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DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF PEACE DIPLOMACY IN ENHANCING INTERSTATE RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA-SOUTH SUDAN RELATIONS.

VINCENT ONYANGO OMONDI

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SUPERVISOR: DR. MARTIN ODHIAMBO OUMA.

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for any degree to any other university.

Signed.......................... Date.. 29-November- 2021

Omondi Vincent

REG. No R51/35537/2019

Department of Diplomacy and International
Studies (DDIS) University of Nairobi

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

Signed.......................... Date.. 29/11/2021.

Dr. Martin Ouma
Senior Lecture
Department of Diplomacy and International
Studies (DDIS)-The University of Nairobi.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the almighty God who has given me the strength and sanity of mind to pursue this course. He encourages us to be peacemakers and not peace lovers; hence, it is a noble course to pursue peace. I also dedicate this to the South Sudan community, who have battled with generational wars for many decades, and it is my prayer that these findings will be of great help.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This research is a research study approach which focuses on the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations between Kenya and South Sudan. The government of Kenya has been one of the key security allies and peace negotiators in S. Sudan since they attained independence in 2011 and before. This study was aimed at examining the trend of peace diplomacy in addressing interstate conflict in the horn of Africa region by analyzing the United Nation's role in enhancing peace; the impact of authoritarian regimes in interstate conflicts situations; and the contribution of the international regimes in the enhancement of peace diplomacy in S. Sudan and the whole region. It also analyzed the approaches used by the Kenyan government to enhance peace in South Sudan. Article 33 of the UN Charter was used as a guideline to analyze the approaches that many states use in peace restoration efforts worldwide. In addition, the influence of economic security on peace diplomacy between Kenya and S. Sudan was analyzed. The research employed the census calculation method to calculate the number of samples since the sample size was less than 200. The method used to select the samples was the simple random sampling, whereas pre-focused discussions, interview guide, and census methodological approach were used to collect data while utilizing the content analysis to analyze the resulting qualitative data. The study established that most states in the horn of Africa region have military options instead of peace diplomacy in conflict resolution. The Kenya-South Sudan case is no different. The study also found out that Kenya and S. Sudan have embraced western liberal tendencies that have not promoted peace. Peace education and cultural exchange should be emphasized in foreign policy and diplomacy matters. Economic security should be embraced as a significant contributor to peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM-	African Mission in Somalia
APSA-	African Peace Security Architecture
AU-	African Union
BRICS-	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CBO-	Community-Based Organizations
CPA-	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSO-	Civil Society Organizations
DRC-	Democratic Republic of Congo
GoK-	Government of Kenya
ICC-	International Criminal Court
ICJ-	International Court of Justice
IGAD-	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
INGO-	International Non-Governmental Organization
LAPSETT-	Lamu Port and Lamu-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor
NAFTA-	North American Free Trade Area
NATO-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO-	Non-Governmental Organization
PSC-	Peace Security Council
R2P-	Responsibility to Protect
SADC-	Southern Africa Development Cooperation
SDG-	Sustainable Development Goals
S. Sudan	South Sudan
UN-	United Nations
UNDP-	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA-	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNSC-	United Nations Security Council
USSR-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This study presented a case study of Kenya-South Sudan relations to investigate the trend of peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region since the cold war came to an end. During that era, many states were pursuing diplomacy as a method of conflict resolution, while the Horn of Africa states still dwelt on the use of hard power. The study also analyses the effectiveness of the approaches used by the Government of Kenya to enhance peace in South Sudan and the influence of economic security on Peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan. This chapter, therefore, consists of background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions and research hypothesis, the literature review, limitations and delimitation of the study, the significance of the study, research methodology, theoretical framework, and the chapter outline.

