

# The use of Military Diplomacy in Enhancing Foreign Policy Aspirations in the Kenya-South Africa Relations: Challenges and Prospects

Brig Peter Limo<sup>1</sup> and Col (Dr) Charles Okongo Imbiakha<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>National Defence College, A College of National Defence University-Kenya

<sup>2</sup>National Defence University-Kenya (NDU-K)

DOI: 10.29322/IJSRP.13.09.2023.p14103

<https://dx.doi.org/10.29322/IJSRP.13.09.2023.p14103>

Paper Received Date: 14th July 2023

Paper Acceptance Date: 28th August 2023

Paper Publication Date: 6th September 2023

**Abstract-** The world is today than ever before fixated on the subject of development, which is taken as a Change process necessitating modifications in the societies of developing and developed nations. Consequently, the purpose of this research was to examine the role of military diplomacy in the advancement of foreign policy aspirations in Africa using Kenya-South Africa relations as a case study, with a particular emphasis on challenges and prospects. The study employed Institutional theory, which can be traced back to foundational articles discussing how organizational founding and change were influenced less by functional considerations and more by symbolic actions and external influences. International Relations (IR) practitioners, government agencies, diplomats, Kenya Defence Forces, National Intelligence Service, academia, media, journalists, envoys, and other specialists comprised the target audience. The primary data was collected via an open-ended and closed-ended questionnaire, whereas the secondary data was gathered via articles, journals, periodicals, and books. According to this study, the contribution of the military varies from state to state and over time based on a variety of factors. This document concludes that military diplomacy has no effect on the foreign policy interests of Kenya and South Africa. The study recommends that in order for Kenya to carry out this more ambitious foreign policy, the traditional defense departments should get more staff and money, and a new group of government agencies should be set up to handle a wider range of tasks, such as covert intelligence gathering and special operations, research, and economic and military aid. This would help the Kenya-South Africa foreign policy goal.

**Index Terms-** Development, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Public diplomacy

## I. INTRODUCTION

Many nations have intensified their development efforts in response to contemporary challenges (Drab, 2022). Through the advancement of diplomacy, foreign policy, trade, cooperation, and global collaboration, these efforts have been assessed (Stanzel, 2018). Therefore, diplomacy in modern times is unavoidable amidst a process of change, and the rate of change is

intended to serve as a tool for furthering foreign policy for development.

According to Pritchett (2021), diplomacy is the means by which states conduct their affairs so as to maintain peaceful relations (Pritchett, 2021). This implies that the twenty-first century has compelled nations to closely monitor their allies and enemies as competitors (Andrew, 2021). Diplomacy entails the promotion of political, security, economic, cultural, and scientific relationships (Drab, 2022). This implies that diplomacy in the modern era is inevitable in the midst of a process of change, and that the rate of change is likely to match the rate of development, necessitating the use of more innovative approaches such as military diplomacy (Weisbrode, 2022). The term Military Diplomacy derives from the 1998 Strategic Defence Review conducted by the United Kingdom (UK) (Stanzel, 2018). Keeping in mind the changing nature of military cooperation and desiring to make the most of this instrument, the United Kingdom coined the term to characterize all activities conducted by its Armed Forces and other Ministry of Defence organs in support of peace and stability (UK, 2011).

Utilizing the Armed Forces to support state diplomacy dates back to the inception of nations. This support was initially intended to strengthen national interests by demonstrating a nation's military capability to impose its interests (Drab, 2022).

The military has propelled the industrialization of developing nations in the twenty-first century, and African states are no exception (Drab, 2022). In recent years, Kenya's exports to South Africa (in 2020) included gold, soda ash, and cut flowers, illustrating the enduring strength of the ties between Kenya and South Africa.

Although the use of military force for diplomatic purposes is a relatively recent aspect of diplomacy in Africa, it is a common practice in South Africa (SA) (Stanzel, 2018). This is due to the lack of recognition the subject receives (Plessis, 2008). In Africa, military diplomacy has been limited to visits, joint exercises, multilateral agreements, and letters of assistance, memorandums, and military partnerships. South African diplomacy more closely resembles a military supplement to diplomacy than a distinct form of diplomacy.

Considering that military diplomacy is by its very nature effective, low-cost, and high-impact, the effective utilization of defense engagement can aid in the advancement of national interests. For instance, the cooperation framework for the exchange, sharing, and utilization of each state's experience, military facilities, and infrastructure will be instrumental in bolstering Kenya and South Africa's bilateral relations.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The military as an institution is associated with the use of force to accomplish national objectives (Okong'o, 2021). The coercive use of militaries (and navies) by colonial powers in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the coinage of the term gunboat diplomacy, which refers to the pursuit of foreign policy objectives through the use of conspicuous displays of military power, implying or constituting a direct threat of war (Plessis, 2008). This necessitates that the military possess the ability and resources to act, as evidenced by the Kenyan-South African relations that this study sought to examine.

According to Lusiola, (2021), India has a natural affinity with the aspirations of the people of Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi once stated that India's liberation would remain incomplete until the entire African continent was liberated from colonial rule (Okong'o, 2021). According to Munene (2011), India was a key player in the decolonization of Africa and supported the liberation movements in both Kenya and South Africa, which later served as the cornerstone for a close and cooperative relationship between the two nations. For instance, India appointed a Nairobi-based ambassador to East Africa.

According to Munene (2011), the Kenyan-Indian community established the Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA) in 1981 (Marjanovic, 2011) to strengthen ties between the two countries in all spheres of life. Consequently, the association, headquartered in Nairobi, was strong in Mombasa and Kisumu (Munene, 2011). It coordinates activities to foster friendship between the two communities and has a long list of successes (Melissen, 2007). In a similar vein, Akum and Tull (2023) examine Kenya-South Africa relations in the pursuit of economic development. In the contemporary security environment, the role of defence diplomacy is to manage the military forces of states from a diplomatic perspective, in the sense that defence diplomacy must accurately predict the moment when the possibility of engaging military forces can be introduced into diplomatic negotiations in order to achieve a state's strategic objectives or national interests (Charles, 1993).

According to Akum and Tull (2023), Kenya's foreign policy seeks to pursue the following national objectives: protecting Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, promoting sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation, enhancing regional and global peace and security, and promoting the economic prosperity of Kenya and its people. South Africa's foreign policy offers a wealth of opportunities, and it is committed to promoting African unity, shared prosperity, and inclusive economic growth. Kenya's foreign policy has been excessively characterized by continuity and change, with the president's idiosyncrasies influencing the majority of foreign policy decisions (Lusiola, 2021). This reality is bolstered by institutional and structural disparities resulting from periodic elections, which have

resulted in significant changes to the presidency as a central institution in Kenya's foreign policy decision-making.

