

NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY - KENYA



NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE - KAREN

**MILITARY DIPLOMACY AND THE ENHANCEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY
ASPIRATIONS IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF KENYA- SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS**

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Signed Date

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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Col. (Dr.) C.O. Imbiakha

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my loving family for their forbearance during my studies.

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ABSTRACT

The world is today more than ever before fixated on the subject of development, which is taken as a process of change, requiring adjustments in the societies of the developing and developed countries. This calls for profound changes in diplomatic discourse and structure of the relations among different states of the world. Therefore, the objective of this study was to examine military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in Africa using the case of Kenya-South Africa relations. This research aims to churn-out new information to add onto the body of knowledge to examine military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy. Military diplomacy can be defined as a set of activities carried out mainly by the representatives of the defence department, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interests of the state in the field of security and defence policy, and whose actions are based on the use of diplomacy to advance national interests. This study utilized Institutional theory and the Soft Power Model, the Institutional theory traces its origins back to foundational articles that discussed how organizational founding and change were driven less by functional considerations and more by symbolic actions and external influences. The target population were experts' development, diplomacy and defence in both Kenya and South Africa. They included International Relations (IR) practitioners, government agencies, diplomats, Kenya Defence Forces, National Intelligence Service, academia, media, journalists, envoys, and other experts. The primary data was collected using an open and close ended questionnaire, while secondary data was collected through articles, journal, periodicals and books. This study established that Kenya's foreign policy aspirations are centralized on strengthening the Kenya-South ties by the institutionalization of policy making, channeling economic and national development and setting up a security sector reform policy committee synergized with an informal interdepartmental strategy. The military plays a great role in defence diplomacy by serving specific national, foreign and security policy objectives, it creates sustainable cooperative relationships, thereby building trust and facilitating conflict prevention, introducing transparency into defence relations. However, the military is not accorded its rightful status. For defence diplomacy and its actors to achieve greater participation in foreign policy, diplomacy needs to be powered by partnership, pragmatism, and principle.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFRICOM	United States African Command
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Disease
AMISOM	African Mission in Somalia
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nation
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AU	African Union
BASA	Bilateral Air Services Agreement
BE	Blue Economy
CDC	Center for Disease Control
CPC	Communist Party of China
CUNPK	Center for United Nations Peacekeeping Training
DoD	Department of Defence
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EPIC	Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FDLR	Forces of Democratic Liberation of Rwanda
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

FICCI	Federation of India Chamber of Commerce and Industry
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FTA	Free Trade Area
G-15	Group of 15
G-77	Group of 77
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPOI	Global Peace Operation Initiative
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Disease
IMTRAT	Indian Military Training Team
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Regional-Association for Regional Cooperation
IR	International Relations
ISS	International Security Studies
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KIFA	Kenya-India Friendship Association
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MD	Military Diplomacy
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NACOSTI	National Commission of Science Technology and Innovation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NDC	National Defence College
NDP	National Development Plan
NDU-K	National Defence University-Kenya
NG	National Government
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIS	National Intelligence Service
ODA	Official Development Assistance

PIDA	Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
R&D	Research and Development
RTP	Responsibility to Protect
SA	South Africa
SACU	South Africa Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	Southern African National Defence Forces
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDS	Senior Directing Staff
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
US	United States
USIA	United States Information Agency
WHO	World Health Organization

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Development is a process that creates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of economic, social and demographic components. For this research, the term development emphasizes on progress, advancement and growth aimed at enhancing the social, political, economic, and the general well-being of citizens of Kenya and South Africa.

Diplomacy comprises spoken or written communication by representatives of states intended to influence events in the international system. For this study the term was utilized based on the strategies, such as communication, that are applied to advance foreign policy interests with the aim of strengthening relationships between Kenya and South Africa.

Foreign policy is taken as the general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. This term will be operationalized by assessing the domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific aspirations, in order to promote matters to do with national interests of both Kenya and South Africa.

Public diplomacy sometimes loosely referred to as people's diplomacy refers to state-sponsored efforts geared towards communicating directly with foreign publics to establish dialogue.

Soft Power in the context of International Relations denotes the ability to persuade or co-opt states, organizations and individuals, through appeal and attraction between Kenya and South African relations.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of the background covering diplomacy while focusing on military diplomacy, the statement of the research problem, research questions, and objectives of study, justification, literature review, theoretical framework, research methodology, and conclusion.

1.1 Background of the Study

Modern challenges have prompted many countries to step-up their development efforts.¹ The metrics for these efforts have been through the advancement of diplomacy, foreign policy, trade, cooperation and global collaboration.² This therefore means that diplomacy in modern times is inevitable in the midst of a process of change, and that the rate of change is purposed to serve as an instrument of advancing foreign policy for development.

According to Pritchett, “diplomacy is the means by which states throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations.”³ It means, “the twenty-first century this has forced countries to keenly monitor their friends and foes as competitors.”⁴ Diplomacy concerns promotion of political, security, economic, cultural or scientific relations. Diplomacy and foreign policy are critical concepts in the international system, and they serve important roles, like building strong trading relations between countries.⁵ This means that diplomacy in modern times is inevitable in the midst of a process of change, and that the rate of change is likely to match the pace of development, calling for the use of more creative approaches such as military

¹ Drab, L. “*Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 60

² Stanzel, V. “New Realities in Foreign Affairs.” SWP Research Paper, (2018), pp. 11-12.

³ Pritchett, L. “*National Development Delivers.*” Washington DC, USA, (2021), pp. 9-11.

⁴ Andrews, C. “The State of Economic Inclusion Report 2021: The Potential to Scale.” Washington DC, World Bank, United States, (2021), pp. 11-14.

⁵ Drab, L. “*Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 61.

diplomacy.⁶ The origin of the term *Military Diplomacy* lies on the Strategic Defence Review carried out by the United Kingdom (UK) in 1998.⁷ Bearing in mind the changing nature of military cooperation, and aiming at getting out the most of this instrument, the UK coined the expression to describe all activities carried out in favour of peace and stability by its Armed Forces and other Ministry of Defence organs.⁸

The use of the Armed Forces to support state diplomacy goes back to the very origins of nations. Initially, “this support was intended to reinforce national interests by demonstrating one country’s military capability to impose its interests.”⁹ In the twenty-first century developing nations have had their industrialization process being driven by the military and states in Africa are no exception.¹⁰ Hence, “there is the need to rejuvenate the Southern African National Defence Forces (SANDF) and to update and replace obsolete equipment, including the need for modernized aerial troop transport, and a highly-educated officer’s corps.”¹¹ The deep relations between Kenya and South Africa has continued to thrive in modern time, for instance in recent times Kenya's exports to South Africa (in 2020) included gold, soda ash and cut flowers.

The primary goal of military diplomacy is to pursue the national interests without using physical force. Lusiola points out that, “for South Africa, according to Weisbrode ignoring these issues may impact on South Africa’s obligations and defence diplomacy, but so far little has been done by Defence to implement their obligations in terms of the 2015 Defence Review.”¹² It is important to acknowledge that although the use of military means for diplomatic purposes is a

⁶ Weisbrode, K. “Diplomacy in Foreign Policy.” Oxford University Press, (2017), pp. 2-5.

⁷ Stanzel, V. “New Realities in Foreign Affairs.” SWP Research Paper, (2018), p. 15.

⁸ United Kingdom Ministry of Defence Policy Paper, “*Paper no. 1: Defence Diplomacy*”, (2011) pp. 2-6.

⁹ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 63.

¹⁰ Ibid, (2022), p. 68.

¹¹ Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. “South African Policy.” University of Johannesburg, (2021), p. 11.

¹² Lusiola, A. “Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.” Strathmore University, (2021), pp. 4-7.

relatively new dimension of diplomacy in Africa, it is an established practice in South Africa (SA).¹³ This is because the subject does not receive the recognition it deserves.¹⁴ Military diplomacy has been confined to visits, joint exercises, and multi-lateral agreements, and letters of assist, memorandum, and military partnerships which are taking root in Africa. South African diplomacy approximates a military adjunct to diplomacy rather than a distinct type of diplomacy.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The effective utilization of defence engagement can facilitate the advancement of national interests, considering that military diplomacy is by its nature, effective, low-cost and high-impact. For example, the co-operation framework for exchange, sharing and utilization of the respective state's experience, military facilities and infrastructure will be instrumental in strengthening bilateral relations between Kenya and South Africa.

Kenya's 2014 foreign policy has been more inclined towards appreciating the essence of globalization, a concept to which most of the government policies have had to conform.¹⁵ In light of the various development efforts in Kenya, it has become important for the government to become increasingly aware of the strategies in furtherance of its national interests, including collaborating with friendly countries such as South Africa. The time is now ripe to consider eroding the challenges and barriers between the diplomatic, military and civilian worlds and explore avenues for Kenya to start positioning itself with regards to military diplomacy. The KDF remains an actor in the maintenance of foreign policy in furtherance of her national interests with capacity to respond to threats to national interests. The Kenya Defence Forces Act (no. 25 of 2012) is silent on military diplomacy matters in Kenya, giving little guidance on

¹³ Stanzel, V. "New Realities in Foreign Affairs." Research Paper, (2018), pp. 16-19.

¹⁴ Plessis, A. "*Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and practical dimension in South Africa*." Up Scale, (2008), p. 9.

¹⁵ Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. "South African Policy." University of Johannesburg, (2021), pp. 6-9.

matters arising. The Defence Forces Standing Orders, service instructions and current policies are unclear on military diplomacy hence the gap, that should be filled by a concrete guiding document. The existing research studies on Kenya's foreign policy have not given attention to MD as an aspect of foreign policy, considering relations between Kenya and South Africa.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions included;

- i.** What are the foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa?
- ii.** How is the conduct of military diplomacy in Africa?
- iii.** What are the challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

1.4 Study Objectives

This section brings out the study objectives covering the general objective and specific objectives of the study. The general objective of this study was to examine military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in Africa using the case of Kenya-South Africa relations. The specific objectives of the study included to;

- i.** Determine the foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa.
- ii.** Evaluate the conduct of military diplomacy in Africa.
- iii.** Assess the challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations.

1.5 Literature Review

This section intends to establish familiarity with and understanding of current research in a particular field before carrying out a new investigation on the subject of military diplomacy and foreign policy relations. Thus this section examined pre-existing conceptual and theoretical literature on the subject under study in order to be able to examine military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations. The study reinforced existing knowledge in the field of diplomacy, where scholars will use the literature to conduct studies.

1.5.1 Kenyan South Africa Foreign Policy Aspirations

The genesis of the Kenya South African Foreign policy aspirations has a long history. Although Kenya was a member of the African Union, its involvement in the promotion of sanctions against apartheid South Africa was weak, compared to that of Tanzania (Ogwen, 1986) and Nigeria (d'Orville, 1995). This was complicated by the fact that during the cold war, Kenya's leanings were more towards the West, complicating relations with South African liberation movements which were branded as communists. As the Cold War drew to an end, political dynamics in South Africa also shifted. F. W de Klerk announced the release of political prisoners like Nelson Mandela. Chhabra (1997) explains that soon after his release, both Mandela and de Klerk engaged in meetings with leaders in Africa and abroad, lobbying for different conditions. De Klerk wanted the relaxation of sanctions and the acceptance of the National Party's legitimacy; while Mandela argued that sanctions were necessary until real democratic transition took place in South Africa.

It was during this time in June 1991 when South Africa's F W de Klerk and his delegation visited Kenya for a meeting with President Daniel arap Moi. The visit was described by the

South African media as the “biggest top- level” meeting with another African state since 1948. At an OAU Meeting in Abuja, Moi was among the leaders who argued for a more flexible approach to South Africa because of the political changes that were already taking place (Wren, 1991). At home, the leaders continued to hold different talks on the nature of the transition. The talks culminated in 1994 when the country had its first democratic elections and the ANC emerged as the victor. Since 1994, the ‘new’ South Africa presented itself as being part of the rest of the continent and not different from it.

While Kenya is home of most international organisations, South Africa is viewed as the bridge builder between the North and South in international relations (Schoeman, 2000). While South Africa under Mbeki has contributed to peacekeeping missions, it has also been active in calling upon the United Nations Security Council and the G-8 to fund peace missions in Africa while most of the troops are provided by African countries (Landsberg, 2006). South Africa has also committed to supplying peace troops and by 2005, it had already committed 3, 000 troops in African peace missions (Barber, 2005). Kenya is active in the East African region and it is thus important to consider how it has perceived South Africa’s role in that region.

The military as an institution is associated with achieving national objectives through the use of force.¹⁶ Hence, “in the 18th and 19th centuries the coercive use of militaries (and navies) by colonial powers led to coining of the term *gunboat diplomacy* which denotes the pursuit of foreign policy objectives with the aid of conspicuous displays of military power, implying or constituting a direct threat of warfare.”¹⁷ This means that the military has to have the capability

¹⁶ Okongo, C. “Evaluating the Challenges and Opportunities of the Use of Military Diplomacy in Intrastate Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa.” *Journal of Scientific Research Management*, (2021), p. 9.

¹⁷ Plessis, A. “Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific Reference to South Africa”, *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* (2008), p. 59.

and wherewithal to act, as evident in the Kenyan-South African relations that this study sought to explore.

According to Okongo, “military diplomacy can be defined as a set of activities carried out mainly by the representatives of the defence department, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interests of the state in the field of security and defence policy, and whose actions are based on use of diplomacy to advance national interests.”¹⁸ Kenya and South Africa have a set of activities in their foreign policy aspirations. Kenya is already very active in mediating talks in Sudan and

Somalia. The fact that Kenya is pivotal and occupies a position similar to that of Nigeria in West Africa (economic strength and relative political stability, prior to December 2007), forms the basis of the investigation into South Africa’s relations with Kenya. According to Lusiola, “India has a natural affinity with the aspirations of the people of the Sub-Saharan Africa, for example Mahatma Gandhi ones said that India's own freedom will remain incomplete until the entire continent of Africa was free from subjugation.”¹⁹ Munene argues that, “India played a vital role in the decolonization of Africa and has supported the freedom struggle in both South Africa and Kenya, which later laid the foundations of a close and co-operative relationship between the two countries.”²⁰ For example, India appointed an ambassador to East Africa, stationed in Nairobi.

Munene further states that, “in order to foster social, cultural, educational and economic relations the Kenyan-Indians, formed what is popularly known as Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA) in 1981.”²¹ Subsequently, “headquartered in Nairobi, the association was strong

¹⁸ Lusiola, A. “Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.” Strathmore University, (2021), pp. 4-7.

¹⁹ Ibid, (2021), p. 11.

²⁰ Munene, M. “Reflections on Kenya’s National and Security Interests.” Journal of Language, Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No. (2011), p. 21.

²¹ Marjanovic, M. “*Humanitarian War the Exception*.” Misses Institute, (2011), p. 60.

in Mombasa and Kisumu.”²² It organizes activities to promote friendship between the two communities and has many success stories to tell.²³ In the same vein, this study endeavors to explore Kenya-South Africa relations in pursuit of economic development.²⁴ This is significant because although Kenya is an economic powerhouse in the East African region, South Africa’s relatively advanced products pose a threat to both its domestic and regional markets. In the contemporary security environment, the role of defence diplomacy is to manage military forces of states from a diplomatic point of view, in the sense that defence diplomacy must accurately predict the moment when the idea of the possibility to engage military forces can be induced in diplomatic negotiations, in order to achieve a strategic objective or national interests of a state.²⁵ According to Akum and Tull, “while Kenya's foreign policy seeks to pursue the following national objectives; protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, promote sub-regional and regional integration and co-operation, enhance regional and global peace and security, and finally promote the economic prosperity of Kenya and her people.”²⁶ South Africa foreign policy provide a lot of opportunity, it is keen on building unity, share prosperity and inclusive economic development for the African continent and its people. Kenya’s foreign policy has overly been characterized by continuity and change, with idiosyncrasies of the presidency informing most foreign policy decision outcomes.²⁷ This reality is further reinforced by institutional and

²² Munene, M. “Reflections on Kenya’s National and Security Interests.” *Journal of Language, Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. (2011), p. 21.