1.1 Background to the Study

The application of diplomacy in enhancing peace and development within and beyond the borders of states has been developing over time. Diplomacy can be defined as the peaceful interaction and contact between responsible parties, which has required an official representation over time. Article 3 of the Vienna Convention 1961 stipulates the roles and functions of diplomatic, consular missions. These roles include representation of the guest state in the foreign state and protection their interests. A diplomat is also mandated to discuss with the receiving state's government, lawfully reporting ascertained conditions and developments in the receiving state to the sending state and promoting friendly economic, scientific, and cultural relations between the two states[1]. This has been well implemented in developed

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[1] United Nations. Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961. Vienna: United Nations, 2005.

nations. However, many African states have not put much effort into the representation needed to brand their national identity on the international stage. Despite tremendous developments and improvement in diplomacy, especially in the North American and European continents, the African continent has lagged behind in this field.

Evolution and History of Diplomacy

The history of the evolution of diplomacy started informally in the 9th century in the Greek states. Messengers were sent to proclaim messages to the Greek states concerning Olympic Games. This was one of the earliest multi-country treaties that promoted peace and tranquillity among nations. Diplomacy enhanced relations among states, creating a conducive environment for political, economic, and social-cultural interactions [2]. Early societies understood the importance of sending messengers with a specific message to a particular society. This is evident even in the early manuscripts like the Bible. In the book of Numbers 22:21-22[3], Israel sent a messenger to Sihon, the King of Amorites, seeking a safe passage through the King's Highway past the borders of the land. It has been correctly noted that diplomacy began when the ancient communities agreed to embrace diplomacy by receiving the message rather than mistreat the messanger. In the early days of diplomacy, there were rules of engagements and enforcement that led to treaties. The rules and treaties were important because good faith and enforcement were significant, and the general good treatment of the messenger was considered divine[4].

In the 17th century, when states signed the treaty of Westphalia, many states started investing in their military capabilities and superiority to deal with the issue of the security dilemma. Governments started seeing peace as a weaker option than the hard power that would enable

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[2] Khemesh, S. International Policy [Ebook] 2017.
[3] Holy Bible, Numbers 22:21-22
[4] Hamilton, K., & Langhorne, P. R. The Practice of Diplomacy: Its evolution, theory and administration, 2010.

states to conquer territories and acquire national fame and prestige. During this time, wars such as the Napoleon Wars between 1803 and 1815 emanated[5]. After the defeat of Napoleon, the European countries felt the adverse effects of the hard power. Therefore, they decided to come together in a conference, famously known as the Vienna Congress of 1815 that would help negotiate peace and stability deals among these countries. The conference advocated for the balance of power among the nations to bring a sensible equilibrium to prevent another devastating war. It came with two resolutions; first, it sought to restore and safeguard the equilibrium of powers, making this a leading maxim in helping draft the new European territorial map. Secondly, the great powers would take shared responsibility to ensure general peace and stability in Europe. This strategy used by the diplomats is commonly known as the Conference Diplomacy, which brought calmness to the European continent. Some of the state actors involved in this negotiation conference were France, Russia, Prussia, Britain, and Austria[6].

Diplomacy is categorized into two: The classical diplomacy championed by Niccolò Machiavelli, which claims that a good diplomat should use all means possible, including lies, deceit, and decency, to protect the national interests during times of negotiation[7]. The other category of diplomacy is known as Open Diplomacy, which came into place towards the end of the 19th century, and after the First World War. Many statesmen such as Woodrow Wilson, the then President of the United States, insisted on open negotiation and signing of treaties instead of the secret signing of deals to promote transparency and minimize suspicions among nations. He delivered that through his famous speech, the *Woodrow Wilson Fourteen Points.* In the speech, he addressed what he perceived as the causes of the world war and how the world

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[5] Esdaile, C. Napoleon's Wars: An International History. Penguin, 2009.
[6] Lesaffer, R. The Congress of Vienna (1814–1815). Oxford Historical Treaties online, 2015.
[7] Machiavelli, N. The prirnce. Hackett Publishing, 2008.

could attain future peace and prosperity. He ordered the abolition of the secret signing of treaties, disarmament policy, the adjustment in colonial claims in the interest of both the colonialist and natives, and the freedom of the seas.