Nganje and Ayodele (2021) observe that such was the case in the 2002 general elections that saw the end of the late President Daniel Moi's twenty-four-year rule and the inauguration of the late President Mwai Kibaki as the third president of Kenya, in an effort to examine the continuity and change in Kenya's foreign policy behavior during the Moi and Kibaki administrations. According to Lusiola, (2021), the actor-specific decision-making theory asserts that the individual human decision maker is the focal ontological unit, whose actions, whether performed individually or collectively, are responsible for state behavior. Individual decision-makers informed President Kibaki and former President Uhuru Kenyatta, within the constraints of extant state institutions where internal and external influences are channeled through to inform state behavior.

Akum and Tull (2023), notes that Kenya and South Africa have engaged in foreign policy diplomacy, which means that the two countries' presidents met to settle a decades-long visa dispute and now allow Kenyans to stay in South Africa visa-free for up to ninety days per year. South Africa's foreign policy demonstrates a commitment to international peace and to internationally agreed-upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts; a commitment to Africa's interests in world affairs; and a commitment to economic development through regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world (Nganje and Ayodele, 2021). Kenya and South Africa share an outlook on international relations, particularly in the context of collaborations (Nganje and Ayodele, 2021). This shared vision for a free and equitable new world has brought the two nations closer together (Linton, 2021). In addition, both relations were strengthened when the chiefs of state directed their respective ministries to eliminate trade barriers.

The use of military force for diplomatic purposes is a relatively new aspect of diplomacy in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), despite being a common practice in South Africa (Kegley, 2018). Modern ties between Kenya and Southern African Development Community (SADC) have evolved into a robust and multifaceted partnership, characterized by frequent high-level visits, expanding trade and investment, and extensive people-to-people contacts. Munene, 2011) posits that the political leadership of both Kenya and South Africa has demonstrated considerable rapport and comprehension. Akum and Tull (2023), notes that both nations are members of the Commonwealth, the Group of 77 (G-77), the Indian Ocean Region-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), and the Group of 15 (G-15). In addition, they typically coordinate their strategies to influence discussions in order to convey the perspective of developing countries (Lusiola, 2021). Recently, President William Ruto stated that the strategic nature of Kenya-South Africa relations stems from their shared desire to strengthen economic connections. South Africa has therefore established economic, social, political, and cultural ties with Kenya.

Recognizing the limitations of employing violence as a means to attain desired outcomes in international relations, prominent global powers such as the United States, France, China, and the United Kingdom have each embraced defense diplomacy as a fundamental objective within their military doctrine and a central element of their overarching global strategy (US Department of Defense, 2005). The utilization of the military for

diplomatic purposes, in a non-aggressive manner, has given rise to the concept of "military diplomacy." According to Plessis, military diplomacy can be defined more broadly as the utilization of armed forces in non-combat operations, leveraging their specialized skills and discipline to accomplish both domestic and international objectives in foreign territories (Kegley, 2018).

The terms "military" and "defense" are often employed in a flexible manner, allowing for their interchangeable usage. The term "military" can be employed to denote the actions carried out by the uniformed sectors of a nation's defense establishment. Conversely, the term "defense" can encompass the entirety of the defense establishment, including non-uniformed components such as ministries, Research and Development (R&D) institutions, and national training institutions like Defense colleges (Winger, 2014).

According to Marjanovic (2011), military diplomacy, as defined by the Indian ministry of defence, encompasses the exchange of high-level visits pertaining to defense matters, dialogue addressing security challenges, and port calls. On the other hand, defense cooperation refers to a range of activities including training exchanges, combined exercises, as well as the sourcing, development, production, and marketing of defense equipment. In the mid-1980s, Southeast Asian nations expressed concerns on the perceived security threat posed by India. The signing of the agreements took place shortly after the two countries led their respective delegations in bilateral negotiations at Union Buildings in Pretoria, which serves as the official seat of the South African Government (Dutta, 2019). The set of agreements consisted of Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) encompassing several areas such as transportation, healthcare, diplomatic consultations, training, tourism, and migration (Riaz, 2014). Two further agreements were established, namely a Bilateral Air Services Agreement (BASA) and Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) pertaining to the Government Printing Works and the repatriation of nationals who were denied admission or entered illegally. These agreements are specifically relevant to developing countries located in Africa.

The case of Africa, with its evolving modern threats and almost universal budgetary pressures, means that coalition-building and greater international cooperation are central to contemporary military diplomacy (Jeffrey and Cronin, 2003). According to Nganje and Ayodele (2021), "a good example of emerging military diplomacy is the case of Australia, which has a long history of supporting United Nations-led peacekeeping operations in Africa." (2021, Nganje and Ayodele) For example, "Australian Defence Force personnel are currently serving in the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)" Nganje and Ayodele (2002). The Australian government has provided financial and logistical support for the African Union's Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as part of its practice of defense diplomacy. (2007) (Melissen).

Today, maximizing global reach and influence necessitates new partnerships and collaborations with governments and publics from around the globe (Munene, 2011). Therefore, a robust multilateral defense policy is necessary (Winger, 2014). Military diplomacy is an integral component of state diplomacy and foreign policy as a whole. (Kenya, Republic of, 2014) Kenya recently solicited new investments from Indian businesspeople in sectors including fertilizers and pesticides, pharmaceuticals (specifically

for anti-malarial production), dairy products, and hospitality. According to Munene (2011), a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between the Federation of India Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the East African Business Council (EABC) in order to strengthen trade relations between India and East African Community (EAC) nations and to identify obstacles to the expansion of economic cooperation.

Over the years, the KDF has increased its strength and expanded its army, navy, and air force. (Akum and Tull, 2023) South Africa is a responsible stakeholder in the international system and has supported Kenya's efforts to strengthen its military. As part of its defense cooperation, South Africa has trained a large number of African military officers in its various military institutions over the years. Since its independence, Kenya's defense policy has been an integral element of the country's foreign policy.

Due to globalization, Kenya's foreign policy has become more assertive, which has had a significant impact on the country's defense policy. The processes of military diplomacy have generated new transnational non-state security threats and potential for conflict. Consequently, the defense policy has become more robust in response to these new security concerns, resulting in the emergence of new defense and foreign policy actors with a significant impact on foreign policy behavior.

