the AMISOM peace-keeping mission in Somalia.⁸⁵

Summarily, Kenya's foreign policy context is established against the background of its struggle for independence and subsequent national liberalization. Therefore, the policy is oriented towards value for a stable and secure environment for national prosperity to create an enabling environment for sustainable development. Pursuant to the policy, Kenya's focus is to strengthen its bilateral relations with Somali are targeted guaranteeing Kenyans national interests while securing their socio-economic interests as well.

It is against this background that this study concluded that – even though there is no outright provision of defense diplomacy in Kenya's Foreign Policy - Kenya's mission in Somalia is a decision of foreign policy that exerts Kenya's national security interests in its interaction with Somalia, its proximate neighbor whose national security compromised by internal disturbance resulting from belligerent attacks on the government. Such involves the use of force in restoration of stability within Somalia though diplomatic means that would not undermine sovereign equality between the two states.

4.5 KDF Mission as a Balanced Self-interest Strategy

Kenya's economic and national security – when it comes to international trade and investment – are at the top of its priorities which influence its foreign policy. Hence, for its international relations with Somalia, Kenya's main concern is to pursue those interests. When it comes to international relations, the selfish pursuit of national interests has been earmarked to be morally tainted. For these reasons – in the course of its relations with Somalia – Kenya must find

⁸⁵ Harper Mary, *Getting Somalia Wrong? Faith and war in a shattered state*, Zed Books Press, London

a way to strike a balance between its self-interest and those of Somalia.⁸⁶ As such, if any of these national interests can be attained through Somalia, Kenya assumes an implied moral obligation to fulfill Somalia's needs.

Be that as it may, it is certainly the fact that the economic and political state of Somalia does not make it an attractive target for Kenya's economic interests within the Eastern Africa Region. Alternatively, Kenya would pursue such interests within other member states such as Rwanda, Tanzania or Ethiopia which portray better economic hubs. Hence, Kenya's investment in the protection of Somalia's interests may not be at a promise of the concurring epic economic relationships with Somalia considering the dismal state of its economic sphere.⁸⁷ A case in point can be drawn from United States Of America's practice in its foreign policy actions that saw it sacrificing its own resources for the sake of weaker nations. It is through such diplomatic recognition resulting in its self-doubting regulations and delayed action against such polities as the Iran that have – through state-sponsored terrorism by the Al-Qaeda - posed a threat against America's national security. It is for such reasons that the U.S. has recently adopted policy actions that selfishly reinforce its own values. Drawing from such lessons, there are chances that Kenya's diplomatic policy actions in Somalia may not yield outcomes that are appealing to Kenyans interests. This is considering that Somalia may not command a significant leverage when it comes to meeting Kenya at its points of needs as Kenya is doing with Somali's state of instability.

Even so, drawing from the case point of the nature of international relations and foreign policy in South Africa since independence, there is still hope when it comes to upholding Kenya's interests in the KDF's mission to Somalia. The utility incidental to South Africa's case in this

⁸⁶ Huntington P Samuel (1988) *The soldier and the state; Theory and politics of civil military relations*, Howard University Press, London

⁸⁷ Mukami Mwangiro (2004), *African regional security in age of globalization*

study draws from the arguments informing the ideology of soft power which emphasizes the utility of defense diplomacy in international relations. It is through such exercise of soft power in international relations with its neighbors that South Africa has established its reputation in world affairs, hence the tag a 'good global citizen'. It is apparent that peace and stability lie at the top of the priorities of the international community. Perhaps, even though Kenya may not draw direct economic benefits from Somalia's dilapidated economy, such benefits may still be occasioned upon Kenya as a 'good global citizen' in its quest to advance the collective interests of the international community. To this extent, Kenya's exercise of soft power through KFD mission in Somalia beats the argument that the synchronized pursuit of both international and national interests are irreconcilable. Putting the cultural pillar to context, common humanity lies at the center of the shared culture in the world today. Thus, Kenya's reluctance to deploy coercive measures against Somalia raises its position in world affairs which in return makes the Kenya government a successful agent of its citizens.

4.6 Conclusion

At this point, it would suffice to affirm that Kenya utilized defence diplomacy as an instrument for the advancement of its interests in Somalia. The nature of the current relationship between the two countries already set a premise upon which defence diplomacy could be successfully forged. This part has therefore demonstrated the essence of defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft for the building of political relationships, as a strategy of foreign policy and as the inevitable effect of globalization. This is also considering that in addition to advancing Kenya's national interests, its overriding objective was to protect those of Somalia and the collective responsibility assumed by the international community.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The following chapter illustrates the relevant conclusion arrived at from the analysis of data and concepts discussed in the preceding chapters. It includes the affirmation of the hypotheses initially assumed by the study prior to its exercise. Hence, it provides a response to the research questions while confirming that the objectives of the study have been realized as well. It further suggests recommendations that are accordingly informed by these conclusions.