The effort made by President Woodrow cultivated the notion of institutionalization. This is the use of institutions such as the League of Nations by states to address their concerns, resolve disputes, and engage in multilateral diplomacy to cultivate mutual relations and coexistence among the states of the world[8]. Institutionalization entails developing practices and rules to use them in the application of diplomacy and international relations issues. This involves the development of codes of meaning, ways of reasoning, and accounts in the context of their application[9]. According to Kant, when states are not at war, then cooperation is inevitable. Therefore, they cultivate peace by expressing their states' interests using the institutions available in the international systems. This is guided by the rules of engagement stipulated in the documents provided, such as chatters, protocols, treaties, and conventions[10]. Diplomacy started spreading across the world. It was first established in Rome through the Roman Catholic Church-The Pope being the top diplomat. It then spread through Europe, Africa, and across the globe. The French were the first to initiate the exchange consular representatives as well as the head of missions. Other European states emulated the same hence diplomacy and its practice have borrowed a lot from the French culture.

Towards the end of the 20th century, public diplomacy took a different direction from the one practiced in the earlier centuries. This phase of diplomacy is famously known as the Supersonic Era of Diplomacy. Due to the advancement of the technological sector, many foreign publics across the globe received information about their countries and that of others through a single

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[8] Records of the United States Senate, 1918
[9] Jönsson, C., & Hall, M. Essence of diplomacy. Springer, 2005.
[10] Kant, I. Perpetual peace: A philosophical sketch (Vol. 1991). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1795.

handset. This form of diplomacy helped the developed countries cut down on sending diplomats to other foreign audiences to cultivate good relations and negotiate favorable treaties. Instead, they invested in online methods famously known as Digital diplomacy[11]. The old and new diplomacy, though cut from the same cloak, have some distinction. The old diplomacy is characteristically rigid, secretive, and diplomats accorded a lot of power. This is because the ambassadors represented their countries in different foreign states. The old diplomacy was also considered bilateral; thus, only two states were involved in signing agreements.

On the other hand, the new diplomacy is characterized by informal interactions among the diplomats, the media, multinational corporations, and the general public. There are no secretive agreements as information flows fast due to technological advancement, especially in the 21st Century. The predominant form of engagement is multilateral diplomacy, as many actors are involved.[12]

The application of diplomacy in the African continent has been on the rise. Many states have tried to use diplomacy as a first option in conflict resolution. Despite tremendous efforts, conflicts have also evolved across boundaries due to scarcity of natural resources, maritime disputes, political rivalry, and economic interests. This has led to the spillover effect, resulting in porous borders, poor leadership, and economic disruptions. Many African politicians have failed to use environmental, economic, and compulsive diplomacy to resolve disputes, leading to hard power as a means to achieve their national interest. In the UN, African states comprise 28 percent of all the total member states. This has given Africa good collective bargaining power on the international stage. Despite many trans-border conflicts existing in Africa,

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[11] Adesina, O. S. Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. Cogent Social Sciences, 3(1), 1297175, 2017.
[12] Diplomacy: Meaning, Nature, Functions and Role in Crisis Management by Dinesh, March 23, 2018
https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/diplomacy-meaning-nature-functions-and-role-in-crisis-management/48491

African Union has emerged as a radical actor in articulating issues concerning Africa. Many disputes discussed in the UN involve Africa and Latin America. Hence, Africa needs to put into order their domestic issues to improve their national reputation and image in the international system.

After the end of the cold war, the world ushered in a new polar system famously known as the multi-polar system. This has given Africa a broader scope of negotiating their deals with their partners in the stage of a win-win scenario. The African states have not adequately used all these advantages and tremendous changes, Kenya included. This is due to failing to apply diplomacy in their domestic politics and foreign policies, hence defaming their image in the international arena[13].