The robust military diplomacy between Kenya and South Africa is an excellent opportunity for both nations to strengthen their ties. Kenya could increase its exports to South Africa if it exploited the available market opportunities. It has many agricultural products, such as avocados, tea, coffee, and pineapples, that could be exported to South Africa once market entry barriers are reviewed to encourage equitable competition with neighboring states' products. It could export its abundant coffee, avocados, and other tropical fruits and seasonings, as South Africa has a demand for them. The South African services industry is also opening to international commerce. South Africa, for instance, will need Kiswahili teachers because it recently announced intentions to introduce the language as a classroom subject.

In contrast to Kenya, South Africa has a higher GDP and superior health care systems, so the economic reasons for securitization can be readily discussed (Drab, 2022). Kenya is an East African country that shares borders with Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, and Ethiopia. The Equator passes through the centre of Kenya, making it one of the tropical countries.

The East African Community, Southern African Customs Union, and Common Market for Southern and Eastern Africa's decision to harmonize their tariffs under the African Continental Free Trade Area was influenced by military diplomacy. This is a significant step towards eliminating some of the barriers to trade between the two states. The continental market agreement is also anticipated to harmonize quality standards for African merchants. On a bilateral level, visa requirements should be eliminated or document processing should be streamlined.

South Africa's decision to reciprocate a policy that allows South Africans to visit Kenya visa-free for up to 90 days per calendar year was a step in the correct direction (Riz, 2014). The two nations' citizens should also be taught about one another in institutions. The decision to introduce Kiswahili as an optional subject in ninety South African schools and learning institutions

was a welcome one. Having been authorized as one of the official languages of the African Union (AU), Kiswahili's popularity among the populations of member states such as South Africa may increase. Cultural and educational exchange would assist in strengthening the economic connections between the two states. Kenya should concentrate on exploiting the extant untapped potential in order to boost exports.

### III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study was guided by Institutional theory, a research tradition that traces its origins to foundational articles discussing how organizational founding and change were driven less by functional considerations and more by symbolic actions and external influences. Institutional theory, according to O'Brien, is a theory that examines the processes by which structures, such as norms, standards, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior. O'Brien (2011). This is due to the fact that various components of institutional theory explain how some of these elements are produced, diffused, adapted, and adopted over time and space (Basrus and Kliem, 2021). The environment legitimizes innovative structures that enhance technical efficiency in early adopting organizations. O'Brien (2011). In the end, failure to implement these innovations is deemed "irrational and negligent" (or they become mandated by law) (UNODC, 2020). At this juncture, both new and existing organizations will adopt the structural form, regardless of whether or not the form improves efficiency (Drab, 2022).

South Africa's defense policy should be understood in the context of its multilateral policy, and particularly its regional dimension, as reflected in the common security arrangements for the SADC region. Article 2 of the Protocol grants the SADC's primary organ the authority to 'consider enforcement action' as a last resort to prevent, contain, and resolve inter- and intra-state conflict. In theory, SADC has the authority to intervene in the domestic affairs of member states, but in practice, this has not occurred. Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia preferred a mutual defense treaty with a military response to conflict; the SADC discourse on regional security hinged, arguably, on divergent interpretations.

### IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a desk review employing content analysis techniques (the use of secondary data from books, journal articles, government documents, and reports) to assess the potential and opportunities for deploying science, technology, and innovation to improve national security, public safety, and emergency response. This study benefited from the cross-sectional advantage of a broad spectrum of source materials offered by desk review. Insights were also extracted from relevant policies and legal documents. In order to comprehend the mechanisms of S&T for enhancing national security and emergency response, the insights were utilized in the arguments presented. 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, journalist, defence advisors, and foreign policy specialists were the target audience. The population targeted was

representative of the target group. This research employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The primary data sources were gathered through interviews. The primary data was collected using an open- and closed-ended questionnaire administered to the target population, which included critical foreign policy, defense, development, and security stakeholders. Articles, journals, periodicals, and books were used to compile the secondary data sources.

### V. EMERGING ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN KENYA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Muthanna, (2011) opines that states are able to develop without relying on other states or non-state actors. Countries have varied natural resource endowments, and some are more technologically advanced than others. As a country firmly situated in the South, South Africa must be aware of the dangers of economic marginalization. Cooperation with other nations of the South, as well as with customers and suppliers in the North, should be an integral element of both foreign and economic policy.

#### 5.1 The Standby forces in Africa

The African Standby Force (ASF) is a vital component of the African Peace and Security Architecture for the prevention, administration, and resolution of conflicts on the African continent (Muthama, 2011). From the development of the foundational policy documents to aspects pertinent to the establishment of a Rapid Deployment Capability for the Force, significant progress has been made towards its realization. The actuality, however, is that there is still a limited grasp of the ASF concept (Ian, 2005). Peace Support Operations (PSOs) have evolved into intricate and multidimensional endeavors requiring integration and cooperation between military, civilian, and police elements. There is still a belief that PSOs are the exclusive domain of the military, and little is known about the function and necessity of civilians in the operational theater (Ian, 2005). To increase our advocacy and outreach efforts in order to gain more support for the ASF, while academicians have even more work to do in gaining a broader understanding of the multidimensional imperative in PSOs, particularly the roles and functions of civilian experts.

It is true that the civilian component of the ASF lags significantly behind the military and security components. Nonetheless, significant progress has been made over the past few years in terms of developing policy documents that define who the civilian experts are, what their roles are within the PSO context, and how they should be recruited, trained, and managed. Additionally, it has been acknowledged that, unlike the military and police, civilians are a highly diverse and disparate group. Africa can play more active Responsibility To Protect (RTP) responsibilities through Defence Diplomacy, particularly in the fight against terrorism.

#### 5.2 Increased Defence Collaboration between States

In accordance with the East African Community Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence Matters, the Defense Forces of the EAC Partner States conduct joint exercises. Under the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding, the EAC Partner States pursue a comprehensive program of activities that focuses primarily on developing confidence among the Defense Forces (Ian, 2005). These activities include the interchange of visits and regular meetings of the

Defense Chiefs and other members of the Defense Forces, as well as joint training, joint exercises, and the promotion of a variety of joint sports and cultural activities.

