

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

FOR USE IN THE LIBRARY ONLY

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

"THE ROLE OF MILITARY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A Case Study of Kenya"

BY FRANCIS MURITHI KIBICHO

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES.**

February 2005.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DECLARATION

FOR USE IN THE LIBRARY ONLY

This document is the property of the University of Nairobi and is loaned to you for use only. It is not to be sold, transferred, or otherwise disposed of without the written consent of the University.

**THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A case
study of Kenya**

By

F M KIBICHO

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION**

University of NAIROBI Library



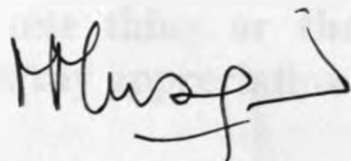
0444881 7

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree/Masters degree in any University.

Francis M Kibicho: Signature  **Date** Feb 2005

The Dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor



10 February 2005

DR Makumi Mwagiru: Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I gladly acknowledge the National Defence College for offering me the opportunity to undertake this study. In particular, my sincere gratitude goes to Lieutenant General John Koech for his personal authority and encouragement in the study. I feel indebted to the National Defence College Staff who supported me in the preparation, binding of the paper.

My thanks to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies of the University of Nairobi for imparting the basic knowledge and direction in the field of international relations. Special thanks to my supervisor Dr Makumi Mwagiru for his guidance without which the work would have been more difficult.

Finally special thanks to my wife, Emma, children Eddie, Frank, Emmanuel and Alice for their unwavering support.

Finally I thank all the other persons who helped me with one thing or the other to facilitate this study, accept my appreciation.

Abstract

The study of national security has been mainly confined in the developed world with fully developed theoretical frameworks. In the third world the western theories that have formed the basis of international studies seem not to be applicable.

This study has looked at the developed world security theories and applied them to the third world scenario. The end of the cold war has aroused new thinking in the international system and has in particular affected the discourse of security studies. However, the concerns in the developed world on the expansion of the national security theoretical framework to include other issues other than military strategy to include, economic, environmental, political and societal issues has a different implications in the third world.

This study is an attempt to look at the national security discourse and development and their interaction in the third world from the military strategy perspective.

Table of contents

Title page	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
Table of contents	v
Chapter 1	
The Role of the Military in National Development: A Case study of Kenya.	
Introduction	1
Statement of the Research Problem	4
Objective of the Research	5
Justification of the Study	6
Literature Review	7
Conceptual Framework	24
Hypothesis of the Study	28
Methodology	28
Chapter Outline	28
Chapter 2	
The Historical Evolution of the Westphalia Kenyan State	
Introduction	30
The Military and the State	30
The Origin of Permanent Armies	35
The Early State Formation	36

The African States before the Westphalia Model	38
The Origin of the Westphalia African States	40
State Making in Third World	41
State Making in Kenya	44

Chapter 3

The Origins of the Kenya Military

Introduction	47
Regime security	48
The origin of the Kenya Army	49
Security as a concept	51
International security	52
National security Concept	54
Securitization	55
The origin of Military Civic Action in Africa	57

Chapter 4

The Role of the Military and National Development.

Introduction	63
The Establishment and Roles of Kenya Armed Forces	64
The capabilities of the Kenya armed forces	70
The Emerging roles of the military	73

Chapter 5

Kenya Armed Forces .and Poverty Eradication

Introduction	76
---------------------	-----------

Poverty and its manifestations	78
Poverty Creating Factors in Kenya	80
The Extent and Magnitude of Poverty in Kenya	84
The Government Strategies on Poverty Alleviation and Economic Development	84
The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007)	85
National Security and Economic Development	87
Views of the Service Commanders	89
Options Available To the Armed Forces	92
Conclusion	94
Bibliography	96

Chapter 1

The Role of the Military in National Development: A Case study of Kenya.

Introduction

To understand the present and the future we need to understand the past because events do not take place in a vacuum, these are words of Mohan Malik in his essay *The Evolution of strategic Thought*¹. It is therefore prudent to briefly look at the origin of the military and its purpose in the international system and subsequently narrow down to the state level. Before the Westphalia conference of 1648 that culminated to the formation of the state the way we know it today, there existed empires and city states that did not have boundaries but only frontiers. The Westphalia state came with the concept of sovereignty and territorial integrity that signified that states were now confined within a given geographical confinement. After this concept was accepted by the signatories there followed the need to secure the borders so as to retain sovereignty and territorial integrity. This also marked the birth of formal and significant international relations among the new nations. States wanted to influence their policies in the international system and thus diplomacy came to being. However, there still remained a vacuum in that there was no world government that was to enforce agreements between states and therefore the need to have an instrument that would make a state achieve their interests abroad. To achieve this states had to have power to threaten or apply the force to attain these interests.

The political status that ensued required military force to enforce their domestic policies abroad and certify the demands for resources at home, since the territorial confines prohibited expansion. This saw the formation of armies and navies to go and venture outside the confines of geography in search of resources and more territory. Thus despite the dubious morality of using violence to achieve political aims, it has been used to do just that throughout recorded history. Mohan Malik continues to state that records of war exist as far back as 1288 BC and the battle of Kadesh between the Egyptians and the Hittites. In fact one of the renowned fathers of military strategy Clausewitz stated that 'war does not belong to the realm of art and science, rather it is a part of man's social existence'. Alfred Mohan agreed

¹ Craig A Snyder(Ed), 1999. *Cotemporary Security and Strategy*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London, p.13.

with him and said that 'conflict is the condition of all life'². As technology developed, the military became more versatile and their killing capabilities got enhanced. The last two world wars left the world devastated due to the destructive capabilities of the weapons and today a nuclear war is viewed as a zero sum war that will destroy the current civilisation. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction among the community of nations of the world pose a danger to all; the question is whether it leaves the world secure or more vulnerable than during the cold war era. There are claims from some scholars that the world was more secure during the cold war period than it is today, while others argue that the proliferation of nuclear weapons provides a deterrence in their use because there will be no winner in the event of the use of the weapons. But what about those nations that do not have these weapons, will it not be wise to concentrate on other issues rather than military build up? The structural change caused by the demise of the cold war and the disintegration of the Soviet Union has brought about new concepts especially in the area of security. States that used to enjoy protection from the super powers no longer enjoy the same support, more so in terms of weaponry and financing of security programs. This has raised questions on the viability of maintaining military forces in the world's poorest nations, Kenya included. Kenya was the guardian of western capitalism and democracy in the horn of Africa and therefore received military support by the west. The enemy at that time was clearly defined as the capitalists or the communists whichever ideological divide a state embraced; therefore, border patrols were rigorous to prevent any incursions from the enemies. The major super powers armed and assisted rebel groups in the opposing camps in order to try and topple such regimes that were not in their ideological fold. Notwithstanding the lack of direct confrontation between the two superpowers, there were a numerous proxy wars that were mainly fought in the third world countries. This led to the amassing of arsenals and both sides tried to outdo each other in military superiority. However, the soviet's political ideology of communism neglected the domestic politics and a situation reached where the pressure was insurmountable and this led to the fragmentation of the Soviet Union. This fragmentation resulted to the demise of the cold war with far reaching ramifications world wide; the perceived enemies disappeared as countries shifted ideologies and became more democratic than before. The Soviet Union disintegration left world in a unipolar situation with only one super power. The countries that formed the Soviet Union became independent with most of them adopting the western

² Loc cit

democracy and hence promoted the ideals of capitalism. This was followed by globalisation and with it, states have become more interdependent than ever before. This has a far reaching significance in that the way the state conducts international relations has shifted from the use of high politics to low politics and thus the use of military in war greatly reduced. The main challenge left to these militaries is to justify their legitimacy. What will they do with the arsenals that they had accumulated after the Second World War and the period of the cold war? Will there be changes in the military missions? In the developing countries where will resources come from for the maintenance of the vast the arsenals obtained from the super powers? Do the militaries have any role in national development or will they be a burden to the countries exchequers?

Whereas the emphasis has been that the military should conduct their traditional business of securing the sovereignty and integrity of a country, the emergence of liberal democracy as the main political ideology in the international system calls for the re-evaluation of our military mission. Our case in the under developed world is of great concern in that after the end of the cold war, the issue of balance of power subsided so much so that the equipment that were maintained by the USA and the Soviet Union are now rotting in many third world countries for lack of maintenance and the necessary ordinance for operating them. This means that the meagre resources that these young democracies get are not adequate to be spent on the military especially when the perceived threat has drastically been diminished. In the case of Kenya where the main threat came from Somalia with their ideology of the greater Somalia, the country now is a world's example of a failed state. So the question one would want to ask is should the Kenya government continue building a war machinery to counter future Somalia threats? With this in mind and the enhancement of democracy among our other neighbours, one is bound to rethink on the roles of the Kenya Armed Forces today. This study therefore examines the role that the military plays towards national development in Kenya in the post cold war era and the emergence of globalisation. Whereas the Kenya military has been involved in many nation building activities besides the core duties for example limited construction of public utility infrastructure, relief supplies services, peacekeeping, search and rescue, restoration of water supply systems, rehabilitation of water dams for irrigation, sinking of boreholes for community use and other civil related activities. We need to look at them more closely and see whether they should be included in the core duties. This study will try to answer the question whether these activities constitute significant national development and whether they compromise the core role of the military

in the maintenance of security from external aggression. My hypothesis is that the military has a direct role in National development and that much more development is achieved through military actions that are not directly core security issues. .

In this current era of enhanced democracy, the Kenyans are more concerned on where their tax money is spent on and it is important we clearly define the roles the military in national development. This realisation has led to the transformation of many Armed Forces in the world. The emerging democratic governments and the current world order are calling for lesser and lesser spending on the military. However, as we do this, we should not have the hindsight to think that we shall not require the Armed Forces in the future war is unpredictable and training for war takes a very long time. Therefore what we need to do is reassess our Armed Forces and transform them to be responsive to the current world political order. Whereas the mission of the armed forces is well defined in the current set up, it includes aid to civil power as a secondary role. This role is usually played during peacetime and since the Kenya Armed forces have been for a long time in the peacetime state. The role of the military in aid of civil authority is not clearly defined and therefore any task that is not military in nature falls here. This clause has been used for the military to assist in civil works that would hitherto have been done by other commercial entities, or other government ministries, if these activities were consolidated they would add to the activities that the government undertakes to improve the welfare of its people.

Statement of the Research Problem

In the current era of globalisation and the emergence of liberal democracy, issues of human development are highest in the agenda of most countries especially the third world young democracies. The main question that lingers in the minds of leaders and strategic planners is whether the military is a priority to economic development. Isn't it more prudent to allocate more resources to social projects rather than to the military? Therefore, the question to ask is what role does the military play in national development. What is the role of the military in the maintenance of national security? While the military is expected to wade off external threats, can we comfortably maintain a military that has an expensive budget against other social needs, what is more viable is it the safety and the security of the citizenry against crime or is it an external military invasion? These questions have come to the fore in the thinking of policymakers and planners in determining the allocation of the meagre resources amongst enormous needs. This has led to the renewed conceptualisation of

national security that has been said to include new issues that were not considered as threats. The broad conceptualisation of national security has included political, environmental, economic and societal issues that are a threat to the survival of a nation state. The question here in Kenya has become more pertinent in that, the failed state of Somalia has caused more insecurity than when the country was intact. Does the military have any role in combating this non-military insecurity that is caused by criminals, in breaking law and order in neighbouring states? Does Sudan pose a military threat to Kenya given the fact that the problem of southern Sudan is far from being settled? Both the political establishment and the civil society who wonder what the purpose of the military is for given the peace dividends that came with the end of the cold war have put these questions forward. While conducting studies on the military emphasis has been on the control of the military by civilian authority under the concept of civil military. This has been so during the cold war era where most militaries in the developing countries were either significantly involved in politics or they provided political leadership. This concept was developed to control the military power that competed directly with political power, as they acted as alternative centres of power that influenced domestic politics in third world countries. This was more prevalent during the cold war where the two superpowers used military assistance to the developing countries as a way of maintaining the political regimes that followed their ideology. These superpowers went to great lengths to equip the developing countries with war machineries, which they could use from time to time to topple governments that showed signs of changing ideologies. From this background, I want to base my research on the post cold war relevance of the role the military in nation building. The huge budgets that went to military building and amassing weapons for human destruction should now be turned to issues of national development. So what is the impact in developing countries and in particular how much of the monies have been channelled to nation building in Kenya? This study will therefore closely examine and consolidate all military activities that are geared towards national development and highlight them. In highlighting them, this will arouse an understanding of the military operations and their relevance in national development in the post cold war era. The research will look at the areas that can stimulate better utilisation of the military and show the need to improving the structure to adapt to the changed world system. This will enable policymakers and planners to be more focused while planning for the development of the military forces to be better partners in national development agenda. Currently most of those activities that contribute to national development are merely coincidental in line of duty rather than strategically planned.

This will enable the military to remain relevant in the lull of war and in the era of globalisation while at the same time training without losing the foresight of an imminent war.

Objective of the Research

The objective of this study is to examine the civic tasks the Kenya military forces undertakes and show that they contribute to national development. In peacetime the military is perceived as a drain to the national resources that could be utilized for development, society and political leadership would wish to divert the resources meant for military to other sectors of social life in a state. This leaves the military leadership in a dilemma in the maintenance and fulfilment of their aims and objectives. It is thus prudent for the military leadership to quickly and meticulously reorient their thinking and clearly defend the legitimacy of the military in the government agenda of providing public goods without significant loss of sight of their core role. The emerging globalization and free market phenomenon that is compelling nation states to form regional organisations to overcome the threat of losing sovereignty to market forces and transnational organisations tend to diminish external military threats hence rendering the need of a standing army seem irrelevant. The legitimacy of the military becomes under strict scrutiny, in particular the Kenyan leadership has raised this observation and has challenged the military leadership to clearly indicate their strategic plans that conform to the country's grand strategy of poverty eradication and wealth creation. The research will therefore examine the role of the military in aid to civil power as enshrined in armed forces act and see whether there is any significant contribution to the social development of the Kenyan society.

Justification of the Study

While this research is carried out to fulfil part requirement for the award of a Masters Degree in International studies, it explores a field that is raising a lot of concerns in the world today and more specifically to the Kenyan leadership. We know that military power is part of the tools of a democratic state to preserve its sovereignty; however, cross border operations are becoming lesser and lesser as countries become more democratised. The end of the cold war has led to more democratisation of nation states meaning that the public wants their governments to be more accountable in allocating resources. In Kenya today most executive officers of key governmental institutions are employed on 'performance contract'. What this

means is that, the government will only continue engaging people in employment as long as their performance can reach certain minimum levels of productivity. The military is under the falls under the same government and therefore there must be a minimum level of performance expected. If there is no war, why should the taxpayer continue supporting soldiers just to sleep and idle around in the barracks? It is therefore of utmost importance for the military to be more visible to the public while supporting activities that improve their wellbeing. Since this will not exempt the military to perform their main core tasks, a comprehensive research to blend the two roles is necessary. It is this in mind that this project was conceptualized to arouse institution of the military to embark on meaningful field research. This research will look at the contributions that the military has made towards national development and see how best they can be enhanced in this era of globalization.

Literature Review

The discussions of military in any role must first be looked at from the perspective of the security paradigm. This arises from the traditional thinking of associating the military with security. In an article Emma Rothchild³ argues that the idea of security has been at the heart of European political thought since the crises of the seventeenth century. It is also an idea whose political significance, like the senses of the word "security," has changed continually over time. The permissive or pluralistic understanding of security, as an objective of individuals and groups as well as of states was characteristic of the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the French Revolution. The principally military sense of the word "security," in which security is an objective of states, to be achieved by diplomatic or military policies, was by contrast an innovation, in much of Europe, of the epoch of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. But security was seen throughout the period as a condition both of individuals and of states. It's most consistent sense and the sense, that is most suggestive for modern international politics, was indeed of a condition, or an objective, that constituted a relationship between individuals and states or societies. It is therefore natural for a barrage of questions to be raised when one attempts to conceptualize security paradigm without the military as the main referent institution. The thinking has always been that, the military is the main instrument of security that guarantees an enabling environment for development, but not to be involved in the rigmaroles of social economic activities. This thinking has however,

³ Emma Rothchild, 1995. What is Security, *Daedalus*, Volume124, Issue 3 p.54.

been challenged due to the fact that the threats that used to warrant a military force to counter have tremendously decreased with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the cold war. Therefore the most persistent question is what happens when there is no eminent enemy and all is peaceful, isn't it wise to save the resources spent on the military for other social matters like health, infrastructure construction or even build schools for our children. This thinking is in the minds of many including the political leadership of the Kenyan republic; actually it is a worldwide feeling. No wonder Francis Fukuyama⁴ talked of the demise of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union as, the triumph of capitalism and the end of history and last man.

The end of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about new notions on security, threats have been visualized as from non-military sources and hence the need to expand the concept of security. During the Cold War period, the notion of security was generally understood in relation to the State in terms of the preservation of territorial integrity and political sovereignty. In the 1980s, the notion of security was broadened to include not only the military and territorial security of a State, but also economic and environmental issues. However, the central objective of security was the State; even as this concept was "broadened", the resistance to "deepen" it, to enlarge the notion of security in order to reach the human being was still there. It was only during the 1990s that the security paradigm was "deepened" and the security of the individual was put at the centre of security strategies. Buzan⁵ argues that, today human security is the basis of security. The debate here is that the basis of community or societal security begins with individual security. If one does not feel secure within his own environment then the entire community is insecure and by extrapolation the state becomes insecure. The concept of individual security is seen as the basic irreducible unit to which the concept of security can be applied. However, human beings are the prime source of each others insecurity and this leads to the inclusion of societal and political dimensions to this concept

The prominence of the human security has permeated reorientation of the discourse on security from a focus on State and towards individual and, second, broadening of the analysis beyond the military dimension in order to reach non-military threats to the individual. This concept of security from state national frontiers to individual human beings became more institutionalized in the report by the independent Commission on Disarmament

⁴ Francis Fukuyama, 2000. *The End Of History And The Lasts Man*, **CFM**

⁵ Barry Buzan, 1991. *Peoples, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, p.35

and Security issues on Common Security in 1982⁶. This report can be seen as the precursor to the human security paradigm: in stressing that the notion of security has to move away from traditional geo-political concepts and proposes a less military security model. The exclusive focus on the security of the State is criticised and the importance of the well being of the people living in a society stressed (agenda for the economic, social and political element in addition to the military dimension). In the early 1990s the human security paradigm was expressly articulated in the context of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) activities.

The notion of human security shifted the referent object of security from the state down to the individual. This emphasis became a main concern of the United Nations as clearly depicted in the forward of the edited works by McRae and Hubert Dan⁷ in which, Koffi Anan, the secretary general of the United Nations writes that,

‘Today, we know that security means far more than the absence of conflict. We also have a greater appreciation for non-military sources of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education and health, democracy and human rights, protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We know that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on foundations of injustice. These pillars of what we now understand as the people-centred concept of human security are inter-related and mutually reinforcing’

The UNDP Human Development Report 1993⁸ became the forerunner of the new concept within the United Nations where the individual must be placed at the centre of international affairs. In this document, UNDP stresses that the concept of security must change from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people’s security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security. At the same time, the document calls for a longer-term conflict resolution strategy: faster economic development, greater social justice and more people’s participation.

In another UNDP Human Development Report 1994⁹ the first true formalisation of the concept of human security is instituted. The term “human security” is associated with this

⁶ Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (Palme Commission), *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, New York 1982.

⁷ McRae Rob and Hubert Dan (ed), 2001. *Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace*, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, p.xix.

⁸ UNDP, Human Development Report 1993 – People’s Participation.

⁹ UNDP, Human Development Report 1994 – New Dimensions of Human Security.

document and the notion developed in connection with the new development agenda of the post-cold war. The UNDP Human Development Report begins with a strong critique of the classic notion of security, by claiming that the concept of security has been looked at from a narrow perspective: the concept of security has far too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. On the substantive level, the report does not give a precise definition of the term, human security. In defining human security, first, as “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression” and, second, as “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life” the scope of this definition remains vast. Nevertheless, the report refers to seven aspects of human security: economic security (freedom from poverty), food security (access to food), health security (access to health care and protection from diseases), environmental security (protection from the danger of environmental pollution), personal security (physical protection against torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence,), community security (survival of traditional cultures and ethnic groups), political security (civil and political rights, freedom from political oppression). In addition, in drawing attention to the difference between human security and human development, the report indicates that the latter is a “broad concept” referring to “a process of widening the range of peoples choice”, while the former implies that “people can exercise these choices safely and freely, and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow”. This formulation of the concept of human security remains still today the most authoritative and quoted formulation of this term.

These new perspectives logically lead to the world leaders, civil society organisation and the general populace in the world community at large to question the legitimacy of the military forces. It seems that the human is threatened by issues of humanity, poverty, starvation, disease, as stated here fore more than action from war. Conversely, the military as an institution concerned with the grand strategy of a state need to re-evaluate the tools of analysis in determining threats that are existential and may lead to the collapse of a state. When searching for these tools the focus should address the starting point of conflicts which is mainly competition for scarce resources.

Lack of the basic human needs results in the competition of the scarce resources that are available and this becomes a source of conflict. The states are expected to arbitrate these

conflicts which are mostly non military in nature. However, the escalation of resource scarcity can cause more and more people to be involved and hence community conflict explodes. If these conflicts exceed without the government taking control, the afflicted communities arm themselves in readiness to defend their own people. These are the initial signs of a failing state in that the state has ceded the sole authority of controlling the instruments of violence to a sub-national actor. After the demise of the cold war more of these conflicts have become evident especially in Africa where the secession of power was looked at as either cattle rustling or wars of self determination sponsored by the protagonists of the cold war rivalry then. This has led to the collapse of states from domestic upheavals that could not be stopped by the militaries of those countries.