²³ Melissen, J. “The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations.” Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2007), pp.18-20.

²⁴ Akum, F and Tull, D. “*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*” Policy Brief, (2023), p. 80.

²⁵ Charles, F. “The Diplomat’s Dictionary.” National Defence University Press, (1993), p. 40.

²⁶ Akum, F and Tull, D. “*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*” Policy Brief, (2023), pp. 89-91.

²⁷ Lusiola, A. “Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.” Strathmore University, (2021), p. 14.

structural discrepancies associated with periodic elections, which have had significant changes on the presidency as a core institution in Kenya's foreign policy decision making process.

Nganje and Ayodele point-out that, "such was the case in 2002 general elections that witnessed the end of the late President Daniel Moi's twenty-four-year rule, and ushered in the Late President Mwai Kibaki as the third president of Kenya, in an attempt to explore the continuity and change in Kenya's foreign policy behaviour during the Moi and Kibaki presidencies."²⁸ It is noted according to Lusiola, "the actor-specific decision-making theory argues that the individual human decision maker as the focal ontological unit, whose actions whether singly or in groups are responsible for state behaviour."²⁹ Continuity and change exhibited by Kenya's foreign policy behaviour during the President Moi. President Kibaki and former President Uhuru Kenyatta were all informed by individual decision makers, within the constraints of existing institutions of the state, where internal and external influences are channeled through to inform state behavior.

The South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), the White Paper on Defence (May 1996) subtitled *Defence in a Democracy*, and the Defence Review (April 1998), and the Defence Act (Act No. 42 of 2002) collectively set the direction of the Department of Defence (currently the Department of Defence and Military Veterans and the SANDF).³⁰ Though the main issues were the transition to democracy and the transformation of the department of Defence, the White Paper also set out a foreign policy and defence posture based on a principled preparedness to engage constructively with states in the region.

²⁸ Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. "South African Policy." University of Johannesburg, (2021), pp. 8-10.

²⁹ Lusiola, A. "Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa." Strathmore University, (2021), p. 9.

³⁰ O'Brien, S. "Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa." Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2018), p. 92-98.

Akum and Tull argues that, “the foreign policy diplomatic engagement between Kenya and South Africa, means that the Presidents of South Africa and Kenya got together to resolve a long-standing visa dispute and Kenyans will be able to visit South Africa visa-free for up to ninety days in a calendar year.”³¹ The South African foreign policy shows a commitment to international peace and to internationally agreed-upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts; a commitment to the interests of Africa in World Affairs and a commitment to economic development through regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world.³² Kenya and South Africa enjoy a shared perspective on IR, especially in the context of co-operations.³³ This common bond of a shared vision for a free and fair new world has helped both the countries to come closer.³⁴ Additionally, both relations was enhanced when the heads of state directed their ministries to address barriers that limit trade between the two countries.

1.5.2 The Art of Conducting Military Diplomacy in Kenya and South Africa

The use of military means for diplomatic purposes is a relatively new dimension of diplomacy in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), in spite of being an established practice in South Africa.³⁵ The contemporary ties for instance between Kenya and Southern African Development Community (SADC) has evolved into a robust and multi-faceted partnership, marked by regular high-level visits, increasing trade and investment as well as extensive people to people contacts.

³¹ Akum, F and Tull, D. “*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*” Policy Brief, (2023), pp. 89-91.

³² Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. “South African Policy.” University of Johannesburg, (2021), p. 13.

³³ Ibid, (2021), p. 15.

³⁴ Linton, R. “The Cultural Background of Personality.” London: Routledge, (2011), p.31.

³⁵ Kegley, C. “World Politics.” London. (2018), p. 95.

Munene posits that, “the political leadership of both the Kenya and South Africa has displayed considerable rapport and understanding.”³⁶ Akum and Tull cite that, “both countries are members of Commonwealth, Group of 77 (G-77), Indian Ocean Region-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), and Group of 15 (G-15).”³⁷ Additionally, “they usually coordinate their strategies to influence deliberations in order to put across the point of view of developing nations.”³⁸ Recently, President William Ruto indicated that Kenya-South Africa relations was strategic owing to shared interests to build stronger economic ties. Therefore South Africa has developed economic, social, political and cultural relations with Kenya.

South Africa’s defence posture in Africa changed radically from a garrison-minded state mired in diplomatic isolation. The country *returned to Africa* following its negotiated transition to democracy.³⁹ As South Africa’s relations on the continent evolve, so too does the country’s use of various instruments of foreign policy, including military diplomacy. According to Winger, “the significant gains have been made in advancing South African interests through defence diplomacy, but real limitations exist and these should be considered rationally before unrealistic demands or inflated expectations are uncritically accepted.”⁴⁰ For example, “South Africa exported US\$513 million to Kenya in 2020.”⁴¹ It is remembered that, “the main products exported from South Africa to Kenya were coal briquettes, delivery trucks and semi-finished

³⁶ Macharia M. “Reflections on Kenya’s national and security interests.” *Journal of Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. (2011), p. 26.

³⁷ Akum, F and Tull, D. “*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*” Policy Brief, (2023), p. 93.

³⁸ Lusiola, A. “Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.” Strathmore University, (2021), p. 13.

³⁹ Macharia M. “Reflections on Kenya’s national and security interests.” *Journal of Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. (2011), p. 29.

⁴⁰ Winger, G. “The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy. In: *What Do Ideas Do?*” ed. A. Lisiak, N. Smolenski, Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, (2014) Vol. 33, pp. 67-80.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, (2014), p. 85.

iron, and over the last twenty years, South Africa's exports to Kenya increased at an annualized rate of 2.94 per cent, from US\$249 million in 1995 to US\$513 million in 2020.”⁴²

1.5.3 Challenges and Opportunities of Military Diplomacy in Kenya and South Africa

The term military diplomacy first gained prominence in the 1990s following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.⁴³ Immediately following the end of the Cold War, the nations of Eastern Europe posed a unique challenge to their Western counterparts. Western governments feared that the large Soviet-style armies of former Warsaw Pact countries would be major obstacles in the delicate transition to democracy. Not only could unreformed militaries derail the transition process, but they could also reignite historic grievances which had been suppressed by Soviet domination.⁴⁴ The fear that Eastern Europe would sink into chaos led Western governments to embrace a bold strategy which utilized their own military forces to help reconstruct the armed forces of former Warsaw Pact countries.”⁴⁵ The Cold War divide played a role in the inert Africa relations so did it to Kenya-South Africa relations. Military diplomacy has emerged as one of the most important tools of military statecraft amid this effort to move past the use of force.

Cognizant of the limits of violence to achieve ones objective in global affairs, every major world power, including the United States, France, China, and the United Kingdom, has in turn adopted defense diplomacy as a core mission of their military doctrine and a primary component of their global strategy.⁴⁶ The peaceful use of the military as a tool of national diplomacy led to the use of the term ‘military diplomacy. Plessis points-out that a broader definition of military diplomacy

⁴² Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. “South African Policy.” University of Johannesburg, (2021), p. 19.

⁴³ O'Brien, S. “Africa in the Global Economy.” Africa Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2018), p. 92-98.

⁴⁴ Mearsheimer, J. “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War.” *International Security*, (1990), pp. 5-56.

⁴⁵ Plessis, A. “Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and Practical Dimensions with Specific Reference to South Africa.” *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* (2008), p. 59.

⁴⁶ *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*. US Department of Defense, (2005), p. 15-16.

as “the use of armed forces in operations other than war, guiding on their trained expertise and discipline to achieve national and foreign objectives abroad.”⁴⁷

The words military and defence are used loosely and can be freely interchanged. While the term ‘military’ could be used to identify activities undertaken by the uniformed components of the nation’s defence establishment, the term ‘defence’ could be used to imply the entire defence establishment to include the non-uniformed components such as ministry, Research and Development (R&D) establishments, national training institutions such as Defence colleges.⁴⁸

The Indian ministry of defence defines military diplomacy as exchange of high level defence related visits, dialogue on security challenges and port calls; and defence cooperation as those activities covered by training exchanges, combined exercises; sourcing, development, production and marketing of defence equipment.⁴⁹ During the mid-eighties, the Southeast Asian nations seemed worried about the potential threat to their security from India. The two countries have witnessed the signing of the agreements shortly after they led their delegations in bilateral talks at Union Buildings in Pretoria, the official seat of the South African Government.⁵⁰ The eight agreements included MoU's in transport, health, diplomatic consultations and training as well as tourism and migration.⁵¹ Others were a Bilateral Air Services Agreement (BASA) as well as MoU's on Government Printing Works and the return of nationals refused entry and illegal entrants, and are both in developing countries in Africa.

The case of Africa, with its evolving modern threats combined with budgetary pressures for almost all nations, means coalition-building and greater international co-operation are central to

⁴⁷ Kegley, C. “World Politics.” Ed Rev. London. (2018), p. 96.

⁴⁸ Winger, G. “The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy. In: What Do Ideas Do?” ed. A. Lisiak, N. Smolenski, Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, (2014) Vol. 33, pp. 67-80.

⁴⁹ Marjanovic, M. “*Humanitarian War the Exception.*” Misses Institute, (2011), p. 82.

⁵⁰ Dutta, A. “Role of India’s defence cooperation initiatives in meeting foreign policy goals.” *Journal of defence studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, (2019), p. 31.

⁵¹ Riaz, A. “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh.*” *Current History*, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 155.

modern military diplomacy.⁵² Nganje and Ayodele states that, “a good example of emerging military diplomacy is in the case of Australia, which has a long history of supporting United Nations-led peacekeeping operations in Africa.”⁵³ For instance, “Australian Defence Force personnel are currently serving in the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).”⁵⁴ Therefore, “with regards to practicing defence diplomacy, the Australian government has also provided financial and logistical support for the African Union’s Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).”⁵⁵

Maximizing global reach and influence today demands new partnerships and collaborations with governments and publics around the world.⁵⁶ A strong multilateral defence policy, therefore, is a necessary response.⁵⁷ Military diplomacy is significant part of diplomacy and overall foreign policy of states.⁵⁸ Kenya recently sought fresh investments from Indian entrepreneurs in sectors, such as fertilizers and pesticides, pharmaceuticals (specifically for the manufacture of anti-malarial), dairy products and hospitality. Munene⁵⁹ states that a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between Federation of India Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and East African Business Council to enhance trade relations between India and East African Community (EAC) countries and to identify bottlenecks in the expansion of economic cooperation.

The KDF has increased its strength over the years and enlarged the army, the navy and the air force. South Africa is a responsible stakeholder in the international system and has supported

⁵² Jeffrey, R and Cronin, P. “The United States and Coercive Diplomacy, Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press.” (2003), p. 360.

⁵³ Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. “South African Policy.” University of Johannesburg, (2021), p. 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid, (2021), p. 26.

⁵⁵ Melissen, J. “The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations.” Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2007), pp.18-20.

⁵⁶ Macharia, M. “Reflections on Kenya’s national and security interests.” Journal of Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No. (2011), pp. 23-24.

⁵⁷ Winger, G. “The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy. In: What Do Ideas Do?” ed. A. Lisiak, N. Smolenski, Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, (2014) Vol. 33, pp. 67-80.

⁵⁸ The Republic of Kenya. “Kenya’s Foreign Policy 2014.” (2014), pp. 4-9.

⁵⁹ Macharia M. “Reflections on Kenya’s national and security interests.” Journal of Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No. (2011), p. 26.

Kenya in its quest to enhance its military.⁶⁰ As part of its defence cooperation, South Africa has extended training to a large number of African military officers, over the years, in its various military institutions. Kenya's defence policy is an integral part of the country's foreign policy since it gained its independence.

Kenya's foreign policy has become more assertive due to globalization, which has significantly impacted the country's defense policy. Military diplomacy processes have produced new transnational non-state security threats and potential conflict. Hence the defense policy has become more forceful to accommodate these new security threats thereby producing new defense and foreign policy actors that significantly influence foreign policy behaviour.

The vibrant military diplomatic engagement between Kenya and South Africa is a good chance for both countries to relate even better. For instance Kenya could export a lot more to South Africa, if it explored the existing market opportunities. It has lots of agricultural products like avocados, tea, coffee and pineapples which could be exported to South Africa once market entry barriers are reviewed to boost fair competition with products from neighbouring states within the region. Those barriers include stringent quality standards. As an example, Kenya exported to South Africa tea worth US\$1.07 million in 2021. It could export coffee, avocados and other tropical fruits and spices which it produces in plenty as these have a market in South Africa. South Africa's services sector is also opening up for trade. For example, South Africa will need teachers of Kiswahili because it recently unveiled plans to introduce the language as a taught subject in its classrooms.

The difference however which forms a good comparison is that South Africa has a higher GDP and better health systems compared to Kenya as such the economic reasons for securitization can

⁶⁰ Akum, F and Tull, D. "*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*" Policy Brief, (2023), p. 94.

easily be discussed.⁶¹ Kenya is a country in East Africa bordering Uganda to the West, Tanzania to the south, Somalia to the Northeast, and Ethiopia to the North. The Equator crosses Kenya in the middle and hence it is one of the countries in the tropics.

Military diplomacy influenced the move by the East African Community, Southern African Customs Union and the Common Market for Southern and Eastern Africa to harmonize their tariffs under the African Continental Free Trade Area is a major step towards eliminating some of the barriers to trade between the two states. The continental market deal is also expected to harmonize quality standards for traders across Africa. At a bilateral level, visa requirements should be removed or processing of the documents made more efficient.

The decision by South Africa to reciprocate an approach that allows South Africans to visit Kenya visa-free for up to ninety days in a calendar year was a step in the right direction.⁶² The two countries should also have their citizens learn about one another in schools. The decision to introduce Kiswahili in ninety South African schools and learning institutions as an optional subject was a welcome move. Having been approved as one of the official languages of the African Union (AU), Kiswahili may have a wider appeal among the population of member states such as South Africa. Cultural and educational exchange would help deepen the trade ties between the two states. In all, Kenya should focus on exploiting the existing untapped potential so as to drive the exports.

1.5.4 Gaps in the Literature

This section found that despite existing in various forms for centuries, military diplomacy, strikingly little scholarly attention has been paid to the role of defence diplomacy in enhancing

⁶¹ Drab, L. "Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State." *Security and Defence Quarterly*, (2022), p. 69.

⁶² Riaz, A. "A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh." *Current History*, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 159.

international development using case of Kenya and South Africa relations and its use as a tool of statecraft.

The literature review was less inclusive, but did not deviate much from its predecessor in terms of defence posture, force projection, and South Africa's role in Africa with regards to peacekeeping operations. This study found that few scholars had covered how the military, known as a hard-power tool, can be used as a soft-power one. Military members serving overseas in any capacity are often the forefront of diplomacy, moving their mission set beyond traditional war fighting to an extended role in support of the development projects of a given state.

1.6 Justification of the Study

This section of the study provides the justification for doing the research and is gleaned from the existing literature to bring-out the subject matter. This section further demonstrates the reasons as to why the researcher chooses to focus on the topic in question.

1.6.1 Policy Justification

Kenya and South Africa are considered economic powerhouse, and a long standing hub for multilateral diplomacy. Therefore the findings of this research aim to enrich policy direction and show various diplomats and attaches to work with a wider range of constituencies beyond government, moving towards a more open, inclusive style that encourages military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations. Kenyan policy makers need formulate policies that confer KDF with more diplomatic roles.