The East African region confronts a serious problem with piracy in the waters of the Indian Ocean, which is exacerbated by the terrorist threat posed by the Al Shabaab militia operating out of Somalia's neighboring bases (Muthanna, 2011). Likewise, negative forces such as the Forces for the Democratic Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Lords' Resistance Army (LRA) continue to require attention. Not only do they endanger the lives and security of our citizens, but they also increase the cost of doing business in the region, thereby diminishing the anticipated benefits of the Customs Union and Common Market. There is a need for increased commitment and support for Partner States as they confront the urgent problem of piracy and the threat posed by Somali groups that view terrorism as an acceptable method of struggle. These organizations coordinate their efforts.

The response from Africa must be coordinated. To promote defense diplomacy in Kenya, interministerial committees must devise means for the Kenya Defense Forces to actively partake in the nation's defense diplomacy. The need to attract more foreign capital, sustain commercial ties with neighboring states, ensure the security of her neighbors, and consolidate domestic political power shaped Kenya's foreign policy. In pursuit of these objectives, he argues that Kenya preserved its independence in two distinct methods. First, there was a reliance on the East African market as a whole. A defense agreement with the United Kingdom also maintained a security dependence (Ian, 2005). The role of foreign policy in promoting a country's development is crucial for comprehending its national trajectory, particularly in the case of Kenya (David, 2007).

The relationship between development policy and foreign policy, according to Kent (Sherman, 1949), is at the center of current debates about the future of Europe. The purpose of intelligence was to provide expert knowledge of the external world on the basis of which those with expert knowledge of national politics could formulate a sound policy. Originating in the early decades of the twentieth century, forces shaped Kenya's initial foreign policy inclinations. 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 block of Somali-populated land to Kenya instead of neighboring Somalia, the establishment of sizeable European settler and Asian immigrant communities, and the dominance of the economy by agricultural exports (Kaplan, 1975) were among these forces. Kenya maintained close ties with its former colonial master despite frequent conflicts between post-independence leaders and the British government during the colonial era.

The advancement of security-related concerns has always been one of Kenya's primary foreign policy objectives. The justification for its engagement in conflict management has varied over time (Muthanna, 2011). In the 1960s, the Shifta conflict in North Eastern Kenya formed the foundation of Kenya's foreign policy (Davod, 2007). In the 1970s and 1980s, when Kenya declared its commitment to multilateral political institutions, it served as a mediator at the request of the Organization of African Unity (previously the Organization of African Unity) (Muthanna, 2011).

In the early years of the presidency of the late President Moi, Kenya sought a role that would define its position within the international relations of its neighbors (Pajtinka, 2016). Kenya's foreign policy was also influenced by the attitude of the Kenyan leaders who came to control the government, particularly President Jomo Kenyatta. Practicality, moderation, and a continued reliance on the western world, and especially Great Britain, were emphasized by these men as crucial to the nation's progress. (David, 2007).

Oduogo (2012) argues that Kenya has taken an exceedingly moderate and cautious approach to its foreign policy. President Kenyatta wielded control over significant foreign policy decisions and had direct influence over whoever was in charge of foreign affairs (Pajtinka, 2016). Kenyatta's administration took office with a Pan-Africanist outlook, which was reflected in Kenya's foreign policy. However, this implementation was largely incomplete, as the spirit of Pan-Africanism was emphasized more in Kenya's relations with other African nations and the West.

Transboundary issues pose unique obstacles for a variety of reasons. When an environmental problem caused in one nation spreads to another, conflicts can arise. On the other hand, neighboring countries frequently confront similar problems related to both the causes and effects of environmental change in a shared natural area on people, places, and ways of life. However, cooperative environmental management and policymaking to address issues of mutual concern are difficult due to the fact that laws and regulations typically differ on either side of a border and there are numerous institutional actors with varying agendas and mandates. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018)

The Southern African region expects South Africa to contribute positively to their own development (David, 2007). They expect to interact with them as a partner and ally, not as a regional superpower, so that the political, security, and economic relations that result are balanced and mutually advantageous. Africa also expects South Africa to make a major contribution to the continent's peace and development. South Africa's problems cannot be more severe than those of other African nations. Despite its own limitations and problems, the organization aims to contribute significantly to assuring peace, democracy, respect for human rights, and sustained development. These principles are foundational to international relations.

### **5.3 Military Diplomacy in Africa**

A new conception of military diplomacy was necessitated by the advent of a new era in international affairs, the steady rise of complex interdependence, and the rise of new actors on the global stage, particularly in Africa. Globally, there is a growing reliance on military diplomacy to manage intrastate conflicts. The use of combat troops to aid end fighting in an intractable conflict is far more common and controversial (Muthanna, 2011). Since the 1970s, the Horn of Africa has attracted international, regional, and even individual state military and humanitarian intervention due to its intractable regional intrastate conflicts (Willard, 2016). The Somalia and Sudan crises provide typical examples of such initiatives, as well as a case study of effective military diplomacy by African states in states with protracted intrastate conflicts.

In post-conflict societies, the military contributes to development by providing security, aiding in relief efforts, and rebuilding infrastructure (when this can be justified as part of the security mission). These activities can improve the Armed Forces'

image and facilitate interactions with the general public. For instance, the relations between Kenya and the United Kingdom were discussed in the British parliament. As Britain had initially sought to diplomatically isolate Kenya, the expanding influence of China in Kenya was of particular concern to British lawmakers.

The significance and necessity of diplomatic relations cannot be overstated, as nations around the world must collaborate to prevent the negative effects of strained diplomacy. The absence of diplomatic relations between nations has posed a significant obstacle to the formulation of international policy objectives. Okong'o contends that at independence in 1963, the new Kenyan government inherited a trade and industrial policy aimed primarily at import substitution from the colonial rulers (Drab, 2022). Manufacturing in Kenya dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, but it had not advanced beyond the production of processed agricultural products; the market remained limited, and there was a lack of local capital and skilled management (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1. Kenya Defence Forces, 2023). After achieving independence, the government pursued a policy of attracting foreign investors to produce goods for the domestic and regional market. In Kenya, multinational corporations including Union Carbide, Firestone, United Steel, Del Monte, Schwepes, and Lonrho commenced production. There were extremely high levels of effective protection, and many established businesses enjoyed near monopolies.