5.1 Conclusions

Indeed, this research established that defence diplomacy is a critical instrument of statecraft in the twenty first century. Its utility in statecraft lies with the reconciliation of state defence and diplomatic resources to facilitate the protection of national interests. It is only under this special concept where hard power use meets soft power use. Its role is to unite these two forms of exercise of power to forge firm foundations in the establishment of political relations between relating states. With regard to the case for this research, it has been established that defence diplomacy was critical as an instrument of statecraft to cement the relationships between Kenya and Somalia premised on the prevailing deployment of both diplomatic and military operations in Somalia to aid the latter state restore its sovereignty.

This study has also established a clear nexus between defence diplomacy and foreign policy in three ways. First, this research established that while foreign policy substantively defines international relations between states, defence diplomacy fits as one of the means through which such foreign relations are defined. Second, the research also found that defence diplomacy emerges as a development of innovative diplomacy resulting from increased interdependence in

the global economy today emanating from globalization. As such, it becomes a key strategy of foreign policy especially in the modern day to advance national interests and the collective international agenda. With regard to the case of KDF in Somalia, this research finds that Kenya's mission in Somalia did not enjoy an outright support of Kenya's National Foreign policy. However, the study finds some legitimate aspects of the said foreign policy that imply the endorsement of those operations. Further, the principles upon which Kenya's foreign policy is established and the pillars upon which it is held imply malleability in the policy to accommodate defence diplomacy as strategy of Kenya's foreign policy governing its future relations with Somalia and other polities.

It is upon restoration of stability in Somalia that Kenya used defence diplomacy to further her national interests within Kenya and Somalia as well. The concept shall key to the facilitation of international trade between Kenya and partnership in the utilization and protection of 'shared' resources such as ports within the coastal line of the Indian Ocean. Most importantly, defence diplomacy shall play a critical role to the assimilation and voluntary returning of asylum seekers to Somalia. Due to the strong political relationship that has developed between Kenya and Somalia, defence diplomacy is an efficient mechanism to facilitate necessary arrangement for the reestablishment of refugees in Somalia upon their repatriation and towards the guarantee of protection against unrests that lead to their displacement. Further, this strategy shall also be key to facilitating the assimilation of other refugees and their accommodation as Kenyan citizens through registration. As such, the common cultural aspects between the two countries shall strengthen international relations between the two countries.

The nature of Kenya's activities in Somalia through the KDF lacks an outright manifestation of a diplomatic role. It is certain that, at the moment, Kenya is not at war with

Somalia. Further, it is also apparent that KDF's occupation in this Eastern neighbor – at the face of it – is not a non-war like initiative. The occupation involves the use of force in suppression and liberation of the Somalia from belligerent terrorist groups (mainly the Al-Shabaab) that have, for a long time, undermined world peace and at the top of discussions on global terrorism. As such, this may not fit outright in the true definition of defence diplomacy. However, the current occupation of Somalia establishes a convenient opportunity for the KDF to transform into the assumption of a diplomatic role upon completion of their operations in Somalia. Such presence already gives them the advantage of ease in transition from military operations to a diplomatic mission in Somali to Advance Kenya's national interests therein.

It is also apparent that Kenya's National Foreign Policy does not make an outright acknowledgment of defence diplomacy as part of Kenya's foreign policy. As such, the policy lacks a transparent plan over which Kenya shall continue its relations with Somalia after the restoration of stability in the latter state. However, the study has alluded to certain aspects including Kenya's ascription to innovative diplomacy and the peace pillar that forms part of the four pillars upon which Kenya's foreign policy stands. Even though such an arrangement between Kenya and Somalia may not be a perfect jig-saw fit into defense diplomacy, the nature of these relations sets a critical premise upon which Kenya can pursue defence diplomacy to protect its interests in Somalia. After liberating Somalia from its instability and restoring normalcy, Kenya's forces may be required to remain in occupation of the foreign state for some time, undertaking non-military activities while promoting the national interests of Kenyans in Somalia, the security interests of Kenya (within Kenya) and the collective of the international community towards peace. At that stage, Kenya may as well elect to entrench this arrangement into its Foreign Policy in full acknowledgment of the same.