It is therefore imperative to look at the instruments of power in a state and make sure that they are all harmonized. The harmonization here means the tackling of domestic human development needs in order to provide the necessary security. The military as one of the most organized institution of the government and the custodian of the main instruments of unleashing violence should be in the main focus. Traditionally nobody argues about the role of the military in the defence of territorial integrity to achieve sovereignty in the anarchical world. The main concern is the role the military plays to assist in achieving human security which is a domestic matter, however this might only seem so to those outside the profession of the military. The military has specific roles within the domestic realm and human development is one of them. This role of the military in national development is not a new phenomenon, it is something the military has always done but since it is not a core role it has not been highlighted. In any case before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of the cold war the military was seen as an institution concerned with war, to maintain the integrity of the territorial borders and the sovereignty of a state. In his book, John W De Pauw¹⁰ argues that the military has played major roles in the emergence of new nations that transcends combat missions and shapes the culture of the society of which it is a part. In the Kenyan context the military has always been involved in aid to civil power in the form of disaster management, road construction, search and rescue and many other social activities to improve the lives of the citizens. But due to the secrecy surrounding military activities the public does not get to know about them and even considers such activities as free military

¹⁰ John W. De Pauw , George A Luz(ed), *Winning the Peace: The Strategic Implications of Military Civic Action*, New York, Praeger. 1992 p 1

services that cost the government no resources. Traditionally the military has only been associated with security matters and security matters have been considered as synonymous to the military. With the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union security has been looked at from different prisms, military security has been taken as only one aspect. This has brought about the changing concepts of security, for it has been seen that the concept of security in the eyes of military strategy is narrow and deceitful. There have been new concepts that have involved other issues that are more survival threatening than military threats. While looking at the military's role in national development we shall look at the issues of national security that are the basis of having Armed forces.

The failure for the civilian society to understand that the military has always been used for civil socioeconomic wellbeing is a weakness in the civil-military relations. This perspective of the civil-military relations is an aspect of national security policy, it addresses the concern of who controls the military and for whose purpose is it established. A closer look at the civil-military from the national security policy perspective is meant to enhance the safety of the nation's social, economic, and political institutions against threats arising from other independent states. Samuel Huntington¹¹ looks at the national security policy as existing in three forms and two levels. The first one is the military security policy that is a program of activities designed to minimize or neutralize efforts to weaken or destroy the nation by armed forces operating from outside its institutional and territorial confines. The second is the internal security policy that deals with the threats of subversion, the effort to weaken or destroy the state by forces operating from within its territorial and institutional confines. The third is the situational policy concerned with the threat of erosion resulting from long term changes in economic, demographic, and political conditions tending to reduce the relative power of the state. In other words, this perspective looks at the external threat from other militaries, insurgency from domestic challenge from a group of people or a community to the political legitimacy of the regime and the failure of a legitimate government failing to provide the basic public goods to the people a prerequisite of a failing state.

Civil military relations are the principal institutional component of the military security policy to discern this institutional component, and then there is need to know what

¹¹ Samuel P Huntington, 1985. *The Soldier and the State: Theory and politics of civil- military relations*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, p1.

this military security policy entails. In general terms the military security policy entails three components, one and very important is the quantitative issues of size, recruitment, and supply of the military forces, to include the proportion of state resources to be devoted to the military needs. The next, is the qualitative issues of organisation, composition, equipment and deployment of the military forces. The types of weapons, armament, the location of the bases, and collaboration with foreign forces are issues that should be clearly spelt out. The last one is the dynamic utilization of the military forces, who orders the forces to action and with what authority. In a democratic state, the military is just one of the instruments of national power, and must be answerable to the legitimate political authority that is given mandate by the subjects of a nation to undertake all functions of a state, including waging violence and going to war with other nations, this therefore forms the core perspective of the civil-military action.¹² S. P Huntington¹³, further state that the principal focus of civil-military relations is the relation of the officer corps to the state. The conflict between functional and societal pressures comes to head in that, the officer corps is the active directing element of the military structure and is responsible for the military of the society. On the other hand the state is the active element of society and is responsible for the allocation of resources and important values including the military. Thus the social and economic relations between the military and the rest of the society normally reflect the political relations between the officer corps and the state.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

In trying to define the civil- military relations in simpler terms, it is that interaction between the armed forces as institutions and the sectors of society in which they are embedded. Most commonly, civil-military relations focuses on the relative distribution of power between the government and the armed forces of a country. In an even more simplistic and easy to comprehend version Richard H. Kohn¹⁴, defines civil-military relations is the relative influence of military officers and civilian officials in decisions of state concerning war, internal security, external defence, and military policy In the developed countries the military's mission is viewed as purely external, however, in third world countries the military have been given domestic roles within the countries' constitutions.

¹² Huntington, Ibid p2.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Richard H. Kohn, 1997. How Democracies Control the Military, *Journal of Democracy* 8, p143.

In Africa, in particular, colonial legacies dictate the civil-military relations. The existing national forces in many countries are the direct lineal descendents of the colonial armed forces. Many of these forces were recruited from ethnic groups reputed to exemplify martial values, and therefore the rank and file historically do not represent the population at large. The commissioned officers were drawn from the colonial power and the Africanization of the officer corps occurred hastily and therefore there was limited time to inculcate professionalism of military neutrality. The Kenya armed forces fall in this category and although they served in the British army, they were designed primarily to maintain internal security. The forces were meant to have unquestionable obedience and safeguard the ruling colonial powers, they were privileged with higher wages than other workers in the colonial labour market and felt that they were better than anybody else despite the low levels of education they had. This hang-over was inherited in many African states and thus left the militaries to be a threat to regimes; the fact that they were used to subdue the civilians when decolonization came the institute of civil-military relations was not established. The military remained confined within their military policy but no civilian was conversant with whatever happened in the forces. This led to many coup d'etats in Africa, for the military became hungry for resources and used their military power to coerce the civilian governments or overthrew them at will.

As Peter J Schraeder¹⁵ states that the African militaries emerged from obscurity in the 1950s to become one of the most important institutional actors in African politics. They used achieved power and influence through military coup d'etat and by the end of the 1960s, military leaders had staged over twenty five successful coups. During this period, military leaders were viewed as the source of political change in Africa, however, by the end of 1980s a wave of democratisation had set in. to evaluate the civil-military relations in African states there is need to review the militaries at the beginning of decolonization. At the time of independence, the militaries inherited by the newly elected African leaders were small and lacked sophisticated weapons, such as armoured cars, combat aircrafts and guided missiles¹⁶. This is due to their colonial role as earlier stated; they thus remained symbols of sovereignty and independence than independent actors capable of significant influencing their respective

¹⁵ Peter j schraeder, 2000. *African Politics and Society; A Mosaic in Transformation*, St. Martins, Boston p 245.

¹⁶ William G Thom, 1984. *Sub-Saharan Africa's Changing Military Environment*, *Armed Forces and Society* 11, no1 pp34-38.

political systems.¹⁷ However, as the countries consolidated their independence this notion was became questionable when in 1966, eight civilian regimes were overthrown. An authoritative study on military coups for the first thirty five years of African states, from 1951-1985, indicate that there were one hundred and thirty one attempted coups, 60 of them representing 46 per cent were successful. A consideration of all attempts including those where the leaders were arrested before they were able to launch any sort of military action, the number sores to 257 with the success/failure ratio being 23 percent and 77 percent.¹⁸ This evidence is overwhelming in stating that the civil-military relations in Africa is very divergent from the European or western nations perspectives and requires a mention a separate investigation.

The civil- military relations continuum modelled by J. Gus Liebenow¹⁹ gives a good figurative of looking at the African situation. This is so because Africa is very dynamic and one model cannot be applied across all the states. in this continuum there are four scales at one end of the scale is the civilian supremacy model whereby the civilians rather than the military control decision making with respect to the issue of war and peace. The civilians also determine the size, general shape of the military establishment, the basic method of recruiting both officers and the enlisted personnel. They further determine the privileges and rewards within the service and the allocation of government revenue for the funding of all military and paramilitary activities. This is the ideal situation of civil-military from the western countries democratic states perspective, the country that is said to practice this is Botswana. Kenya may also fall in this category for in principle in which the establishment of Kenya Armed Force is based. The next model is the watchdog model;²⁰ this represents a greater degree of military intervention within the domestic political system. In this case, the officer corps recognizes the supremacy of the civilian in the control of the military; however, the officer corps feels that the military guarantees the prevailing democratic political environment. The military therefore will make sure the legitimately elected government takes power even if it means a temporary take over of the political system and relinquish to the legitimate government immediately it is established. The example given in this model is the

¹⁷ Schraeder, Op cit

¹⁸ Pat McGowan and Thomas H. Johnson, 1984 .African Military Coups d'Etat and Underdevelopment: A Quantitative Analysis, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* no2 pp634-35.

¹⁹ J Gus Liebenow,1986. African Politics: Crisis and Challenges, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp237-66.

²⁰ Ibid

military coup in Mali in 1991²¹, where lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure took power from President Traore after he had suppressed a pro-democracy movement and killing about one hundred people. The Malian army took over the government arrested the president and promised to hand over the government within a period of one year. The military then organized for civilian elections and in June of 1992, lieutenant Colonel A T Toure retired from the army after handing over the government to a civilian government and the military returning to the barracks.

Higher on the continuum is the balance wheel model²² that consists of civil-military coalition. In this model the military leaders form a kind of ruling council that makes full decisions but they do not head the bureaucratic government ministries directly. The military lacks the capacity to run the ministries and therefore the council appoints civilians to conduct the day to day running of the ministries with important decisions emanating from the military council. The Liberian government under Master Sergeant Doe between 1980 and 1986 is an example of this model²³. The next model is the direct rule, where the civil-military assumes that the civilian leaders are incompetent and therefore, the military leadership takes up the running of the government in total including the bureaucratic systems of the government ministries.²⁴ The military government established in Nigeria in July 1996 by Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon is an example of this model.²⁵ The final model is the social transformation model, there are similarities with the direct rule model but here the officers take charge of individual bureaucracies and government agencies but they change the socioeconomic and political systems²⁶. An example of this kind of model was implemented in Ethiopia when the emergence of a Marxist- inspired military regime between 1974 and 1977 replaced the monarch government of Emperor Haile Selassie²⁷.

²¹ Michael bratton and Nicolas van de walle, 1997. *Democratic Experiments In Africa: Regime Transitions In Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge university press, Cambridge pp212-13

²² Liebenow, op cit p252.

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Larry Diamond, 1995. Nigeria: The Uncivic Society and the Descent into Praetorianism, in Larry Diamond, Juan J Linz , and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds), *Politics in Developing Countries: comparing Experiences with Democracy* , Lynne Rienner, pp417-91.

²⁶ Liebenow, op cit

²⁷ Edmond J Keller, 1988. *Revolutionary Ethiopia: from Empire to peoples' Republic*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

The civil- military models exhibited by African militaries raise the need to know why it happens that way. In his further work, Liebenow²⁸ came up with five distinguished sets of explanation. The first one is that the military leaders claim that they are very popular among the populace. However, this popular notion is disputed that it is only temporary; the people only favour the change after an oppressive regime. Otherwise with time the civil population become disillusioned with the military more so because they are incapable of running a government. The other notion posited by the military leaders is that the very nature of military organisation makes the military rule more efficient than that of its civilian counterparts.²⁹ This argument is discarded and challenged in that, the military as an institution is based on discipline and the chain of command hierarchical operations, however, the military would not be able to fill up or the positions in the civil service bureaucracy. This means that there must be civilians that must be included, this automatically reduces the military efficiency and in fact the military personnel end up being politicised and hence become as inefficient as the civilian they had ousted, and hence the failure of military regimes to meet the expectations of the people. This notion can be clearly be explained by the failure of the many military governments of Nigeria, in particular the regime led by Major General Ibrahim Babangida turned out to be one of the most and inefficient regimes in that country.³⁰

The third myth is that military regimes are able to maintain stability better than civilian regimes³¹. The concept here is that the military has the instruments of violence and hence can use them to coerce or crash any forms of opposition, be it crime or political uprising. This premise is unfounded because people are known by nature to be very resistant to force, society is best stabilized through political negotiations and convincing as opposed to force. Therefore in the long run, the military regime will not maintain the stability they claim. A good example of this is the Marxist military based regime of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam that had enormous military arsenals but could not maintain the stability of Ethiopia that culminated in secessionist insurgency that later ended up splitting the country into two, Ethiopia and Eritrea³². The fourth myth fronted by the military leaders is that the military is a

²⁸ Liebenow, op cit p252.

²⁹ Ibid, p255.

³⁰ Ibid, p449.

³¹ Ibid 257.

³² Edmond Keller, 1995. Remaking the Ethiopian State, in William Zartman(ed), Collapsed states: The disintegration of legitimate Authority, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp125-129.

more unifying institution in building national unity³³. The argument is that, the military is comprised of different ethnic groups who have trained together and have developed a common spirit de corps and that they have a common mission of defending the country. Whereas this is claimed to have been inherited from the colonial government, over the years the political leadership in cohorts with the top military brass have systematically favoured their ethnic groups in the recruitment and hence polarising the military. A good example is the Liberian military, where Master Sergeant Doe favoured his Krahn ethnic group into the military that led to ethnic rivalry culminating to his ouster³⁴.

The final myth promoted by military leaders is that the military is better qualified than civilian leaders to promote economic development.³⁵ The main argument here is that, the military have been trained to handle modern technology better than the civilians and therefore are presumably the best prepared to harness this technology for the overall modernisation of the national economy. This debate has not been conclusive, because where the military have had the same technological capability and in leadership there have been no significance difference in the countries where the civilians have been in charge.

The arguments in the civil-military clearly depict a clear competition between the civilian political leadership and politicised military leadership. However, the emerging democracies in Africa have tended more towards the civilian supremacy model and the military is a servant of the political leadership. In Kenya this is almost at the ideal level, the only missing link is the civilian institution development that is supposed to control the military absolutely, determine the doctrine, the recruitment, the equipping and determining the deployment especially in the peacetime period. The ideal case that should be seen is the civil-military relations where the military strategy is shaped and driven by the national grand strategy and therefore included in the national plans. In the current grand strategy of eradication of poverty and wealth creation the policy paper should have clearly indicated specific areas the civilian authority will deploy the military to augment the efforts towards achieving the millennium development goals.

³³ Liebenow, *ibid* pp257-60

³⁴ Martin Lowenkopf, 1995. *Liberia: Putting the state Back Together Again*, in Zartman(ed), *collapsed states*, pp91-108

³⁵ Liebenow, *ibid* pp261-64

In his book Morgenthau³⁶ argues that, to clearly discern the military we need to look at political power that establishes the military. Political power in general terms is a psychological relationship between those who are in authority and those over whom, the public, it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter's minds. The impact is derived from three sources, the expectation of benefits, the fear of disadvantages, the respect or love for men or institutions. It may be exerted through orders, threats, the authority or charisma of a man or of an office, or a combination of any of these. From this we can say that the four distinct manifestations of political power, there is power and force, there is usable and unusable power, power and influence and there is legitimate and illegitimate power. Political power must be distinguished from force in the sense of the actual exercise of physical violence. The threat of physical violence in the form of police action, imprisonment, capital punishment, or war is an intrinsic element of politics. When violence becomes an actuality, it signifies the abdication of political power in favour of military or pseudo-military power.

In international politics in particular, armed strength as a threat or a potentiality is the most important material factor making for the political power of a nation. The scholar clearly indicates that, for any political entity to be there, power over the polity must be existent, for both threats and actuality in war. He further states that, a nation is an abstraction from a number of individuals who have certain characteristics in common and it is these characteristics that make them members of the same nation. A nation pursues foreign policies as a legal organization called a state, whose agents act as representatives of the nation in international affairs. They speak of it and negotiate treaties in its name, define its objectives, choose the means of achieving them, and try to maintain, increase, and demonstrate its power. The power that our representatives wield in the international scene becomes our own and the frustrations experienced within the national community are compensated by the vicarious enjoyment of the power of the nation. The national symbols, especially in so far as they have reference to the armed forces and the relations with other nations are the instruments of that identification of the individual with the power of the nation.³⁷ Looking at the international system as anarchical, a nation state cannot therefore afford not to have an armed forces that would guarantee its security, backup its foreign policies for resource

³⁶ Morgenthau, 1954. *Politics Among Nations*, p32-33

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp117-119

extraction to satisfy the domestic needs from its members. So what do we do with dormant militaries that must be there for that power projection? This issue has been addressed by the United States military when looking at ways of helping third world countries in pursuant to maintaining a grip on countries that were pro-Western during the cold war period. It is therefore important to look at the relationship between political power as wielded by the state and the use of military power. The relationship between the statesmen who wield authority over the people of a state and the instruments at their disposal to accomplish their quest for the attainment of the national interests for the public good is vital. In particular, the relationship between the states political power and the military power is of great concern the concept of civil-military relation forms the basis of scholarly knowledge in this field. The following paragraphs will therefore look at this relationship and see where each power falls.

The use of the military in social civic activities is a well developed United States concept and has been applied in many countries. Indeed, the concept of "Military Civic Action" (MCA) is a formalized approach to what has gone on in an informal manner since the beginning of organized government. It is the process by which the military contributes to the social and economic development of a society. As Kent Butts³⁸ notes the Greek and Roman soldiers had built roads, colonial armies had established public works, and, in the United States, the Army Corps of Engineers had helped to settle the frontier and maintain transport arteries; why shouldn't African militaries help build their countries? The important point is that in the process of aiding civilians in any Third World country, the host country military can increase popular support and credibility for itself as well as for the established government, and at the same time contributes in a significant way to the development of that country. The military is concerned with strategy which is characterized as consisting of objectives, ways, and means. Simply expressed, strategy equals ends (objectives toward which one strives) plus ways (courses of action) plus means (instruments by which some end can be achieved). Thus the term MCA is used here to denote one of the instruments for utilizing this nation's military might to further its military strategy. In the diminished external threats to the nation states, the militaries have been left to undertake domestic security roles that are characterized as low intensity conflicts. These conflicts are mainly as a result of articulated dissatisfaction arising out of underdevelopment and unfulfilled expectations. This means that the low intensity conflicts are related to economic development and fulfilment of

³⁸ Pauw, Ibid p31

expectations. In most Third World countries the armed forces have an edge in accomplishing certain developmental tasks by virtue of their training and organization. Therefore, to control insurgency, cattle rustling and banditry requires the military to establish themselves within the remote areas where these activities take place. In so doing the presence of the government is felt and as long as the military is involved in civic action the locals will identify with the government and the peace won.

In conceptualizing the role of the military in national development, we need to look at the military from the prism of the new broadened concept of national security. The new concept of national security as seen to include more than external military threats requires the military to change its doctrine of analysing threats and by implication the grand strategising. The concept that Buzan takes of national security involving the political, economic, societal and environmental is a good starting point. Buzan conceptualisation of national security encompasses the following:

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EASTAFRICANA COLLECTION

* the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors, military, political, economic, societal and environmental. Military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Society security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for the evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system concerns an which all other human enterprises depend. These sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkages'³⁹

It is this broadened thinking of national security that relegates military strategy to the back seat of national security concerns. The introduction of the other sectors of national security no doubt calls for the review of the military doctrine. Since all these sectors coexist symbiotically, in strategising a distinct military strategy should be formulated to meet the

³⁹ Buzan, *ibid* pp19-20.

military threats and each of the other sectors to have a respective strategy. From these sectoral strategies a holistic grand strategy should then evolve. This concept has been widely accepted. Mwangi⁴⁰, in his book argues that the emerging notions of security in the post-cold war include gender, environmental, social, health and similar dimensions. Having accepted this broad based national security concept, the traditional strategic consideration of the state as the referent object to be secured becomes challenged. To secure the state there were military strategic plans to keep off any invasion from external forces. With the end of the cold war external threats have diminished substantially more so in the third world countries. The greatest sources of insecurity in Africa are internal conflicts more than external threats, as Hiteng puts it, in the horn of Africa; poor people with no basic needs in a state of near anarchy pose a greater security problem to the state and its neighbours more than an armed invasion⁴¹.

In the horn of Africa region, where the Kenya military is part of the powers in the security arena, the proxy wars that were prevalent during the cold war era have slowly come to an end. The protracted south Sudan conflict between the government of Khartoum and the SPLM of Col Garang has been resolved through non-violent negotiations, this will mostly likely be followed by the collapse of the LRA rebel group against the Ugandan government because the Khartoum government continued supporting them as a retaliatory action to what was claimed as Uganda's support of SPLA. The movement of the people within this region had been characterised by the criss-crossing from one country to the other as refugees or for the purpose of grazing. Thus the end of the proxy wars leaves the people within these border areas to interact in their traditional cultural practices that never knew of the borders before the Bismarck demarcation of Africa.

The incursions and security issues across these borders due to this phenomenon do not fall in the realm of military conflicts between states but are local conflicts for the competition of natural resources. This brings the calls for the conceptualisation of national security to be looked at from a different perspective to that of the western world. Therefore the de-territorialisation⁴² of borders by globalisation is more enhanced by this kin-country syndrome in the IGAD region. The insecurity caused by the different ethnic groups in this region therefore requires a totally different security strategic thinking from the mainstream concepts

⁴⁰ Makumi Mwangi (ed), 2003. *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*. Impact Media Limited, Nairobi.p2.

⁴¹ Ibid, p.12.

⁴² Makumi, Ibid p138.

of military external threats. The dissolving of borders widens the community base of the region but contradicts the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the African states imposed by the colonialists. However, the asymmetric economies in the region calls for the individual countries to first look at their grand strategies with an emphasis in the economic tool as suggested by Makumi Mwangi⁴³.

Another scholar who has concerned himself with the human being as the referent object in security is Ken Booth⁴⁴ who states that:

'Security means the absence of threats. Emancipation is freeing the people (as individuals and groups) from those physical human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, and political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.

It is clear that the security of the individual in a state cannot just be achieved through military action, more so in the current doctrine of arms accumulation and military strategy. The individual is more concerned with his security within his community and this he seeks through collective joint efforts with others in his environment. Those ethnic groups or tribes form collectivities to pull together their efforts so as to achieve the desired security. This brings about society security which is seen as the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. More specifically, it is the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom. Societal security is about situations when societies perceive a threat in identity terms.⁴⁵ Such societal insecurities do not require military combat action since they encompass in most cases the demand to reclaim what they refer as their wealth; they do not pose any threat to territorial integrity though they might contest for the states political power. However, communities will not feel insecure if they don't feel deprived of what they claim to own naturally. In Africa and in particular Kenya these insecurities are characterised by threats on pasture land, watering points, traditional cattle raids to fulfil cultural rites and other survival requirements.