Kenya is a prospective strong partner for Europe in promoting stability in east Africa and the Horn of Africa, and its new membership in the Security Council should encourage Europeans to collaborate more closely with it (Muthanna, 2011). Kenya began serving on the United Nations Security Council for two years. (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 11, Kenya Defense Forces, 2023). Kenya substantially contributes to the prosperity and stability of its region, despite being taken for granted by its neighbors and international partners (Drab, 2022). Moreover, in this time of turmoil in the Horn of Africa, Kenya has much to offer; it can point to decades of domestic stability and growth, a political model based on accommodation and government cohabitation, and an innovative, educated youth (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 13:2023) Europe should use Kenya's term on the Security Council to promote regional multilateralism, encourage dialogue and reconciliation to advance domestic political transitions, and tip the scales in favor of a sustainable regional cooperation order in East Africa and the Horn of Africa (Muthanna, 2011).

Kenya and South Africa have extensive bilateral relations in the areas of trade, investments, tourism, and cooperation in defense and security, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism, and climate change, among others. The proponents of defence diplomatic engagement do not always provide a clear description of the means (mechanisms) of this form of engagement, but identify a number of possible variants: conditional economic engagement, exploiting the restrictions caused by economic dependency, and unconditional economic engagement, exploiting the restrictions caused by economic dependency caused by the flow of resources. The African Stability Facility (ASF) is an essential component of the African Peace and Security Architecture for the prevention, administration, and resolution of conflicts on our continent (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 19, 2023). From the development of the foundational policy documents to aspects of

the establishment of a Rapid Deployment Capability for the Force, significant progress has been made towards its realization (Claire, 2013).

The peace support operations have evolved into complex, multidimensional endeavors requiring the incorporation and cooperation of military, civilian, and police elements. It is still believed that PSOs are the exclusive domain of the military, and little is known about the role and necessity of civilians in the theater of operations (Drab, 2022). This section notes that there is a need, on the one hand, to increase our advocacy and outreach efforts in order to gain more support for the ASF, while, on the other hand, we have even more work to do in gaining a broader understanding of the multidimensional imperative in PSOs, and specifically the roles and responsibilities of civilian experts.

It is true that the civilian component of the ASF lags significantly behind the military and security components. In recent years, significant progress has been made in developing policy documents that define who the civilian experts are, their roles within the PSO context, and how they should be recruited, trained, and managed. (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 30, KDF 2023) In addition, it has been acknowledged that, unlike the military and police, civilians are a diverse and disparate group (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 34, KDF 2023). Africa can play a more active Responsibility to Protect (RTP) role through military diplomacy, particularly in the struggle against terrorism.

#### **5.4 Challenges in Military Diplomacy for the Enhancement of Foreign Policy Aspiration**

According to the sources, despite the fact that military diplomacy appeared to be a novel concept, it has always existed and is only now gaining prominence. (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 3, KDF 2023). This section notes that the majority of informants (80%) indicated that, consequently, there have been numerous instances of benign military use to advance a country's international relations (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 4, KDF 2023)

The informants from the ministry of defence (primarily Kenya Defence Forces) stated that this concept had numerous definitions and understandings, and they substantively defined military diplomacy as the exchange of high-level defence-related visits, dialogue on security challenges, and port calls; and defence cooperation as the activities covered by training exchanges, combined exercises, sourcing, development, production, and marketing of defence equipment, and other forms of coop. Therefore, based on the most apparent definitions of the terms, diplomatic efforts or initiatives may be unilateral or undertaken with the consent of two or more nations.

#### **Drivers of Challenges**

The military's contribution to the development of numerous nations is not a novel phenomenon and cannot be overstated (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 1, KDF, 2023). The contribution differs from state to state and from time to time based on a number of variables. (2011) According to (Muthanna, 2011) This is due to the fact that the optimal objective of development is to increase the level and quality of population growth as well as global, regional, national, and local income and opportunities (Drab, 2022). Militaries are historically associated with the use of force to achieve national goals and objectives in international relations (Drab, 2022).

### **Universal Definition of Concept**

The absence of a universally accepted definition of "military diplomacy" means that states attempt to tailor its content to their own security policy. The term "military diplomacy" appears in Polish journalism, but there is no precise mention of it in foreign and security policy documents. (Research Data, Participant Serial Number 11, KDF 2023).

The primary objective of military diplomacy is to co-form and implement the state's security policy, and its mission is to establish stable, long-term international relations in the area of defense. (Participant Serial Number 50, Academia 2023 Research Data) Understanding its function as one of the most important instruments of foreign policy and the security of modern and developing states begins with conceptualization of the concept. More often than not, military diplomacy does not receive the attention it deserves. It is not entirely integrated with the nation's overall foreign policy and diplomatic efforts where it is employed. Anton du Plessis puts it succinctly when he states that military diplomacy resembles a military supplement to diplomacy as opposed to a distinct form of diplomacy. (2008) Du Plessis, On one level, the importance of defence diplomacy in a dynamic environment and its use for foreign and security policy purposes are recognized as a matter of principle, while on another level, defence diplomacy has become the umbrella term for defence foreign relations. As a consequence, defense diplomacy is not accorded the respect it merits. Conceptually, this is attributed less to the tenuous relationship between various foreign policy instruments and more to an underestimation of the character, scope, and utility of military diplomacy, according to the sources. (Research Data. Participants Serial No. 29, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023)

### **Cultural Comparability**

The lack of cultural and organizational compatibility between forces is evident to the majority of observers, but in recognizing these 'soft' factors, we must not overlook the significant differences in capability that exist between many forces. As the revolutionary potential of warfare in the information age becomes more apparent, the gap between cutting-edge military forces and organizations from the industrial era is likely to widen. The concept of the security community is especially beneficial for states that are likely to form coalitions and must prepare their forces accordingly (Participant Serial Number 21, KDF 2023 Research Data). As previously demonstrated, land forces require the most preparation for multinational operations and stand to gain the most from the type of cooperation envisioned by regional security cooperation, which ultimately contributes to the advancement of the foreign policy agendas of hesitant nations. Drab, (2022) avers that nowhere is this disparity more apparent than when a country assigns coalition tasks to its disparate land forces. Armies must train together to achieve the same level of symbiosis between ground forces as is possible with platform-based services. In addition, as part of their preparation for command, commanders must develop specific skills and aptitudes to meet the demands of ad hoc combined operations at every level of conflict. This is advantageous, as commanders will be able to advance their own interests, as outlined in the foreign policy document.