Many African states have a dependence on foreign aid and assistance that have conditions. This situation has led to the reduction of autonomy of many African governments as far as their domestic politics are concerned. This has led to the arm-twisting from the donor side to fulfill their objective goals. On the other hand, authoritarian governments have been on the rise in Africa hence discarding the notion of diplomacy as a tool of external relations. For example, under President Museveni and the National Resistance Movement regime, the Government of Uganda has used regional diplomacy to shy away from democracy and good governance. Instead, they have convinced donors to focus on security and regional cooperation. This has intensified conflicts as many African domestic audiences feel the desire to change the actors for the change of actors in the fields of diplomacy to improve the image of the African continent. The domestic audience plays a critical role as their public opinion shapes a country's

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[13] Brown, W., & Harman, S. (Eds.). African agency in international politics, 2013. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

foreign policy through social media and other interactive platforms, hence making it easier to air their views without using formal diplomatic channels[14].

The South African government is one of the few countries in the African continent that has applied peace diplomacy in the domestic and foreign publics. After the brutal period of the apartheid rule, its government has put diplomatic practices that have cemented the internal and external relations through the mechanism of peace keeping, peace-making, and peace building. Through its regional cooperation (AU) in the sector of framework for post-conflict reconstruction and development and in the United Nations agency of multidimensional peace support, it has played an active role. It has also spread its wings of diplomacy to other parts of the world, such as the Lockerbie case in Northern Ireland and Timor-Leste. This has made South Africa to be seen as an enabled negotiator in peace diplomacy hence forging a good reputation for itself[15]. Diplomacy is often seen to work in times of peace but can also be aptly applied in war and conflict.

After the end of the Cold War, the introduction of new diplomacy led to the reconceptualization of security from a state approach to a human-centric approach. Peace diplomacy in the horn of the African region has been ineffective due to selfish interests and interference with the internal affairs of the states in the region. This has affected interstate relations, thereby increasing conflict despite the efforts applied by the United Nations and other regional institutions to pursue international and regional peace and security. For example, the emergence of new actors contributing to new diplomacies such as INGOs and MNCs have shifted how the world views contemporary diplomacy. They've exerted pressure on the UN to include them in the decision-making processes that directly affect global governance. This has helped in the contributions

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[14] Ibid 12
[15] Landsberg, C., & van, W. J. (Eds.). South African foreign policy review : Volume 1, 2012. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

of non-state actors in the field of peace diplomacy and foreign policy. For example, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have incredibly defended those whose rights have been violated by the state, thus contributing to peace diplomacy and security[16].

Furthermore, the absence of war does not mean that there is true peace. The horn of the African population should be highly educated on how to preserve peace among their populations. The population is one of the internal factors that directly influence the foreign policy of a particular state. Charters and treaties are supposed to be implemented to the letter to ensure sustainable peace that will influence the present and future generations without compromising their ability. Regional peace is critical as it helps drive a country's economy as it competes with the rest of the world in different sectors[17].

In the horn of Africa and the East African region as a whole, track two diplomacy should be used to implement peace diplomacy as it reduces mistrust and brings the notion of inclusivity in the peace processes during and after the war. Track two diplomacies happen to be a conflict resolution mechanism where informal groups such as civil societies, NGOs, and top government officials are brought together to sign an agreement that will bring peace and understanding. The existence of multiple wars across the region exists as a result of a lack of understanding and clash of civilizations and national interests among state actors, rebel groups, etc. Bringing these groups together reduces tension and can establish a common ground where all antagonist groups can see things on the same page. In DRC, track two played a substantial

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[16] Chandra Lekha Sriram and others, 'Enhancing Global Governance: Towards a New Diplomacy', *International Journal*, 2002 <https://doi.org/10.2307/40203826>.
[17] Pamina Firchow, 'World Peace Is Local Peace', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679420000088>.

role during president Kabila's tenure, where many rebel groups and civil societies were brought together to sign a cease-fire[18].

Despite the region experiencing tremendous growth and development in peace diplomacy, strategies and other mechanisms need to be put in place to guarantee sustainable security in the future generations to come. The resolution of the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea that existed for more than two decades is the best example to illustrate this. The colliding of foreign policy interests between Egypt, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Somaliland, has hampered the effectiveness and implementation of peace diplomacy in resolving conflict among member states[19]. The Horn of Africa Region has had a tumultuous experience and thus the need to research how peace diplomacy can be better applied to enhance peace in the region. The study will be narrowed down to Kenya and South Sudan.