1.6.2 Academic Justification

The area of military diplomacy has a gap in that it does not clear articulate the specific approaches for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations. Therefore this paper aims to

generate new knowledge to show the ways and means of tapping into military diplomacy to advance foreign policy aspirations in Africa through the case of Kenya-South Africa relations.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory that explains the research problem under study. The theoretical framework acts as the structure that holds or supports theories of a given study. The study was guided by the Institutional theory, and the Soft Power Model.

1.7.1 Institutional Theory

The Institutional theory is a research tradition that traces its origins back to foundational articles that discussed how organizational founding and change were driven less by functional considerations and more by symbolic actions and external influences. O'Brien opines that, the Institutional theory is considered a theory that looks at the processes by which structures, that include, the norms, rules and routines that become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour.⁶³ This is because different components of Institutional theory explain how some of these elements are made, diffuse, adapted and adopted over space and time.⁶⁴ Innovative structures that improve technical efficiency in early-adopting organizations are legitimized in the environment.⁶⁵ Ultimately these innovations reach a level of legitimization where failure to adopt them is seen as "irrational and negligent" (or they become legal mandates).⁶⁶ At this point new

⁶³ O'Brien, S. "Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa. " Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2018), pp. 92-94.

⁶⁴ Basrus, R and Kliem, F. "Covid-19 and International Cooperation: IR Paradigms at odd." Article number 7, (2021), pp. 3-7.

⁶⁵ O'Brien, S. "Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa. " Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2018), p. 99.

⁶⁶ United Nations Office on Drug and Crime. "Wildlife Crime Report: Trafficking in protected species. United Nations." New York, (2020), pp. 14-19.

and existing organizations will adopt the structural form even if the form does not improve efficiency.⁶⁷

South Africa's defence policy should be understood in its multilateral policy context, and specifically the regional dimension, through the common security arrangements for the SADC region. 'South Africa has not flinched from active engagement, both within its own region and on the global stage' and this against a background of high expectations from the international community about [South Africa's] role' within SADC, South Africa aimed at a new security orientation, and seemingly committed itself to future conflict resolution, mediation, and conflict management through the creation of the SADC Organ on Peace, Defence and Security Cooperation.

The SADC main organ has a strong security mandate, as it is endowed in Article 2 of the Protocol with the power to 'consider enforcement action' as a last resort to prevent, contain, resolve inter-and intra-state conflict. In theory, SADC has power to intervene in the domestic affairs of member states, but this has not been the case in practice. The discourse on regional security in SADC arguably hinged on differing interpretations; Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia preferred a mutual defence pact with a military response to conflict.

1.7.2 Soft Power Model

This research aimed to utilize Soft Power Model. The Soft power describes the ability to attract and co-opt rather than to coerce (hard power). Soft power model was first introduced by Joseph Nye Junior in 1990, which was the time just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union.⁶⁸ Soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others

⁶⁷ Drab, L." *Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*" Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 72.

⁶⁸ Phythian, M. "Intelligence theory and theories of international relations: shared worlds or separate worlds? In *Intelligence Theory: Key questions and debates.*" London: Routledge, "2009), p. 69.

through appeal and attraction. A defining feature of soft power therefore is that it is a strategy that employs culture, political values, and diplomacy.⁶⁹

The military, known as a hard-power tool, can also be used as a soft-power one. Military members serving overseas in any capacity are already often the forefront of American diplomacy, moving their mission set beyond traditional war fighting to an extended role in support of the National Security Strategy of the United States.

Diplomatic engagement has the ability to unite people across all the divisions of religion, race, and region. Soft power lies in the ability to attract and persuade, whereas hard power is the ability to coerce.⁷⁰ Hard Power grows out of a country's military or economic might, soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies.⁷¹

According to Nye, the neo-conservatives who advise the president are making a major miscalculation in that they focus too heavily on using America's military power to force other nations to do their will, and they pay too little heed to soft power. Soft power will help to deal with critical global issues that require multilateral cooperation among states.⁷² Stakeholders in foreign policy diplomatic engagement are called to partake in diplomatic activities on behalf or in conjunction with their national governments.

The exercise of soft power through diplomacy by sub-national agencies with hard power, such as the army, can pay political and security dividends that build; sustain and expand strategic influence in the region. It can provide opportunities, security and strength, key benefits that consolidate national power. Through Soft power, South Africa's Foreign Direct Investments

⁶⁹ Leonard, M. "Diplomacy by Other Means." *Foreign Policy*, (2012), p. 67.

⁷⁰ Drab, L. "Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State." *Security and Defence Quarterly*, (2022), p. 71

⁷¹ Nye, J. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics." Cambridge, Perseus Books, (2004), pp. 56-57.

⁷² Kahler, M and Kastner, S. "Strategic Uses of Economic Interdependence: Engagement Policies on the Korean Peninsula and Across the Taiwan Strait." *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 43, No. 5. (2006), pp. 87-90.

(FDI) has created most jobs in Kenya. This is particularly relevant in Kenya, which is rich in human resources. In the last few years, political interaction has been intense.

1.8 Research Methodology

This section explores the research methodology of the study in responding to the research objectives, sample and research instruments. It consists of study design, study area, sample techniques as data collection and or analysis, data presentation and interpretation of findings.

1.8.1 Research Design

This study applied case study as a research design study. Case studies are often done in the subject's real-world context, which gives a good view of what they are really like. Especially since studies aimed at finding more efficient ways to challenges and a case study is an appropriate research design when one wants to gain in-depth knowledge about a subject.

1.8.2 Study Area

This study was based on Kenya and South Africa with a time scope of the period 2022 to 2023.

1.8.3 Research Target Population

The target population was key diplomatic and security experts in both Kenya and South Africa and International Relations stakeholders such as government agencies, Ministry of Tourism, Investments Promotion Council, Kenya Defence Forces, National Intelligence Service (NIS), the academia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, World Health Organization (WHO) office, defence attaches, civil societies, journalists, defence advisors and foreign policy experts. The target population was representative of target group.

1.8.4 Sampling and Sampling Techniques

A case study has a sample of one (i.e., the bounded case) The research design therefore required a specific sampling technique of selecting respondents from a study population for the purposes of making statistical inferences and estimating characteristics of the whole population. The searcher identified the main respondents from Kenya and the same from South Africa who referred him to the next respondent until the sample size was reached. This research method is referred to as snowball sampling.⁷³ The study also made use of purposive sampling of public officers in the ministries of the respective governments and other organizations. Purposive sampling can be used in a research endeavour to quickly and effectively narrow down the pool of potential participants (also known as judgment sampling). No prior knowledge or a predetermined number of informants are required for the non-random technique⁷⁴.

⁷³Anthony, T. "Sampling frames and master samples." The Draft Handbook on Designing of Household Sample Surveys, (2003), pp. 3-5.

⁷⁴ Anthony, T. "Sampling frames and master samples." The Draft Handbook on Designing of Household Sample Surveys, (2003), p. 14.

The table below presents the purposive Sampling frame:

Department/organization	Sample size	Study objective	Purpose sampled/
Ministry of Interior and National Coordination, Kenya	3	Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa	To provide insights on policy related to national cohesion and international diplomacy
Investments Promotion Council	1	Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on investment policies	To provide information on domestic and foreign investment in Kenya by advocating for a conducive investment climate,
Kenya Defence Forces	10	-Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa -Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign	In charge of the Military Forces in Kenya

		policy -foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	
National Intelligence Service (NIS)	2	Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa -Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign policy -Foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	Has mandate to identify threats against the security of Kenya, collect and analyze intelligence on these threats, and advise the Government accordingly through appropriate intelligence reports.
UON KENYATTA USIU	3	Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa -Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign	These institutions are leading regional and international centres of

		policy -foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	excellence in teaching and research in areas related to diplomacy and international studies
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	4	Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign policy -foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	Manages Kenya's Foreign policy
World Health Organization (WHO) office	1	Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign policy	Co ordination and Aid effectiveness in kenya
Civil societies	10	Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa -Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign	They advocate for issues such as human rights, social justice, and environmental

		policy -foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	protection, and by providing alternative perspectives on global issues.
HORN, KIPPRA, UON,USIU,KDF,ISS	6	Conduct of Military diplomacy in Africa -Challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy on enhancement of foreign policy -foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and SA	These are stakeholders in shaping the future international order in the drastically changing world, they hold free discussions on foreign policies among experts from the private sector, apart from the official view of each country, have an impact on the international public opinion as well as policy

			making of the governments.
TOTAL	40		

1.8.5 Data Collection Method

This research employed a mix of both qualitative and qualitative study approaches. Primary data sources collection was collected through interview. The primary data was collected using an open and close ended questionnaire with the target population that will include key stakeholders in foreign policy, defence, development and security issues. The secondary data sources were collected through articles, journal, periodicals and books.

1.8.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The qualitative data was then cleaned, sorted and analysed using document and content analysis techniques. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research whereby documents are interpreted to give voice to answer the research questions. In addition, descriptive and inferential statistics will be used in quantitative data analysis. Finally, the results obtained will be presented in the form narrative.

1.8.7 Pilot Study

This section was keen on the research validity and reliability, a pilot study was undertaken before the actual study commences. The pilot study was done with the help of the Botswana High commission, where the defence attachés assisted to fill in the research tool, and with the interviews. Interviews and questionnaires were administered to ten (defence attaché) potential

respondents which gauged the appropriateness of the questions. Reliability relates to the accuracy and precision of a measurement.

1.8.8 Study Limitations

This study initially faced the challenge of getting a big quorum of participant in the subject matter, owing to the technical nature of the topic of military diplomacy with regards to Kenya-South Africa relations, but this was resolved through snowballing. The deadline for the finalization of the study is November 2022 to May 2023. The participants from the side of South Africa were interviewed mainly via zoom and others will have the questionnaires emailed to them. Those who receive the email questionnaires may not respond on time reducing the pace of completion. Clarifications required after receiving filled questionnaires sometimes took a long time to finalize. The researcher plans to request an opportunity to clarify areas that have not been adequately responded to via audio or video call.

1.8.9 Ethical Consideration

This study was done in an integral manner where all formal procedures were followed, and all sources of information acknowledged by the researchers. Questionnaires were given to consenting respondents and informants were informed of all their rights prior to taking part in the study. The researcher got permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), adhere to the data protection laws and observe confidentiality of the respondents and all the information collected was only for scholarly purpose only.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This study was guided by introduction to the study that gave an overview of the foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa. Military diplomacy has allowed Kenya and South Africa

signed eight bilateral agreements. They included MoUs on transport, health, diplomatic consultations, and training as well as tourism and migration.

CHAPTER TWO: FOREIGN POLICY ASPIRATIONS OF KENYA AND SOUTH AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa with the intention of creating a linkage between military activities and those of diplomacy, economics, information, intelligence, and other elements of national power is not a newfound concept; rather it is a concept that dates back to centuries. This chapter ends with summary.

2.1 Status of Development in Africa

The African context has shown that development is constrained by inadequate resources; some developing and developed countries rely on imported resources to enhance their development agenda. Paradoxically, despite being well endowed with more resources than other continents many African counties remain underdeveloped and continue being indebted to developed nations. Well harnessed and exploited, African countries could advance development agendas.

It is estimated that the ocean is worth billions of dollars which still remains largely unharnessed, and yet this wealth is continuously exploited by other countries that have advanced technology and have developed strategies to exploit the resources.⁷⁵ Indeed most foreign policy strategies are not always successful in achieving original goals. For instance, “Kenya and South Africa have a stake in the Blue Economy (BE).”⁷⁶ This is because the growth and development of Africa’s BE calls for focused and decisive action on areas such as, institutional development, spatial planning, data management, knowledge creation, dissemination and finance.

⁷⁵ Francois, V. “African Maritime Security: A Time for Good Order at Sea.” *Journal of Maritime and Ocean Affairs* 2, no. 4 (2010), pp. 121-132.

⁷⁶ Roney, M. “To be record year for offshore wind.” *Earth Policy Institute*, (2013), p. 30.

The African Union Agenda 2063 recognize the importance of peace and stability, not only as critical enablers but also as important components of sustainable development. In line with this aspiration, Africa has also continued, with the support of the United Nations and development partners, to address emerging challenges to peace, security and development, such as the rise of terrorism and violent extremism. Africa's economic development and growth continued to deteriorate in 2016, mainly due to lower commodity prices, with commodity exporters most adversely affected. Despite this trend, the majority of non-commodity exporting African countries maintained positive growth.

Simkins opines that, "Africa's growth outlook remained positive for 2017-18, boosted by expected increases in commodity prices and domestic demand."⁷⁷ Venables argues that domestic demand continues to drive Africa's growth.⁷⁸ Countries with better co-ordinated and consistent fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policies are able to weather shocks.⁷⁹

Potts posits that infrastructure services are central to economic activities and to facilitate human development, economic growth, and productivity in industry. As African countries aspire for higher levels of development, the need to meet the increasing demand for transport infrastructure has become critical.⁸⁰ The growing demand for infrastructure presents a challenge for Africa as it affects the pace of regional integration, the competitiveness of goods and services in the global and regional trade markets.⁸¹

Henderson found that coverage in terms of road density and provision for other transport infrastructure is generally low in comparison to other developing regions which has hindered

⁷⁷ Simkins, C. "Urbanization in Africa and Its Relation to the Demographic Dividend: 2010 to 2060." (2013), p. 13.

⁷⁸ Venables, A. "Economic Geography and African Development, Regional Science." (2010), pp. 469-483.

⁷⁹ Puga, D and Venables, A. "The Spread of Industry: Spatial Agglomeration in Economic Development." *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*, (2006), pp. 440-464.

⁸⁰ Potts, D. "What Happened to Africa Rapid Urbanization?" Africa Research Institute, (2012), p. 89.

⁸¹ Venables, A. "Economic Geography and African Development, Regional Science." (2010), p. 487.

economic growth and increased transaction costs associated with the movement of goods across African borders. According to a recent report by the African Development Bank (AfDB)/Programme for infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) the continent's large infrastructure deficit is holding it back, with road access rate of only 34 percent, compared with 50 percent in other parts of the developing world, while transport costs are 100 percent higher.⁸² Poor infrastructure slows Africa's per capita growth by two percent annually.

Potts reveals that, "currently the cost of transporting goods in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is the highest in the world."⁸³ Though wages are very low, the lack of reliable provision of roads in all regions of SSA, seaports and other transport infrastructure makes it extremely difficult for African industries to compete in the global market. For example, African seaports are small by world standards, poorly equipped and are associated with high costs due to outdated port-management structures compared to ports in other developing regions, poor productivity and lack of economies of scale.⁸⁴ Container traffic in Africa, with the exception of South Africa, is still at an early stage of development. Air transport also remains critical to Africa's integration and participation in an increasingly competitive world air transport market.

The growing diplomatic relations between Kenya and South Africa means that in the meantime, some of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) State Parties are strengthening other kinds of relationships. This is true of Kenya and South Africa, both being member of customs unions and therefore constrained by the duty to protect the integrity of the respective Common External Tariffs. Kenya is a party to the East African Community (EAC), which are officially common markets and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), a Free

⁸² Henderson, V; Mark, R and Adam, S. "Is Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa Different?" Policy Research Working Paper. World Bank, Washington, DC, (2013), p. 126.

⁸³ Potts, D. "What Happened to Africa Rapid Urbanization?" Africa Research Institute, (2012), p. 89.

⁸⁴ Hoornweg, D and Mila, F "Building Sustainability in an Urbanizing World: A Partnership Report." Washington, World Bank, (2013), pp. 89-108.