⁴³ Ibid, 142.

⁴⁴ K Booth, 1991. Security and Emancipation, *Review of International Studies*, Vol 17 p319.

⁴⁵ Ole Waever et al, 1993. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London p.23

Conceptual Framework

While the expanded concept holds true for the international system, its interpretation and effects in third world countries is different. It is true that there is a diminished military threat from the external sphere however, in third world countries especially Africa insecurity emanates mainly from the domestic arena. Whereas the end of the cold war signified the triumph of free markets and democratisation, in third world countries the state became a contested area. This phenomenon is attributed to more democratic space among the once oppressed communities who were dominated by others. The contestation is as a result of late state making and entry to the international system of states of the African countries as argued by Ayooob⁴⁶. The argument is that, the cold war removed the constraints that were imposed by the super powers on the conflictual behaviour of the third world states to protect themselves from being sucked directly into conflicts on the global periphery. The relaxation of the international norms of guaranteeing security within the territorial boundaries and the recognition of ethno-national self-determination following the end of the cold war, brought insecurities to third world states that were struggling to translate their juridical sovereignty into effective statehoods⁴⁷. The lack of adequate stateness⁴⁸ in third world countries makes the states acutely vulnerable to external pressures, political, military, economic, or technological, from other developed states, international institutions, and from transnational actors, including multinational corporations, irredentists groups, and supranational groups. These vulnerabilities and the consequent permeability of third world states explain the obsession of the state elites with the notion of security⁴⁹. Therefore to understand the security predicaments of third world countries the concept of state building should be well understood. It is from this perspective that one may be able to articulate well where the military and development intersect.

Ayooob's argument is that in third world states the internal dimensions of security are inextricably intertwined with the process of state making.⁵⁰ This view point disqualifies the need for military strategy in its traditional form in state making. You do not need massive arsenals and complicated military technology to deal with social-economic issues that are at

⁴⁶ Mohammed Ayooob, 1995. *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. pxii.

⁴⁷ Ibid pxiv.

⁴⁸ The stateness here means complete characteristics of the Westphalia model of nation state, sovereignty, territorial integrity and a Nation.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p4.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p21.

the core of state making. The role of the military in national development will thus be viewed from the concept of national security broader perspective that incorporates the political, economic, societal and environmental issues that determine the survival of a state. In so doing the conceptual framework will take cognisance of the fact that you cannot achieve political stability while the citizenry does not feel secure right from the individual to societal level, and probably to the nation-state level.

This brings the concept of the third world insecurity dilemma as opposed to the security dilemma in the developed western world. These two concepts need to be looked into in the conceptualisation of the national security paradigm that will be the common ground in articulating the roles of the military in development. To elucidate on these concepts the approach by Brian L Job⁵¹ is considered. He first appreciates that security as a paradigm has become a contested concept and therefore any definition raises questions, however, to specifically look at the third world security problems he chooses a definition that addresses four pertinent areas in the third world. The first dimension is the unavoidable normative approach to security that leads to a theoretical and a practical contention. In the normative form security has the perception of well-being of individuals and collectives and of the assurance of the core values central to the self-definition of communities. This perspective is derived from the definitions given cited in the book by Barry Buzan⁵² by:

Walter Lippman⁵³ who argues that; 'a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory.'

and Arnold Wolfers⁵⁴ who argues that; 'Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.'

The contentious points in analysis involve the perceptions of well-being and what are the core values. Who takes priority is it the state, the community or the individual in the consideration of security, thus states have to weigh the security of the individuals versus the external threat to the survival of the state in the form of a secessionist group for example.

⁵¹ Brian L Job(ed),1992. *the insecurity dilemma: national Security of Third World States*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, pp12-21

⁵² Buzan, op cit pp16-17.

⁵³ Cited in Arnold Wolfers, 1962. *Discord and Collaboration*. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, p.150.

⁵⁴ Wolfers, op cit, p150.

The second contentious issue is that in the third countries there four security issues to be considered, the individual, State, Regime and the Nation/ community. Unlike in the developed countries where, the nation-state has been congruent with the state, in third world countries we have communal groups, with distinct ethnic or religious identifications and their perceived securities may also be at stake, making the interplay and competition among the various players even more complex and irresolvable. The other, is the concerns of the substantive scope and content. Security can be defined as involving some or all social, economic, political, military and physical.

The fourth dimension is the theoretical perspective that analysts can provide answers to the issues raised above. As earlier alluded the neorealist/realist paradigm provides the suitable framework to analyse these contentious security issues. Through the assumptions of the realist international theory, the contentions and contradictions of the security interests of the individuals, nations, regimes and states are resolved. People within territorial boundaries are viewed as having singular national identities, which are in turn fostered by the institutions of the state. That is they are nation-states and that regimes are regarded as the legitimate agents for national interests. It will therefore be assumed that a functional social contract operates with citizens ceding rights and resources to the state in return for protection and order in their lives. In the international milieu, these nation states interact according to the principles of territoriality, sovereignty and nominal equality.⁵⁵

To understand the insecurity dilemma in third world countries there is need to understand the security dilemma in the developed countries. This is clearly simplified by describing the security dilemma as the security problematique of nation states. Nation states operate in a condition of anarchy they seek to advance their individual national securities, through policies of arming, deterrence, and alliance and in the process create and sustain an international environment of decreased relative security for themselves and for the collective of states. The security dilemma, therefore, hinges on the external threat conditions that states experience and on the results of the efforts, as unitary state actors, to meet these threats⁵⁶.

If a lens is used to look at the internal and external circumstances of third world states, the security dilemma metaphor and underlying logic do not hold up to scrutiny. There are four areas that the premises of the security dilemma are violated while applying it in the third world scenario: one, within the borders of many third world states, there is often no

⁵⁵ Job, op cit p17

⁵⁶ Job, ibid.

nation, i.e. a socially cohesive society. Instead there are usually a variety of communal groups contending for their own securities and for supremacy over the competitors. This leads to the second violation, the regime in power usually lacks the support of some significant component of the population, because the regime represents either a particular ethnic or social sector, or of an economic or military elite that has taken control. In all instances, the result is the absence of perceived popular legitimacy to the existence and security interests of the regime. Thirdly, the state lacks effective institutional capacities to provide peace and order, as well as, the conditions for satisfactory physical existence, for the population. Finally, sense of threat that prevails is of internal threats to and from the regime in power, rather than externally motivated threats to the existence of the nation- state⁵⁷.

These contentious issues in third world states depicts that they do not have significant externally oriented security dilemma. In its place there are the competing notions of security advanced by the contending forces within the society. The state itself is an actor in most conflicts, therefore national security has to be seen as distinct from state security and regime security and each ethnic group competing to preserve and protect its well-being. In such an environment where the state, the regime and the nation is in a contentious environment is better referred to as a insecurity dilemma, the consequence of the competition of the various forces in society being less effective security for all or certain sectors of the population, less effective capacity for the centralized state institutions to provide services and order and increased vulnerability of the state and its people to influence, intervention and control by outside actors, be they other states, communal groups, or multinational corporations. This means that the sovereignty of third world states does not imply equality of third world states or effective capacity of state institutions to provide security or wellbeing for their population.

The insecurity dilemma is thus composed of two contrasting conditions, an internal predicament in which individuals and groups acting against perceived threats to assure their own security or securities consequently create an environment of increased treat and reduced security for most, if not all, others within the borders of the state, and the second, a resulting paradox regarding the external security environment. In a nutshell what this implies is that the traditional security dilemma metaphor are violated, the third world states are preoccupied with internal rather than external security, and weak state have the guaranteed existence in what is supposedly an anarchical international environment.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp17-18

⁵⁸ Job, ibid, p18.

In such a situation, we find insecurity manifested in all forms of socioeconomic problems, there is widespread poverty and scarcity of basic needs. Therefore in looking at the roles of the Kenya military, the national security perspective is more from the point of view of the insecurity dilemma as opposed to the security dilemma. The socioeconomic development issues thus should be securitized and given prevalence to the perceived external threat that the military is based on. In this respect food security becomes more critical than buying artillery guns that can hit Mogadishu from Garissa. A nation where more than half of its population cannot afford a meal a day cannot pride itself as a player in the international system. The state cannot guarantee its survival and could ultimately collapse. The state as the most important actor in the international system will remain the legitimate authority to monopolise the forces of coercion in an otherwise anarchical international system.

While conceptualising the national development of Kenya, the approach of a grand strategy in its holistic approach will be used. The development of Kenya will only be achieved by marshalling all the resources available to the state and this can only be achieved if those issues that need securitization are identified and coordinated through a national grand strategy. The concept of national security is therefore the core basis of this research. The Military force being a major component of the national security agenda and established to provide a public good should thus be looked through the prism of safeguarding the core national interests.

Hypothesis of the Study

The research hypothesis is that the Kenya Military is an important player in national development activities that have had significant impact in the improvement of the standards of living of Kenyans. While trying to prove this hypothesis, the study will seek to answer the question. Has the Kenyan Armed Forces been a key player in development of Kenya? What is the significance of the Kenya armed forces in development in the current era of globalisation? Do the Kenyan armed forces constrain the Kenyan development budget or enhance it in the current era of globalization.

Methodology

This study has mainly relied on secondary data from the library and the internet. However, records from the military on the civil military activities have been very resourceful in the area of projects undertaken. Informal and formal interviews have also enriched the study. A comparative study on the friendly militaries has also been incorporated. My personal experience in the military has also been a source of knowledge in the compiling of the study .

Chapter Outline

The chapters have been organized in a manner such as to develop the current national security and economic status of the country. In Chapter one the set out of the study is outlined and the various security perspectives detailed in the literature review from which the concept of the study is isolated. In chapter two the historical concept of the state is evaluated, The Kenya state's evolution to the current status is thus developed. The development of states brought about political power, sovereignty, territoriality and integrity in an anarchical world, this realist paradigm resulted into security problems and thus to mitigate threats armies were formed. Chapter three goes through the formation of armies to the current state and therefore places the Kenya military forces in its rightful position in the Kenyan state. The question of security came under closer scrutiny with the end of the cold war, peace was seen as the main preoccupation of international relations. This brought about the broadening of threat analysis , and a broader perspective of security conceptualized. In the world today, economic threats are considered more survival threatening and therefore the call for the military to look at ways of minimizing these threats from the military strategy perspective, therefore this chapter looks at how military strategy can fit in this new thinking. Chapter five looks at how the Kenyan military strategy can fit in the national grand strategy on poverty eradication and wealth creation in the quest of tackling the economic threat.

Chapter 2

The Historical Evolution of the Westphalia Kenyan State

Introduction

The realist paradigm sees the state as the main actor in the international system and further confers it with the sole responsibility of the legitimate authority to wield coercive power. The military is therefore an instrument of power in a state and is vested with the responsibility of guaranteeing the survival of such a state in the anarchical world system. In the classical definition of a state, third world countries seem deficient as compared to the model European nation state. The states in Africa are as a result of the scramble for new lands in the 1885 demarcation in Germany by Bismarck. With that demarcation the resultant colonies were tailored in the image of the European nation states and therefore inherited all the attributes of the Westphalia states. However, these states were under the political rule of the metropolitan states in Europe and the indigenous people only became absorbed into states which they had no clue of how they came about. Nevertheless, they were subdued and by the time they came to get independence the Westphalia state model had already been established. Just like the European nation states, the colonial governments established a military to protect their interests, in Kenya the British government needed African soldiers to maintain their authority in East Africa, and to this end they established the Kenya African Rifles in 1902.¹ To conceptualize the role of the military in national development therefore calls for the understanding of the military in relation to the state, and since the current African states were created by the Eurocentric Westphalia model forces it is only prudent to look at the military from the same lens to be able to understand the military in Africa. From this perspective we can clearly then conceptualize how the military fits in the national development paradigm.

The Military and the State

The primary task of any government is the maintenance of some measure of peace and order within a given community. This civil imperative holds for any political grouping, be it a primitive tribe or a twentieth-century superpower, and unless it is met, no organized society can exist. In addition to regulating the internal affairs of a community, the

¹ Timothy H. Parsons, *The African Rank and File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902-1964*, EAEP, Nairobi, p1

government may also be required to provide for its defence against external foes. The requirements of this military imperative are starkly evident in time of war, but they are also present to some degree in time of peace as well, since a government must generally take some precautions against possible conflict with other communities. This security imperative is amplified by Lester Brown who states that the concern for the security of a nation is undoubtedly as old as the nation state itself².

Although these two imperatives are complementary in that the orderly and peaceful domestic life of a community may depend on its being secure against its predatory neighbours, and vice versa, they are at the same time basically incompatible in terms of the demands they make on the individual members of the community. In responding to the civil imperative, the government encourages its people to behave in an essentially pacific way, while the military imperative obliges them to show some capacity for Violence.

The civil imperative applies to every society, but there are those for whom the military imperative is all but nonexistent. A community which is geographically isolated or which is surrounded by peaceful neighbours is to all intents and purposes relieved of the necessity of taking any measures to insure its security. For example during most of its history, the United States, primarily because of geography, could afford practically to ignore the problem of national defence and thus to allow itself the luxury of a small peacetime military establishment. However, this has changed greatly with the attack of the WTO twin tower headquarters in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C and hence the establishment of the office of the homeland security. On the other hand, there have been societies, which for a variety of reasons are constantly organized for war, like Israel whose existence is always threatened by her neighbours.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

Among more primitive peoples living in the midst of predatory neighbours, some kind of orderly domestic social existence can be enjoyed only on condition that the community is prepared to fight at any time, either to defend itself or perhaps to appropriate the more desirable lands and goods of a nearby tribe or clan. Even in modern times, one may see something analogous in the history of the Prussian state, whose seventeenth and eighteenth century rulers realized that the safety of their poor and geographically defenceless lands demanded the creation of an extremely powerful military force. They thus subordinated the total energies of their realm to the building and the maintenance of a standing army, which

² Brown, L R, 1982. *An Untraditional View Of National Security in* J F Reichart and S R Sturm (eds), *American Defence Policy*, Johns Hopkins university press, Baltimore. p21

was equal in size to the military machines of far wealthier states possessing several times the population of Prussia. Since civil society in Prussia was organized and functioned almost exclusively in terms of the needs of the army, with its inhabitants obliged to lead a Spartan, harshly disciplined existence, there was little incompatibility between the civil and military imperatives.

Incompatibility becomes more likely when a community has been able for an extended period of time to maintain an independent political existence and to devote its energies to other pursuits than simply defending itself. As the rigors of civic life are alleviated and as the whole ethos and moral code of the society come to emphasize the more peaceful human qualities, the members of the community become increasingly unwilling to make the sacrifices demanded by the military imperative. The history of Rome provides a case in point. In the early days of the Republic, military service was a clearly recognized part of the civic duty of every citizen. The armies by which the small city state defended itself and advanced its frontiers were made up of farmers and towns, people who served on a temporary basis over a limited period of time. In so doing they were motivated by a high sense of civic pride and patriotism. By the end of the Republic, however, military and civic duty had ceased to complement each other. Nevertheless, in a society whose style of life and whose dominant ideals had grown to have little in common with either the military ethos or the military virtues, the military imperative still remained. The frontiers of the Empire still had to be defended against the barbarian peoples pressing in from the north and east. This led to an increasingly dangerous expedient, the maintenance on a permanent basis of a mercenary army. At first it was recruited from among the poor and dispossessed of Roman society for whom military service became a way to make their fortunes. By the second century A.D., however, the armies serving on the frontiers were being recruited more and more from among recently conquered and subdued barbarians, and there was a growing danger of the government losing control of these permanently organized armed forces. No longer simply the visible manifestation of imperial power, the armies gradually began to act as powers in their own right, ready and able to dispute the decisions of the government, and even to impose their will upon it. By the middle of the third century, the armies had become in fact the political arbiters of the Roman Empire, making and deposing emperors at will. Who was chosen as emperor and how he conducted himself in office was only occasionally determined by the needs of the body politic.

In the political order, which followed the break-up of the Roman Empire took shape in the West, the separation between the civil and military functions within society tended to disappear. Certainly one reason for this was the sharp decline in economic activity which accompanied the collapse of the imperial system. One thousand years were to pass before European society as a whole was again wealthy enough to support permanent mercenary armies. There was thus a reversion to the conditions of more primitive times. The structure of the feudal system under which Europe was governed was primarily military. Political prerogatives, the right of one man to rule over others, depended on the ability and the willingness to render military service. Even the serf, who supposedly filled no military function in society and on whose shoulders the economic life of the system rested, might occasionally be called upon to assist his lord in battle, if only with a staff or a scythe.

It was in that area of Europe, which was most advanced economically and culturally, Italy, that it first became possible again to depend on purely mercenary armies for the military needs of society. During the Middle Ages, the Italian city states had relied on citizen militias for defence, but as the wealth of these merchant republics grew, their oligarchic ruling factions became increasingly disinclined to undergo even the occasional rigors of military life. Then too, the decline of the citizen militia may also have been due to the unwillingness of these ruling factions to place weapons in the hands of the lower classes, who over the preceding few centuries had been progressively disenfranchised. As a result, the city states of Renaissance Italy came to rely on mercenary soldiers in time of war. These armies of mercenary soldiers, under their leaders or *condottieri*, were likely to have no connection or bond of loyalty with the city state for whom they fought beyond the wages they were paid. The mercenary captain who dealt with the political authorities, and who contracted for a particular military enterprise, was understandably reluctant to commit his men too wholeheartedly to battle, since they represented his effective professional capital. His ideal was a long campaign, punctuated by a few bloodless battles.

Politically, the system of hired soldiers could lead to the most unfortunate consequences, the authorities of a given city being on occasion unpleasantly surprised to find that the mercenary captains had ambitions quite apart from their desire for money or their lust for military glory. There was little the ruling oligarchy of a city state could do to protect itself if the hired head of its military forces sought to overthrow it in his interests. The advent of the Sforza in Milan was symptomatic of what might happen when the leading elements in the

state ceased to concern themselves directly with the harsh but necessary tasks of military defence.

Niccolò Machiavelli vividly depicted the doleful effect of these mercenary armies on the political and military development of Italy. Machiavelli, who occupied an important post in the government of the Florentine state during the early years of the sixteenth century, was a penetrating observer of the contemporary Italian scene and a shrewd, dispassionate commentator on man's political behaviour. It was on the basis of his insights and through his wide reading, particularly in the history of Rome, that Machiavelli sought to approach the practice of government as an autonomous study, possessing its own canons and its own rationale, and thus to treat politics as a science. In his best known treatise, *The Prince*, Machiavelli as a matter of course deals with the military imperative that is an inherent part of the life of any political organism. He advises the ruler who wishes to maintain himself in power to pay special attention to military matters. For both the political and the military security of his state, he counsels a prince to raise his armed forces from among its citizens and to eschew the use of mercenary armies of any sort. Because the city states had ignored this fundamental principle of statecraft and had allowed the old citizen militia, the embodiment of both civic spirit and military virtue, to decay, there had been a consequent decline in the vigour of Italian political life.

For a period of some five years prior to his exile from Florence, Machiavelli was in a position to put his politico-military theories into practice. Under his inspiration and guidance, a serious effort was made to reconstitute the old Florentine militia. Machiavelli hoped thereby to rekindle the civic pride and municipal patriotism which he believed to have been characteristics of the city state in the middle Ages, but his aspirations came to nought when the militia collapsed before the advancing Spaniards in 1512. This defeat brought about the fall of the restored Florentine Republic and the return of the benevolent Medici despotism, which had been overthrown in 1494. It also meant exile for Machiavelli.

Aside from its deficiencies in both training and organization, there was another, more fundamental reason for the failure of the revived Florentine militia. The city state of Renaissance Italy was no longer a viable unit, either politically or militarily, compared to the new states which were emerging beyond the Alps. Political and military power in these states was vested in the person of the monarch, and they were organized on a scale which was far beyond the capacity of any Italian city state to equal. From the moment when the rulers of France and Spain looked toward Italy as an area in which to advance the interests of their

respective dynasties, the existence of these city states as autonomous, sovereign entities was doomed. For the next three centuries the history of Europe would be written in terms of the needs and ambitions of these dynastic monarchies. Their needs and their ambitions would also provide the setting and the rationale for the problem of the place of the armed forces within the state³.

The Origin of Permanent Armies

The early dynastic states became the precursor of the Westphalia state through the consolidation of feudal states by a monarch. The only problem of the monarch was to maintain control over the vassals, the reason being that there were many domestic rebellions that undermined the authority of the monarchs. This led to the thought of forming a standing army controlled by the monarch for the purpose of power and enforcement of authority. The French monarch under Henry IV experienced severe rebellion after his assassination in 1610, followed by a revolt by the Huguenots.⁴ This rebellion that was religious in nature was quelled by Cardinal Richieu, a great minister of Louis XIII. It was Cardinal Richieu who came up with the suggestion that the creation of a permanent standing army in which the nobility would be enrolled was the solution to the persistent revolt against the monarchy. His argument was that they would be made to serve the interests of the state, protecting the kingdom against its foreign foes and would be much more easily subject to royal discipline and control. However, such a standing army was never organized in Richelieu's lifetime. His death in 1642, followed by that of his royal master a year later, left a child of five as king, Louis XIV, under the regency of his mother, and provided the occasion for the last great armed rising of the French nobility, the Fronde. This disorganized and chaotic rebellion lasted from 1648 to 1652. Louis XIV never forgot the Fronde or forgave his proud and disloyal nobility the indignities that as a child he had been obliged to suffer at their hands. He was determined that it should never again be possible for royal authority to be so disdained. The most effective guarantee against such a calamity being repeated was for the king to possess a strong, disciplined military force. Prior to the accession of Louis XIV, France could not be considered to have had a permanent army. At the beginning of a war, the crown, dealing with individual captains and colonels, raised an army. At the end of hostilities, it was

³ David B Ralston, 1966. *Soldiers and States: Civil-Military Relations in Modern Europe*, D.C Heath and Company, Boston, ppvii-x

⁴ *Ibid*, p6.

disbanded.⁵ The birth of the standing armies was accepted as a noble thing, issue of complete subordination to the monarch emerged. Even though the soldiers were paid by the crown, the monarch enjoyed only an uncertain and intermittent authority over his armies. The real control of the armed forces of the kingdom lay with the great military chiefs, who were generally members of the higher nobility and whose obedience to the monarch was therefore conditional.