Kenya has played a major role in the enhancement of interstate relations between itself and South Sudan. Peace diplomacy has been enhanced due to the similar civilizations existing among themselves. Then north and south were involved in the border disputes due to cultural differences, i.e., Islamic and Christian civilizations. Despite the cessation, the south has continued to experience tribal animosities and political turmoil between the Nuers and the Dinkas. This proves the point by Samuel Hamilton, in his book Clash of Civilizations, that such clashes can be one of the factors contributing to interstate conflicts across the globe[20].

The CPA that led to the cessation of the southern part of Sudan was actively guided by Kenya until its implementation in 2010. A referendum was held, giving the people of Southern Sudan

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[18] S. Naidoo, 'The Role of Track Two Diplomacy in the Democratic Republic of Congo Conflict', *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 2000 <https://doi.org/10.4314/AJCR.V1I2>.

[19] Mesfin Gebremichael, 'Tana Papers 2019: Political Dynamics in the Horn of Africa: Nurturing the Emerging Peace Trends' (Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, 2019).

[20] Andrej Tusicisny, 'Civilizational Conflicts: More Frequent, Longer, and Bloodier?', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41.4 (2004), 485–98 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343304044478>.

on whether to secede. The agreement was seen as successful as it accomplished its full mandate. In 2011, Southern Sudan attained its independence, becoming the newly born state in the world. Two years later, ethnic violence conflicts arose among the two major tribes, Dinkas and Nuers. Since then, efforts have been put in places, such as those from the international community and the regional institutions such as IGAD, to bring peace, tranquillity, and reconciliation among the people of South Sudan. A lot more needs to be done to establish an amicable solution in the youngest country by Kenya and other relevant institutions[21]. This research investigated the trends of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations in the horn of the African region, particularly the Kenya-South Sudan relations. The research was also aimed at analyzing the effectiveness of the approaches used by GoK to enhance peace in South Sudan. In addition, it will propose other approaches, techniques, and mechanisms that GoK can use to bring sustainable peace and development to South Sudan. Lastly, the study analyzed the influence of economic security on Peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

After Sudan attained its independence in 1956, north and south Sudan experienced conflicts due to the fight over natural resources that existed within their boundaries. Most of the world's states had shifted to diplomatic conflict resolution mechanisms and thus the desire to apply the same in the Sudan Civil war. Kenya was actively involved in the peaceful negotiation processes, thus making it a prominent actor in the new state. The negotiations led by General Lazaro Sumbeiywo led to a referendum, which resulted in the secession of the southern part and South Sudan becoming a sovereign state in the year 2011.

Despite the secession, South Sudan has continued to experience civil war, human insecurity issues, and constitutional crises that have intensified the conflict. This has done more harm

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[21] Adam Day, 'Preventive Diplomacy and the Southern Sudan Independence Referendum (2010-11)', *Policy Paper and Case Studies Capturing UN Preventive Diplomacy Success: How and Why Does It Work?*, 2018, 88.

than good to the secession process and, by extension, negatively affected South Sudan's relations with Kenya regarding the influx of refugees and the disruption of trade activities. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the CPA in South Sudan and why the peace sought has not yet been achieved. The research will also investigate the ineffectiveness of the approaches embraced by the mediators in finding lasting solutions to the conflicts. The study suggests a bottom-top approach in the resolution of the conflict, focusing on economic security and democracy so as achieve peace and strengthen the diplomatic relations of Kenya and South Sudan

1.3 Research Questions

   i.   What are the trends of peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region?

   ii.   How effective are the peace diplomacy approaches used by the Government of Kenya in enhancing peace in the South Sudan conflict?

   iii.   What is the influence of economic security on peace diplomacy on the bilateral relations between Kenya and South Sudan?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1   General Objective

To examine the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations: A case study of Kenya-South Sudan Relations.