Trade Area (FTA). South Africa is a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and of SADC. The latter has several dedicated Protocols and regulates trade in goods through the SADC Protocol on Trade, which implements an FTA among the Parties thereto. The SACU member states are all SADC members and must act collectively when concluding trade in goods agreements with third parties. South Africa and Kenya are taking steps to promote bilateral relations and to pursue strategic and political objectives. On 9 November 2022 the South African President visited Kenya and held talks with the President to explore areas of mutual interest and cooperation. They agreed on a reciprocal visa-free entry deal that will be rolled out from January 2023.

South Africa as a regional and continental leader is also actively engaging by means of *Operation Phakisa*. This framework for planning and implementation of various marine related projects is made up by four priority sectors, namely: marine transport and manufacturing; offshore gas and oil exploration; aquaculture and marine protection services which includes ocean governance. These priority areas offer opportunities and challenges which require further discussion as South Africa regarding economic growth and prosperity by tapping into the Blue Economy.⁸⁵ Africa believes the benefits and potential rewards of maritime infrastructure developments followed by economic growth will be the turn of the tide for the continent. The foreign policy of South Africa shows that the country has commitment to international peace and to internationally agreed-upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts, a commitment to the interests of Africa in World Affairs and a commitment to economic development through regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world.

⁸⁵ UNESCO-IOC. “Transfer of Marine Technology-Knowledge Sharing and Capacity Development for Sustainable Ocean and Coastal Management.” (2015), p. 3.

2.2 Foreign Policy and Development in Africa

This section aimed to have a better appreciation of the role targeted and effective implementation of foreign policy can play in promoting development for example through BE in Africa and Kenya. Muluaem posits that, “some states have developed their foreign policy interests towards continents.”⁸⁶ For instance, “the United States and the People’s Republic of China have designed their foreign policy towards Africa.”⁸⁷ In their policy they mention economic growth and development as the relationship they want to establish with Africa.

Landsberg notes that foreign policy is used both as a means and an end. In that both the covert and overt objectives of foreign policy entail to compel and persuade other actors, to behave in a manner that facilitates the achievement of certain goals especially those that are related to states national aspirations.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, many sub-Saharan African countries do not have the attributes that make them more influential in the international arena.

Africa has major development aspirations in the broader context of a global and continental economic development agenda. Development in Sub-Saharan Africa is lagging badly behind the other regions of the developing world.⁸⁹ Achieving and maintaining reasonable real development and growth rates thus remains a major challenge for sub-Saharan Africa. In recent years, the linkage between good governance and accountability to positive development outcomes has grown stronger.⁹⁰ Therefore foreign policy can be used as a tool to enhance international, national and or regional development, advocacy networks, and issue-defined organizations that

⁸⁶ Muluaem, M. “The African Union and Foreign Policy.” The Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, (2013), pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ Riaz, A. “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh*.” Current History, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 155.

⁸⁸ Landsberg, C. “Afro-Continentalism: Pan-Africanism in Post-settlement South Africa’s Foreign Policy.” Journal of Asian and African Studies, 47 no.2 (2012), p. 10.

⁸⁹ O’Brien, S. “Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa.” Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2000), p. 91.

⁹⁰ Ibid, (2000), p. 104.

are more intimately engaged in knowing about these international issues and hence foreign policy activities can be used as a facilitator of development.

Foreign policy consists of self-interests strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations environment.⁹¹ Therefore foreign policy is directed toward states and non-state actors to realize a state's international objectives and national interests. Africa's place in international development is a topic of increasing importance and academic interest. The international relations have long had debates on linkage between foreign policy goals and development in the African continent.⁹²

Vasquez observes that most African foreign policy aspirations usually attempted to reconcile domestic interest with external circumstances, such as, trade, security and development; taking account of the available means, resources, and institution for doing so.⁹³ Accordingly, it is useful to explain the concept of engagement so as to ascertain the role of foreign policy in advancing development in Africa.⁹⁴ The question all countries face today is how best to achieve their foreign policy goals in an increasingly complex and interdependent world, as challenges and opportunities rarely sit within national borders.

Africa has major development aspirations in the broader context of a global and continental economic development agenda.⁹⁵ This calls for substantial financial resources at a time when the global development finance landscape is changing, from a model centred on official development assistance and the coverage of remaining financing needs through external debt, to a framework with emphasis on the mobilization of domestic resources towards more profitable

⁹¹ Nye, J. "Soft Power: The means to success in World politics." New York, Public affairs, (2007), p. 32.

⁹² Kegley, C. "World Politics, 11th Ed Rev." London. (2018), p. 98.

⁹³ Vasquez, J. "Classics of International Relations, 3rd ed." New Jersey: Prentice Hall, (1996), p. 201.

⁹⁴ Knack, S. "Democracy, Governance and Growth. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press." (2003), p. 8.

⁹⁵ Economic Development Report in Africa. "Debt dynamics and development report in Africa, United Nations Conference on Trade and development." UNCTAD, (2016), p. 17.

deeper foreign policy diplomatic engagement agenda. According to Omolo foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends, and they both aim at preserving national security, which is of vital national interests.⁹⁶ A state's citizens are its most vital and fundamental national interests, and their protection is central to national security.⁹⁷

Knack postulates that, "economic activity in sub-Saharan Africa in 2015 slumped to its lowest level in some fifteen years."⁹⁸ The main reason for the slowdown is the sharp decline in commodity prices, which has placed a number of the region's larger countries under severe strain, with a pronounced impact on the region wide aggregate issues, which urgently calls for need of upstaging diplomatic engagement activities to reverse the trend.

Foreign policy in East Africa has often been dictated and deliberately driven by the development elites.⁹⁹ After independence, foreign policy makers sought to resolve the choice (and oftentimes trade-offs) between national and continental identity, sovereignty and supra-nationalism, and integration and differentiation. East Africa depends on external actors for Official Development Assistance (ODA) to supplement its budget. African countries experience budget shortfall, sometimes on a regular basis, for which external financial assistance is required.¹⁰⁰ Countries therefore rely on external bilateral and multilateral aid or credit to finance development programmes, making sustainable development and diplomatic engagement difficult. Foreign policy has become critical in the management of relations between sovereign states.

The emphasis of defence diplomacy and foreign policy has been shifting from basic goals such as the maintaining peaceful relations with external entities to the development agenda and this is

⁹⁶ Omolo, K. "Foreign Policy through Aid: The Case of Federal Republic of Germany's Aid to Kenya, 1963-1989. MA Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration." University of Nairobi, (2009), p. 90.

⁹⁷ Ibid, (2009), p. 107.

⁹⁸ Knack, S. "Democracy, Governance and Growth. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press." (2003), p. 8.

⁹⁹ Quinn, A and Kerry, H. "Foreign policy challenges facing America." (2008), p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, (2008), p. 39.

particularly among African states.¹⁰¹ In the Kenyan context, the economic area of foreign policy has a more direct relation to the development project, especially to its economic growth perspective. In pursuing the country's socio-economic and political interests, Kenya will seek to promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation emphasizing intra-African trade as cornerstone for Africa's socio-economic and political unity.

The formation of blocs is frequently linked to mutual economic interests. Latin American countries formed Mercosur in the Southern cone of South America while the USA, Canada and Mexico formed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The European Union (EU) is now one of the oldest surviving and developed economic blocs. The Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) and others followed. The strength of SADC as a future economic bloc must not be underestimated and must clearly feature prominently in the responses of South Africa and Southern Africa to bloc formation elsewhere. The objective, however, should not be to force confrontation with other blocs but rather to develop mutually beneficial relationships.

2.3 Defence Diplomacy in the African Perspective

This section notes that Africa, long marginalized in international relations, has emerged today as a strategically, diplomatically, and economically vital component in the global balance of the twenty-first century, with the major powers seeking access to the continent's resources and forging ties with African governments and peoples. Among the states that have formed strong ties include United States (US), Germany, China and India.

¹⁰¹ Akokpari, J. "Changing with the Tide: The Shifting Orientations of Foreign Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Volume 8 (1999), p. 23.

2.3.1 United States in Africa

Vasquez opines that, “in 2007, over three-fourths of US assistance to Africa and the Middle East consisted of military assistance.”¹⁰² In the past decade, US public diplomacy has faced serious challenges to its effectiveness, including the elimination of the United States Information Agency (USIA), inadequate staffing, and widespread global opposition to the United States led war in Iraq.¹⁰³

It is worth noting that President George W. Bush ordered the Department of Defence to establish the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) as America’s sixth geographic unified combatant command by October 2008. However, “unlike other commands that focus on fighting wars, the new structure was given a distinctly non-military mission.”¹⁰⁴ Additionally, “to enhance our efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa and promote our common goals of development, health, education, democracy, and economic growth in Africa by strengthening bilateral and multilateral security cooperation with African states and creating new opportunities to bolster their capabilities.”¹⁰⁵ The third area of the United States’ strategic interests in Africa remains the humanitarian concern for the devastating toll that conflict, poverty, and disease, especially HIV/AIDS, continue to exert across the continent.

2.3.2 German Defence Diplomacy in Africa

According to Quinn and Kerry, “it was not until 1994, however, that the German Ministry of Defence identified *military-political* cooperation with former Warsaw Pact countries as among the core missions of its armed forces.”¹⁰⁶ Reflecting a recognition that traditional perspectives of

¹⁰² Vasquez, J. “Classics of International Relations, 3rd ed.” New Jersey: Prentice Hall, (1996), p. 201.

¹⁰³ David, L. “*Defence Attachés*” Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva, Switzerland, (2007), pp. 3-6.

¹⁰⁴ Riaz, A. “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh*.” Current History, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 158.

¹⁰⁵ Greg, M. “Terence McNamee, and Mauro De Lorenzo.” Johannesburg: Brenthurst Foundation, (2007), pp. 5-8.

¹⁰⁶ Quinn, A and Kerry, H. “Foreign policy challenges facing America.” (2008), p. 37.

security were broadening and the role of the military went beyond deterrence and defence, the 1994 German Defence White Paper identified the need for the employment of a wide-ranging set of foreign and security policy tools for the early detection and, where possible, resolution of conflicts before they assumed a military dimension.¹⁰⁷

The Germans not only recognized that their security was directly affected by how the situation in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe developed, but also began to look beyond Europe, identifying the need to promote disarmament and demobilization, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Defence diplomacy has encouraged the exchange of students between Kenya and Germany, where every two years, participants from Germany attend the National Defence College training course.

2.3.3 China's Evolving Defence Diplomacy

China's military diplomacy has ushered in a new era of all-round, multi-channel development since the country launched its drive of reform and opening to the outside world more than two decades ago and especially after the convocation of the Fourth Plenum of the 13th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1989.¹⁰⁸ China has considerably stepped up its defense diplomacy during the past decade, especially with Asian neighbors, in particular in South Asia including Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. The People's Liberation Army (PLA's) interaction with the armed forces of other countries is detailed in China's biennial defense white papers, which have been issued by the Information Office of the State Council since 1998.

The defense diplomacy activities are described under the heading of "International Security Cooperation."¹⁰⁹ China's defense white papers refer to defense diplomacy as "military

¹⁰⁷ Kegley, C. "World Politics, 11th Ed Rev." London. (2018), p. 99.

¹⁰⁸ O'Brien, S. "Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa." Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop, (2000), p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ Defense Departments of China, ASEAN Hold First Workshop on Regional Security, (2006), p. 60.

diplomacy.” For example, the 2000 white paper states, “Military diplomacy should serve the state’s diplomacy and the modernization of national defense and the armed forces,” while the 2004 white paper notes, “The PLA conducts active military exchanges and cooperation with militaries of other countries and has created a military diplomacy that is all-directional, multi-tiered and wide-ranging.”¹¹⁰ This section notes that as an integral part of Chinese diplomacy, military links have played an ever increasingly important role in China's foreign relations.

Military contacts and exchanges between China and the United States with Africa have been in the spotlight again since the two nations agreed to resume bilateral military contacts in 2008.¹¹¹

China also made breakthrough progress on developing military ties with Latin American, Southern America and Oceanian countries with military visits and expanding professional and technical exchanges. China has sent military delegations to more than 10 countries including Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Sudan, South Africa, Zambia and Cameroon, and has hosted foreign military delegations from more than ten countries including Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Columbia, Bolivia, Cuba, Antigua and, Sudan, Equatorial Guinea and Kenya.¹¹² In future, China's military diplomacy will continue to support an independent foreign policy of peace, serve the State's overall diplomacy and the national defence and army modernization drive, further increase mutual understanding, friendship and co-operation with the armed forces of other countries to contribute still more to world peace and stability and common development.

¹¹⁰ Kegley, C. “World Politics, 11th Ed Rev. London.” (2018), p. 95.

¹¹¹ Mulualem, M. “The African Union and Foreign Policy.” The Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, (2013), pp. 1-2.

¹¹² Riaz, A. “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh.*” Current History, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 161.

2.3.4 India's Military Cooperation with Africa

According to Matsuda, "India has been lagging behind in using military diplomacy as an effective tool in its diplomacy in Africa."¹¹³ But this has been gradually changing over the last few years.¹¹⁴ It is important to augment this beyond the traditional level of bilateral joint exercises to include multilateral exercises in our neighbourhood and beyond as well as to engage in arms sales instead of leaving this to our neighbours like Pakistan and China, who are already engaged in such businesses and creating influence in other parts of the world.¹¹⁵ Some of the recent actions of India including the participation in the quadrilateral exercises are steps in the right direction.

The signing of a defence cooperation pact with Singapore in 2004 has drastically changed the fabric of New Delhi's defence ties in the region.¹¹⁶ Moreover, "many of India's national interests, like maintaining peace and security along the Indian Ocean littoral, including the eastern coast of Africa, align quite well with America's broader military diplomacy and strategic interests in the same area."¹¹⁷ Hence, the United States ought to view the prospering military diplomacy between Indian-African relationships positively. This section found that Indian's military cooperation in Africa is well demonstrated through peace support. Therefore, "the Indian forces have been involved in *Blue Helmet* missions in Mozambique, Somalia, Angola, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Liberia as part of their Defence Diplomacy."¹¹⁸ Hence, "the Indian contingent serving in the DRC represents the largest national contribution to the recently renamed UN Organization

¹¹³ Matsuda Y. "An Essay on China's Military Diplomacy: Examination of Intentions in Foreign Strategy," NIDS Security Reports, No. 7, (2006), p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Fris, J. "Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes." New Zealand Defence Diplomacy, (2013), p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, (2006), p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Kegley, C. "World Politics, 11th Ed Rev. London." (2018), p. 95.

¹¹⁷ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 29.

¹¹⁸ Xenia, D. "Is India, or Will It Be, a Responsible International Stakeholder?" Washington Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 3, Summer (2007), pp. 117-130.

Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), while the contingent that originally deployed in January 2007 to the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) under Commander enjoys the distinction of being the first (and still only) all-female UN peacekeeping unit ever deployed in international peacekeeping.”¹¹⁹

The then-special representative of the UN Secretary-General hailed the deployment of the unit from India’s Central Reserve Police Force as “a new beginning for gender equality in peacekeeping” and expressed the hope that its presence would be “an encouragement for Liberian women to come forward and help rebuild their country by participating in the forces of law and order.”¹²⁰ This serves as a good aspect of defence diplomacy.

2.3.5 South African National Defence Force

It is worth noting that during the inaugural Summit of the African Union held in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002, the Assembly stressed the need for a Common African Defence and Security Policy in the context of the Constitutive Act of the African Union.¹²¹ The Assembly further requested its Chairman to establish a group of experts to examine all aspects related to the establishment of such a Common African Defence and Security Policy and submit their recommendations.¹²² The need for a Common African Defence and Security Policy is inherent in the objectives of the Constitutive Act, particularly in Article 3(a) to (h) as well as in Article 4(d) of the Act, which provides for the “establishment of a Common Defence Policy for the African Continent.”¹²³

¹¹⁹ Fris, J. “Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes.” New Zealand Defence Diplomacy, (2013), p. 11.