### **Geographical Distance**

Geographically, Johannesburg and Nairobi are separated from one another. However, traders encounter administrative obstacles when selling across diverse trading blocs. (Participant Serial Number 1, KDF 2023 Research Data) South Africa is a member of the South African Customs Union, whereas Kenya is a member of the East African Community. These blocs employ external tariffs and other administrative restrictions to limit the access of non-members to their markets. History has also contributed to the decline in trade between the two states. Kenya did not support the liberation of South Africa from apartheid in the same manner as, for example, Tanzania (by training and harboring freedom fighters). (Participants Serial Number 34, African Union, 2023, Research Data) The lack of relationship that has characterized past military-diplomatic engagements suggests that South Africa's relations with Kenya have been tepid throughout history.

### **Financial Setbacks**

The concepts of defense and diplomacy, along with intelligence, are part of the national security bureaucracy and represent the projection of state power. The distinction between hard and soft power is where the main differences begin. Both Kenya and South Africa have as their mission the protection and advancement of their respective nations' interests. However, the manners in which they do so and their proportions vary greatly. Kenya's and South Africa's defense budgets have increased by a factor of ten over the past decade. Part of this increase is due to inflation and higher acquisition costs, but some of it is political. (Drab, 2022) Not so with the budget for international affairs and military diplomacy. Regarding the budgets for diplomacy and defense, greater emphasis should be placed on discouraging the practice of using the budget of the state department as an expedient obstacle or regarding the budget of the defense department as sacred. (2011) According to (Muthanna, 2011) Both agencies are essential to the long-term security of (Kenya and South Africa) and should be regarded accordingly. The cost of military operations will always exceed that of diplomatic activities.

### **Lack of Clear Policy Framework**

According to the majority of research participants, military diplomacy is not viewed as a discipline that necessarily requires systemic training, credentials, and experience. (Participant Serial Number 34, NIS 2023) Research Data The majority of leaders arrive with little relevant experience, a lack of a very clear policy framework, and after a brief transition; defense attachés become military diplomats after a brief training period. (Participant Serial Number 34, NIS 2023) Research Data Combined with poor organizational memory, this is a prescription for perpetual wheel-reinvention. The issue is exacerbated by the fact that diplomatic failures are not always apparent, as diplomatic partners are typically courteous and do not complain, and it is challenging to investigate unidentified opportunities.

This chapter demonstrates that, in the domain of defense, efforts may include facilitating force buildup, preparedness, signaling deterrence, resolving conflicts, and formalizing post-war mechanisms. (Participant Serial Number 34, KDF 2023 Research Data) Multiple venues, including strategic dialogues, mutual-learning seminars, joint exercises, senior visits, combined planning and agreement formulation, and combined operating procedures, may be utilized. (Research Data, Number of Participants: 34, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs 2023)

As a form of soft power, military diplomacy also promotes public diplomacy with the goals of bolstering legitimacy and gaining support. South Africa's military diplomacy aims to demonstrate and inculcate values, as well as contribute to the global community, regardless of any direct gain. South Africa's expanding presence in peacekeeping forces, overseas bases, and bilateral exercises, where capabilities are displayed and messages are communicated, is an example of the use of military diplomacy to advance national interests.

### **The Lack of Clear Points of Engagement**

Since the advent of time, militaries have engaged in dialogue, but typically for limited military purposes. The extent and nature of these interactions progressively morphed into what scholars now refer to as military (or defense) diplomacy (Muthanna, 2011). Military diplomacy generates opportunities for sharing, learning, evolving, and collaborating, not just for giving and receiving.

According to Cheyre, (2013) human interaction was essential for gathering information, uncovering hidden truths, and deciphering intentions, but this is no longer necessary with the availability of endless, instant, and readily accessible data. With secure networks available, it may no longer be necessary to exchange confidential information in-person (Cheyre, 2013). The Internet age has given a wealth of information, but raw data does not necessarily translate into knowledge, let alone wisdom. People must come together and look each other in the eye in order to gain insights, distill lessons learned, and develop strategies. When the issues at hand are delicate, consequential, and even existential, human characteristics such as empathy, friendship, and trust are regarded as crucial.

### **Varying Constitutional Aspiration**

Kenya and South Africa have adopted fiscal decentralisation models in their respective constitutions. Despite the fact that Kenya's system is in its infancy and its implementation is proceeding slowly, South Africa leads the African continent in fiscal decentralisation and is thus of great comparative value when analyzing the opportunities and limitations of the Kenyan system. Effective fiscal decentralisation is the foundation of the comparative analysis. South Africa has three spheres of devolution while Kenya has only two, despite the fact that both systems adhere to the pillars. This section establishes that the Kenyan decentralisation system is inferior in a number of ways. First, it transfers minor functions to the County Governments, leaving the majority of health and education expenditures under the National Government's (NG) control. Second, it transfers taxation powers to County Governments for historically low-yielding and difficult-to-collect taxes under the previous local authorities system. Thirdly, it insists on National Government guarantees, which may encourage County Governments to incur imprudent debt.

### **Military Diplomacy for the Enhancement of Foreign Policy**

According to the majority of respondents (98%), military diplomacy serves specific national foreign and security policy objectives. (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 34, Ministry of Tourism, 2023). In the context of global and regional strategic engagement, it establishes long-term cooperative relationships, thereby fostering trust and facilitating conflict prevention, introducing transparency into defence relations;

building and reinforcing perceptions of shared interests; altering the mentality of partners; and inducing cooperation in other areas. In the case of Kenya, the majority of respondents (90%) reported that military diplomacy can advance (Kenya) country-specific foreign policy objectives by managing defense foreign relations and supporting the government's other diplomatic initiatives. In his book 'Enabling Military-to-Military Cooperation as a Foreign Policy Tool,' Nuthana (2007) details the various activities that can be undertaken as part of defense and military cooperation and which could also contribute to military diplomacy (Nuthama, 2007).

According to the sources, military diplomacy is particularly essential for political, security, and strategic defense dialogues. The multi-level dialogues would help participants understand one another's concerns and identify areas of shared and mutual interest. These dialogues may take place at the political level of national leadership - chief of state, government, or ministry - as well as at the civil and military professional/specialist level within the government and the armed forces. It is important to note that while peaceful intentions could alter, capabilities do not. Nonetheless, this transparency could facilitate improved strategic and defense perceptions, resulting in the defusing of tensions and the proper sizing of militaries and related expenditures.