5.2 Recommendations

It is against the background of the findings and conclusions arrived at that this study makes the following recommendations:

1. Kenya should intensify its diplomatic mission in Somalia as the country is important to Kenya's National Security making the objective to pursue defence diplomacy in its relations with Somalia – after restoration of stability – the focal point.
2. Kenya should regularize any irregular and inconsistent immigration policies that it has had against foreigners originating from Somalia. Even though this may amount to a compromise in Kenya's anti-terrorism approach, a cordial approach would build trust and favor a stronger long-term relationship with Somalia.
3. Policy makers in Kenya should adopt defence diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft and a strategy or mechanism for the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy; being the paradigm through which Kenya perceives its foreign affairs with countries within the Eastern Africa region.
4. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs among other relevant policy makers should incorporate defence diplomacy as an outright provision in Kenya's Foreign Policy especially as regards its relations with Somalia after the expiry of KDF's mission to restore peace in Somalia.
5. That Parliament, through legislation, establish a body that shall oversee interdepartmental relations between the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate future occupation of Somalia under the umbrella of defence diplomacy.

6. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in coordination with the Ministry of Defence – under the relevant state departments – should commence the development of a policy that shall regulate the stay of KDF in Somalia on a diplomatic role upon completion of their military operations against the belligerent Al-Shabaab Group.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. Kindly define the term statecraft.
2. What is your understanding of foreign policy
3. Kindly define the term defence diplomacy
4. What is the relationship between defence diplomacy and foreign policy?
5. Explain the co-relation between Kenya's foreign policy and her national interests
6. Does the KDF have the mandate to carry on diplomatic missions?
7. Has KDF engaged in any diplomatic missions that fall under the spectrum of defence diplomacy?
8. Did Kenya's foreign policy prompt KDF's entry to Somalia in 2011?
9. Was this move in furtherance of Kenya's national interests?
10. Is defence diplomacy a popular field of diplomacy in your organization?
11. Should Kenya include defense diplomacy as her foreign policy?
12. Is Defense Diplomacy essential for peaceful co-existence in the globally?
13. What are the advantages and disadvantages of defence diplomacy?
14. Are there countries that have significantly employed defence diplomacy in their foreign policies?
15. What is your take on the KDF taking on a diplomatic role?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

For purposes of filling out the attached questionnaire and answering the questions thereto, kindly allow me to give you a brief introduction to my research. My research seeks to give an understanding, scope and context of defence diplomacy in relation to foreign policy. It endeavors to examine its peacetime cooperative use by states as a tool of foreign and security policy.

Defence diplomacy is understood to mean a range of non-war like activities to be carried out by the defence Force of a country in order to build a positive perception of it among other states. The fundamental principle ascribed to defense diplomacy is that diplomatic interactions are more useful and have a more positive impact than Military force in achieving political mileage among states.

A state's foreign policy is the totality of its dealings with the external environment. Foreign policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests. Foreign policy decision-making is indisputably one of the greatest instrument at a state disposal to pursue its national interests. This is because a good foreign policy leads a state to fulfilling its national interests and acquiring a rightful place among comity of states.

Ultimately, my research seeks to establish whether KDF's entry to Somalia in 2011 was within the context of defence diplomacy and whether the same was propelled by National interests.

Section A: Researcher's Details

I am a post- graduate student at the University of Nairobi, undertaking MA in International Studies. As a faculty requirement, I am conducting a research, titled "Defense Diplomacy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy: Case Study of Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia.' I would like to seek your indulgence by requesting you to kindly fill in this questionnaire. The Information is required for

academic purposes and to the contribution of Literature thereto. The data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality. Thank you in anticipation of your kind cooperation.

Section B: Demographic Information

1. Kindly indicate you name.

2. Indicate your gender.

Male [] female []

3. Indicate your age range.

Below 20 years []

21-35 years []

36-45 years []

45-60 years []

Above 60 years []

4. How long have you worked in your current organization?

Less than 5 years []

5-10 years []

More than 10 years []

5. What is your position and/or rank?

Work in Government Ministry []

Kenya Defense Force []

Section C: Study Variables

6. What do you understand by the term statecraft and foreign policy.

.....
.....

7. Kindly define defence diplomacy.

.....
.....

8. Please define Foreign Policy.

.....
.....

9. Is defence diplomacy a decision of foreign policy, if yes then explain.

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.....
.....

10. State 3 advantages of defence diplomacy

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

11. What is the co- relation between foreign policy and national interests

.....
.....

12. Was KDF's entry to Somalia in 2011 a move within the context of defence diplomacy? If yes, expound on the same

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

13. What prompted KDF's entry to Somalia

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.....

14. Was the aforesaid entry in furtherance of Kenya's National interests? If yes, please expound.

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15. Was the entry a calculated move in pursuit of national interests? Expound on your answer.

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16. Are there countries that have significantly employed defence diplomacy in their foreign policies? If yes, kindly name the said countries and expound on the said missions

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17. What is your take on the KDF taking on a diplomatic role?

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18. How popular is defence diplomacy in your organization




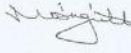

.....

19. Are there any policies in place that propagate and/or promote defence diplomacy in your organization

.....
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END

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH PERMIT

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