¹²⁰ Mulualem, M. “The African Union and Foreign Policy.” The Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, (2013), p. 8.

¹²¹ Fris, J. “Neither Staunch Friends nor Confirmed Foes.” New Zealand Defence Diplomacy, (2013), p. 9.

¹²² Riaz, A. “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh*.” Current History, Vol. 113, No. 762, (2014), p. 167.

¹²³ Mulualem, M. “The African Union and Foreign Policy.” The Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, (2013), p. 7.

South Africa's national security interests have to be seen as including peace and stability in Africa generally. The South African Defence Attaché in Kinshasa confirmed this position when he tried to explain the reasons behind South Africa's involvement as a mediator in the Democratic Republic of Congo conflict.¹²⁴ In November 2004, South Africa had more than 3,000 soldiers deployed as part of international Peace Support Operations (PSOs), primarily in the Democratic Republic of Congo and in Burundi.

The South African National Defence Force had eleven rifle companies or a total of 1,765 troops deployed domestically on a daily basis to support the police in an attempt to tackle the pandemic.¹²⁵ This makes a total of more than 4,700 soldiers deployed on military diplomacy at all times.¹²⁶ This means that the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has nearly five to seven battalion-sized formations occupied at the same time in what have been described as secondary roles, for instance, support to the SAPS, humanitarian relief operations and support to South Africa's foreign policy. This has put heavy pressure on the South African National Defence Force and defence budget.¹²⁷

The SANDF has therefore become an increasingly important instrument in the government's military and peace diplomacy strategy.¹²⁸ At the same time, the SANDF is increasingly being regarded as an effective foreign-policy tool; one that can support the government's diplomatic drive in Africa.

¹²⁴ Ibid, (2013), p. 9.

¹²⁵ Willard, J. "Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level." School of Advanced Military Studies, (2016), pp. 91-97.

¹²⁶ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 32.

¹²⁷ Kegley, C." World Politics, 11th Ed Rev." London. (2018), p. 99.

¹²⁸ Ibid, (2018), p. 109.

2.2.6 The Eastern Africa Defence Diplomacy

The Eastern Africa Standby Force's (EASF's) secretariat and planning centre, Eastern African Standby Brigade Co-ordination Mechanism (EASBRICOM) is based in the outskirts of Nairobi and is a priority for Kenya, giving it both status and visibility as one of the most experienced countries on the continent in terms of peacekeeping.¹²⁹ As part of Kenya's focus on maintaining good relations with the militaries of the region, on the basis that a common understanding aids the maintenance of peace, the Kenya Defence Forces engage in annual military exercises as part of its Defence Diplomacy for either the EASF or the East African Community (EAC) regional economic bloc.¹³⁰

The EAC has a Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence, signed by the three Heads of State of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, in November, 2001. It builds on the already established tradition of undertaking joint manoeuvres and military exercises among the three countries, by providing for cooperation in military training, joint operations, technical assistance, visits, and information exchange.¹³¹

The EAC Memorandum of Understanding makes provision for institutional arrangements, including a Council on Cooperation in Defence Affairs; a Consultative Committee on Cooperation in Defence Affairs; a Sectoral Committee on Cooperation in Defence Affairs; and Defence Experts Working Groups. Provision is, further, made for financial arrangements relating to expenses arising from all joint training, operational and technical cooperation.¹³² The military conducts formal interchanges with other governments and their militaries. Therefore defence

¹²⁹ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 34.

¹³⁰ Willard, J. "Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level." School of Advanced Military Studies, (2016), p. 99.

¹³¹ Matsuda, Y. "An Essay on China's Military Diplomacy: Examination of Intentions in Foreign Strategy," NIDS Security Reports, (No. 7, December 2006), p. 3.

¹³² Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 37.

diplomacy encourages military, health, business and trade benefits. Trade related initiatives such as the ones recently announced by Kenya and South Africa should be welcomed, but a proper trade deal between them is not yet in place. There are no official plans to conclude a bilateral trade agreement, which is understandable. Both these two countries are members of customs unions and are active participants in the negotiations to finalize the outstanding AfCFTA negotiations on tariff reductions and rules of origin.

Once trade under AfCFTA rules becomes possible, preferential trade in goods and services among all the AfCFTA State Parties, including the members of SACU and the EAC, can begin.¹³³ The recent discussions between South Africa and Kenya are positive developments and signify a special relationship between these two countries. But for the moment these efforts constitute ad hoc deals. More needs to be done to unlock the potential of preferential trade in and for Africa.

2.4 Emerging Issues in Foreign Policy between Kenya and South Africa

Muthanna opines that, “the fact that states can develop on its own without relying on other states or non-state actors.”¹³⁴ Countries have been endowed differently with natural resources while others are more technologically advanced than others. South Africa, as a country firmly placed in the South, has to be aware of the risks of marginalization in a trade sense. Sound cooperation with other countries of the South and with clients and suppliers in the North, should be an integral part of foreign policy and of economic policy.

¹³³ Willard, J. “Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level.” School of Advanced Military Studies, (2016), p. 102.

¹³⁴ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” Journal of Defence Studies, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

2.4.1 The Standby forces in Africa

The African Standby Force (ASF) is an important tool of the African Peace and Security Architecture for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts on our continent.¹³⁵ An appreciable amount of progress has been made towards its realization, from the development of the foundational policy documents to aspects pertaining to the establishment of a Rapid Deployment Capability for the Force. It is, however, the reality that there still exists a limited understanding of the ASF concept.¹³⁶ Peace Support Operations (PSOs) have evolved into complex and multidimensional enterprises that require integration and cooperation amongst military, civilian and police elements. Despite this development, there is still a view that PSOs are the preserve of the military, and little is still known about the role and necessity of civilians in the theatre of operations.¹³⁷ To increase our advocacy and outreach efforts so as to better gain support for the ASF whilst, on the other, scholars have even more work to do in terms of getting a broader understanding of the multidimensional imperative in PSOs, and specifically the roles and functions of civilian experts.

It is true that work on the civilian dimension of the ASF is far behind that of the military and police components. However, over the past few years, a lot of progress has been made in terms of developing policy documents which articulate who the civilian experts are, what their functions are within the PSO context, how they should be recruited, trained and managed. There has also been recognition that civilians are quite a diverse and disparate group, unlike their military and police counterparts. Through Defence Diplomacy, Africa can also play more active role Responsibility To Protect (RTP) roles especially in regards to the fight against terrorism.

¹³⁵ Ibid, (2011), p. 18.

¹³⁶ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 39.

¹³⁷ Ibid, (2005), p. 43.

2.4.2 Increased Defence Collaboration between States

Joint exercises by the Defence Forces of the EAC Partner States are held in the context of the East African Community Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence Matters. Under the Memorandum of Understanding, the EAC Partner States pursue an elaborate programme of activities, largely of confidence building among the Defence Forces.¹³⁸ These activities include exchange of visits and regular meetings of the Defence Chiefs and other members of the Defence Forces; joint training; joint exercises as well as the promotion of various joint sports and cultural activities.

The East African region faces a serious problem of piracy on the Indian Ocean waters, which is further exacerbated by the terrorist threat posed by the Al Shabaab militia operating from bases in neighbouring Somalia.¹³⁹ Similarly, negative forces such as the Forces of Democratic Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Lords Resistant Army (LRA) still require attention. They not only pose a threat to the lives and security of our citizens, but also raise the cost of doing business in the region, thus reducing the expected benefits of Customs Union and Common Market. There is a need for increased commitment and support to Partner States as they deal with the pressing issue of piracy and the threat of Somali groups which see terror as an acceptable means of struggle. These groups coordinate their activities.

The African response to them must be coordinated. Inter-ministerial committees to come up in ways in which Kenya Defence Forces can actively participate in the Country's defense diplomacy in order to promote defence diplomacy in Kenya. Kenya's foreign policy was shaped by the need to attract more foreign capital, maintain commercial links with neighboring states, ensure the security of her neighbors and consolidate the domestic political power base. In

¹³⁸ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 41.

¹³⁹ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 21.

pursuance of those goals, he argues that Kenya maintained independence in two different ways. First there was a dependence on the wider East African market. Secondly, there was a security dependence maintained in a defense agreement with Britain.¹⁴⁰ Foreign policy's role in promoting a country's development is a matter of great importance for understanding its national trajectory, especially in the case of a Country like Kenya.¹⁴¹

Kent argued that the relationship between development policy and foreign policy is at the heart of current debates about the future of Europe.¹⁴² The function of intelligence was to provide expert knowledge of the external world on the basis of which a sound policy would then be made, by those with expert knowledge of national politics.¹⁴³ The initial inclinations in Kenya's foreign policy were generated by forces that had their origins in the first few decades of the twentieth century. These forces included: the creation of common organs in several fields to serve the needs of the three East African countries under British rule, the assignment by European administrative decision of an inhospitable and poor but large bloc of Somali-populated land to Kenya instead of to adjacent Somalia and the establishment of sizeable European settler and Asian immigrant communities in the country plus the domination of the economy by agricultural exports.¹⁴⁴ Kenya maintained close ties with its former colonial ruler despite frequently strong clashes in the colonial era between men who became the post-independence leaders and the British government.

Kenya's foreign policy has always had among its core interests, the advancement of security related concerns. The rationale for its engagement with conflict management has changed in

¹⁴⁰ Ian, C. "The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India." (2005), p. 42.

¹⁴¹ David, L. "*Defence Attachés*". Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Switzerland, (2007), pp. 3-6.

¹⁴² Sherman, K. "Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy." Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, (1949), p. 64.

¹⁴³ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Kaplan, I. "Kenya a Country Study; Foreign area Studies." The American University, "1975), p. 43.

different periods.¹⁴⁵ In the first phase, largely in the 1960s, Kenya's foreign policy basis was on the *Shifita* war in North Eastern Kenya.¹⁴⁶ The second phase of Kenya's foreign policy with security concerns was in the 1970s and 1980s when Kenya stated commitment to multilateral political institutions, Kenya acted as a mediator at the behest of the of African Unity (previously OAU).¹⁴⁷

The third phase was during the early years of the Late President Moi presidency as Kenya searched for a role that would define its position within the international relations of its surrounding.¹⁴⁸ Another determinant of Kenya's foreign policy was the attitude adopted by the Kenyan leaders who came to control the government, particularly reference to President Jomo Kenyatta. These men emphasized pragmatism, moderation, and a continuing reliance on western world, particularly Great Britain, as a source of needed funds and technical assistance for national development.¹⁴⁹

Oduogo argues that, "Kenya adopted an extremely moderate and indeed a cautious stance in handling her external affairs."¹⁵⁰ However, "like other affairs, President Kenyatta exercised a controlling voice over major foreign policy decisions and had direct influence on whoever was in charge of the foreign affairs docket."¹⁵¹ Kenyatta's administration came in with a spirit of Pan-Africanism which was implemented in Kenya's foreign policy. However, this implementation

¹⁴⁵ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ David Law. "*Defence Attachés*" (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva, Switzerland, July 2007), pp. 3-6.

¹⁴⁷ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 27.

¹⁴⁸ Pajtinka, E. "Military Diplomacy and Present Functions." *International and National Studies*, Vol. 20, (2016), p. 7.

¹⁴⁹ David, L. "*Defence Attachés*". Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Switzerland, (2007), p. 12.

¹⁵⁰ Oduogo, C. "Kenya's Foreign Policy and Relations." Nairobi, Kenya, (2012), p. 17.

¹⁵¹ Pajtinka, E. "Military Diplomacy and Present Functions." *International and National Studies*, Vol. 20, (2016), p. 10.

was quite partial, because the spirit of Pan-Africanism was more accentuated to Kenya's relation with other African countries and the West.

Transboundary issues present unique challenges for a number of reasons. Conflicts can arise when an environmental problem caused in one nation spills over into another. On the other hand, neighbouring countries often face similar problems related to both the causes of environmental change in a shared natural area and to the impacts on people, places and livelihoods. Cooperative environmental management and policymaking to address issues of mutual concern are complicated, however, since laws and regulations usually differ on either side of a border and there are many institutional players with different agendas and mandates.¹⁵²

The Southern African region expects a positive contribution from South Africa in terms of their own development.¹⁵³ They expect that interact with them as a partner and ally, not as a regional super power, so that what achieve, in terms of political, security and economic relations is balanced and mutually beneficial. There are also expectations from Africa that South Africa should make a significant contribution towards peace and development on the continent. South Africa's problems cannot be worse than those experienced by other African countries. Despite own limitations and problems, its objective to make a significant contribution to ensuring peace, democracy, respect for human rights and sustained development. These principles are fundamental to foreign policy.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter notes that foreign governments, NGOs and others actors in Africa's future should be consulted as public diplomacy ideas are developed. Africa's defence diplomacy related to

¹⁵² The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Blue economy coordination office. Nairobi, Kenya, (2018).

¹⁵³ David, L. "*Defence Attachés*". Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Switzerland, (2007), p. 14..

AFRICOM must reflect lessons learned from the long and complex (and often unsavoury) history of outsiders' involvement in Africa. The purported embrace of "soft power" by the DoD has met with considerable skepticism given past trends to use diplomacy to support strongmen across the continent.

According to some literature reviewed, soft power by definition is the use of economics, diplomacy and information to support national interests. It is supposed to be the opposite of military hard power, the opposite of tanks, aircraft carriers [and] other tools of war that basically break things and kill people. Soft power is supposed to be about engendering cooperation through shared values. Hence as South Africa and Kenya develops foreign policy principles and practical foreign policy objectives and priorities which meet the needs of the country and which are in keeping with the means of South Africa, both constant and variable influences from practical trends and events elsewhere can be expected. These will require responsible but flexible reactions from the government departments and others involved in the particular sphere, and that is why the concerns of the next chapter is the conduct of military diplomacy in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONDUCT OF MILITARY DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the conduct of military diplomacy in Africa by first explaining the two concepts of diplomacy and military diplomacy.¹⁵⁴ The linkage between military activities and those of diplomacy, intelligence, and other elements of national power is not a newfound concept; rather it is a concept that dates back for centuries. This chapter ends with a chapter summary.

3.1 The Conduct of Diplomacy

Barston loosely, “refers to diplomacy as the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representative of groups or states.”¹⁵⁵ Therefore, “it is also concerned with the management of relations between states and states and other actors.”¹⁵⁶ Subsequently, “from a state perspective diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy.”¹⁵⁷

Research participant serial 1 is quoted; “Diplomacy is the means by which States throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations.”¹⁵⁸

Diplomacy has existed since the time when States, empires or other centers of power dealt with each other on an official basis.¹⁵⁹ Numerous diplomatic archives have been found in Egypt dating back to the 13th century BC. Permanent diplomatic missions, that is, representations set up by one country in the territory of another, date back to the Renaissance in the 15th century.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Ebitz, A. “The use of military diplomacy in power competition.” Brookings, (2017), p. 9.

¹⁵⁵ Ronald, B. “Modern Diplomacy.” Publisher, Pearson Longman (2006), pp. 71 -76.

¹⁵⁶ Ebitz, A. “The use of military diplomacy in power competition.” Brookings, (2017), p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ronald, B. “Modern Diplomacy.” Publisher, Pearson Longman (2006), p. 79.

¹⁵⁸ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁵⁹ Ebitz, A. “The use of military diplomacy in power competition.” Brookings, (2017), p. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Pajtinka, E. “Military Diplomacy and Present Functions.” International and National Studies, Vol. 20, (2016), p. 13.