This point is highlighted by a comparison of the bilateral relations between India and Bhutan and India and Bangladesh. India and Bhutan, which hosts an Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT), have a special military diplomatic relationship as well as a broader bilateral relationship. In order to illustrate the impact, one informant provided the example of India and Bangladesh, who, despite India's unique role in securing Bangladesh's independence, have a tense military relationship. Respondents observed that the military plays an essential role as an agent of diplomacy in the sourcing and development of defense equipment. The nation's military must be adequately equipped in order to provide an effective deterrent and assure national security. Military diplomacy could facilitate cooperative efforts for drafting equipment specifications, conducting research and development, transferring technology, and acquiring and producing equipment.

### **Mitigating the Challenges in Military Diplomacy**

According to 87 percent of the informants, when it comes to military diplomacy, numerous strategies are utilized. Some include assistance in maintaining a legitimate government through the use of military means, such as training, advice, and equipment (Research Records. Number of Participants: 34, Ministry of Finance, 2023). The professional personnel contacts, at all levels, would contribute to a greater understanding of the respective positions. It would also reduce hostility and facilitate a more hospitable approach to problem-solving and interoperability. This is accomplished by permitting formal, informal, and social interactions between military personnel. Alumni of military training facilities, especially those with lengthy programs such as the NDC of Command and staff colleges, where spouses are encouraged to participate, can be an important means of achieving this goal.

### **Encourage Mutual Exchange**

Formal and informal initiatives can be used to exchange perspectives in order to establish commonalities, mutual benefits, and areas of discord in addition to bolstering military diplomacy.

Participation in exchanges, visits, seminars, conferences, and symposia, as well as the presentation of papers at these events, educates participants and provides decision-makers with the inputs necessary for judicious decision-making. (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 34, KDF 2023) Participation in United Nations Peace Keeping Operations (UN PKO) or coalitions, as well as humanitarian aid and relief: A formal commitment to the United Nations and other regional cooperative organizations or coalitions for the provision of forces and equipment for UN peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance and relief, and joint operations is a cornerstone of military diplomacy because it demonstrates, among other things, a country's willingness to stand up and be counted in international relations. The establishment of the Centre for UN Peacekeeping (training) (CUNPK) at the United Services Institution of India in New Delhi, which is funded by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, is a modest step in this direction (Cheyre, 2013). Under the former president's Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI), the U.S. has a comprehensive training program and funding for training other nations in peacekeeping operations.

The GPOI has subsidiary programmes including the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) and the Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EPIC) programmes. The United States finances UN training and simulation facilities in target nations like Bangladesh and India. This assures that countries willing to contribute troops for UN missions have readily available trained forces, allowing the United States to guarantee adequate UN forces without committing its own. Likewise, France supports the Zambakro Peacekeeping School in Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire). Strengthen relationships with the defense sector to enhance own influence and access: A robust defense and military relationship could provide the desired influence and access to the nation's decision-makers. This could be accomplished through equipment transfers through sale, aid, or gifts; defense and military infrastructure development, including operational, training, and administrative facilities; and human resource development with the assistance of in-country advisory / assistance or training teams, among other means.

### **Equipment and Intellectual Transfer**

The creation of equipment and intellectual reliance through exports and personnel exchanges may also serve to increase its own influence and access. This could result in access to the defense and military establishments as well as the desired influence over the decision-making instruments of the target country, particularly in the defense sector. This could also ensure that its sensibilities and concerns are considered and kept in mind during the decision-making process of the target country.

The friendly foreign nations, such as South Africa and Kenya, seek to improve their defense capabilities (without jeopardizing their 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 (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1, KDF, 2023). These efforts could be linked to safeguards for national security through treaties or agreements, compliance with other development or economic assistance, among others.

### **Enhance Military Capability**

With technological advancements, the art of war and the science of defense administration have evolved. Continuous advancements are made in these disciplines. To evaluate prospective threats and develop one's own capabilities, one must stay abreast of these developments. This can be accomplished 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, strategic, and conceptual levels, and doctrinal and conceptual abilities; and defence management specializations in resources, techniques, and training. Own systems, approaches, and procedures could be optimized by conducting comparative analyses and subsequently incorporating best practices, with the necessary modifications.

### **Promote Defence and Military Interoperability**

One of the probable outcomes of defense and military cooperation could be joint operations, either in bilateral or multilateral arrangements, such as NATO, the US-led coalition in Iraq, etc., or under the auspices of the United Nations. To assure complete and effective interoperability, NATO has developed extensive common standards for the English language, military terminology, military equipment, and operational procedures. This would have been beneficial during NATO operations in Kosovo and other regions.

The designation of defense correspondents in foreign nations: Appointing defense attaches to foreign nations has been a common practice for centuries. (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 24, Ministry of Finance, 2023) The United States and China have among the highest numbers of defense attaches abroad and encompass virtually every nation on earth. India, on the other hand, appears to be adopting a very conservative approach, as it has not increased the number of its defense attaches abroad for decades, thereby missing out on numerous opportunities to extend and benefit from proactive military diplomacy.

### **Military Diplomacy Enhance National Development**

Military diplomacy is vital because of the significant role it may play in national development through bolstering the capabilities of numerous institutions. This is because capitalist societies devote a significant portion of their resources to research and development to military priorities. The nature of military diplomacy priorities favors certain areas of technological development over others, and when these favored areas are opened up for military purposes, it is frequently possible to construct a substantial and significant civil industry on the resulting technology. Construction of infrastructure, the national grid, civil aviation, space satellites, and computers are examples of this process.

This section also found that the majority of the public believes that the role of military diplomacy in national development should directly benefit them, either by promoting further conditions necessary for greater development, enhancing their businesses, or leading to better commodity price regimes, availability of investments, promotion of technical infrastructure, and improved service delivery. According to this section, the primary function of the civil-military relations system is to maximize military security at the lowest cost to other social values (Barany, 2012).

## VI. STUDY FINDINGS

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.

### 6.1 The foreign policy aspirations for Kenya and South Africa

The study found that the military is both an institution of the state and a powerful interest group. It has the same features as other interest 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. The study 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.

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.

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.

### 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.

### 6.3.1 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.

### 6.3.2 Military attaches

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.