It was the achievement of the great Ministers of War of Louis XIV, Michel Le TeUier and his son, Louvois, to bring this insubordinate and disorganized body under the absolute control of the state. In their efforts, they were vigorously seconded by the king himself, who had a passionate interest in military matters, even to the smallest details. The primary means by which they accomplished this goal was through the establishment of the armed forces on a permanent basis, maintaining at least a nucleus of every unit in time of peace as well as war. Then by assuming direct responsibility not only for the recruitment but also for both the pay and the provisioning of these units, the government was able to free itself from its former reliance on a multitude of semi-independent agencies, each of which had sought to assert its special rights against the sovereign pretensions of the crown. All of this involved great increases in the size and the complexity of the machinery of state, but it also provided the means to subject the armed forces of the country to the direct and constant control of the king. They were thus transformed from a quasi-autonomous group within the body politic, and a potential source of trouble and disorder, into a docile instrument for the carrying out of royal policy at home and abroad⁶.

The Early State Formation

The formation of the permanent armies by the dynastic states became a consolidating force to form the Westphalia model of state after protracted wars. The dynastic monarchies of France, Spain, and England which took shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the result of a long process of evolution, a process which was facilitated by the fact that their peoples tended to have a common cultural background and a shared history. Then too, the territories occupied by these kingdoms were from a geographical point of view relatively well defined. To that degree, these states might be considered as "natural" political phenomena. They provide a sharp contrast to that state which came into existence in the seventeenth

⁵ Loc cit

⁶ Ibid, p7.

century and which over the course of the next two hundred years was to become the dominant power on the European continent, for Prussia was in a very real sense an "artificial" creation, a monument to the grim determination and tenacity of purpose of its remarkable rulers.

The dynastic inheritance of the House of Hohenzollern in 1648, at the moment of the Peace of Westphalia, comprised six separate pieces of territory stretching across the sandy plains of North Germany, from the Rhineland to the Duchy of Prussia in Poland, the most important of which was the Margravate of Brandenburg. These lands were not contiguous, nor did they possess any common legal and political institutions. Their only common bond was the fact that they were all ruled by the same man, although in each case under a different title. Out of this hodgepodge of principalities a powerful unitary state was to be forged. This new state corresponded to no natural ethnic or linguistic grouping, nor did it possess any natural frontiers. Almost the sole reason for its coming into existence was the military imperative as it was first recognized by Frederick William, Margrave of Brandenburg and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, who succeeded to the title in 1640 at the age of twenty.

Having seen his small and insignificant lands the prey to every marauding army marching across northern Germany during the Thirty Years War, the Great Elector, by which title Frederick William was to be known in history, realized that the only possible security against a similar catastrophe in some future war lay in the creation of a competent military force. Such a force would make him a worthy ally of some greater power, thereby affording his lands a measure of protection. The greatest obstacle to the plans of Frederick William was the unwillingness of the landed nobility to provide the funds necessary for an institution which could well mean the end of their power and independence within the realm. The Great Elector was obliged to display considerable ingenuity and ruthlessness in virtually extorting the money from his nobility, but he was nevertheless successful. By the time of his death in 1688 the house possessed a well trained army of some 30,000 men.

The Great Elector's son and successor, Frederick III, a mild mannered gentleman with a weakness for pomp and ceremonial, was more interested in the arts and sciences than in military matters. Even so, he did not let slip any of the rights and prerogatives which had been won by his father. He was in fact able to add some 10,000 men to the army, but probably his most significant accomplishment was to obtain the royal dignity for his dynasty from the Holy Roman Emperor. Throughout his various lands, the Margrave of Brandenburg was henceforth to be called King in Prussia.

Frederick William 1 the second Prussian king cared nothing for either ceremony or culture. His one all consuming passion was the army. Convinced that the 40,000 man army which he found at the moment of succession in 1713 was not large enough, Frederick William had by the time of his death a quarter of a century later doubled its size and had made it the most efficient fighting force in Europe. Furthermore he paid for this army out of the resources of his own poor and economically backward kingdom; for he believed that he would never be truly independent until he could foreswear the foreign subsidies upon which his predecessors had relied. To accomplish this tour de force Frederick William was quite prepared to subordinate the whole energies of the Prussian state to the needs of the army. The bureaucracy which he created for the rational administration of his kingdom in the interests of his army had no parallel in any contemporary state with regard to its honesty, efficiency, and devotion to duty. It was in the functioning of the Prussian bureaucracy, minutely regulating the life of every subject of the king that the process begun by the Great Elector was brought to its logical conclusion. The dissimilar and disparate lands of the House of Hohenzollern had been welded into a unified state⁷ this is a clear manifestation that the military was used as an instrument of state making; the military preceded the state of Prussia. The relationship between other dynastic feudal states revolved similar trends and culminated in the peace of Westphalia in 1648 which Martin Wight said was the when the modern system of states came to age⁸. This is much as the European states were concerned; they thus evolved through turbulence for over three hundred years to settle down. In the seventeenth century, after the acceptance of sovereignty and territorial integrity, they used their militaries to venture out of the then known world to discover foreign lands that were up for grabs, since they were not states as per the Westphalia peace treaty.

The African States before the Westphalia Model

The pre-colonial states in Africa were not organized as nation states; there were nations but not states. The form of political organisations took different forms; there is what was called the 'segmented political system'⁹, this referred to a decentralized system marked by a diffusion of political power. The segmented political systems lacked centralized state

⁷ Ibid, p8

⁸ Mohammed Ayoob, 1995. *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London. p6.

⁹ Peter j schraeder,2000. *African politics and society : amosaic in transformation*, Bedford/st. martins , boston/new york.

and recognized political authority capable of enforcing a preferred set of policies throughout a territory. However, most of the communities were nations for the members shared same language traditions and culture all they lacked was a declared marked territory. The most decentralized political systems was the band organization¹⁰ in this form of the community lives in small hunter-gatherer groups that ranged from several dozens when there was plenty and reduced to ten to twelve people in days of economic hardship. This kind is represented by the San tribesmen who live in the Kalahari, commonly known as the 'Bushmen', this community practice the same lifestyle to date. Then there was the classical segmented system¹¹, this comprised of clans that could trace their genealogy to several thousand years and generations back to a common origin. The clans had a formal kind of leadership in terms of a group of leaders or a committee of elders; one of the most distinct and active today is the Somalis.

Another unique kind of political organisation was the universalistic segmented system¹², this was a more centralized version of the segmented system. Despite that there was still no centralized authority, the members of various clans were more closely unified by the existence of age-groups. This was characterized by grouping of individuals according to when they were born and at given intervals say five years all members irrespective of the clans across the nation became one group and were conferred with the legitimacy to running the social and economic and political affairs of the nation. The groups formed the warriors and assumed leadership from one age group to the other, the Maasai followed this kind of system and they do so even today. The ritually stratified segmented system¹³ was another variation where the nation was unified by a commonly revered spiritual leader. The leader served as a symbol of national unity, with duties mainly restricted to religious or spiritual ceremonies. These leaders did not wielded much political authority but the members of the nation followed whatever they said, an example of this kind of set-up is with the Shilluk people of Sudan was leadership[symbol was the reth(divine king). These segmented national systems described above were mostly practiced by nomadic people who moved from one place to another mainly in such of food and pasture. So the community groups varied from one season to another.

¹⁰ Christianp Potholm,1979. *The Theory and Practice of African Politics*. Prentice-hall, Englewood cliffs, p12-14

¹¹ *Ibid* ,p14-15

¹² *Ibid*, p15-17

¹³ Potholm, *ibid* p17.

There were also some autonomous village systems¹⁴ that comprised urbanized groups sometimes ranging in thousands and tens of thousands of people. These people shared the same language and culture but they did not have a central political authority, they were similar to the old city-states found in Italy before the formation of the Westphalia state form. However, unlike the Italian city-states that had a central political authority, these one did not have such a system. These city-states were mainly found on the east coast of Africa among the Swahili.

The Origin of the Westphalia African States

The historical background of the African Westphalia states can be traced way back to the Berlin conference of 1884. In 1879 more than 90 per cent of the continent of Africa was independent and ruled by Africans.¹⁵ However, by 1900 most of the African continent was under the rule of the Europeans, and by 1914 most of the lives of the Africans had been changed. The partition of the continent was hurriedly done on paper and thus attracted the name 'scramble for Africa'.¹⁶ The most important issue here is to understand the circumstances that led to the partition of the continent. In the nineteenth century there were two major powers, France and Britain, Germany and Italy had not been formed at this time and the lesser powers. Holland and Denmark had abandoned their African trading posts on the gold coast. The two main powers therefore controlled most of the commercial ventures mainly in the West African coast. The French controlled the Senegal from 1815, and from the 1840s Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey Gabon and Madagascar. At the time the French pursued 'protectionist policy', thereby denying non-French merchant ships from using the harbours of the countries they controlled. However, the British levied same charges for all merchants irrespective of the origin in their ports in the areas they controlled.¹⁷

In 1870 a new situation developed in West Africa whereby the trade extended to the interior, the French had built a railway into the hinterland of Senegal and wanted to connect the upper Niger with the railway. This meant that the interior trade was slowly being concentrated into the hands of the French and the British saw that the trade in the hinterland of Gambia, Sierra Leon and the gold coast would be diverted into the hands of the French to

¹⁴ Ibid,p18-19

¹⁵ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore,1967. Africa Since 1800. Cambridge University Press, New York, p103.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid p105

their disadvantage. The trade competition intensified and the French saw the need to have political protection to their merchants. This rivalry in trade led to the thought of partitioning the West African coast into spheres of the French and British influence; however in 1875 this scheme was abandoned.¹⁸

While this rivalry continued new powers entered the African trade, king Leopold II of Belgium came to claim the Congo and the unified Germany under Bismarck entered in the arena for the scramble for new lands in Africa. The unification of the Germany speaking people under Bismarck had strengthened Germany to the extent of superseding France. Bismarck became an ambitious political leader in Europe and thus started annexing lands in Africa indiscriminately. As a cunning diplomat he sort a way of portioning lands in Africa, (and thus keeping the French busy in scramble of land among other powers thus diverting them from reclaiming the captured territories in the war of 1870-1), without conflict among the European states and hence the Berlin conference of 1884-5. In this conference one of the requirements was that any new colonies acquired should be notified to the other powers who attended the conference and that the claim of a protectorate should be accompanied by the establishment of an authority in the respective areas¹⁹. This conference thus changed the face of the continent and the peoples of Africa for ever.

State Making in Third World

To understand the military and its role in national development in the third world, it is vital to understand state building. The European state building is clearly understood and the role of the military in development is seen from the security lens that guarantees sovereignty and territorial integrity among such nation states. As a baseline, state building needs definition, and Keith Jagers²⁰ defines it as:

‘Conceptually, state building can be usefully defined as a state’s ability to accumulate power. State building is the process by which the state not only grows in economic productivity and government coercion but also, in political and institutional power and more precisely, in the power of state elites to overcome environmental, social,

¹⁸ Oliver and Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, op cit p105.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p110.

²⁰ Keith Jagers, April 1992. *War And The Three Faces of Power: War Making in Europe and the Americas*, *comparative political studies* 25, no. 1, p29.

and political forces, which stand in the way of policy objectives. Given these requirements, I view state power to have three distinct faces: (a) power as national capabilities; (b) power as political capacity; and (c) power as institutional coherence.'

Tilly²¹ looks at state making from the perspective of organized violence as he revisits the historical formation of the European states. He therefore says that state making involves establishing institutions that carry out four basic activities : (1) War making; Eliminating or neutralizing their own rivals outside the territories in which they have clear and continuous priority as wielders of force.(2) State making: Eliminating or neutralizing their rivals inside those territories. (3) Protection: Eliminating or neutralizing the enemies of their clients. (4). Extraction: Acquiring the means of carrying out the first three activities, that is war making, state-making and protection.²²

Out of these two definitions, Tilly's definition comes closer to the state making of the European nation states in the wake of the Westphalia treaty. From this, Ayoob summarises state-making as to consist of three factors, (1) the expansion and consolidation of territorial and demographic domain under a political authority, including the imposition of order on contested territorial and demographic space; war. As in the state making of Prussia mentioned earlier. (2) The maintenance of order in the territory where, and over the population on whom, such order has already been imposed; policing. (3) The extraction of resources from the territory and the population under the control of the state essential to support not only the war-making and policing activities undertaken by the state but also the maintenance of state apparatus of state necessary to carry on routine administration, deepen the state's penetration of society , and serve symbolic purposes; taxation.²³

To achieve these characteristic the European nation states went through different routes to achieve what Giddens calls nation-states that were made as a result of consolidation of the traditional city states and dynastic states to entities that were bound by a territory. The subjects within the bound territory further achieved pacification amongst them and surrendered the tools of violence to the monopoly of those in authority.²⁴ The English and the

²¹ Charles Tilly, 1985. *War Making And State Making as Organized Crime*, in Peter B Evans, Dietrich Reuschemer, and Theda Skocpol(eds), *Bringing The State Back In*, Cambridge University Press, New York, p181.

²² Ayoob, *Ibid* p22

²³ *Loc cit*

²⁴ *Ibid* p25.

French states achieved this status differently from the Germans and Italians as summarised by Cornelia Navari who stated that: 'when Hegel insisted that it was the state that created the nation, he was looking backwards to the history of France, not to the history of Germany. When Germany was unified "from above" in 1870 and the Reich was formed, this proceeding did not appear to most Germans to be at variance with the experience of their western neighbours - a substitution of Union "by force" for the "organic growth" of France and England. It appeared to be a repetition of it, differing only in that it was less bloody. Here, as there, the state was moving outwards into diverse feudal remnants of the old order, dissolving them, making all obedient to the same law.'²⁵

Comparing the Westphalia state model and the states in Africa it is clear that, the formation of the nation states in the third world countries is taking place today as achieved by the European nation states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. State making is a slow process that requires lots of patience; it will therefore take a long time for the third world states to evolve to where the European nation states are. Therefore challenges to legitimacy will be there for a while and the monopoly of the instruments of violence will remain contested by the various ethnic communities as they try to wrestle the political power from the ruling elite.

The ruling elite in Kenya for example are based on ethnic support, what this means is that the political institutions are still very weak. This is manifested in the political parties that are mainly based on ethnic and regional affiliations, so the security problems in the country must be conceptualized from the lens of state making process. This means that third world states security problems are mainly related to lack of stateness. Therefore when looking at the war making instruments of the Kenyan state we should be looking at the threats of different ethnic groups struggling against each other to be in the political helm where they will determine the distribution of resources. This means that the Kenyan military cannot just sit and strategise on how to win external wars for they might not have the national support because unless the state is cohesive with a reason to identify itself as a nation state the necessary support might be absent. Therefore the military strategy should be turned upside down to look at the domestic threats to the state making as opposed to concentrating on strategies to defeat imagined external threats.

²⁵ Cornelia Navari, 1981. 'The origins of the nation-state', in Leonard Tivey (ed), *The Nation- State: The Formulation of the Modern Politics*, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

State Making in Kenya

Having discussed state making in third world countries it is prudent to briefly look at the state making in Kenya. The Kenyan state as it is today is the making of the British Empire. After the scramble for Africa in 1885, the British Empire came to Mombassa and built the railway line to Kisumu from 1895 to 1905, and in those ten years the footpath 600 miles long became a harshly politicized state called Kenya. Kenya's people, before the imposition of colonial rule were made up of strangers, both adventurers and refugees.²⁶ Just as it had happened more than two hundred years before in the formation of the English state, the transformation of Kenya from a polyglot of strangers into a coherent state was the work of force. As John Londale²⁷ stated that, 'the British employed violence on unprecedented scale, and with unprecedented singleness of mind', to usher Kenya into the twentieth century.

The imposition of the colonial rule thus became the beginning of a state called Kenya modelled on the basis of the Westphalia nation state. The same method used in the formation of the European states had now been injected into Africa approximately three hundred years after the evolution of the European nation states. However, the state making of Kenya by the colonial British Empire was one of enslaving the indigenous people rather than consolidating them together to form a distinct nation state. The years of colonialism from the perspective of state making can only be looked at as the only beginning in putting up borders to specify a geographic area. Kenya became a settler state in the inter-war period, only to be transformed by African struggles for civil liberties, human rights, democratic participation, worker's rights, peasant independence, spiritual space, elective representation and civic responsibility in the period between 1945 and 1963. These struggles for independence were referred to as African nationalism and often as mass nationalism. Yet what these struggles yielded immediately was more limited to the capture of state power in 1963. The challenge ahead lay in making a nation out of the past, in other words nation-building.²⁸ The Westphalia state making for all states is said to undergo the same processes, so as the African states started to

²⁶ B A Ogot and WR Ochieng, 1995. *Decolonization & Independence*, East African Publishers, Nairobi, pxiv.

²⁷ J Londale, 1989. *The conquest state: 1895-1904*, in WR Ochieng(ed), *A modern History of Kenya*, Evans Brothers, Nairobi, p7.

²⁸ Ogot and Ochieng, *Decolonization & Independence*, op cit, p1.

emerge from the colonial control, the elected leaders sort to convert the traditional agricultural societies to western like industrial societies²⁹.

From this preview it is obvious from the onset that, Kenya as a state, leave alone nation-state, was far from the reality in 1963. Therefore, despite the fact that Kenya was put on the map of the world it was far from achieving the attributes of a nation state, thus the struggle for a Kenyan nation state can be viewed as a metaphor going back to half a century years characterised by a moral enterprise, against the injustices of colonialism, poverty, ignorance, disease, rural life, foreignization of the cultural ecology, against the intervention of alien ideas in the indigenous discourses on nation- building.³⁰ On attaining independence in 1963 Kenya did not effect any major change ideologically or structurally, all that happened was an expansion of the former colonial administrative and economic infrastructure.³¹

This is the beginning of the insecurity dilemma in Kenya today, as we emerged from the colonial shackles the leaders failed to deconstruct the colonialists divide and rule political practice. There was a great need to start developing a nation of Kenya from the many nations that had been brought together by the arbitrary set boundaries. The political leaders instead inherited the institutions of government as they had been left by the colonial government. The military inclusive is the former Kenya African Rifles (KAR) in its original structure with a very slight change to its mission. The main role in the state of Kenya was internal security though it did not have formal police training. This was a deliberate omission to enable the force to be used as an intimidating instrument to potential African opponents of the colonial regime. Ultimately, the KAR provided the coercive force that made the British rule in East Africa sustainable. European colonialism subjugated or destroyed indigenous political institution, restructured African economic system, and introduced Western cultural values.³²

This meant that the colonial government only used the military for the survival of the colonial interests, and this is clearly manifested in the domicile barracks of the Kenyan military today. The location of the barracks today is exactly where they were left within the localities of settler farms; the principle use of the military to defend the state from external

²⁹ Walter w. rostow , 1960. the stages of economic growth: a non- communist manifesto, Cambridge university press, Cambridge.

³⁰ Ibid, p2.

³¹ Ibid, pxiii

³² Timothy Parsons, ibid p2

threat was not taken into consideration. The use of the military as an instrument to bring about cohesion among the different peoples of Kenya to form Kenyans has never been used a deviation from the European state making prior to the Westphalia treaty.

Chapter 3

The Origins of the Kenya Military

Introduction

To understand the roles of the military in a state, we need to first understand the origins of the military and consequently the relationship between the state and the military. Without security in a state there can never be any meaningful development. Therefore the question of the military being a player in the national development can only come as a challenge in the way they practice their doctrine to achieve the national security goals. However, the military has mostly been seen from the perspective of war and thus providing security against territorial violations and safeguarding the states' sovereignty. From this view states have been building arsenals and spending enormous proportions of their wealth in preparing forces that would deter or defeat any threat that would attack their state.

This notion was more emphasized during the cold war period where the world was divided between the west and the east. On the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin wall, there has been sceptical thinking on the new role the military should play in the absence of eminent threat and in a more interdependent world system where peace is seen to be more prevalent than war. Political leaders all over the world are now faced with the question of justifying the maintenance of a dormant military mostly in barracks consuming funds that could otherwise be used to improve the lives of the less privileged in a state. This question is more relevant in third world countries where poverty is at its worst. The dilemma is for what purpose is the military in the provision of security to the people and the state at large. Is it more viable to have an army that remains in the barracks waiting for a war that is not visible in the near future or is it more viable to have a police force that is ready to combat crime that is a menace to the citizenry?

This predicament has been in the minds of politicians and there is no doubt the military must justify their existence else they become irrelevant in the new world order of unipolarity. The Kenya armed forces are not in any way exceptional to these questions and the challenges have already been posed to the military leadership to conform to the current government's strategy of poverty alleviation and wealth creation.

Regime security

To begin with, it should be appreciated that security is paramount to any meaningful human existence and therefore a core concern to any political institution. The renowned writer Machiavelli is said to have laid the foundations of military strategy. The politico-strategic environment before Machiavelli was characterized by the personal wars of kings and princes, temporary private armies, poorly trained soldiers who were often mercenaries, personal acts of bravery, and the wars of crusades, endless sieges and inconclusive battles. Writing in an era of might is right, when every large state believed in the expansion of its territory and power by use of force, Machiavelli was the first political thinker to grasp the competitive nature of the global system. He saw politics as a struggle for survival between growing and expanding organisms in which wars were natural and necessary. He concluded that such an organism depended on its capacity for war and to extricate the conduct of wars from the sterile concepts of his times. He believed that political institutions must be organized in such a way as to create the preconditions for the functioning of the military¹.

When the modern nation state system was born at the Westphalia treaty, the definition of a state was given in terms of a population within a geographical territory with clear boundaries, and a government with legitimate authority. The treaty introduced sovereignty and integrity within the state and in the world community of nation states. Each state was to have a legitimate government that controlled a given population through political establishments and guaranteed security for the people. In return the people obeyed the government and it's within these developments that these governments became legitimized by being recognized by their subjects. To maintain this, the government had to control all the instruments of violence, so as to defend their territory against any aggression outside the recognized boundaries and also to secure the people within the boundaries against any other group that might wield arms. In return the governments got the mandate to tax people for these services. In this new thinking, militaries became a necessity for governments as a well organized and armed institution that could be called upon to fight and win wars against any enemies that would invade a sovereign state.