Switzerland set up its first permanent legations in its neighbouring countries around 1800.¹⁶¹ At the time, international relations were mostly conducted through honorary consuls, who carried out these functions in parallel with their professional activities and in a voluntary capacity.¹⁶² The study observes that the modern Swiss Confederation, which was founded in 1848, first began to build up a network of professional diplomatic missions and consular posts towards the end of the 19th century.

3.2 Understanding Military Diplomacy

Military diplomacy is the conduct by military diplomats of negotiations and other relations between nations, nations' militaries, and nations' citizens aimed at influencing the environment in which the military operates.¹⁶³ Therefore, "these efforts include both the traditional aspects of military diplomacy, as well as the informal aspects of public diplomacy."¹⁶⁴ From the earliest days of history, many of the great minds of warfare addressed the need to understand the inevitable influence and involvement of military activities in affairs outside of war fighting.

The earliest days of warfare, "military theorists and practitioners, like of Sun Tzu, Frederick the Great, Carl von Clausewitz, and Alfred Thayer Mahan, recognized the interconnectedness of these elements and a need to coordinate and integrate them to achieve maximum effectiveness."¹⁶⁵

Research participant serial 9 quotes Sun Tzu who; "builds the foundation by relating the unavoidable effects of the military on activities outside the framework of violent warfare."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 21.

¹⁶² Pajtinka, E. "Military Diplomacy and Present Functions." *International and National Studies*, Vol. 20, (2016), p. 17.

¹⁶³ Ibid, (2016), pp. 21-23.

¹⁶⁴ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 28.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, (2011), p. 32.

¹⁶⁶ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 9. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

Frederick forwards the notion that military leaders must conduct diplomatically related activities in peacetime in order to fully understand and shape the environment prior to implementing any wartime action.¹⁶⁷

Clausewitz takes the next evolutionary step by identifying the close relationship of policy and the power of the military. Based on this relationship, Clausewitz proposes the need for military leaders to be both soldier and statesman in order to succeed fully. Finally, Alfred Thayer Mahan transforms these ideas into a theory of sea power predicated on the ability of the United States to achieve the full spectrum of foreign policy objectives using maritime military diplomacy.¹⁶⁸

According to LaFeber and Mahan, “a study of the great minds of military theory and practice clearly reveals not only a capability by the military to operate beyond the realm of pure warfare, but also a need to aptly apply these capabilities across the spectrum of national power.”¹⁶⁹ The International Security Studies (ISS) emerged as a field of academic inquiry after World War II, it has been dominated by the study of the use or threatened use of political violence.¹⁷⁰ It is noted that to date, those studies which have looked at the defense diplomacy have largely been of a historical variety and centered on the use of security assistance programs by great powers.¹⁷¹ Most scholarly works have specifically focused on the Cold War when both the Soviet Union and the US identified arms sales and military training programs as a means of winning the favor of foreign governments.¹⁷²

Scholars like William Mott and Duncan Clarke have attempted to document how the rival super powers utilized these “security assistance” and gauge what impact this military aid had on world

¹⁶⁷ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 29.

¹⁶⁸ Ebitz, A. “The use of military diplomacy in power competition.” *Brookings*, (2017), p. 19.

¹⁶⁹ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 19.

¹⁷⁰ Ebitz, A. “The use of military diplomacy in power competition.” *Brookings*, (2017), p. 13.

¹⁷¹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 12. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁷² Mott, W. “*Military Assistance: An Operational Perspective*.” Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, (1999), p. 78.

affairs. The relationships between armed forces have extended back hundreds of years, as far back as the development of the modern nation state itself, and since this time these relationships have been inextricably linked to the defence and security needs of each nation and or state. Typically, these defence relationships have grown out of alliances and other security arrangements between nations.¹⁷³

Willards cites that, “first coined by the United Kingdom in the late 1990s, the term described the increasing use of military cooperation and assistance beyond friendly states out to engage former and potential enemies.”¹⁷⁴ The term military diplomacy, initially used by Western militaries to describe their engagement of the armed forces of the former Eastern Bloc, spread in popularity to the extent that most armed forces around the world now describe military diplomacy in one form or another as a core task.

Military diplomacy represented a shift in the nature of relationships between armed forces by extending defence cooperation beyond friendly allied states to former or potential enemies.¹⁷⁵ A distinction can therefore be drawn between ‘old’ military diplomacy, meaning traditional relationships with allies, and ‘new’ military diplomacy, meaning engagement with non-like-minded states. The US public and military diplomacy programs have helped to build a social layer of professionals, academics, policy-makers, military leaders, and other opinion makers sympathetic to American ideals in many countries, China also has made strides in the area of state diplomacy.¹⁷⁶ The tool kit of US hard and soft power includes the military, diplomacy, economics, and culture 38 along with several intangibles that result from US actions.¹⁷⁷ These

¹⁷³ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 26.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, (2011), p. 27.

¹⁷⁵ Willard, J. “Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level.” *School of Advanced Military Studies*, (2016), pp. 91-97.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, (2016), p. 99.

¹⁷⁷ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

include credibility, trust, and general amicability. Military forces in the US include not only those actually engaged in combat but the threat of their use in offensive, defensive, and retaliatory operations.¹⁷⁸ Diplomacy includes political forces, a nation's system of governance, alliances, and international relationships. The economy includes a nation's economic power, economic assistance, trade, foreign investment, financial position, and preferential trading arrangements.¹⁷⁹ The cultural resources include the media, information, public diplomacy, communications, and traditional propaganda.

One of the earliest forms of military diplomacy occurred during the Thirty Years War (1618 to 1648), when the Duke of Richelieu dispatched French military officers abroad in order to liaise with allies, monitor military developments and gather intelligence.¹⁸⁰ In the 18th century, this activity was formalized with the practice of assigning defence attachés to embassies, and by the 19th century most countries had defence attachés, facilitated by the emergence of national defence establishments and the building of colonial empires.¹⁸¹

The other notable events that might now be considered examples of military diplomacy were the circumnavigation of the globe by the United States Navy's Great White Fleet, and the establishment in 1927 by the UK of the Imperial Defence College intended to train officers from the British Commonwealth and develop common doctrine.¹⁸² Befitting its post-Cold War origins, what we now understand as military diplomacy first emerged in Germany at the beginning of the

¹⁷⁸ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 13. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁷⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 9. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁸⁰ David, L. "*Defence Attachés*" (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva, Switzerland, July (2007), p. 1.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, (2007), pp. 5-7.

¹⁸² Research Data. Participants Serial Number 4. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

1990s.¹⁸³ Germany had been providing defence assistance to the former Soviet Union as early as 1990 to facilitate the withdrawal of Russian forces stationed in the former East Germany.¹⁸⁴

What is significant though, is that it was the *Bundeswehr*, the German armed forces, who were tasked with fostering international cooperation and integration, especially in Europe, by training the armed forces of the new democracies; by promoting dialogue on military policy; by participating in visits and exchange programmes for military personnel and in combined North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Western European Union exercises; and by sending personnel to observe United Nations and Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe missions and to verify compliance with arms control agreements.¹⁸⁵ Beginning in the mid-1990s, Beijing's ideological and isolationist foreign policy became more engaged and pragmatic.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) began to promote its trade and security interests through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. In the past several years, many observers note, China's conduct of official bilateral exchanges has appeared to be more active than that of the United States, especially with smaller developing countries. Through these meetings, "the People's Republic of China (PRC) has asserted itself as a global leader."¹⁸⁶

China also has played a prominent or leading role in new regional groupings that it has helped to establish, such as the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in Central Asia, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), and the China-Arab Cooperation Forum. By contrast, among leadership circles in some regions, particularly Latin

¹⁸³ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁸⁴ Sidney, B. "New Challenges to Defence Diplomacy," Strategic Survey (1999/2000) 100, no. 1 : p.39.

¹⁸⁵ Okongo, Charles. Evaluating the Challenges and Opportunities of the Use of Military Diplomacy in Intrastate Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa. International Journal of Scientific Research Management, (2021), pp. 9-11.

¹⁸⁶ David, L. "Defence Attachés" (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva, Switzerland, July 2007), pp. 3-6.

America and Southeast Asia, Washington has been accused of neglecting regional concerns that are not related to the war on terrorism.¹⁸⁷

South Africa's contribution to the prevention and resolution of conflict will be enhanced through an integration of its diplomatic, military and other efforts, in a complementary manner, and in instances supported by appropriate military capabilities, that strengthen South Africa's capacity to influence international developments.¹⁸⁸ This requires a military diplomacy capability, whose strategy and main effort focuses on those national priorities where defence can add the most value. Military diplomacy efforts will further centre on fostering long-standing relationships with key African states and other strategic partners.¹⁸⁹ The key characteristic of 'new' military diplomacy that distinguishes it from other forms of military cooperation is its focus on former and potential adversaries towards helping build cooperative relationships; promoting democratic civilian control of armed forces.

3.3 Military Diplomacy in Africa

The dawn of a new era in international affairs, the steady rise of complex interdependence, the growing rise of new actors on the global scene, all made room for a new conception of military diplomacy, especially in Africa. Military diplomacy is increasingly relied on in the management of intra state conflicts globally. Far more common and controversial is the issue of combat troops to help end fighting in an intractable conflict.¹⁹⁰ The Horn of Africa is an epitome of intractable regional intrastate conflicts that have attracted international, regional and even individual state

¹⁸⁷ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 7. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁸⁸ Willard, J. "Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level." School of Advanced Military Studies, (2016), p. 105.

¹⁸⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 26. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁹⁰ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." Journal of Defence Studies, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

military and humanitarian intervention since the 1970s.¹⁹¹ The Somalia and Sudan crises provide typical examples in which such efforts have been witnessed yet they also provide a case study of successful military diplomacy by African states in states engaged in protracted intra-state conflicts.

The defence forces contribute to development in post conflict societies by providing security, assisting relief efforts, and reconstructing infrastructure (when this activity can be rationalized as part of the security mission). These activities can enhance the image of the Armed Forces and facilitate interactions with civil society. For example, Kenya's relations with the United Kingdom were debated in Britain's parliament. British Members of Parliament were particularly concerned with the growing influence of China in Kenya as Britain had initially sought to isolate Kenya diplomatically.

The importance and essentials of diplomatic relations cannot be understated as countries across the world need to work together to forestall consequences of strained diplomacy. The lack of diplomatic relations among various countries has been a big challenge in the establishment of international policy goals. Okongo argues that at independence in 1963, the new Kenyan government inherited a trade and industrial policy from the colonial rulers that was largely aimed at import substitution.¹⁹² Manufacturing in Kenya dated from the early twentieth century, but had not developed much beyond processed agricultural goods; the market remained limited, and there was little local capital or skilled management.¹⁹³ Following independence, the government pursued a policy of attracting foreign investors to produce for the domestic and regional market. Multinational corporations such as Union Carbide, Firestone, United Steel, Del Monte,

¹⁹¹ Willard, J. "Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level." School of Advanced Military Studies, (2016), p. 105.

¹⁹² Drab, L. "Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State." Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

¹⁹³ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

Schweppes, and Lonrho began producing in Kenya. Effective rates of protection were very high, and many established firms enjoyed near monopolies.

Kenya is a potential strong partner for Europe in fostering stability in east Africa and the Horn of Africa, and its new membership of the Security Council should prompt Europeans to work more closely with it.¹⁹⁴ Kenya started its two-year term on the United Nations Security Council.¹⁹⁵ Although often taken for granted by its neighbours and international partners, Kenya contributes significantly to the prosperity and stability of its region.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, “in this moment of turmoil in the Horn of Africa, Kenya has a great deal to offer, it can point to decades of domestic stability and growth, a political model based on accommodation and government cohabitation, and a vibrant, educated youth driving innovation.”¹⁹⁷ Europe should seize the opportunity of Kenya’s term on the Security Council to help foster regional multilateralism, encourage dialogue and reconciliation to move domestic political transitions forward, and tip the balance in favour of a sustainable regional cooperation order in east Africa and the Horn of Africa.¹⁹⁸

The two countries (Kenya and South Africa) also enjoy extensive bilateral relations in areas covering trade, investments, tourism, and cooperation in areas of defence and security, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism, climate change, among others. The proponents of defence diplomatic engagement sometimes do not provide a clear description of the means (mechanisms) of this form of engagement, but identify a number of possible variants of engagement; conditional

¹⁹⁴ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

¹⁹⁵ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 11. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁹⁶ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” *Security and Defence Quarterly*, (2022), p. 69.

¹⁹⁷ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 13. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

¹⁹⁸ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

economic engagement, using the restrictions caused by economic dependency and unconditional economic engagement by exploiting economic dependency caused by the flow

The ASF is an important tool of the African Peace and Security Architecture for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts on our continent.¹⁹⁹ An appreciable amount of progress has been made towards its realization, from the development of the foundational policy documents to aspects pertaining to the establishment of a Rapid Deployment Capability for the Force. It is, however, the reality that there still exists a limited understanding of the ASF concept.²⁰⁰

The peace support operations have evolved into complex and multidimensional enterprises that require integration and cooperation amongst military, civilian and police elements. Despite this development, there is still a view that PSOs are the preserve of the military, and little is still known about the role and necessity of civilians in the theatre of operations.²⁰¹ This section notes that there is a need, on one hand, to increase our advocacy and outreach efforts so as to better gain support for the ASF whilst, on the other, we have even more work to do in terms of getting a broader understanding of the multidimensional imperative in PSOs, and specifically the roles and functions of civilian experts.

It is true that work on the civilian dimension of the ASF is far behind that of the military and police components. Over the past few years, a lot of progress has been made in terms of developing policy documents which articulate who the civilian experts are, what their functions are within the PSO context, how they should be recruited, trained and managed.²⁰² There has also

¹⁹⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 19. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²⁰⁰ Claire, M. "Shifting priorities - Kenya's changing approach to peace building and peace-making." Norwegian Peace building Resource Center, (2013) pp. 7-9.

²⁰¹ Drab, L." *Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*" Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

²⁰² Research Data. Participants Serial Number 30. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

been recognition that civilians are quite a diverse and disparate group, unlike their military and police counterparts.²⁰³ Through military diplomacy, Africa can also play a more active role Responsibility to Protect (RTP) roles especially in regards to the fight against terrorism.

3.4 Snapshot of the Challenge of Military Diplomacy

The military, known as a hard-power tool, can also be used as a soft-power one. Military members serving overseas in any capacity are already often the forefront of American diplomacy, moving their mission set beyond traditional war fighting to an extended role in support of the National Security Strategy of the United States, with great success.²⁰⁴ The idea of “military diplomacy” is a relatively new term, created in response to post-Cold War needs to name new tasks and international functions completed by the armed forces and the leadership of the Ministries of National Defence.²⁰⁵ However, “it should not be understood as a kind of traditional military plus diplomacy.”²⁰⁶

The East African region faces a serious problem of piracy on the Indian Ocean waters, which is further exacerbated by the terrorist threat posed by the Al Shabaab militia operating from bases in neighbouring Somalia. Similarly, negative forces such as the Forces of Democratic Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Lords Resistant Army still require attention.²⁰⁷ They not only pose a threat to the lives and security of our citizens, but also raise the cost of doing business in our region, thus reducing the expected benefits of our Customs Union and Common Market. There is a need for increased commitment and support to our Partner States as they deal with the pressing

²⁰³ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 34. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²⁰⁴ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

²⁰⁵ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” Journal of Defence Studies, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

²⁰⁶ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 11. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²⁰⁷ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

issue of piracy and the threat of Somali groups which see terror as an acceptable means of struggle. These groups coordinate their activities.

The African response to them must be coordinated. Finally, inter-ministerial committees to come up in ways in which Kenya Defence Forces can actively participate in the Country's Military Diplomacy in order to promote Defence Diplomacy in Kenya. In the African context, South Africa has been identified by many observers as the one state able to execute effective peacekeeping operations on the continent. However, these impediments are not unique to South Africa and apply to all democratic countries. There are a number of central issues which the promoters and supporters of preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping have not paid sufficient attention to in their analyses.