## VII. CONCLUSION

The military, which is known as an instrument of hard power, can also be used as a tool of soft power. Members of the military operating overseas in any capacity are frequently at the forefront of diplomacy, expanding their mission beyond traditional war fighting to play an expanded role in support of the National Security Strategy (Drab, 2022). The term "military diplomacy" is comparatively new, having been coined in response to the post-Cold War need to identify new tasks and international functions performed by the armed forces and the leadership of the Ministry of National Defence (Muthanna, 2011). However, it should not be viewed as a combination of conventional military and diplomacy. (Research Data. Participants Serial Number 11, KDF, 2023)

The East African region confronts a severe problem with piracy in the waters of the Indian Ocean, which is exacerbated by the terrorist threat posed by the Al Shabaab militia operating out of Somalia's neighboring bases. Similarly, negative forces such as the Forces for the Democratic Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Lords Resistant Army continue to merit consideration. (Drab, 2022). In addition to posing a threat to the lives and safety of our citizens, they also increase the cost of doing business in our region, thereby diminishing the anticipated benefits of our Customs Union and Common Market.

The response from Africa must be coordinated. In order to promote Defence Diplomacy in Kenya, interministerial committees must devise means for the Kenya Defense Forces to actively participate in the country's military diplomacy. In the context of Africa, South Africa has been identified by numerous observers as the only state capable of conducting effective peacekeeping operations. However, these obstacles are not exclusive to South Africa; they exist in all democratic nations. In their analyses, proponents and supporters of preventive diplomacy

and peacekeeping have paid insufficient attention to a number of central issues.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Akum, F and Tull, D. (2023) “*Strategic Competition and Cooperation in Africa Perceptions, Implications and Ways Forward.*” Policy Brief,
- [2] Andrews, C. (2021) “The State of Economic Inclusion Report 2021: The Potential to Scale.” Washington DC, World Bank, United States,
- [3] Barany, Z. “The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas.” Princeton, New Jersey, (2012),
- [4] Basrus, R and Kliem, F. (2021) “Covid-19 and International Cooperation: IR Paradigms at odd.” Article number 7.
- [5] Charles, F. (1993) “The Diplomat’s Dictionary.” National Defence University Press,
- [6] Cheyre, J. (2013) “The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy.” Oxford University Press.
- [7] Claire, M. (2013) “Shifting priorities - Kenya’s changing approach to peace building and peace-making.” Norwegian Peace building Resource Center.
- [8] David, L. (2007) “*Defence Attachés.*” Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Switzerland.
- [9] US Department of Defense (2005) Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms.
- [10] Drab, L. (2022) “*Defence Diplomacy-An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State.*” Security and Defence Quarterly.
- [11] Du Plessis, Anton. (2008). *Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and practical dimension in South Africa.* Up Scale.
- [12] Dutta, A. (2019) “Role of India’s defence cooperation initiatives in meeting foreign policy goals.” Journal of defence studies, Vol. 3, No. 3.
- [13] Ian, C. (2005). “The Indian Army: Brief History, New Delhi, India: United Services Institution of India.”
- [14] Jeffrey, R and Cronin, P. (2003) “The United States and Coercive Diplomacy, Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press.”
- [15] Kaplan, I. (1975) “Kenya a Country Study; Foreign area Studies.” The American University,
- [16] Kegley, C. (2018) “World Politics.” London.
- [17] Linton, R. (2011) “The Cultural Background of Personality.” London: Routledge.
- [18] Lusiola, A. (2021) “Military Diplomacy Strategies Applied by AMISOM in Restoration of Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa.” Strathmore University,
- [19] Marjanovic, M. (2011) “*Humanitarian War the Exception.*” Misses Institute.
- [20] Melissen, J. (2007) “The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations.” Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- [21] Munene, M. (2011) “Reflections on Kenya’s National and Security Interests.” Journal of Language, Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No.
- [22] Muthanna, K. (2011) “Military Diplomacy.” Journal of Defence Studies, Vol, 5, No. 2.
- [23] Nganje, F and Ayodele, O. (2021) “South African Policy.” University of Johannesburg.
- [24] Nuthana, Kim. (2007) Enabling Military-to-Military Cooperation as a Foreign Policy Tool.
- [25] O’Brien, S. (2018) “Africa in the Global Economy: Issues of Trade and Development for Africa. “ Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop.
- [26] Oduogo, C. (2012) “Kenya’s Foreign Policy and Relations.” Nairobi, Kenya.
- [27] Okongo, C. (2021) “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.
- [28] Pajtinka, E. (2016) “Military Diplomacy and Present Functions.” International and National Studies, Vol. 20,
- [29] Plessis, A. (2008) “*Defence Diplomacy: Conceptual and practical dimension in South Africa.*” Up Scale.
- [30] Pritchett, L. (2021) “*National Development Delivers.*” Washington DC, USA.
- [31] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 1.
- [32] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 11.
- [33] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 13.
- [34] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 19.
- [35] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 2.
- [36] African Union. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21.
- [37] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 21.
- [38] Ministry of Finance. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 24.
- [39] Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 29.
- [40] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 3.
- [41] National Intelligence Service. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 3.
- [42] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 30.
- [43] Ministry of Finance. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 33.
- [44] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 34.
- [45] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 48.
- [46] Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diaspora. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 5.
- [47] Academia. (2023). Research Data. Participants Serial Number 50.
- [48] Ministry of Tourism. (2023).Research Data. Participants Serial Number 9.
- [49] Kenya Defence Forces. (2023).Research Study Field Data. Participants Serial Number 4.
- [50] Riaz, A. (2014) “*A Crisis of Democracy in Bangladesh.*” Current History, Vol. 113, No. 762.
- [51] Security and Defence (2022) Security and Defence Quarterly.
- [52] Sherman, K. (1949) “Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy.” Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- [53] Stanzel, V. (2018) “New Realities in Foreign Affairs.” SWP Research Paper,
- [54] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2018). *The Blue economy coordination office. Nairobi, Kenya.*
- [55] The Republic of Kenya. (2014) “Kenya’s Foreign Policy 2014.”
- [56] United Kingdom Ministry of Defence Policy Paper, (2011) “*Paper no. 1: Defence Diplomacy*”
- [57] United Nations Office on Drug and Crime. (2020) “Wildlife Crime Report: Trafficking in protected species. United Nations.” New York.
- [58] Weisbrode, K. (2017) “Diplomacy in Foreign Policy.” Oxford University Press.
- [59] Willard, J. (2016) “Military Diplomacy, an essential tool for foreign policy at the strategic level.” School of Advanced Military Studies.
- [60] Winger, G. (2014) “The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy. In: What Do Ideas Do?” ed. A. Lisiak, N. Smolenski, Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, Vol. 33

#### AUTHORS

**First Author** – Brig Peter Limo, 1. National Defence College, A College of National Defence University-Kenya  
**Second Author** – Col (Dr) Charles Okongo Imbiakha, National Defence University-Kenya (NDU-K)