¹ Craig s Synder(ed), 1999. *Cotemporary Strategy and Security*, Macmillan Press Ltd London, p17

The interest of the modern organized armies can be traced to the days of Napoleon's conquest of Europe. In particular from 1784 the French armies crushed their European opponents, began to transform the political structure of Europe and brought Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France. Napoleon's military successes provided valuable lessons for the understanding of military operations.² The study of strategy became a military domain with the interest of safeguarding the security of a state against any external aggression. The term security therefore became synonymous with the military and in the years after the Napoleonic wars, states mainly in Europe developed their armies and navies for the purpose of exerting their political power over other states abroad. The European states thus used their armed forces, mainly the Navies to conquer other territories that were not among the signatories of the Westphalia treaty. These countries colonized Africa and subdivided the continent amongst themselves in 1885 according to the cartographer Bismarck of Germany at the so called scramble for Africa conference.

The origin of the Kenya Army

The state of Kenya as a result came to being in the eighteenth century under the British rule and that's when an organized military force was first formed. The current Kenya Army is a precursor of the Kenya African Rifles (KAR) whose formation dates as back as 1902.³ The reason for the formation of the KAR was for the purpose of a force that would maintain the British authority in East Africa. The willingness of the Africans to serve in the KAR varied with the changing mission of the colonial army. In peacetime, askaris provided 'internal security' by intimidating potential opponents of the colonial regime⁴. The command of the KAR was by the British commissioned officers and not a single African had been commissioned to the corps of officer.

Therefore, the colonial military authority was caught up by surprise by the British minister's speech, Harold Macmillan, in 1959, '*winds of change speech*' which announced Britain's sudden intentions to grant independence to her African colonies. They were therefore unprepared to transform their KAR into an Army of an independent African nation and were forced to scramble to keep up with the pace of political change. With only one East

² Loc cit

³ Timothy H Parsons, 1999. *The African Rank- and File: social implications of colonial military service in the Kings African Rifles, 1902-1964*, Heinemann, Portsmouth, p.1.

⁴ Ibid p.13

African studying at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in 1959, the East African command had to undertake a crash program to recruit educated young men as officer candidates and prepare senior African NCOs for commissioning. With the aim to preserve their influence in the post colonial era, the British strategists sought an orderly transfer of power to ensure that the new African armies would inherit the organization, traditions, and philosophy of the colonial army intact.⁵ This is clearly manifested in the similarities of the present Kenya Army and the British Army.

In independent Kenya, the three arms of the Armed Forces, the Kenya Army, Kenya Air force and the Kenya Navy were formed. A brief history of the three services will throw light into their backgrounds and hence be able to see their organisation, roles and their respective contributions to the economic development of Kenya.

The Kenya Airforce (KAF) was formed by an act of parliament in June 1964, one year after independence. It took over from the Royal Air Force (RAF), the equipment, facilities and personnel elements that were based at Eastleigh station, today referred to as MOI AIRBASE (MAB). The Eastleigh station was a major aerodrome in Kenya and a staging post for the Middle East command. The aerodrome is older than today's Jomo Kenyatta International airport in Nairobi and Moi International Airport at Mombasa. Some of the facilities inherited by the KAF runway, the hangars, departure terminal and workshops. The first trainer was the chipchank and was the basic training facility for most of the first Kenyan air force pilots. In 1974, the second air force base was opened at Nanyuki and named Nanyuki station currently known as Laikipia Airbase(LAB) the first aircrafts that the KAF had were the Beaver, Caribou, Aero commander and Navajo for transport while the hunter and the strike-master were the early fighters. The primary mission of the Kenya Air Force is to defend the Kenyan Air space against enemy air threat on National Territory, assets at sea or on land and the National interest outside the territorial boundaries. To justify its existence and participate actively towards the realization of the National Goal, the Service has peace and wartime roles.

The Kenya Navy was formerly formed on 14 December 1964 after the disbanding of the then Royal East African Navy that served the British interests in the territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. This was a small naval force that consisted of two coal fired vessels commanded by British officers with the seamen drawn from the nationals of the three east

⁵ Ibid, p44

African countries. The base for this navy was at the present Maritime College in Mombasa. At the inauguration ceremony the president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta remarked that 'this marks the completion of Kenya's pattern of defence'⁶ from its inception the Kenya Navy was bestowed with the responsibility of defending the overall national maritime interests, that included, control of the territorial waters, surveillance and protection of Kenya's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) against illegal exploration and exploitation. The control of sea lines of communication, diplomacy missions through flag showing, prevention of illegal trade through smuggling and drug trafficking, illegal fishing and other humanitarian activities like search and rescue.⁷

Security as a concept

It is from these early days that the military was looked at as a source of security for the colonial government that comprised of mainly settlers. With this background we can examine the concept of security more closely so as to fit the military into the political system of a state. To clearly understand this concept, there is need to try and define it. When one talks of security, the simplest definition is the lack of threats that can cause harm to an individual. Therefore the settlers looked upon the KAR as protection and a guarantee of their freedom to comfortably exist within the colony. However, this kind of security can only be considered as what Barry Buzan et al calls social security, which has links to matters of entitlement and social justice⁸ but when Kenya became independent and got accepted into the community of nations, the KAR was transformed to an army whose mandate changed to the protection of the republic of Kenya from any external military threats. The KAR therefore entered into the realm of international security considerations; this is a complete shift of paradigm from social security to international security matters. International security is more firmly rooted in the traditions of power politics. The concept of international security is different from social security which is more of a police, Judiciary, prisons and other arms of government that are look at the safety of its citizenry.⁹

⁶ Presidential Speech during the inauguration of the Kenya Navy on 12 December 1964.

⁷ Maj Gen J R E Kibwana. Kenya's Maritime Interests and Policy: Past, Present and Future. (unpublished)

⁸ Barry Buzan et al, 1998. Security: a new framework for analysis, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, p21.

⁹ Buzan, loc cit

International security

When we talk about international security it is about survival in the realist world of anarchy. In the international system each sovereign state must provide for its security and therefore any issue that poses an existential threat to a state, its government or territory is considered as a security issue. The special nature of security threats justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them, and this has been the key in legitimizing the use of force and more generally has led to the state to mobilize or to take special powers to meet existential threats¹⁰. Waever¹¹ states that, traditionally by saying “security” a state representative declares an emergency condition, thus claiming a right to use whatever means to block the threatening development

This holds true even in Kenya today, the Police forensic laboratory and the Immigration passport saga commonly referred to as ‘Anglo leasing’ are just an example of the effects of christening a project ‘security’. The funding of such projects are usually passed as lightening and few questions are asked least you are seen as an accomplice in matters that would put the state in danger. This also goes for military projects whose purpose is meant to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. This was more prevalent during the cold war era, where government officers in charge of security diverted resources to meet unspecified security matters. Therefore there is a danger of securitizing issues some of which are not existential threats. This concept has served well in defining the security situations in developed countries; however in the third world countries issues are slightly different.

The concept of security in third world states must first and foremost be viewed from an explicitly political sense. It is used in the restricted sense of applying to security of the state, in terms of both its territory and its institutions, and the security of those who profess to represent the state territorially and institutionally. In other words the security-insecurity is defined in relation to vulnerabilities, both internal and external, that threaten or have the potential to bring down or weaken state structures, both territorial and institutional, and governing regimes.

¹⁰ Loc cit

¹¹ Waever, 1995. *Securitization and Desecuritization* in Ronnie D Lipschutz(ed), *On Security*. Columbia university press, New York.

According to this definition, the more a state or a regime leans towards an invulnerable end of the vulnerable-invulnerable continuum, the more secure it will be. Other types of vulnerability, whether economic or ecological, become integral components of our definition of security only if they become acute enough to acquire political dimensions and threaten state boundaries, state institutions, or regime survival. In other words, debt burdens, rain-forest decimation, or even famine do not become part of the security calculus for our purpose unless they threaten to have political outcomes that either affect the survivability of state boundaries, state institutions, or governing elites or weaken the capacity of states and regimes to act effectively in the realm of both domestic and international politics.¹²

Another definition of the phenomenon of security in third world countries is given by Caroline Thomas¹³, who states that,

‘Third world security does not simply refer to the military dimension, as often assumed in western discussions of the concept, but to the whole range of dimensions of a state’s existence which are already taken care of in the more developed states... for example, the search for internal security of the state through nation- building, the search for secure systems of food, health, money and trade, as well as the search for security through nuclear weapons’

As discussed earlier most third world countries fall short of nation states and this obviously affects the concept of security because the basic problem is state legitimacy, political order, and capital accumulation. The legitimacy of states and regimes is constantly challenged, and demands for economic redistribution and political participation perennially outrun state capacities and create major overloads on political systems therefore, an explicit political definition of security provides an analytical tool of tremendous value. Given the historical juncture at which third world states find themselves, their security calculus must take into account domestic as well as external threats¹⁴.

The concept must meet two criteria; first it must go beyond the traditional western definition of security and overcome the external orientation and military bias that are

¹² Ayoob, Ibid p9.

¹³ Caroline Thomas, 1987. In Search of Security: The Third World in International Relations, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, p1..

¹⁴ Ayoob, ibid p11

contained in the western definition. Second, it must remain firmly rooted in the political realm while being sensitive to variables in other realms of societal activity that may have an impact on political realm and may filter through into the security calculus of third world states because of their potential to influence political outcomes¹⁵ this conceptualisation is as a result of the characteristic that are inherent to the third world countries. These characteristics include, lack of internal cohesion, economic and social disparities, major ethnic and regional fissures. Lack of unconditional legitimacy of state boundaries; state institutions and governing elite' easy susceptibility to internal and interstate conflicts. Distorted and dependent development, both economically and socially; marginalisation, especially in relation to the dominant international security and economic concerns; and easy permeability by external actors, be they more developed states, international institutions, or transnational corporations.¹⁶

To zero in on the issues of a state we should look at the national security paradigm which is more concerned the strategizing in the protection of national interests. It is from this perspective that the instruments of a nation state can be closely scrutinized in the support of achieving security of a state.

National security Concept

When the Soviet Union collapsed the realist scholars could not understand why it happened and critics questioned the potency of the realist paradigm in explaining international relations. The classical realists could not discern how a powerful state like the Soviet Union could collapse without a single shot against their powerful military force. This brought about the re-evaluation of the concept of national security. The structural theorists then tried to explain what happened from the prism of domestic politics and said that whatever happens in the domestic scene has a direct bearing on the international system. The subject of security as mentioned before falls in the realm of the realist paradigm, however, it must be noted that the state being the main actor in the anarchical international system should also accept that there are also other actors who matter. Neorealist, led by Kenneth waltz have accepted the idea of other actors and also recognized that there is interdependence in the system.

¹⁵ Ayoob, *ibid* p12

¹⁶ Ayoob, *ibid* p15

Buzan has been one of the key international relations writers who have been on the forefront on the conceptualization of the new national security paradigm. In his book *Peoples, States and Fear* he argues that, 'the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors; military, political, economic, societal and environmental. Generally speaking, military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Society security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web'.¹⁷

Securitization

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

The development of a nation is based on strategizing on issues that threaten the survival or its existence. In doing so a grand strategy needs to be formulated so as to prioritize issues for the purpose of maximizing on the resources available. To achieve this each country ought to evaluate their issues and separate those that require public debate and those that need to be securitized. As mentioned earlier security matters are those that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue as a special kind of politics or as above politics. We can look at securitization as an extreme version of politicization. If you put the issues on a linear scale they will range from non-politicized issue, that do not require public attention, to politicized issue that requires government decision or resource allocation through to the extreme end of securitized issues that are a threat to state existence and hence requiring emergency measures that are outside the normal bounds of political procedure.¹⁸

¹⁷ Barry Buzan, 1991. *Peoples, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*,

¹⁸ Buzan, op cit p.24.

When formulating the grand strategy we should look at this scale and concentrate on the securitized issues and allocate resources to these issues so as to alleviate the threat of survival. In Kenya today the securitized issues are poverty eradication and therefore most efforts must be geared towards wealth creation to guarantee the survival of this state. Subsequently issues of war are within the middle of the scale due to the peace benefits of the regional calm and therefore more efforts of all institutions of the government should be directed towards the securitized issues. This has led to the broader thinking of security issues, for it is evident that a state may be on the verge of collapse from other threats other than external military forces. We must therefore look inwards to identify these existential threats. The concept of national security comes to the fore here, because the state as the main actor in the international system with its sovereignty must also protect itself from any domestic existential threats. Therefore when we look at the military strategizing we should look at the broader national security that intertwines all the five sources of threats, and in particular take the lean on to the insecurity paradigm.

Given the anarchical state of the international system, the state is solely responsible for its survival and the security and safety of its people. The end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union have shown that, states do not require an external military force to collapse. Looking at the neighbourhood the collapse of Somalia was not as a result of external invasion but due to a domestic phenomenon. It is from this point of view that we look at the new concept of national security to look through the existential threats to the state and take appropriate emergency measures to subvert any collapse.

In securitizing issues we are using the grand strategy paradigm which is the business of using of all the instruments of state power to achieve the national interests. Therefore, when looking at the security of Kenya today, the most challenging threat is the economy and therefore the political and the military strategies should be formulated such that they will diffuse this threat. The state main threat of survival is the level of poverty in the country which aggravated by the skewed distribution of the state's wealth among the Kenyan populace. This source of insecurity is in conformity with the general situation in the IGAD region as stated by Mwagiru¹⁹,

¹⁹ Makumi, *ibid* 142.

'The perspective of individual states, the economy dimension is crucial in the formulation of a grand strategy for states, since the economy is one of the major tools of a grand strategy'

Grand strategizing as earlier stated involves, the prioritization of national interests in a hierarchy such that those that threaten the survival of the state are securitized and therefore removed from the political arena and regarded as a matter of urgency. After doing so, all the instruments of state power are mobilized to meet this existential threat. The number one securitized threat to the survival of the state of Kenya has been identified as poverty and therefore all efforts should be put in place to eradicate it. From this position, the military strategy should be tailored such that it should support this effort of achieving this objective. This calls for the formulation of a doctrine that will achieve the overall objective without deviating from the primary role of the military. In developing this doctrine, military civic action concept should be looked into for it spells out the ways of undertaking civic activities without deviating from the core business of the military. In the next section an evaluation of the military civic action is looked into as a basis for the development of a working doctrine in support of the national grand strategy.

The origin of Military Civic Action in Africa

The historical roots of the Army's experience with military civic action go back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the labels and definitions did not exist at that time, the process involved the use of troops working on non-military projects in nation building. . Bridge builders and road developers such as John Fremont and pioneers in public health such as Walter Reed laid the foundation for the emergence of the United States as a world power in the twentieth century.²⁰ Therefore, the use of military in non-military missions is not a new concept. It has always been there, in third world countries and was introduced as joint military exercises and aid to militaries. In Kenya the most significant exercise was 'Natural Fire 2000' that was a joint effort of the Kenyan construction engineers and the American forces. During this exercise in the Tana River District, a school that had

²⁰ Edward B Glick, 1967. *Peaceful conflict: The nonmilitary use of the military*, Stackpole Books, Harrisburg.

been started on Harambee basis and a dilapidated dispensary in the area of GAO were rehabilitated.²¹

The only definition of Military Civic Action used in this concept is given as

‘The use of preponderantly indigenous military forces on projects useful to the local population at all levels in such fields as education, training, public works, agriculture, transportation, communications, health, sanitation, and others contributing to economic and social development which would also serve to improve the standing of the military forces with the population’.²²

The idea behind the concept of military civic action is to use the skills and equipment of the military to perform limited infrastructure building during peacetime. These activities are undertaken in the docket of training and are not meant to disrupt or divert the military from its core business of preparing for war. The concept was developed and introduced by the American army to the third world countries and since there has been no theoretical frameworks developed in the third world, the use of the Kenya military will be discussed based on this concept. The introduction of the MCA was designed to meet civic requirements so as to reduce Soviet military support to insurgent causes. It was therefore viewed as a way of promoting political stability in Africa by addressing poverty which is a core threat to political stability and seeks to encourage military participation in social and economic development.²³

The program was designed to provoke the militaries in addressing some of the domestic problems that faced the fragile governments that had been left by the colonial powers. Among the issues that were pertinent in starting MCA are intrastate ethnic division, economic stagnation and towering foreign debt that had been made worse by the exponential increase in the price of petroleum, falling real prices for primary commodity exports, ill-conceived economic policies of new governments, and runaway population growth. The African population growth rate was the World’s highest at approximately 3 percent per year.

²¹ Major Nkaduda, personal interview.

²² *Field Manual 41-10, Civil Affairs Operations*, 17 December 1985, pp. 1-6 and 3-2; also, Department of Defense, *JCS Pub 1, Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, The Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1987, p. 230.

²³ John W. De Pauw and George A. Luz, 1992. *Winning the Peace: The Strategic Implications of Military Action*, Praeger Publishers, New York. P29

The continent's population has nearly doubled since 1960, while economic growth per capita stagnated. Food production per person fell 15 percent in the 1970s and over 25 million Africans were facing famine.²⁴

This was the American view when they introduced MCA, as a way of sparing growth and initiative to the militaries in third world countries. However, despite the concept being introduced into Kenya the military has not made maximum utilisation of the concept. The issues that led to the Americans establishing this concept are well articulated in our political discourse and are true even today. In a state's government is a political system that receives positive and negative feedback commensurate with its ability to satisfy the demand placed upon the system by the populace. Failure to satisfy systemic demands leads to a loss of legitimacy that may threaten the longevity of the regime. In many African countries, limited physical infrastructure and economic resources and an overburdened or under qualified governmental bureaucracy constitute sizable barriers to the eradication of endemic poverty and the establishment of governmental legitimacy. At the same time, the armed forces, because of their relative advantage in training and organization, often are more efficient than comparable civil agencies and better suited to accomplish certain developmental tasks.

While the military may be a resource, many armies have been reluctant to commit their forces to the accomplishment of non-military objective. This effort to encourage the military's participation in the nation-building process takes advantage of existing infrastructure and the synergies of association with ongoing military and civilian aid programs.

The proponents of the military civic action had noble objectives that are basically important in the state making. These included the, encouragement of the military establishments to take non-military actions that would benefit the civilian population, in the sense that if the military is not committed in war then it should benefit the taxpayers. The military would also enhance the political stability by popularising the government's efforts in improving the lives of the citizen and further contribute to the country's cultural, social, and economic development. When the military's presence in the rural areas is accompanied with activities that will promote the social wellbeing of the people in marginalised areas, they

²⁴ Pauw, *ibid* p30.

promote the sense of belonging. The people tend to identify with the military and in the process reduce social discontent and promote the nation-building process.

In an interview with Major Nkaduda²⁵, from Tana River District, he argued that the absence of the government in the district has discouraged even the locals who work from outside the district to invest there, the reasons advanced are insecurity, in his own location there is neither a single police post nor a military patrol base. He further claims that, if only training exercises were carried out there, they would benefit even with the upgrading of the feeder roads, as it happened in the exercise natural fire 2000. The people are thus delineated from the government because there is no presence of any government agent, the concept of MCA looks at this as one of the core objectives.

However, military civic action should complement, and not detract from, the development of the private sector and civilian institutions. Projects should not benefit the elites or special interest groups. The program is only aimed at providing resources to the military to allow them to utilize the military manpower and equipment to participate in the economic development of the country, and thereby enhance the perceived legitimacy of the national governments in the eyes of the populace.

Critics suggested that the use of the better-developed military would preclude the growth of public-sector development institutions and suggested that it would be safer to separate the roles of the military and civil government. Others feared that the military would rob the government of legitimacy in the eyes of its people. However third world political development in the early 1960s led political scientists to further question the applicability of the MCA, given that, Military regimes had proven unable to promote political stability or sustainable economic and social development. Much of the West's developmental aid to Africa had been committed on an ad hoc basis to counter the spread of Soviet influence, the fear of which had, at times, dominated the objectives of economic development and military assistance programs.

In spite of the billions of dollars invested in Africa, poverty remained the chief cause of political instability, and governments had increasingly fewer resources to meet the economic and ethnic demands placed upon their fragile political systems. By 1979, the African military was increasingly ignored by Western developmental institutions. While the

²⁵ Major Nkaduda, 2005. Oral interview

idea of military regime superiority in leading economic development in the third world had proved untrue, the African military remained relatively better organized and trained than most civilian governmental institutions in many countries. Recognizing this fact, the designers of U.S. civic action plans formulated a new approach to civic action projects that drew upon the history of Africa's first two decades of independence, research on military assistance, and the rapidly changing East-West political environment. The success of the American civil military action in Africa program took advantage of certain general strengths among the African military: a bureaucratic organization retained from colonial parent institutions; a general multiethnic composition and sense of national purpose that transcended ethnic allegiance; operational efficiency greater than civil organizations; substantial overseas training and familiarity with Western technical procedures; military budgets, and thus capabilities, which were less affected by renewed fiscal austerity measures; and, for security reasons, the frequent possession by the military of logistical and support resources in distant regions where private contractors could not operate and where civil servants resisted being assigned.²⁶

The military civic action will be successful where a government is willing to represent the interests of all citizens without discrimination against one tribal, ethnic, or religious group. However, if a nation's military consists of loosely organized fortune hunters the materials for the projects will not benefit the desired communities. The military personnel will end up diverting the assets to their relatives or local tycoons. Thus you find when water drilling equipment is taken to an area, instead of the borehole being sunk in a public utility land it is sunk on private land, and the local tycoon avails the water to the locals on payment. A project not desired by the indigenous population will not aid national cohesion, an ideal project is one actively requested by the people. Where popular knowledge is insufficient to make appropriate requests for civic assistance, the people should approve the project that is to be conducted in their area. The selected projects should be such that they can be completed within a designated time frame; this requires having all the materials on hand before beginning the project. The locals should also be willing to sacrifice for the project. When the villagers share the workload, they feel a sense of owning the project and therefore feel more committed to see to its success. On completion of the project the military should train the locals to maintain the project and only

²⁶ Pauw, *ibid* p32.