3.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter found that defence diplomacy can be best experienced in the Joint exercises by the Defence Forces of the EAC Partner States are held in the context of the East African Community Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence Matters. Under the Memorandum of Understanding, the EAC Partner States pursue an elaborate programme of activities, largely of confidence building among the Defence Forces. These activities include exchange of visits and regular meetings of the Defence Chiefs and other members of the Defence Forces; joint training; joint exercises as well as the promotion of various joint sports and cultural activities. Currently there is an increased collaboration in military Diplomacy between Kenya and Ethiopia. Therefore, it would be interesting to understand the challenges and opportunities available in the use of military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations, which is the concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE USE OF MILITARY DIPLOMACY FOR THE ENHANCEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY ASPIRATIONS IN THE KENYA-SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter set-out to determine the challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations. Military diplomacy is a field of diplomacy that focuses primarily on the pursuit of foreign policy interests of the country. The current practice of military diplomacy represents one of the most critical forms of foreign policy activities, especially in the African continent, and with particular reference to Kenya and South Africa.

4.1 Challenges in Military Diplomacy for the Enhancement of Foreign Policy Aspiration

The informants stated that much as military diplomacy seemed like a new concept, it has always been there, it is only now that this concept is starting to gain prominence.²⁰⁸

Participant Serial 3 noted; “military diplomacy has always existed between Kenya and foreign countries though in indirect ways, Kenya has worked closely with South Africa to the benefit of both countries, unknown to the naked eye”

This section notes that majority of the informants (80%) revealed that as a corollary, there have been numerous instances of peaceful use of military to further a nation’s international relations.²⁰⁹

Participant serial 4 is quoted; “Instances of diplomacy include exchanges on training of the military for purposes of peacekeeping troops in many parts of Africa, Kenya is widely known for this”

²⁰⁸ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 3. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²⁰⁹ Research Study Field Data. Participants Serial Number 4. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

The informants from the ministry of defence (mainly Kenya Defence Forces) said that this concept had so many definitions and understanding, and they substantively defined military diplomacy as exchange of high-level defence related visits, dialogue on security challenges and port calls; and defence cooperation as those activities covered by training exchanges, combined exercises; sourcing, development, production and marketing of defence equipment and other forms of cooperation.²¹⁰

Participant Serial 21 says;” In my understanding military diplomacy takes the form of activities such as meetings between leaders in armies of two foreign countries that are united in foreign policy, within the country or in a foreign country to discuss issues ranging from internal and external security situations, training of troops and procurement of arms and other materials to the benefit of the two countries.” Therefore, going by the most obvious meaning of the terms, diplomacy efforts or initiatives could be unilateral or by mutual consent between two or more countries.

4.2 Drivers of Challenges

The contribution of the military to the development of many countries is not a new phenomenon and cannot be overemphasized.²¹¹

Participant serial 1 notes; “There are many benefits of military diplomacy to the development of a country that are not known to the common mwananchi, but mwananchi benefits to a great extent”

²¹⁰ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²¹¹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

The contribution, however, varies from state to state and from time to time depending on several factors.²¹² This is because the ideal purpose of development is aimed at enhancing rise in the level and quality of population and expansion of global, regional, national and local income and opportunities.²¹³ Militaries, historically, are associated with achieving national aims and objectives in international relations through the use of force.²¹⁴

4.2.1 Universal Definition of Concept

The lack of a universally recognized definition of “military diplomacy” means that states try to adapt its content to the needs of their own security policy. In Poland, the term “military diplomacy” appears in journalism, but there is no precise reference to it in the documents concerning foreign and security policy.²¹⁵

Participant Serial 11 is quoted; “There is no static definition of diplomacy and each country has its own way of achieving the definition depending on its socio political and economic needs at the time, and the type of leadership in power at the point in time”

Respondent Serial 50 from a local university explains; “The main goal of military diplomacy is the co-formation and implementation of the state security policy, and its task - to create stable, long-term international relations in the field of defence.”²¹⁶

Conceptualization of the concept is a starting point for understanding its role as one of the most important instruments of foreign policy and the security of contemporary and developing states.

Military diplomacy, more often than not, does not receive the attention that it merits. Where

²¹² Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), pp. 13-16.

²¹³ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” *Security and Defence Quarterly*, (2022), p. 69.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, (2022), pp. 72-73.

²¹⁵ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 11. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²¹⁶ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 50. Academia. (2023).

employed, it suffers from not being fully integrated with the nation's overall foreign policy and diplomatic efforts.

Anton du Plessis puts it very succinctly when he states, military diplomacy approximates a military adjunct to diplomacy rather than a distinct type of diplomacy.²¹⁷ Informants noted that at one level, its importance in a changing environment and use for foreign and security policy purposes are recognized in principle, whereas, at another level, defence diplomacy has become an overarching term for defence foreign relations. As a result, defence diplomacy does not receive the recognition it deserves. The informants argued that conceptually, this is due less to the precarious relationship between various foreign policy instruments, and more to an underestimation of the nature, scope and utility of military diplomacy.²¹⁸

Respondent Serial 29 hence was quoted; “The military when given a chance in diplomacy proper can play a significant role in achievement of foreign policy mandates, but given the delicate balance between implementation and monitoring and evaluation strategies, the hidden potential of military diplomacy is not tapped”

Practically, and due in part to conceptual ambiguity, this underestimation is reinforced by a lack of integration with foreign and defence policy and corresponding military policy and strategy, as well as by military diplomacy being restricted to its military-defence policy context rather than enhanced by its diplomatic-foreign policy context.

4.2.2 Cultural Comparability

The lack of cultural and organizational compatibility between forces is obvious to most observers, but in recognizing these ‘soft’ factors we must not forget the significant differences that exist in the capabilities of many forces. As the revolutionary potential of information-age

²¹⁷ Du Plessis, Anton. *Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and practical dimension in South Africa*. Up Scale, (2008), p. 9.

²¹⁸ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 29. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2023).

warfare opens up to us, the gap between cutting-edge military forces and industrial-age organizations is likely to widen.

Respondent Serial 21; “the concept of the security community is particularly useful for those states that are likely to come together to form coalitions and that need to prepare their forces to do so.”²¹⁹ As already demonstrated, land forces require the most preparation for multinational operations, and they have the most to benefit from the sort of cooperation envisaged by regional security cooperation, that eventually help to enhance the foreign policy agendas of different nations.

According to Drab, “nowhere is that gap more obvious than when assigning tasks to the disparate land forces that country contribute to coalitions.”²²⁰ In order to develop the same level of symbiosis between ground forces as is possible with platform-based services, armies need to train together. Also, as part of their preparation for command, commanders need to develop specific skills and aptitudes in order to meet the demands of ad-hoc combined operations at every level of conflict, and this is good, as they will be able to advance their own interests, as articulated in the foreign policy document.

4.2.3 Geographical Distance

Johannesburg and Nairobi are geographically distant to each other. But traders face administrative barriers selling across different trading or various blocs.²²¹ That is because South Africa is a member of the South African Customs Union while Kenya is in the East African Community.

²¹⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²²⁰ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

²²¹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

Respondent serial 5 is quoted; “these blocs apply external tariffs and other administrative measures that restrict entry of non-members into their markets. History has also played a role in weakening trade between the two states.”²²² Kenya did not support South Africa’s liberation from apartheid in the same way that, say, Tanzania did (by training and harbouring freedom fighters).²²³ The lukewarm relation that has characterized past military diplomatic engagements implies South Africa be going slow on its relations with Kenya for that history.

4.2.4 Financial Setbacks

The concepts of defense and diplomacy, together with intelligence, are part of the national security bureaucracy and represent the projection of state power, and this is where the major differences begin, with the distinction between hard and soft power. The mission of both Kenya and South Africa is to protect their countries and advance its interests. But the ways in which they do so are very different, as are their sizes.

The defense budget of both Kenya and South Africa has increased by ten-folds in the past decade, and while part of the reason has to do with inflation and higher acquisition costs, some of it has been political.²²⁴ The same cannot be said of the international affairs and military diplomacy budget. The budget for diplomacy and defense, more emphasis should be placed on discouraging the practice of using the state department budget as a convenient challenge or looking at the defense budget as sacrosanct.²²⁵ Both agencies are essential to (Kenya and South Africa) long-term security and should be treated accordingly. Military operations will always be more expensive than diplomatic activities. That is just the nature of the beast. Even if the defense

²²² Research Data. Participants Serial Number 5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diaspora. (2023).

²²³ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21. African Union. (2023).

²²⁴ Drab, L.”*Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly, (2022), p. 67.

²²⁵ Muthanna, K. “Military Diplomacy.” Journal of Defence Studies, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 23.

budget was cut by half and the military diplomacy funds should ideally be doubled, the former would still be larger by a wide margin.

4.2.5 Lack of Clear Policy Framework

Respondent serial 3 is quoted; “the concept of military diplomacy is not perceived as a discipline necessarily requiring systemic training, credentials and experience.”²²⁶ Most leaders show up with little relevant experience, a lack of very clear policy framework and take over after a short handover, and defense attachés become military diplomats after a condensed training phase.²²⁷ Coupled with miserable organizational memory, it is a recipe for continuously reinventing the wheel. The problem is exacerbated because in diplomacy, failures are not always apparent, as partners are polite and do not tend to complain, and it is difficult to investigate unidentified opportunities.

This chapter illuminates the fact that in the realm of defense, efforts may include facilitating force buildup, preparedness, signaling deterrence, resolving conflicts, and formalizing post-war mechanisms.²²⁸

Respondent serial 21 is quoted; “There are many strategies to be used in enhancing achievement of goals of foreign policy these include recruiting more into the force, equipping them with new skills, resolving conflicts and learning from their past mistakes and their successes.”

Various venues may be used, such as strategic dialogues, mutual-learning seminars, joint exercises, senior visits, combined planning and formulating agreements and combined operating procedures.²²⁹ As a form of soft power, military diplomacy also promotes *public diplomacy* aimed at enhancing legitimacy and garnering support. The South Africa’s military diplomacy

²²⁶ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 3. National Intelligence Service. (2023).

²²⁷ Ibid, (2023).

²²⁸ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²²⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diaspora. (2023).

seeks to demonstrate and instill values and contribute to the world even without having any direct benefit. An example of utilizing military diplomacy in promotion of national interests is South Africa's growing footprint in peacekeeping forces, overseas bases, and bilateral exercises where capabilities are brandished and messages are conveyed.

4.2.6 The Lack of Clear Points of Engagement

Militaries have engaged in dialogue since the dawn of time but usually for limited military purposes. The scope and nature of these interactions gradually evolved into what scholars now call military (or defense) diplomacy.²³⁰ Military diplomacy is not merely about give and take; rather it generates opportunities for sharing, learning, evolving, and collaborating. In an age of instantly-accessible information and direct connectivity, one might think that diplomacy is obsolete.

Cheyre cites that, "human interaction was essential for gathering information, unraveling hidden truths, and deciphering intentions, but some of this is no longer needed with endless, instant, and accessible data."²³¹ Meeting in person to exchange confidential information may no longer be required with secure networks at hand.²³² The age of the internet has brought an abundance of information, but raw data does not necessarily translate into knowledge, let alone wisdom. Gleaning insights, distilling lessons learned, and establishing strategies require people getting together and looking each other in the eye. When the issues at hand are sensitive, influential, and even existential, human attributes, such as empathy, friendship, and trust are considered key.

4.2.7 Varying Constitutional Aspiration

It is worth noting that Kenya and South Africa have adopted fiscal decentralization models in their Constitutions. Though Kenya's system is at its nascent stages and its implementation is

²³⁰ Muthanna, K. "Military Diplomacy." *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol, 5, No. 2, (2011), p. 24.

²³¹ Cheyre, J. "The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy." Oxford University Press, (2013), p. 8.

²³² Ibid, (2013), p. 12.

slowly progressing, South Africa leads the African continent in fiscal decentralization, and is therefore of significant comparative value while analyzing the opportunities and limitations of the Kenyan system.

The comparative analysis is based on the pillars of effective fiscal decentralization. Although both systems adhere to the pillars, South Africa has three spheres of devolution whereas Kenya has two. This section establishes that the Kenyan decentralization system is weaker in a few respects. First, it devolves minor functions to the County Governments, leaving the bulk of the health and education expenditures under the control of the National Government (NG). Second, it devolves taxation powers to County Governments for taxes which, under the previous local authorities' system, have historically been low yield and hard to collect. Third, it insists on National Government guarantees, which may be an incentive for irresponsible borrowing by County Governments.

4.3 Military Diplomacy for the Enhancement of Foreign Policy

The majority of informants (98%) reported that military diplomacy serves specific national foreign and security policy objectives.²³³ In the context of global and regional strategic engagement,

Research Respondent serial 9 notes; “it creates sustainable cooperative relationships, thereby building trust and facilitating conflict prevention, introducing transparency into defence relations; building and reinforcing perceptions of common interests; changing the mind-set of partners; and inducing cooperation in other areas.”

The case of Kenya, the informants felt that this concept was still young, but majority (90%) reported that military diplomacy can further (Kenya) Country specific foreign policy objectivity

²³³ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 9. Ministry of Tourism. (2023).

managing defence foreign relations and supporting the other diplomatic initiatives of government.²³⁴

Research respondent serial 2 speaks; “There is quite a lot that needs to be done to realize the full benefits of military diplomacy on foreign policy and other functions in international relations”

This responses were supported by similar findings by Nuthana, in his book ‘Enabling Military-to-Military Cooperation as a Foreign Policy Tool’, details the various activities that can be undertaken as part of defence and military cooperation and which could also contribute towards military diplomacy.²³⁵

The informants revealed that military diplomacy is important especially when it came to political, security and strategic defence dialogues. The multi-tiered dialogues would serve to enable an understanding of the participants’ concerns and establish areas of common and mutual interests. These dialogues could be at the political level of national leadership level - head of state or government or ministry and the civil and military professional/specialist level within the government and the armed forces. It is worth noting that while intentions, however, peaceful, could change, capabilities do not change. However, this transparency could facilitate better strategic and defence perceptions resulting in diffusing of tensions and right sized militaries and related budgets and expenditure.

A comparison of bilateral relations between India and Bhutan; and India and Bangladesh highlights this point. India and Bhutan - which is host to an Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT), enjoy a special military diplomatic relationship and a larger bilateral relationship. It is worth mentioning that in order to illustrate the impact, one informant gave examples of India and Bangladesh, where despite the special role that the former played in securing the

²³⁴ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 2. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²³⁵ Nuthana, Kim. Enabling Military-to-Military Cooperation as a Foreign Policy Tool. (2007), p. 8.

independent status of the latter, have a less than happy bilateral military relationship. Another important Role the Military Plays as an Agent of Diplomacy was observed by the respondents, when it came to sourcing and developing of defence equipment: In order to pose a viable deterrent and thereby ensure national security, the nation's military has to be adequately equipped. Military diplomacy could enable cooperative efforts for drawing up of equipment specifications, research and development, technology transfers, acquisitions and production.

4.4 Mitigating the Challenges in Military Diplomacy

It was noted by (87%) of the informants that when it comes to military diplomacy, there are many strategies applied. Some include assistance in the maintenance of lawful government through military means; such as through military training, advice and equipment.²³⁶ The professional personnel contacts, contact at all levels would serve to create a better understanding of respective positions. It would also reduce animosity and enable a more conducive approach towards problem solving and interoperability. Respondent serial 33 noted; “this is achieved through permitting contacts between military personnel in formal, informal and social settings. Alumni of military training establishments, particularly long courses as at the NDC of Command and staff colleges, where spouses are encouraged to participate can be a major means of achieving this.”