It is therefore evident that there are enough theoretical frameworks to guide in the preparation of policies that will guide the use of military in national development without losing the foresight of the core function of defending the state. The challenge is to utilise the concepts into operational doctrines that will be compatible with the aspirations of the Kenyan state. In the ensuing chapters the activities already undertaken in this direction have been evaluated with the relevant conceptual frameworks in mind.

Chapter 4

The Role of the Military and National Development.

Introduction

The realist paradigm is the main perspective that looks at the state as the main actor in the anarchical international system and that its survival depends in the possession of sufficient political power. The political power vested in the statesmen gives them the authority to rule their subjects, tax them in exchange of freedom and security. These powers are further extended beyond the territorial boundaries in the international system through diplomacy and other means of extracting capital to satisfy their obligations domestically. The realist paradigm also presupposes that the state is the main actor in the world community of states and that there is no other supreme authority above that of the state. Therefore in order for a state to achieve its national interests both domestically and abroad it must have sufficient power. To achieve these objectives states use diplomacy through statesmen but what happens when you want to impose your will over others and there is resistance.

The state must have an instrument or tool that will either promise dire consequences if compliance is not forthcoming or actually use brute force, war, to achieve these objectives. This area of achieving national interests using force, either to threaten or coerce or enforce obedience is the military. We can thus generally state that the main role of the military is to support the acquisition of states vital interests both domestically and abroad. One of the most important interests of a state is to maintain sovereignty and territorial integrity and this is the domain of the military, else known as strategy. Therefore in all its endeavours, a state has a military as one of its instruments of power that can be used to coerce or threaten other states in order to achieve its core goals and objectives, else referred to as national interests. This has been the military's traditional role and has been the main concern in national security.

The concept of anarchy presupposes that the international system is without a world government and therefore the realists emphasize that the states are the main actors. This means that the state is the principle reference object that has an authoritative government that dominates the issues of security. Thus the state has is sole and legitimate authority that could wield violence within the domestic and international domain. However, this has come under

challenge and national security issues have been taken from a broader perspective that claims that military threat is only one of the aspects of the state's concern.

Currently the economic threats and political stability are viewed as more survival threatening than military threats, in Kenya and other third world countries. The manifestation of the economic threat is in poverty where over 56 percent of the population lives below one American dollar per day. Therefore, when marshalling the state's scarce resources the most vulnerable threat should receive the greatest share. This means that the national grand strategizing must critically look at the three main instruments of a states power, the political, military and economic, and come up with a well balanced and coordinated security policy. If we use the African stool model of grand strategizing the symbolic three legs represent the state's strategizing tools, political, economic and military, there is need to have a clear balancing and coordination planning so as to maintain stability. With the broader national security problematique in Kenya today, the concept of the three legged African stool presents a starting point in looking for equilibrium in achieving national security without the fear of overemphasizing on any one leg, and thus the importance of a coordinating element in the process.

The main concern of the approach is how to balance the various strategies without losing foresight of the core business of each of the instrument; the military strategy must remain focused on the core business of providing security. This means that there must be changes in the doctrine that governs the approach to military strategy so as to support the national grand strategy of eradicating poverty and creating wealth for the survival of the Kenyan state. It is therefore important to briefly understand the roles and capabilities of the military to be able to evaluate its suitability in supporting Kenya's grand strategy.

The Establishment and Roles of Kenya Armed Forces

The establishment of the Kenya Armed Forces is enshrined in the Kenyan constitution; however, through an implied statement that states that, 'There shall be a President of Kenya, who shall be the Head of state and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the republic of Kenya.' There is nowhere else in the constitution that mentions the armed forces, but by deduction, if the president will be the commander in chief of the armed forces then it implies that there shall be armed forces to be commanded. The actual establishment of the armed forces of Kenya is found in chapter 198. This act of parliament was repealed to the present cap 199 in 1968. in sec 3(1) of the act it states that, 'There hereby

established and there shall be maintained in accordance with this Act an Army, an Air Force and a Navy, to be known respectively as the Kenya Army, the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy, not exceeding such strength as may from time to time be determined by the President on the advice of the Defence Council, and they shall rank in precedence in that order. The act further in section 3(2) stipulates the roles of the Kenya armed forces, 'The Kenya Army, the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy are charged with the defence of the Republic and the support of the civil power in the maintenance of order, and with such other duties as may from time to time be assigned to them by the Minister after consultation with the Defence Council.

In section 4, the act details the composition of the forces as, 'The Kenya Army, the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy shall each consist of one, the regular force; the reserve force consisting of the regular reserve; and the volunteer reserve and the cadet force. The act further stipulates the mission of the Armed Forces is three-pronged as follows, Defence of the Republic, aid to Civil Authority in the maintenance of peace, law and order and any other duties assigned by the minister. It is therefore very clear that, the role of the armed forces is not only the defence of the territorial integrity and preservation of the Kenyan sovereignty but could be used to perform other tasks to assist the government of Kenya. The command of the Kenya armed forces is also exercised by the president of the republic of Kenya through the defence council, a duty that is also well documented in the armed forces act of 199 that states that, Governed under the Armed Forces Act, Cap 199 of the laws of Kenya. The command of the Armed Forces rests with the President of Kenya who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic. The authority of the President is exercised by the Defence Council. Before 1980, Armed Forces were under the Ministry of Defence but the, Government circular No. 2/80 of June 1980 placed the Armed Forces under the Office of the President as a Department run by a Minister of State in the Office of the President(OP)and stands like so to date.

The main reasons of establishing the Kenya Armed Forces can therefore be summarised as having been driven by the need to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty as enshrined in the UN charter, just like any other independent nation state in the world community of nations. Therefore, the main task of the military was to supplement the other organs of the state to provide national security. If we look at the definition of national security in cognizant with this requirement, 'the vulnerability report of a commonwealth working committee would give a reasonable base. The definition is that, national security is

the absence of threat to the capacity to govern, protect, preserve and advance the state and its peoples consistent with the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states.¹ This definition is from the classical literature that emphasis on the need to preserve and protect the core values of a nation. This was true at the birth of the Kenyan Republic and clearly demonstrated by the act of war by the military forces against the irredentist 'shifty' insurgents that had waged a war of secessionist from 1967 to 1969. This paradigm continued into the period of cold war, however, today those external threats have significantly reduced their potency and hence the need to rethink about the existence of the Kenya Armed Forces. This does not mean that there no threats but they have become more diverse such that the traditional military strategy use of sophisticated military hardware to win a war or keep off external threats by the virtual of the might is no longer viable after the cold war. We therefore have to look at the threat notion from a different perspective, Ullman's states that 'a threat to national security is an action or a sequence of events that threatens drastically and over a relatively brief period of time to degrade the quality of life for inhabitants of a state, or, threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to a state or to private non-governmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state.'² This definition incorporates economic and environmental concerns, a range of actors, and highlights vulnerability. It is also consistent with the broader view of the national security, and the fact that the main concern has drifted from the state to individuals and other actors other than the state puts military strategy to challenge.

Broadly speaking the national security is achieved through harmonisation of a country's elements of power, namely: economic strength, political leadership and military strength. The Kenya Armed Forces, as established and constituted under Chapter 199 of the Laws of Kenya provides the military component of national power. In provision of national security, the Kenya Armed Forces translates the roles given by the act as primarily categorized in two main areas, the primary role, which is to defend the country's territorial integrity from external aggression, preserve national sovereignty and guarantee security. This role is achieved directly in war and indirectly during peacetime as follows; during war, the Kenya Armed Forces will defend the citizens, the national territory and assets against external aggression. The Armed Forces will restore and maintain peace and security by

¹ Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997. *A future for Small States: Overcoming Vulnerability*. Commonwealth Secretariat, London, p16

² Ullman, H, 1983. Redefining Security. *International Security*, Vol 8, No.1.

bringing war to an end as quickly as possible and on terms most favourable to our national interests. In peacetime the Armed Forces shall ensure that the highest operational readiness for deployment in the event of war. This is achieved through education and training of personnel and maintenance of equipment. This battle readiness preparations form part of the deterrence posture to would be potential enemies and subsequently guarantee some security for other activities to take part undisturbed. In other words the Kenya armed forces give assurance to the people of Kenya to undertake economic and development activities without the fear of being attacked. This allows traders and investors do business in Kenya and thereby increasing the material well being of the society. This is clearly manifested in the fact that more multinationals have chosen Kenya as their base, and most of the products consumed in the neighbouring countries that originate from here increases trade flow. This is in consonant with the proponents who aver that, a nation's security increases with its interdependence with the rest of the world increases. The reason being that the greater the interdependence the opportunity costs of a disruption in trade interactions becomes greater³. This trade can only thrive where there is a security guarantee, thereby increasing the economic development of a nation. Today Kenya is a major trading partner with all the East African countries, Uganda, Tanzania, Southern Sudan, Somalia businessmen and Ethiopia, there is therefore some kind of interdependence in all these neighbouring countries. In essence, this enhances security, for the citizens of each of these countries would loose something if we closed the borders. These same countries are our potential enemies and therefore anything that would be a threat to the trade equilibrium would lead to insecurity.

The secondary role of the Kenya Armed Forces is aid to civil authority. This role includes internal security operations whose purpose is the restoration of law and order. It also includes operations other than war, such as disaster prevention or management, crisis management and humanitarian aid. As in the primary role, all these operations are aimed at restoring and maintaining an environment that is conducive to economic development. The primary and secondary roles of the Kenya Armed Forces gives the country stability for both citizens and foreigners to engage in economic investment and in so doing contributing to poverty reduction and economic development, though indirectly. However, in times of peace, the Armed Forces is directly involved in civil activities that are beneficial to the citizens, such as borehole drilling, dam construction and de-silting of dams , road and bridge construction

³ Jun, Leitzel(ed), 1993. economics and National Security, westview Press, San Francisco, p91.

and participate in collaborative efforts in provision of health services. However, these activities have only been carried out as training avenues and not purely development projects. The concept of military civic action requires that the projects selected as an effort towards development is well planned for and funded by the relevant ministry or department of the government.

In setting out the military strategy, the main concern is looking at the threats that pose security concerns. These threats are first viewed from the external perspective according to the primary role of the Kenya armed forces and then from the domestic perspective, in terms of challenges to the legitimate government or any form of aggression against the citizens of Kenya. Externally, the threats from Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania are not eminent and there seems to be a silent notion that an attack from these neighbours is not in the near future. This leaves the military to think of domestic threats, most of which emanate from ethnic resource conflicts manifested in cattle rustling in the areas of north eastern, north rift and the northwest Kenya and criminal activities within urban areas. The causes of rustling have been attributed to traditional and cultural practices, but a critical analysis of the activities reveal that they are acts low intensity conflicts that constitute the phenomenon of a failing state. These conflicts further tend to be internationalized due to the fact that the ethnic groups involved have traditional and cultural commonalities across the international borders of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. Whereas this could be a reason, the other cause of conflict among the regions mentioned is competition for scarce natural resources, more precisely pasture and water. This region is prone to drought and this leads to the communities in these regions to practise pastoralist lifestyle, and since the borders are porous there is criss-crossing from one country to the other. This has resulted in clashes among these ethnic groups when they meet in an area with pasture and watering points for their animals. The porous borders escalate clashes especially among the ethnic groups that live astride the international borders, thus internationalising such conflicts for the kin and kith from across borders will always respond to distress calls. The violation of territorial integrity by these ethnic groups is not an interstate invasion as such and is regarded as traditional and cultural incursions among brothers. This problem is colonial in origin in that, when Africa was demarcated by the Europeans they never bothered about the people that lived there and hence the kin-country syndrome paradigm argued by Samuel Huntington.

These acts of cattle rustling and banditry obviously challenge the state in its one of the core functions of being the sole legitimate authority to maintain and unleash instruments of

violence. Therefore the paradigm of state failure can be subscribed to the Kenyan state. As elaborated by *Robert I Rotberg* in his essay, *The New Nature of Nation-State Failure*⁴, that Nation-states fail because they can no longer deliver positive political goods to their people. Their governments lose legitimacy and, in the eyes and hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens, the nation-state itself becomes illegitimate. The major question to ask here is why wait until the conflicts have gone overboard so as to call the military to quell such snowball conflicts that would in future escalate to irreversible wars. The military should work on new doctrines that should be more applicable in the domestic arena. The need to prevent conflicts before they start is a more cost effective solution. The areas where most of the so called tribal clashes occur are where government is least represented, these are the ripe areas for the military to conduct training that should include civil social activities. These activities will not only popularise the government but they will also lead to diversification of the economic activities of the inhabitants.

These incursions by ethnic groups from outside Kenya against our people in the north western rift pose a challenge to the security of this country. As much as these people don't want to claim Kenyan territory they undermine our sovereignty and the peace of the citizenry there and thus rendering them unproductive. This results to minimal economic activity, no farming aggravating an already bad situation. The Pokots and Turkanas therefore have to rely on relief food that the government has to buy; this obviously means that there will be fewer resources for investment in the infrastructure and other services. Normal life is disrupted, there is no schooling and therefore depriving these people a basic right, and hence to them the state fails to provide security. In the political front, these people do not see the need of participating in a government that does not provide the basic needs for them; they become dissatisfied and therefore seek their own protection. The people thus become vulnerable to small arms merchants; they buy arms and subsequently assume some of the duties of the state. They become owners of a means of unleashing violence to communities in their neighbourhood and thus disrupting normal social economic activities, a sign of a failing state. This is what in classical theory is called the state's retreat and abdication of its core role of monopolising the means of violence. However, from time to time the military is sent to these areas to conduct some operations to mop up illegal firearms just as an effort to pacify the communities, but the efforts are not consistent and do not seriously address the root cause of

⁴ Robert I Rotberg, 2002. *The New Nature of Nation-State Failure*, *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2002, pp85-96.

the problem. In some instances, the military has been so hostile that, instead of the local communities feeling secure they view the military as a source of suffering. The loser remains the government for it is blamed on unleashing terror to its own people. This area has thus become totally unproductive despite the fact that the cattle held by these communities comprise of capital that could be exploited to develop the area. Therefore the need to securitize the problem, conduct comprehensive research into the projects that could be started in the region, one, to improve the government presence in the area and further reduce the poverty experienced by the communities involved. This should be done through grand strategizing where all the necessary ministries are involved for the purpose of maximization of resource utilization. After securitization the planning for the area, the military should open permanent camps in the region and opening up water points and taking development to the people to these marginalized regions. The military have been employed there but only in a patrol mode that has had very little impact. With the end of the cold war, now the military should utilize the available capability to open up the area, build schools encourage the pastoralists to settle on permanent locations improve their cattle rearing methods with the objective of commercialising the undertaking rather than taking it as a culture.

The capabilities of the Kenya armed forces

The capabilities of the Kenya Armed Forces that can be directly applied to poverty alleviation and economic development include the Kenya Army Corps of Engineers who are capable of horizontal Construction; that includes construction of roads, bridges, and dams. The current personnel and equipment state allows construction of only 15.5 km of tarmac road per year. However, if the equipment serviceability state goes up to 100%, the Brigade can construct up to 47 Km of tarmac road per year. With 100% established strength of personnel and equipment, the capability can go up to 80 Km of tarmac road per year. The Brigade is also capable of constructing up to 80 dams per year but this will affect road construction because of use of the same equipment and personnel. Vertical Construction, this refers to both construction of new structures and renovation of existing ones. The current personnel strength, tools and equipment holding allows for construction projects worth approximately Kshs 86 million per year. However, if the state of personnel, tools and equipment is brought to 100% of the establishment, the capability can be improved to Kshs 215 million per year. Depending on their magnitude, a number of projects can be undertaken simultaneously. Borehole Drilling the Engineers Brigade has a capability for borehole drilling

and water purification. Presently, the equipment state and personnel strength allows a capability to drill 72 boreholes per year but this can be increased to 96 boreholes if the equipment and personnel state is brought up the Brigade has capability in the area of disaster prevention/management mainly in the areas of flood control, construction of roads, bridges and provision of water. To bring the Engineers Brigade to 100% established strength of tools and equipment, it is estimated that Kshs.92,135,770.00 will be required for repair of existing equipment, Kshs.34,820,743.00 for purchase of tools and Kshs.1,112,400,000.00 for the long-term project of filling equipment shortfalls.

Transport Battalion, which is the principal Unit in the Kenya Army Corps of Transport is established for 477 vehicles but is currently holding only 278. In addition, the vehicle serviceability state in the Unit is only 58 %. At this state of personnel and vehicles, the Corps can only support operations, training and unit administration. It is not in a position to undertake any activities on poverty alleviation and economic development. This has been mainly caused by the low serviceability of first line vehicles in units which has resulted to high dependency on the Corps of Transport. However, if the serviceability of the Corps vehicles is raised to 90%, it can comfortably lift a total of 1000 tons of supplies at any one time. This is a short-term requirement which is estimated to cost Kshs. 35 million. Filling of the vehicle shortfall is a long-term project because of its cost implications.

The Medical Corps has the potential of conducting MEDCPS, scheduled large camps comprising of a broad range of medical specialists. Patients are screened and given medical and surgical treatment or referral services for follow-up in well-established medical institutions. Presently, the Corps does not have a capability to conduct MEDICAPS on its own due to shortage of staff, equipment and medicines. In the past, this has only been possible with the assistance of NGOs, Ministry of Health and foreign forces. On its own, the Corps can only offer consultancy services. However, if equipped with 12 field ambulances, 6 mobile theatres and the necessary medicines, it can carry out up to sixteen MEDICAPS every year.

The outreach medical services are those services that can be offered to communities neighbouring military barracks. Unlike the MEDICAP, medical teams do not have to establish camps outside the barracks. The teams just serve the neighbourhood and move back to barracks. Such services can be organised from a central point, e.g. Medical Battalion and coordinated by regional medical officers. Also unlike the MEDICAP, health education is provided in addition to disease diagnosis and treatment. Due to the same constraints

experienced in MEDICAPS, the Medical Corps does not have the capability for outreach services. However, with the equipment and other resources that were suggested for MEDICAPS, the Corps can simultaneously undertake four outreach operations at least twice a month.

The Sentinel Assistance medical services are outpatient services that can be offered to the local populace in military hospitals or medical centres free of charge. They are different from emergency services that are currently offered at military facilities. However, they involve only general counselling and VCT. No treatment is given. Presently, the Medical Corps has the capability to meet most of the requirements in this area. What is required is to increase the number of some specialists such as psychiatrists.

Special Assignments medical services are special exercises that the Medical Corps can undertake in aid to the Ministry of Health. They include provision of medical services in areas where the ministry is unable to access and to nomadic communities whose movements may be difficult to trace. Services offered include routine national vaccinations and emergency medical treatments. The Corps is constrained in this area due to shortage of manpower, equipment and medicines. However, if provided with the field ambulances mentioned earlier, the Corps will be able to meet most of the tasks in this area. This has to be closely co-ordinated with the Ministry of Health for provision of necessary medicines and vaccines. In the short-term, the Medical Corps is not in a position to conduct MEDICAPS because they require field ambulances and mobile theatres. These need to be acquired in the mid-term to long-term because of the cost involved. However, there is need for allocation of funds to purchase medicines for outreach services in the short-term.

The Kenya Air Force has been used to provide the following supportive services in disaster prevention and management, casualty evacuation, medical evacuation, Search and rescue, Pest control and Fire fighting. They have also been used in the airlift of relief supplies of up to 13,000 pounds per buffalo aircraft. The Kenya Navy has the capacity and capability to support economic development through sea lift by the Landing Craft Logistics Ships (LCLs), as well as patrolling and surveillance of the Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ) as follows, for the sea lift, the ships have a combined capacity to lift the following per trip, 600 tons of cargo, 300 tons of fuel, 240 tons of water and 360 persons. In order to exploit our fishing potential to the maximum, sustained patrols and surveillance of our EEZ is necessary. This is achieved through acquisition of more assets; mainly Offshore Patrol Vessels (OPVs). The dock yard facility can effectively undertake both military and civil works in the repair

and maintenance of vessels. It is capable of handling vessels of maximum length of 56 metres in length and 240 tons in weight. This can however be increased by upgrading the synchrolift to the desired capacity. Revenue generated from the increased capacity is estimated to be in the range of Kshs.5 million per vessel handled. The Kenya Navy also has the capability to conduct search and rescue and under water salvage operations.

The main challenges that affect the capabilities of the Kenya Armed Forces in its attempts to participate in economic development programmes are the current Defence Budget allocation which is equivalent to 1.8 % of the GDP, most of which goes to the emoluments and the maintenance of equipment and facilities. Therefore, to participate effectively in development projects there is need to have joint planning with other government ministries and departments involved in policy development process. This implies that the Army must have the necessary personnel in appropriate positions with the requisite knowledge and skills for effective participation in these forums. Further a force structure and force design that would provide sufficient numbers of forces to operate across a broad spectrum of peacetime activities, crisis, and war; to perform effectively.

The emerging roles of the military

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

There have been recent trends which have had an impact on the role of military establishments. One such trend is globalisation caused by the forces of liberal trade and technological advancement. These forces have shrunk the world to an unprecedented extent and have resulted in a high degree of interconnectedness and interdependence between states. At the same time, those forces that draw us closer in the market place have fostered diverse security threats such as environmental threats, transnational crime and terrorist acts. Many countries are finding it difficult to handle these security challenges on their own as such threats transcend borders. Security challenges have, thus, become more diverse and multifaceted in an interconnected world, political, economic and even environmental factors have an impact on the security of the nations. These new strategic realities dictate that closer cross-border cooperation and multi-dimensional responses are increasingly needed to ensure national and regional security.

Internationally, the strategic landscape was altered with the end of the Cold War. Instead of bringing about an end to conflicts, this event brought about new uncertainties as countries continue to adjust to the strategic realities of a post-Cold War world. The economic, military and political relations among major powers in the Africa continue to shift and the

potential for conflicts arising from the various unresolved disputes in the region remain. While the possibility of inter-state conflict cannot be ruled out, what is more worrisome is the increase in intra-state conflicts. Today, fragile states face secessionist, ethnic and various other intra-state tensions caused by a myriad of factors, such as the erosion of bureaucracy. This has an impact on both the state itself and its neighbours.

The strategic trends highlighted make it imperative for regional defence establishments to re-think their security roles. However, the traditional role of the military as guardian of national sovereignty and territorial integrity will remain unchanged in view of the strategic uncertainties in our region. This role has to be complemented with a new role, that of promoting regional security. With greater security interdependence between states, regional militaries should see themselves playing a bigger role in contributing to regional peace and stability. In this new role, the Kenya Armed Forces have contributed to regional peacekeeping missions, the provision of humanitarian and disaster relief, and undertaken various civic action activities to improve the living standards of the public.

Peacekeeping in the 21 century is a challenge for the military as such missions no longer deal with conventional inter-state conflicts where the role of peacekeepers is largely confined to monitoring the demilitarised zones. Peacekeeping today does not simply involve just military or police actions. Instead, peacekeeping have evolved to be multi-dimensional where peacekeepers, amongst their traditional roles, help to strengthen the rule of law and to monitor human rights violations. Peacekeepers also tackle issues related to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration in particular of child soldiers; and repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons. Increasingly, peacekeepers are also working with NGOs in the peace-building process.

Humanitarian relief is an important area of concern for the modern militaries in view of the many large-scale disasters that may occur in a state. The bombing of the American Embassy is an example of a disaster where the military had to use their resources to minimize the level of suffering and save as many lives as possible. These unprecedented disasters require a highly skilled team that can be mobilized within minimal time delay, such kind of attributes are easily available in the military. These major disasters, man-made or natural, do not respect political boundaries, and have the potential to inflict damage on local and regional economies, as well as the social stability and security of states. The most recent Tsunami disaster with its origin off the coast of Indonesia has brought damage up to the African coast with Somalia being badly hit. These disasters inflict more damage than any military invasion

and therefore need to be taken into consideration when training our armies. Partnership and cooperation among states will make a significant difference to our ability to deal with disasters. National armed forces can play an important role in a co-ordinated response to humanitarian and disaster relief contingencies, especially in large-scale and acute disasters, as they are disciplined, operationally ready and can contribute valuable assets.

Besides disaster relief, the Kenya armed forces in our region can contribute to regional security by engaging in navigational safety and security cooperation. The use of our waters in drug trafficking and illegal fishing has adverse effects on our economy and therefore a need to safeguard our coastline. Given the fact that Somali has no government and therefore not able to control her coastline, as a regional concern the Kenya Navy should take charge so as to boost security in the region. Most of the trade in the world is conducted via the sea and thus the control of the east African and the horn of Africa is of vital importance to the economic well being of Kenya and the countries in the region. There is also the danger of a major ecological disaster involving oil spills if oil tankers are attacked and left unmanned.

The new strategic trends in the 21st century have also meant that the military needs to take on the added responsibility as a defence diplomat, a task usually performed by foreign affairs officers. Military officers can help to build the foundations for regional cooperation which is based on mutual trust and confidence. They can do so by forging close defence ties and promoting military exchanges and exercises. Defence dialogue and interactions will serve as additional channels for countries to resolve differences and misunderstandings. Such defence diplomacy and networking can help to reduce miscalculations, and promote a culture of peaceful resolution of disputes in the region. Defence diplomacy can be conducted through various means such as student exchanges, joint exercises and seminars.

Joint military exercises with foreign countries is one way in which regional forces can benchmark themselves against highly professional counterparts and at the same time serving to promote transparency and bilateral defence ties. Thirdly, seminars can facilitate interaction among regional militaries and serve as non-political forums for senior military officers to meet and discuss professional military subjects on a non-attribution basis.

An important aspect of defence diplomacy is the development of multilateral programmes designed to promote understanding and trust among regional forces.

Chapter 5

Kenya Armed Forces and Poverty Eradication

Introduction

The Kenyan state as a member of the larger international community of world states has been affected by the wave of the world's structural changes precipitated by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the cold war. These systemic changes resulted in more democratisation and the end of the proxy wars that pitted the superpowers in the third world countries. This phenomenon equally precipitated to domestic changes within states, various communities that were either oppressed or marginalized wanted more freedom or share of the national resources. Others realized the way they were independent and thus calls for self-determination, an example being Eritrea who sought independence from Ethiopia. More non-violent conflict resolutions were brokered for long stalemated conflicts like in the southern Sudan, where the SPLM (Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement) had waged war against the government of Khartoum for more than four decades. Dictators like Mobutu Seseko and Said Barre of the DRC and Congo respectively fell leaving a failed state of DRC and a collapsed Somalia.

Kenya survived these turbulent times but more democratic space emerged with calls for multiparty system of government that was punctuated by mass riots in the early 1990s culminating to the first multi-party elections of 1992. Though the authoritarian regime retained power for two more consecutive terms, the desire for democracy remained high among the Kenyan people. This quest for change was achieved in the elections of 2001 that saw the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), take power. The period immediately comprised of complete breakdown of law and order, infrastructure completely neglected, the country was on the verge of being a failed state. This is when Kenya felt significant changes in the new world order, where accountability and transparency are the panacea to modern governance.

The NARC regime came to power with the promise that it would address the issues of poverty, economic emaciation, infrastructure dilapidation and increased ignorance. More than half the population was said to be below poverty line and therefore the new government sort ways to mediate the matter with minimum delay. Thus in preparation to combat the poverty menace the government formulated and issued a poverty eradication and wealth creation

plan. The plan was considered as the national grand strategy and therefore required the mobilization of all the instruments of power of the state in order to defeat number one enemy. This had been identified as the main threat to peace in the world because poor people cannot get food to eat, a basic need that threatens the survival of a human being.

In Kenya today the state cannot feed its entire people and thus those hungry have nothing to lose if they committed suicidal attacks at the promise of some money to relieve the rest of their families from continued suffering. These single suicidal bombers are worse than any other military force in the world; you don't know who they are and where they are. These new actors in the international system have various names, terrorists, criminals; but in essence they are among the disillusioned poor people who have lost hope in this world. They can easily be bought with very little and since they have given up in life, they risk and even sacrifice their own lives, the terrorist attacks of the American embassy in Nairobi, Dar-es-salaam in 1998 and the September nine eleven attacks of the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) twin tower offices, and the Pentagon in New York and Washington respectively are just some of the examples of the kind of modern threats that we face. These threats and others discussed earlier offer some of the most critical challenges to the political leaders and military strategists.

The broadened thinking of national security has therefore reduced the efficacy of the military strategy in dealing with all the various threats that face the world today. Therefore military strategists must go back to the drawing board and formulate such military strategies that will be able to defeat the enemy that is threatening the survival of the state. In Kenya the most existential threat has been identified as poverty and the political objective has been set as eradication of poverty. Consequently the military has to strategize bearing in mind that the main enemy of the state is poverty and therefore formulate military strategies that will assist in defeating the enemy. Poverty touches on all the instruments of nation power in that, poor populace become unproductive thus stagnating economic growth, there is increased crime as the poor use all means to satisfy their basic human needs and thus directly affect the security of the state when these two areas are touched it follows that the populace become ungovernable and could lead to the collapse of a state.

This is not an easy task for the military given that since time immemorial; the military has been concerned with facing armed enemies mostly from the external borders. This form of a threat calls for a complete paradigm shift in the operationalization of the military strategy. Unlike in the traditional doctrines, enemies with sophisticated arsenals, the new

enemy does not need conventional weapons to deal with. So how will the military strategy fit in getting the answer to this problem? Is there need to engage in some industrial manufacturing, extensive farming or simply disband the military to join the rest of the populace in some social economic activity. This chapter looks at the threat caused by poverty and tries to operationalize to fit in the military doctrine.

The thesis that answers this question lies in a slight modification to the current operational doctrine to make it relevant to the national grand strategy objectives. The modification of the doctrine will be based on the broad national security perspective and basing the arguments of national grand strategy paradigm. When operationalising the poverty threat an inclination towards the military civic action approach will be in the fore.

As is in the normal process of analysing a threat, most important is to clearly understand the enemy, in terms of strength, disposition, weak and strong points that is the centre of gravity, armed with this intelligence then a plan can be formulated to attack his centre of gravity and hence defeating him. The desired end state must also be known so as to be able to identify the intermediate objectives that have to be overcome before subduing the main threat and thus capturing the objective with the least effort and minimum expenditure of resources. To facilitate this, there is need to completely understand the nature of the threat and the actions other friendly forces or departments are undertaking towards the achievement of the end state. Therefore, in the next section poverty as a threat and its manifestations are critically analysed and subsequent possible courses of actions considered.

Poverty and its manifestations

First we need to understand the government grand strategy in the poverty eradication and wealth creation and incorporate the policy statements into our military strategy and then operationalize them. There have been three main policy documents that outline the government objectives in the fight against poverty they include, the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (2001-2004), the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2004-2015. These documents lay out the proposed policies that should be undertaken to achieve the required goals. The proposals are evaluated and discussed on the way forward in incorporating them into the military doctrine, without the hindsight of the main core role of the armed forces. These policy documents appreciate that poverty is a social cultural, economic, political and

psychological phenomenon but in trying to understand it, the economic manifestations are emphasized.

There are therefore diverse views in the definition of poverty and the way to measure it in empirical facts. In some cases, it is referred to as a situation where people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. These include food, shelter and clothing. Others argue that, in addition to basic needs, people also lack control over resources, and are vulnerable to disasters, they lack education and skills. They are of poor health, prone to violence and crime, and lack political freedom. However, these are social issues whose empirical measurement is not obviously achieved, therefore common measures of poverty is a consumption-based poverty line, which is equivalent to the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other basic necessities. Internationally, this is pegged at one US dollar per person per day. The other perspective is measured in terms of inability to achieve 2,250 calories¹ per person per day. According to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) for the period 2003-2004, poverty line measurements in Kenya vary and depend on whether one lives in rural or urban areas. Welfare monitoring surveys have pegged poverty in Kenya at Kshs.2, 648 per month for urban areas and Kshs.1, 239 in rural areas. Poverty has also been defined in relation to conditions such as lack of land, unemployment, lack of proper housing; inability to educate children and inability to feed own self.²

To capture most of the social aspects of poverty we need to look at some of the indicators that can be evaluated to allow a method of countering the problems. One of the social indicators of poverty is the health and nutrition status of society, the things to look for is the number of health facilities, number of doctors and paramedical personnel available to attend to the people, the number of people attended at the health facilities; a comparison to the population determines whether the society is poor or not. An increase in the number of doctors, hospitals, dispensaries and the number of people attended in these facilities contribute to poverty eradication. The number of children suffering from malnutrition in a society indicates a decline or an increase in the poverty levels. . In determining whether there are adequate or not we look at the growth of health facilities in a region, an increase in the number of health care facilities means that more people are provided with health care. Another social measure used in poverty evaluation is in the education sector. The number of schools, colleges and even universities and enough teachers and trainers of these institutions

¹ Ministry of planning,2000. Popular Version Of The Second Report On Poverty In Kenya, p5

² Ibid, p6

is evaluated. Notwithstanding this, the number of graduates from these institutions and the percentage that reaches the final grades is important. The higher the school enrolment and literacy levels the less the community is poor.

Housing is also an indicator considered in measuring poverty levels, here the emphasis is the type of house, does it have running water, electricity and is it spacious enough to accommodate the people expected to live there. Water is a basic human need and therefore its ease of availability or its scarcity is an indicator of poverty status. The further the water is away from the people the poor the community is because any community in the world would want the water as near to their shelter as possible. Accessibility to homes indicates whether services are easily available or not and if the infrastructure is there what are the modes of transport. If there roads or railway lines but no cars and trains then the e infrastructure does not contribute much to the poverty eradication to such a community.

Participation in governance is another criterion that is used to evaluate the levels of poverty in society. In a society where poverty is so harsh governance has no meaning to them and therefore no positive participation, any kind of participation is either through coercion or manipulation. In such communities you find very few voters and even those who do so might be through bribery of some kind. These evaluation indicators are subjected to the human development index scale and the level of poverty of a community or a state is determined³.

Poverty Creating Factors in Kenya

The first and foremost factor causing poverty in Kenya is the skewed and uncoordinated growth, equity and sustainable development. There have been many development plans that have been conceptualized since independence but they have not been able to spur development and hence eradicate poverty. The mean reason has been lack of research based on the household surveys so as to understand the underlying causes of poverty. Indeed the failure of past development approaches to eliminate poverty could be attributed to several domestic and exogenous factors. Some of these factors include domestic macro-economic policy frameworks that do not sufficiently address the negative impact of economic reforms on the poor, women, environment and employment in terms of full integration into the mainstream development process. This has resulted in the programs and

³ J. Bahemuka, B.Nganda, C.Nzioka (eds), 1998. *Poverty Revised: Analysis And Strategies Towards Poverty Eradication In Kenya*, Ruaraka Printing Press, Nairobi.

mechanisms not being targeted towards the empowerment of the vulnerable group. There has also been inadequate attention accorded to social welfare as necessary ingredients of social development, most significantly to education and health. The resistance of the National Insurance Hospital Insurance is an example of the reluctance by the planners to incorporate social welfare into the government planning.

There are policy, legislative and institutional conflicts and inconsistencies with respect to objectives and enforcement and no legal statutes or structures to protect the poor. There is no effective coordination of the numerous organisations and professionals dealing with different dimensions of poverty, be it in the gender issues or environmental preservation. There is also lack of integration of principal poverty reduction concerns into policy analysis, formulation, decision making and implementation by all development agents. There is absence of a strategic framework that integrates poverty reduction within operational guidelines, planning and management tools of all participating agents in order to mobilize institutional, human and financial resources in all sectors. Inadequate government budget for social security and protection which results in lack of policy and strategy implementation. There have been inadequate incentives for economic activities with a capacity to reduce poverty.⁴

The preoccupation in economic growth has tended to downplay non-economic activities, especially those related to human development and well-being. This has ignored the fact that economic growth, greater equity and sustainable development are interlocked issues which must be addressed in an integrated manner because none is sustainable without the others. To reduce poverty, the main focus should be on the nature and the content of economic growth. Growth must be economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. Although the economic activities of the poor may degrade the environment, it is not by choice but lack of alternatives. New approaches to poverty reduction must therefore be visualized to deal with the majority of poor Kenyans in order to protect the environment⁵

The critical missing link between economic growth and the incidence of poverty is equity. An equity propelled growth strategy places the poor majority at the centre of all national and international development policies. The strategies should focus on, or be supported by, and produce major benefits for the majority poor. These strategies should accelerate economic growth with greater equity reliance, improve health, incomes and living

⁴ Ibid, p9

⁵ Loc cit

conditions for the poor and ensure equitable and sustainable exploitation of the environment for the present and future generations.⁶

The population growth in Kenya has continued to grow faster than the economic development rate. This means that there is a continued rise of unemployed labour entering the economy. This has been a major development growth challenge and has led to the unemployment figures going up to 17.8 percent and 23.6 percent in 1993 and 1994 respectively and this has escalated the poverty levels⁷. Out of the total population 56% are poor and have larger families .this means the poor have larger families to feed and less to save. or invest in an enterprise because most of their earnings are spent on food. The poor also have little to spare to take their children to school and therefore aggravating their status of poverty.

The low agricultural productivity that has not even been able to sustain the food security in the country and the poor marketing of cash crops has been a contributor to poverty deterioration. Kenya's economy is based on agriculture. Low agricultural productivity has been attributed to traditional farming methods, low soil fertility, unpredictable weather conditions, poor and inadequate expert services, high cost of inputs and lack of credit facilities. Mismanagement of agricultural institutions has contributed to poor marketing and low incomes. Similarly, livestock production has been constrained by lack of water and pasture, animal diseases and lack of information on marketing. The ministry of livestock has especially ignored the Arid and Semi-Arid areas where the pastoralists have cattle that can be turned into capital. This potential has been left lying idle and therefore promoting what Katumanga refers to as political banditism, where politicians own bandits who steal cattle from their neighbours for commercial purposes.

The acute problem of poor land tenure laws has made many of the poor unskilled people landless. This means that they cannot even grow their own food. More than 85% of the Kenyan population lives in the rural areas where the main economic activity is subsistence farming, therefore the landlessness is a contributing factor to their poverty status. This land distribution problem was caused by the colonialists and has not been addressed to date, and unless it is sorted out it will continue being a cause of ethnic clashes and hence a contributing factor to insecurity. On the other hand where the elite have huge tracts of land that they don't use for agricultural use deprive the poor and thus continue escalating the

⁶ Ibid, p10

⁷ Ibid, p11

poverty problem. In some areas the land has shrunk in terms of pasture land and hence not able to support the cattle kept by the communities, and hence causing conflict with neighbouring communities more so between pastoralists and the agrarian communities.

Poverty has also been escalated by poor governance; this is manifested in unfair distribution of national resources hence depriving some areas of development funds. Lack of transparency and accountability of the available resources and funds meant to benefit the people ends up not being used to build infrastructure and provision of vital services. This has been one of the thorniest issues in third world countries where most of the government systems have been authoritarian or autocratic, 'the *siasa mbaya maisha mbaya* politics'⁸. This is a very good environment for poverty escalation; a few people amass wealth meant to spur development in the underdeveloped areas. This kind of governance is compounded by corruption. The destructive nature of corruption is not in dispute. Corruption in governance increases poverty both directly and indirectly. It diverts resources to rich people who can afford to pay bribes away from the poor. It also interferes with revenue collection and thus the resources available for public services.

When there is poor governance and weak political system the state becomes challenged by the people who are subjects. This phenomenon has been prevalent in Kenya for some time and has resulted to increased insecurity. In the north eastern, the north rift and North West rift has had a proliferation of small arms from the neighbouring countries. These small arms have fallen into the hands of criminals; this coupled with a corrupt weak government has resulted into increased crime rates and general insecurity. This has scared off would be investors and also reduced earnings from tourism and therefore less and less money for economic development and social welfare services. This has led the government being ineffective in some areas and thus increased banditry, cattle rustling, robbery, rape and murder and other crimes. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons from unstable neighbouring countries, as well as laxity on the part of law enforcement agencies, including courts, have contributed to the worsening situation of insecurity in the country.

The weak economic growth has also resulted in acute unemployment for skilled manpower thus forcing people to take up low wage jobs. Thus the number of school and college leavers continues to accumulate, and this is a breeding source of criminals. . Lack of employment implies lack of income necessary for meeting the basic needs such as food,

⁸ This was a common phrase used by President Daniel arap Moi especially when addressing the masses in areas where they voted to his opposition in the majority.

shelter, clothing, education and medical services. It has also contributed to an increase in crime in the country.

The country has a very poor infrastructure in terms of transportation and communication. This has retarded economic development because it discourages both foreign and local investors. It has also affected market accessibility to those living in rural areas. In the rural areas where production of food and other agricultural products are grown have the worst road networks such that in the rainy season, vehicles cannot pass. The irony is that, it is during the rainy season that food grows and hence need to be taken to consumers.

The incurable HIV/AIDS pandemic is a recent problem that is causing the death of the most energetic and productive section of the Kenyan population this has had dire consequences to the economic development in that those who are expected to be providers become dependent and eventually die at their prime age. This has had a constraint on the medical facilities and further resulted into many dependent orphans and thus escalating poverty in the country.

The Extent and Magnitude of Poverty in Kenya

The poor economic performance experienced over the last two decades has profoundly and negatively affected the overall welfare of the people of Kenya. The poverty situation has worsened over the period. Some 17 million or 56% of the population live below the poverty line. The standards of living have deteriorated as demonstrated by falling rates of literacy, reducing life expectancy and high child mortality; among other social factors. These disappointing developments have been complicated further by the upsurge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and its effects on the general economy. In addition, the country's physical infrastructure, roads, railways, ports, telecommunications and others have been dilapidated, some to point of no return. They cannot therefore provide a competitive environment for business and economic growth. Public service has gone down to the lowest ebb, characterised by inefficiency and corruption. The law enforcement instruments the law courts and the police have almost lost the peoples confidence as can be seen in the increased crime rates.

The Government Strategies on Poverty Alleviation and Economic Development

Since independence in 1963, the country has endeavoured to improve the standards of living of the people. This aspiration has been reflected in various Government documents

such as Sessional papers, Development plans, Policy Framework papers, the PRSP and lately, the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007).

The Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 on "*African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*" was among the first of the Government's policy documents on the vision and needs of the Kenyan people. The paper recognised the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease as some of the key priorities. Consequently, the country's major development objectives have been founded on the principles of reducing poverty through achieving high and growing incomes that are equitably distributed among Kenyans.

In order to achieve these objectives, the country needed to grow at an annual rate of 7% sustained over a period of at least ten years. Other subsequent policy documents such as the Sessional Paper No.1 of 1986 on "*Economic Management for Renewed Growth*", Sessional papers on "*Economic Recovery and Sustainable Development to the year 2010*" and "*Industrial Transformation to the year 2020*" emphasises more or less on the same principles of tackling the country's economic objectives. These objectives have, however, been achieved with varying degrees of success. This is particularly evident when one assesses Kenya's growth path since independence.

During the first 16 years of independence, the country's rate of annual economic growth averaged 6.1 percent. The next 16 years saw the average rate of growth fall to 3.4 percent. The rate of growth since 1995 has fallen to 1.4 percent. The Government of Kenya has, at various stages, in consultation and collaboration with development partners, tried to address the decline in the rate of economic growth with little signs of success. The NARC Government has, however, put in motion a bold initiative towards poverty alleviation and economic development through the "*Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007)*".

The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007)

The "*Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007)*" identifies key policy measures and programmes that the Government is committed to pursuing over a period of five years starting from the year 2003. When implemented, these measures are expected to create the necessary conditions for achieving the desired economic growth, wealth, employment and reduced poverty in the Kenyan society. Some of the measures are as follows,

General security is concerned with the provision of public safety, through the law enforcement apparatus, the police and the judiciary. In order to effectively address the challenges of law enforcement, policing and crime prevention, the Government intends to implement the following among many other things, review and enact appropriate laws for dealing with modern day crime and develop and enforce a framework for cross-border and territorial waters policing.

The expanding and improvement of the infrastructure is paramount in spurring economic development. The government therefore intends to expand and improve the infrastructure as follows, to build more durable roads and have a maintenance plan. To supplement the roads especially for the heavy cargo railway transport will be revamped. In order to substantially improve its capacity beyond the current performance levels, intervention is required to assist the Kenya Railways in meeting the immediate requirements for infrastructure development, maintenance and rehabilitation of locomotives, wagons and equipment.