4.4.1 Encourage Mutual Exchange

Military diplomacy boosted and also in order to establish commonalities, mutual benefit and areas of discord, formal and informal initiatives can be used to exchange views. Participation in exchanges, visits, seminars, conferences, symposia and presentation of papers at these events educate the participants and provide decision makers with necessary inputs for astute decision

²³⁶ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 33. Ministry of Finance. (2023).

making.²³⁷ The participation in United Nations Peace Keeping Operations (UN PKO) or coalitions and humanitarian assistance and relief: A formal commitment to the UN and other regional cooperative organizations or coalitions for provision of forces and equipment for UN PKO, humanitarian assistance and relief and joint operations is a corner stone of military diplomacy as it is indicative, amongst other things, of a country's willingness to stand and be counted in international relations.

The setting up of the Indian ministry of external affairs funded Centre for UN Peacekeeping (training) (CUNPK) at the United Services Institution of India, in New Delhi is a small step in this direction.²³⁸ The US has an elaborate training programme and funding for training other nations in peace keeping operations under the former president's Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI).

The GPOI has subsidiary programmes such as Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) and Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EPIC). The US funds UN training and simulation facilities in target countries such as Bangladesh and India.²³⁹ This ensures that countries willing to contribute troops for UN missions have the requisite trained forces readily available thereby enabling the US to ensure adequate UN forces without having to commit its own. Similarly, France supports the Zambakro Peacekeeping School in Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). Strengthen defence relationships to promote own influence and access: A vibrant and healthy defence and military relationship could provide the desired influence and access to the country and decision makers. This could be achieved through equipment transfers through sale, aid or gifts; defence and military infrastructural development

²³⁷ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 48. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

²³⁸ Cheyre, J. "The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy." Oxford University Press, (2013), p. 19.

²³⁹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

such as operational, training and administrative facilities; and human resource development with the help of in-country advisory / assistance or training teams among others.

4.4.2 Equipment and Intellectual Transfer

The creation of equipment and intellectual dependency through exports and personnel exchanges could also serve to promote its own influence and access. This could result in access to the defence and military establishments and the desired influence in the target country's decision making instruments particularly defence. This could also ensure that its sensitivities and concerns are considered and kept in mind during the target country's decision making.

The friendly foreign countries such as South Africa and Kenya aim to develop their defence capability (without impinging on own security): The efforts to develop the defence capability of friendly foreign countries are always fraught with the need to guard against compromising one's own security.²⁴⁰ These efforts could be linked to safeguards for own security through treaties or agreements, compliance with other development or economic assistance or aid and others.

4.4.3 Enhance Military Capability

The art of warfare and science of defence management have evolved with technological advances. There are continuous developments in these fields. One has to keep pace with these developments, in order to assess future threats and develop own capabilities. This can be done, overtly, through personnel contacts in the form of professional military exchanges, defence and military human resource development in basic and advanced military skills, war fighting skills at tactical and strategic levels, and in conceptual and doctrinal abilities; and defence management specializations in resources, techniques and training. Own systems, approaches and procedures could be raised to optimal levels by carrying out comparative assessments and thereafter incorporating best practices, with appropriate refinements.

²⁴⁰ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).

4.4.4 Promote Defence and Military Interoperability

One of the likely outcomes of defence and military cooperation could be combined operations; either in bilateral and multilateral arrangements such as NATO, the US led coalition in Iraq etc and under the aegis of the UN. NATO has evolved extensive common standards ranging from English language to military terminology to military equipment to operating procedures to ensure complete and effective interoperability. This would have come in useful during the NATO deployment in Kosovo and other areas.

Research Respondent serial 24 is quoted on the appointment of defence attaches to foreign countries: “Appointing defence attaches to foreign countries has been an old practice.”²⁴¹ The US and China have amongst the highest number of defence attaches abroad and virtually cover all the nations in the world. India, on the other hand seems to be taking a very conservative approach by not having increased the number of its defence attaches abroad for many decades thereby losing many opportunities to extend and gain from pro-active military diplomacy.

4.4.5 Military Diplomacy Enhance National Development

The military diplomacy is important as it is able to play a very critical role in national development and this is possible by building the capacity of various institutions. This is because the military priorities channel a significant proportion of the resources that capitalist societies devote to research and development. The nature of military diplomacy priorities favours some areas of technological development over others, and when these favoured areas are opened for military purposes, it is often possible to build a major and serious civil industry on the resultant technology. Examples of this process include building infrastructure, national grid, civil aviation, space satellites and computers.

²⁴¹ Research Data. Participants Serial Number 24. Ministry of Finance. (2023).

This section further found that the general public views favorably that the role of the military diplomacy in national development should be directly beneficial to them, by either promoting further conditions necessary for greater development, enhancement of their businesses, development should lead to better commodity price regimes, availability of investments, promotion of technical infrastructure, and better service delivery. This section found that the key function of civil-military relations system is therefore viewed as maximizing military security at the least sacrifice of other social values.²⁴² This is achieved through a complex balancing of power and attitudes among civilian and military groups.²⁴³

4.5 Chapter Summary

This section found that the stated primary purpose of modern militaries is to be able to fight and win wars against other states. Yet there is a growing view that major interstate wars may be becoming a thing of the past. This view, which admittedly is not shared by everyone, is seen to be heightened by the end of the Cold War - the continuing spread of democracy and the phenomenon of globalization itself which is facilitating growing levels of interaction within and between states, and the gradual spread of globalized cultures and associated norms.

The decline in the prospect of war between industrialized nations does not mean, however, that armed conflict will disappear completely, for the foreseeable future at least. This section found that militaries continue to posit non-military sources of insecurity as dangers to be defended against rather than problems to be solved. And, in many countries, they continue resolutely to resist suggestions that the concept of security be extended beyond traditional politico-military concerns usually on the grounds that this would divert attention from more serious threats to

²⁴² Barany, Z. "The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas." Princeton, New Jersey, (2012), pp. 25-29.

²⁴³ Ibid, (2012), p. 32.

national security and overly complicate defence planning. Yet as we have seen, the world is becoming more complex, not less, requiring policy makers to develop more sophisticated and nuanced ways of examining and responding to the global security problematics. This is clearly illuminated in the summary and conclusions of this study as demonstrated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The concept of military diplomacy serves specific national foreign and security policy objectives. In the context of global and regional strategic engagement when it comes to Kenya, it creates sustainable cooperative relationships, thereby building trust and facilitating conflict prevention, introducing transparency into defence relations. The study also noted that military diplomacy was still a young phenomenon when it came to South Africa and Kenya.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This research study revealed that military diplomacy is one of the organizing principles used to help the West come to terms with the new international security environment. It has become an increasingly important component of the *whole of government (WoGA)* approach, and in the United Kingdom defence diplomacy has been made one of the military's eight *defence missions*. Early in the process, planners realized that new policy frameworks would be required if Britain's efforts in conflict prevention were to be effective.

5.1.1 The foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa

This section found that the military is both an institution of the state and a powerful interests group. It has the same features as other interests' groups, such as a common purpose, limited size, and a hierarchical structure, which allow it to overcome the collective action problem. The military diplomacy still faces high incentives to intervene more subtly in the policy-making process as a means of maintaining its national power. By intervening in the policy-making process it will enhance the institutional channels, or policies, that would promote economic and national development. Therefore, we can assume that the military will likely hurt economic growth by its rent-seeking behavior.

The United Kingdom began work on security sector reform in 2000. Early in the process, planners realized that new policy frameworks would be required if Britain's efforts in conflict prevention were to be effective. While relevant ministries drew up policy papers, it soon became clear that a joint approach to security sector reform required a common policy framework. The government went on to set up a security sector reform policy committee and an informal interdepartmental strategy was then developed.

5.1.2 The conduct of military diplomacy in Africa

This section found that when it came to the status of defence diplomacy and role the military plays as an agent of diplomacy in the Kenya and South Africa, the study found that the majority of informants (98%) reported that Defence diplomacy serves specific national foreign and security policy objectives. In the context of global and regional strategic engagement when it comes to Kenya, it creates sustainable cooperative relationships, thereby building trust and facilitating conflict prevention, introducing transparency into defence relations. In regards to defence diplomacy on foreign policy – the study noted that military diplomacy, more often than not, does not receive the attention that it merits. Where employed, it suffers from not being fully integrated with the nation's overall foreign policy and diplomatic efforts.

5.1.3 The challenges and opportunities in military diplomacy in Kenya-South Africa

The informants argued that conceptually, this is due less to the precarious relationship between various foreign policy instruments, and more to an underestimation of the nature, scope and utility of defence diplomacy. Informants further stated that in order for defence diplomacy and its actors to achieve greater participation in foreign policy – this new diplomacy needs to be powered by partnership, pragmatism, and principle. With the aim of strengthening historic

alliances and reaching out to create new ones, and at the same time bringing governments, the private sector, and civil society together to find global solutions to global problems.

5.2 Conclusions

Military diplomacy leverage is considered an important element of national strength, and Realist analyses of international defence assume that hegemonic actors define not just political and economic but also defence structures. The ability to accomplish their goals, however, is curbed by the fact that other states are similarly engaged in the pursuit of their own interests. The study therefore concluded that ultimately realists view the potential struggles generated over conflicting interests to be determined by the distribution of power in the defence system.

5.2.1 Resources to advance military diplomacy

The study concluded that Kenya has no clear policy on military diplomacy today – as there was a lot of political interference. Diplomacy is about the process of interstate relations, while foreign policy concerns the objectives of those relations. The concept of Military diplomacy has had little impact on Kenya's and South Africa's foreign policy interests. The study concludes that in order to implement this more ambitious foreign policy in Kenya, the traditional defence departments should be expanded in staff and resources, and a new family of government agencies created with responsibility for a new range of activities, including covert intelligence collection and special operations, propaganda, and economic and military assistance. The study further concluded that the reality is, the military conducts operations and activities that are both directly and indirectly intended to influence the attitudes and actions of foreign publics and military audiences to support foreign policy objectives. The main actors of Defence Diplomacy

in the Republic of Kenya - the multiplicity of these interests and actors who, in the absence of a single organizing theme such as competition with the South Africa, clamor for priority attention presents new diplomatic challenges implying the need for a more multifaceted and nimble diplomacy.

5.2.2 Soft Power Strengthens Military Diplomatic Relations

The study concludes that the military has long played a role in the strength of Kenya's soft power, particularly when analyzed against the backdrop of the war of terror in Africa. While foreign perceptions of the military's soft power role evolved over the course, its relevance saw increasing importance is beginning to come to the fire now more than ever before. Defence diplomacy conducted by the military incorporates or is related to several different practices within the Department of Defense Department. Though some of these practices appear lumped together almost arbitrarily, it is more evident that despite efforts to compartmentalize, many of the activities undertaken by the military have public diplomacy effects that bleed across institutional divisions.

5.2.3 Compromise solutions

The study concludes that for defence diplomacy to become an efficient tool, especially in South Africa, it first needs to overcome the stereotypes of ideology and military confrontation. Its task today is to search not for the balance of power, but for the balance of interests. The top priority today is to reinvigorate in full scope traditional methods of diplomacy - the search for compromise solutions. The all or nothing mentality no longer works in Africa. A partial and balanced approach is an answer to the new geopolitical and economic realities. No doubt, the primary mission of a diplomat is to protect the national interests of his country. Thus, military

attaches must learn to co-operate without sacrificing the national interests of their countries. In many other professions one can witness the existence of a corporate spirit.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings the study therefore recommends that;

5.3.1 Dedicated unit for defence diplomatic programs

The study recommends that rather than focusing entirely on small projects by individual military units, Kenya should have broader Defence diplomacy programs designed to influence target audiences in foreign countries which in the process will help to strongly advance Kenya's foreign relations and have a dedicated office that addresses Defence Diplomacy as a core area in the organizational structure of KDF.

5.3.2 Incorporate other disciplines

The studies cover a wide variety of the types of activities conducted by the military around the world. While they are not all necessarily programs intended as defence diplomacy efforts, they all incorporate issues that have defence diplomacy consequences. Military diplomacy has not, is not, and will not be limited to the perceived requirements of counter insurgency. Defence diplomacy has a long tradition in various types of exchange, and through the visits and stationing of Kenya forces abroad. There is need for further collaboration between the KDF and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

5.3.3 Military attachés

The study recommends greater cooperation among military attachés. The corporate spirit of the diplomatic community does not mean that corporatism should prevail over the national interests

of the country which a diplomat represents. By articulating the national interests of his country the diplomat provides the possibility to better understand its position.

5.4 Areas for further reading

Based on the specific objectives, studies need to be conducted on the role of public diplomacy techniques in increasing mission effectiveness while decreasing the need for kinetic action. A study is recommended on how to mitigate the existing

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Data Collection Research Permit

Appendix 2: Data Collection Research Permission

Appendix 3: Research Key Interview Guide

Introduction

The objective of this study was to examine military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in Africa using the case of Kenya-South Africa relations. It is my request that you humbly support me in this study by agreeing to be one of the participants and by ticking and making the necessary statement where required. Clarification on each question can be made where necessarily to your satisfaction. This study is purely for academic purposes only. Thank you for taking time to participate in this research, please fill in the questions appropriately.

Instructions

The following depict the military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in Africa using the case of Kenya-South Africa relations. How would you rate these factors and state why? Where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree and 5 = strongly disagree respectively.

Section One: Personal Information

1. Your age range?
☐ Below 30 years ☐ 30-39 years ☐ 40-49years ☐ 50-59 years ☐ 60-69 years
2. Occupation?
3. Education level?
☐ Secondary ☐ Tertiary College ☐ Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate ☐ Other (specify)
4. Gender?
☐ Male ☐ Female
5. Specialty?
☐ Security ☐ Drugs ☐ Community ☐ Poverty ☐ Other (specify)
6. Designation?
☐ Supervisor ☐ Manager ☐ Director ☐ Chair-person
7. Duration in organization?
☐ 6 months ☐ 1 year ☐ 5 years ☐ 10 years ☐ 15 years ☐ 20 years ☐ 25 years ☐ 30 years
8. Have you ever heard of the concept of military diplomacy?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Others (specify)
9. Are you familiar with the concept of foreign policy?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Others (specify)

Section Two: The conduct of military diplomacy in Africa

How would you rate these factors and reasons why? Where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree and 5 = strongly disagree respectively.

10. The conduct of military diplomacy in Africa takes different approaches?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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11. The role of military diplomacy is enhancing regional stability in Africa?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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The conduct of military diplomacy provides a platform for engagement across countries in areas of enhancing the military capacity?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Military diplomacy enhances foreign policy relations in the African context?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Military diplomacy has had so many direct benefits to Kenya-South African relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Military diplomacy represents a bright future for the Kenya-South African relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Section Three: The challenges in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations

How would you rate these factors and reasons why? Where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree and 5 = strongly disagree respectively.

Some of the challenges undermining military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations include, finances, capacity, restrictions among others?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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The lack of policy framework challenges military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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The lack of clear points of engagement inhibits military diplomacy in the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Varied foreign policy hinders military diplomacy in the enhancement of Kenya-South Africa relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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The challenges in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations are on the rise?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Section Four: The opportunities in military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations

How would you rate these factors and reasons why? Where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree and 5 = strongly disagree respectively.

Military diplomacy provides many direct foreign policy benefits in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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Military diplomacy provides many indirect foreign policy benefits in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

☐ 1 = strongly agree, ☐ 2 = Agree, ☐ 3 = Un-decided, ☐ 4 = Disagree and ☐ 5 Reasons

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List some of the projects that have merged from military diplomacy for the enhancement of foreign policy aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa relations?

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Any additional details?

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Appendix 5: Press Release



End.