A Programme for Air Transport ..the air transport sub-sector will need further institutional and regulatory reforms envisaged to meet the objective of handling two million tourists a year, as well as the growth in export volume. This will require upgrading of Kisumu, Malindi and Wilson airports as well as modernisation of air traffic management. The Port of Mombasa is the principal seaport in Kenya. In order to improve the performance of the port, further improvements are required. Among them are dredging of the port, construction of a new road access across Kipevu Bridge and development of a Maritime Search and Rescue Centre. The core aim of the NARC Government's policy as it relates to housing is to facilitate the construction of 150,000 housing units every year and meet the growing demand for housing.

the HIV/AIDS pandemic is given special consideration because of its devastating impact on all sectors of the economy. A multi-sectoral approach will be continued and the institutional framework to implement it will be strengthened in partnership with major stakeholders. This will entail taking the following additional measures. Setting up special health care programmes for HIV/AIDS infected people, and training communities on HIV/AIDS home-based care.

National Security and Economic Development

National security is the capacity of a state to protect itself from physical and socio-economic threats. It guarantees a country's sovereignty and the ability to execute her national objectives and protect the core values from external and internal threats. In other words, national security ensures that a country conducts its affairs in peace and freedom. Only in such an environment are economic activities likely to thrive.

On the other hand, a growing and resilient economy allows for maintenance of defence capability and provides the ability to respond quickly to the demands of crisis or war. A country's economy must therefore continue to grow in order to support the capability that is needed for national security. National security and economic development is therefore a typical example of the proverbial case of the egg and chicken.

Case studies of India and Egypt have indicated that, the Armed Forces are comparable in their role to Kenyan forces. The Force is very large compared to the Kenyan Armed Forces. Like the Kenyan Armed Forces, its primary role is defence of the country against external aggression while its secondary role is aid to civil authority. It is evenly spread throughout the country. This facilitates quick reaction to incidents of disaster and other crisis at any part of the country. Unlike in Kenya, the Force is not constrained by personnel and equipment. It is not directly involved in functions of other ministries or government departments. There is a committee headquartered at the capital which is charged with the responsibility of disaster prevention /management. There are specialised teams to cater for any after-effects of disaster. The Force is heavily involved in the National Information Technology programme because it is highly advanced in this area.

Involvement in poverty alleviation programmes is only through women association groups. These are groups composed of officers' and servicemen's spouses in each service. There are the Army Women Welfare Association, Air Force Women Welfare Association and Navy Women Welfare Association, each charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating women welfare activities in their respective services. Programmes involve welfare and relief projects carried out in areas neighbouring the military bases. The Armed Forces should not be seen to be directly involved in these programmes.

The Force occasionally conducts MEDICAPS. Recently, a 200 bed mobile hospital was established for this purpose. This is however a joint military/civilian effort.

Like in the case of India, the Egyptian Armed Forces is large compared to that of Kenya. Some key facts about it are: Its primary role is defence of the country against

external aggression, while its secondary role is aid to civil authority in maintenance of law and order. It is evenly spread throughout the country. This facilitates quick response to incidents of disaster. The Force is not constrained by manpower and financial resources.

The Army Engineers have departments that deal solely with civil projects. Such projects are contracts awarded by the government. They are usually large projects requiring quick action and the government actually pays the Armed Forces for any contracts awarded. The cost of the project is usually lower than if it was undertaken by a civil contractor.

Like the Engineers, the Army Signals has a department that solely deals with civil projects that are communications in nature. Again, such projects are large and require urgent action. Depending on circumstances, both the Engineers and Signals can carry out some government projects free of charge. Civil action units are separate from operational units and they are mainly staffed with civilians. Military officers are rotated between such units and operational units.

The Army Logistics has separate units that are involved in only commercial activities. Such activities include operation of supermarkets (the equivalent of our AFKO shops) and farming in both agriculture and livestock. All proceeds from commercial activities go to the Armed Forces and not the Exchequer. The Force operates military industries that manufacture both military and civil products. The Military manufactures its own uniforms, weapons, vehicles and other equipment.

Other departments such as Army Transport, Air Force and Navy are not involved in any commercial transport activities. They only get involved in crisis prevention/management. The Force is also heavily involved in research projects in collaboration with other institutions. Civilians are served in military hospitals at subsidised prices. Like in Kenya, they are served free of charge in times of crisis. The Armed Forces also conduct MEDICAPS when deployed in rural areas.

The lessons learnt from the successes of the Indian and Egyptian Armed Forces are as follows: The Armed Forces should be adequately staffed and equipped not only for its primary and secondary roles, but also for quick reaction to cases of disaster. For quick reaction, units of the Armed Forces should be evenly spread throughout the country.

The Armed Forces is a valuable source of skilled and disciplined manpower that is necessary for poverty alleviation and economic development. Spouses and of the Armed Forces personnel can contribute to the welfare of the people living in the neighbourhood of military bases. However, there must be a deliberate effort by the Armed Forces to support

them. There should also be no separation between officers' and servicemen's spouses when it comes to such ventures.

Armed Forces units dealing with civic action should be clearly identified and separated from operational units. This ensures that civil activities do not interfere with operational readiness of the Armed Forces. It also ensures an organised reaction to a situation. There should be a department, within the Armed Forces, that coordinates civic action. If well coordinated, the Armed Forces can be involved in commercial activities without interference in its core functions.

Views of the Service Commanders

Poverty alleviation and economic development is a continuous process in which the role of the individual is important. It involves empowering an individual to be able to meet his/her basic needs. The individual has; however, to ask what role he/she has to play in the whole process. The Service Commanders offered the following views on the ways the Armed Forces can be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes, (1) At approximately 2% of the GDP, the defence budget is large enough to contribute to poverty alleviation and economic development of the country. Kenyans can benefit more from this budget if its consumption is more indigenalised than it is today. The Armed Forces should be in the forefront in Kenyanisation of procurement of its goods and services. (2) Utilisation of the MTEF budgetary allocations should be as judicious as possible. Government ministries and departments with common objectives should belong to the same budget sector for ease of coordination of utilisation of the available resources. (3) Part of the military training budget can be used in civil projects. If well coordinated, such projects will provide not only welfare and poverty alleviation to the citizen, but also training opportunities to the military personnel involved. They may include construction works, MEDICAPS and maritime patrols aimed at training and protection of fisheries. (4) Excess capacity in existing facilities such as the Kenya Ordnance Factories Cooperation (KOFCC), military workshops and the Kenya Navy dockyard can be utilised for commercial activities. Funds generated from such activities can be routed back to boost the defence budget and reduce strain on demands from the Treasury. (5) programmes such as national afforestation are not dependent on equipment. They only require manpower. Armed Forces units can be involved in tree planting activities in their respective regions. Poverty alleviation also includes general welfare of the people. The Armed Forces should continue to be involved in activities such as transportation during

difficult times, medical assistance, construction and renovation of social facilities such as schools, dispensaries and provision of water.

In the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL), Compared to other parts of the country, economic development in ASAL started late. In many cases, access to ASAL is difficult to the conventional actors in poverty alleviation and economic development. Only the Armed Forces may be in a position to reach such areas. The ASAL Programme mainly relies on finances from donors. Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) with NGOs create a broad area of partnership. The programme is already active in 22 districts around the country. There are programme coordinators on the ground, each with specific activities that have been planned and budgeted for. The ASAL Policy has been formulated and is awaiting presentation to the cabinet in June this year. This policy defines the projects to be undertaken under the programme and how they are to be funded. Projects that can be undertaken by the Armed Forces under the ASAL programme include Creation of access roads, Provision of Water, Construction/renovation infrastructure for schools and dispensaries. Small scale operations such as lifting of relief food and transportation of stranded persons. Other service oriented programmes such as MEDICAPS , ENCAPS and VETCAPS.Cooperation with the Armed Forces can be through MOUs on specific priority projects. Such MOUs may involve the Armed Forces providing the necessary personnel and equipment while the ASAL programme meets the operational and maintenance costs. The ASAL organisation is more than willing to enter into this partnership.

The National Operations Centre (NOC) coordinates the national effort in disaster prevention/management. However, the centre has some limitations first it does not have a budget of its own. The Provincial Disaster Management committees have been established and are operational. The idea is for the provincial administration to deal with cases of disaster using their own resources before calling on the national effort for assistance. Generally, the country is ill equipped to deal with disasters such as floods and fire. Since no Government agency has a budget for disaster prevention/management, the military will continue to be called upon to assist even in minor incidents. Military presence does not only offer assistance, but also inspires and encourages people in a state of despair. Hence the need for the Armed Forces to continue to build its capacity to deal with cases of disaster.

The Ministry is faced with the task of improving access to water for human consumption, irrigated agriculture and livestock use in the rural areas and in particular, in ASAL. The water coverage in these areas is currently assessed to be 48%; a situation that has

led to high water stress conditions. The Ministry intends to address these problems of water shortage through, among others, development of ground water resources whose annual renewal amount is about 0.6 billion cubic metres per year of which only 0.06 billion cubic metres are expected to be exploited annually.

This development will involve drilling and rehabilitation of boreholes as well as construction and de-silting of pans and small earth dams. Currently, there are about 2,300 existing pans and small dams half of which are silted with most of them in ASAL areas. In addition to this, the existing irrigation canals shall be de-silted to improve water conveyance.

The Ministry states that since it has deployed all its available drilling and earth moving equipment to carry out these works but are currently insufficient in capacity, they would like to enter into a joint effort with the Armed Forces. Through this effort, it is proposed that an MoU be agreed upon in which the Armed Forces will work with the Ministry on specific areas. Such areas include those with security problems. The Armed Forces will be expected to supplement the Ministry's efforts by drilling of boreholes and de-silting of water pans, earth dams and irrigation canals in areas that will be mutually agreed upon.

The Fisheries Department of the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development is charged with the responsibility of sustainable management and development of fishery resources to ensure an increasing supply and consumption for socio-economic benefits, while conserving the environment and biodiversity. Its strategic objective is to maximise fish production on sustainable yield for the benefits of the fishers and contribute to food security. It also aims at promoting aquaculture to increase the fisheries resource base.

Kenya produces about 200,000 tons of fish annually from its portion of Lake Victoria, inland lakes, rivers, dams, fish farms and marine waters directly earning fishers and fish farmers about Kshs.6.5 billion. The industry thus plays an important socio-economic role in Kenya by creating employment and incomes directly to over 500,000 Kenyans engaged in fish production, fish trade, industrial processing/export and related enterprises. The sub-sector also earns the country about Kshs 4 billion in foreign exchange and generates revenue for the Government. Thus within the context of poverty alleviation and wealth creation, this is an important sector.

The problems currently being experienced by the Department involve illegal fishing in our waters by foreign fishermen, lack of protection of our own fishermen and shortage of

earth moving equipment for construction of fishing ponds for fish farming in the rural areas. The Department feels that a MoU with the Armed Forces can be prepared detailing the modalities of partnership between Defence and Fisheries in the areas of protection of our fisheries and assistance in construction of fish ponds in rural areas. The Department is willing to meet the cost of operation and maintenance of any military equipment involved.

Options Available To the Armed Forces

Lessons learnt from countries with more advanced forces show that involvement of the Armed Forces in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes should not interfere with operational readiness. Therefore, four options are open to the Kenya Armed Forces To be totally detached from poverty alleviation and economic development programmes and concentrate only on its core function of ensuring security from external and internal aggression. This option has a major disadvantage in that it will isolate the Armed Forces from the rest of the community. There will also be a feeling that the Armed Forces are not doing enough for the country during peacetime.

The armed forces should be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development without any demarcation between the resources to be used for these programmes and those that are intended for operational readiness. In other words, maintain the current status quo. A substantial rehabilitation of the existing equipment will be necessary. There will be need for additional equipment. The main disadvantage of this option is that it will be difficult to avoid interference with operational readiness. Reaction to situations will also continue to be on ad hoc basis.

The Armed Forces should be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes, but there should be a clear demarcation between the resources to be used for these programmes and those meant for operational readiness. This option requires a substantial injection of additional funds for rehabilitation and sustenance of existing equipment and introduction of new ones. It may also require a reorganisation of the Armed Forces.

The fourth option is similar to the second one but calls for more radical changes. It involves establishment of civil action units which are separate from operational units and mainly staffed with civilians. Military officers are to be rotated between such units and operational ones. The main disadvantage of this option is that it calls for a major

earth moving equipment for construction of fishing ponds for fish farming in the rural areas. The Department feels that a MoU with the Armed Forces can be prepared detailing the modalities of partnership between Defence and Fisheries in the areas of protection of our fisheries and assistance in construction of fish ponds in rural areas. The Department is willing to meet the cost of operation and maintenance of any military equipment involved.

Options Available To the Armed Forces

Lessons learnt from countries with more advanced forces show that involvement of the Armed Forces in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes should not interfere with operational readiness. Therefore, four options are open to the Kenya Armed Forces To be totally detached from poverty alleviation and economic development programmes and concentrate only on its core function of ensuring security from external and internal aggression. This option has a major disadvantage in that it will isolate the Armed Forces from the rest of the community. There will also be a feeling that the Armed Forces are not doing enough for the country during peacetime.

The armed forces should be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development without any demarcation between the resources to be used for these programmes and those that are intended for operational readiness. In other words, maintain the current status quo. A substantial rehabilitation of the existing equipment will be necessary. There will be need for additional equipment. The main disadvantage of this option is that it will be difficult to avoid interference with operational readiness. Reaction to situations will also continue to be on ad hoc basis.

The Armed Forces should be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes, but there should be a clear demarcation between the resources to be used for these programmes and those meant for operational readiness. This option requires a substantial injection of additional funds for rehabilitation and sustenance of existing equipment and introduction of new ones. It may also require a reorganisation of the Armed Forces.

The fourth option is similar to the second one but calls for more radical changes. It involves establishment of civil action units which are separate from operational units and mainly staffed with civilians. Military officers are to be rotated between such units and operational ones. The main disadvantage of this option is that it calls for a major

reorganisation of the Armed Forces, as well as a large injection of additional finances for personnel recruitment and purchase of the necessary equipment.

The recommendation is a combination of options two and three with the following guidelines for implementation: Poverty alleviation and economic development is a continuous process in which the role of the individual is important. It involves empowering an individual to meet basic needs. The individual has, however to play a role in the whole process. While it is a good idea for the Armed Forces to be involved in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes, it should not be seen to be taking opportunities away from other Kenyans. To avoid such an eventuality, the Armed Forces involvement should be limited to only those programmes that may be outside the reach of the civil enterprises due to insecurity and inaccessibility. Some projects can be more expensive if carried out by the Armed Forces than they would be if carried out by the civil enterprises which have existing infrastructure. The Armed Forces should therefore be involved in only those projects for which necessary infrastructure lacks in the civil enterprises. The projects to be undertaken by the Armed Forces should be limited to only those that have security implications and in those areas where civilian contractors cannot operate. These may involve provision of water in areas where communities fight over it, provision of access roads in rural areas for food security and programmes involving disaster prevention/management. In the short-term, there should be a budget for disaster prevention/management that is clearly separate from the operational budget. This should aim at rehabilitation and sustenance of the existing equipment. In the mid-term, it should be aimed at procurement of more equipment for capacity building. In the long-term, it should be for creation of units dedicated to civic action.

Though the Armed Forces should not be seen to be directly involved in competitive commercial activities, existing facilities such as the Kenya Ordnance Factories Cooperation can participate in some income generating activities. This can be achieved through recruitment of competent management from the corporate world. There should be more involvement of the armed forces in research. This will enhance production of more skilled manpower not only for the Armed Forces, but also for the national economy. The Armed Forces involvement should not be seen to be in terms of individual services, but in terms of a combined effort of the three services.

Conclusion

The Armed Forces welcomes the challenge of participating in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes only to the extent that it does not interfere with operational readiness. The Armed Forces should also not be seen to be taking away opportunities from the civil enterprises. In this respect, projects undertaken should be limited to only those in insecure or inaccessible environment. There should also be continued support to disaster-related programmes and calamities. However, in order to be effective in all these undertakings, the Armed Forces need to be enhanced in terms of manpower and equipment.

The Armed Forces should be more involved in poverty alleviation and economic development programmes but should not be seen to be in competition with the civil enterprises. In this respect, civil military operations should be limited to only those with security implications and those that are in areas that are inaccessible to civil enterprises. In all programmes involving other government ministries or departments, the parent ministry or department should be the sponsor of the project. Armed Forces involvement should be through detailed policies. The Armed Forces capability to participate in civil programmes should be enhanced. This should be a gradual process that starts with rehabilitation of existing equipment, followed by acquisition of new ones to fill the existing shortfalls and then expansion through additional personnel and equipment. In the long-term, there should be a budget, personnel and equipment that are clearly separate from operational resources. This should apply to Engineers, Transport, Medical, Air Force and Navy resources. A Coordination centre should however, be centralised at DHQ. In future, Armed Forces deployments of a battle group and above should be coupled with a civil project such as a MEDICAP, VETCAP or ENCAP.

The military training budget should incorporate civil military operations that are aimed at on-job-training for the military personnel involved. Excess capacity in existing facilities such as the KOFC, Kenya Navy dockyard and military workshops should be utilised for commercial purposes. Funds generated from such activities should be routed back to boost the budget for civil military operations. Establishment of the Armed Forces Disaster Management School should be hastened as a means of enhancing disaster preparedness.

There is a lot of potential in the Kenya armed forces that could be tapped for economic development, and therefore more research is required in this field. The military should have an internal research department that should research on specific projects that could be funded by the ministries or the treasury directly. However, all projects must be

people driven and acceptable to the communities that are meant to benefit otherwise could also result in wasting the scarce resources.

1. [Faint text]

2. [Faint text]

3. [Faint text]

4. [Faint text]

5. [Faint text]

6. [Faint text]

7. [Faint text]

8. [Faint text]

9. [Faint text]

10. [Faint text]

11. [Faint text]

12. [Faint text]

13. [Faint text]

14. [Faint text]

15. [Faint text]

16. [Faint text]

17. [Faint text]

18. [Faint text]

19. [Faint text]

20. [Faint text]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abaya O.J., 1999. *The Power Base Behind Under-development in Post-Independent Africa. A Tentative Approach Through Scenario Building*, Nairobi.
- Art R.J. and Jervis R, 2003. *International Politics. Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*. Addison Wesley Education Publishers Inc., New York.
- Ayoob, M, 1995. *The Third World Security Predicament; State Malling, Regional Conflict and the International System*. Lynne Rienner, BOULDER.
- Bahemuka, J. Nganda, B and Nzioka G (eds), 1998. *Poverty Revisited; Analysis and Strategies Towards Poverty Eradication in Kenya*, Nairobi.
- Binnendijk, H (ed) , 2002. *Transforming America's Military National Defence University Press*, Washington D.C.
- Booth, K and Smith S (ed), *International relations Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Buzan B, 1991. *People States & Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the post-cold war era*, Pearson, England.
- Buzan B, Waeber, O. and Wilde J, 1998. *Security. A new Framework for Analysis*, Lynne Rienner, BOULDER.
- Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997. *A future for small states; Overcoming Vulnerability*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- Deng F.M. and Zartman W.I, 2002. *A Strategic Vision for Africa. The Kampala Movement*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC.
- Franke, V. 1999. *Preparing for Peace; Military Identity, Value Orientations and*

Professional Military Education, Praeger Westport, Connecticut.

Gat, A., 1992. *The Development of Military Thought; The Nineteenth Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Huntington, S.P., 1957. *The Soldier and the State. The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Holsti K.J., 1995. *International Politics. A framework for Analysis*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Hutchful, E. and Bathily A. (eds) 1998. *The Military and Militarism in Africa*, CODERSIA, Dakar.

International Affairs, Stockholm.

Kamenju J., Singo, M and Wairagu, F., 2003. *Terrorized citizens, Security Research and Information Centre*, Nairobi.

Keller E.J. and Rothchild, D. (ed) 1996. *Africa in the New International Order Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder London.

Lider, J. 1983. *Military Theory; Concept, Structure, Problems*. Swedish Institute of

Mandel, R. 1994. *The changing face of National Security* Greenwood Press, Connecticut.

Mengisteab and Daddieh, C. (eds) 1999. *State Building and Democratization in Africa; Faith, Hope and Realities*, Praeger Westport, Connecticut.

Morgenthau, H.J., revised by Thompson K.W. *Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace (6th ed)*, Miller Centre, Virginia.

- Muchai, A. 2002. *Kenya Crime survey 2002*, Security Research and Information Centre, Nairobi.
- Mwagiru, M (ed) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi.
- Ogot B.A. and Ochieng W.R. (eds) 1995. *Decolonizations and Independence in Kenya*, E.A.E.P., Nairobi.
- Oliver, R. and Atmore, A., 1967. *Africa since 1800*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Olukoshi A.O and Wohlgemath (eds), 1995. *A Road to Development*, Nordiska Africainstitutet, Uppsala.
- Parsons, H.T. 1999. *The African Rank – and – File; Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the Kings African Rifles 1902 – 1904*, E.A.E.P., Nairobi.
- Pauw, J.W. and Luz, G.A. (eds) 1992. *Winning The Peace*, Praeger Publishers, New York.
- Ralston DB(ed), 1966. *Soldiers and States. Civil-military relations in Modern Europe*; DC Health and Company, Boston.
- Robert, A. Vitas and Williams, J.A. (ed) 1996, *US National Security Policy and Strategy 1987 – 1994; Documents and Policy Proposals*, Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut.
- Schatzberg, M.G. (ed) 1987. *The Political Economy of Kenya* Praeger, New York.
- Schroeder, P.J., 2000. *African Politics and Society; A mosaic in Transformation* Macmillan Press, London.
- Shuman, M.H. and Harvey, H, 1993. *Security without War. A Post-Cold War Foreign Policy* Westview Press, Boulder.

Snyder, C.A. (ed), 1999. *Contemporary. Security and Strategy*. Macmillan Press Ltd, London.

Stern G, 1995. *The Structure of International Society*, Pinter, London.

Tordoff W., 1984. *Government and Politics in Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Wansch, J.S. and Olowu, D. (eds), 1999. *The Failure of the Centralized State. Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa*, Westview Press, Boulder.