1.4.2   Specific Objectives

   i.   To investigate the trend of peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region.

   ii.   To analyze the effectiveness of the peace diplomacy approaches used by the Government of Kenya to enhance peace in South Sudan.

   iii.   To analyze the influence of economic security on Peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan.

1.5 Literature Review

This section presents the theoretical and empirical literature review on the subject: *Role of Peace Diplomacy in Enhancing Interstate Relations: A Case Study Of Kenya-South Sudan Relations.*

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

According to the Liberal school of thought, advanced majorly by Immanuel Kant, when states are not at war, they cooperate and coexist peacefully through the institutions put in place in their internal and external sectors. Kant claims that every state should be governed internally by the republican form of government where the legislative and executive powers are separated. The citizenry has a say in significant state decisions such as war. Internally, the states should come together in federations with members renouncing rights to wage war with one another while facilitating trade and linkages that make war difficult to wage. Universally, the citizens of peaceful states should be allowed to travel and do business in foreign states to reduce the impetus for inter-state conflict[22].

President Woodrow Wilson highly advanced the liberal school of thought in the early 20th century. He insisted on the empowerment of institutions and individuality to enhance peace and coexistence among citizens and states. He claims that the central government must be expanded and given more powers to create a good relationship between itself and its people. This would facilitate good relationships between powerful and developing countries[23]. Liberal School of Thought explains more on the situation where states are not in war and are thus cooperating with institutions to fulfill their mandate.

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[22] Ibid 10

[23] Zentner, S. J. Liberalism & executive power: Woodrow Wilson & the American founders. Polity, 26(4), 579-599, 1994.

On the other hand, democratic peace theory states that interstate wars are very unlikely in this modern era. This is due to the social, economic, and political stability of many developed states. The existence of peace across the world has intensified liberalism (liberal democracy), which has helped bring stability and respect for the rule of law in the international system. When many states in the world experience democracy, chances of going to war are minimal. i.e., democratic states are likely to cooperate due to their existence of peace, making it impossible for states to go to war[24]. This argument has been criticized by some scholars claiming that there are three problems with democratic peace. The first is that there is no consensus on why the combination of democratic states working together to pacify world politics selectively. Many arguments show that increased democratic societies decreases the probability of war. Still, there is no substantial movement towards adopting one of the many arguments explaining the phenomena. Secondly, regime changes denotes a phenomenon that needs different clarification, as it is not clear if whatever helped bring about democracies is also the cause of observed democratic peace. There should be a broader explanation that accounts for democratization and democratic peace. Lastly, explanations for democracy suffer the potential threat of presentation as the present-day revolution in particular peaceful relations has older roots. It isn't easy to connect them to transformations in the past or identify the present and pastt general factors at work[25].

In conclusion, the liberal school of thought covers a broader range of free trade, liberal democracy, and liberal institutional approaches. In contrast, democratic peace theory only covers the aspect of democracy and peace in the international system. This makes liberal theory suitable to be used in this chapter. It gives more explanations on how peace can be achieved

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[24] Hook, S. W. (Ed.). Democratic peace in theory and practice. 2015. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com
[25] Rasler, K. A., & Thompson, W. R. Puzzles of the democratic peace: Theory, geopolitics, and the transformation of world politics, 2005. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

by all actors in the international system, whether internally or externally. The liberal political order best explains the existence of peace through the dismantling of trade barriers, the democratization of societies, and giving some powers to the local and international institutions to govern the world's affairs. This, therefore, helps to illustrate the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations.

1.5.2   Empirical literature review

This section examines the literature review on the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations between Kenya and S. Sudan. It revolves around the three objectives of the study which are the trends of interstate conflict in the horn of Africa, the effectiveness of the approaches used by Gok to enhance peace in S. Sudan, and the influence of economic security on peace diplomacy between Kenya and S. Sudan.

1.5.2.1 The trends of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations

After cold war, many state actors worldwide started embracing peace diplomacy in the quest to enhance peaceful coexistence among each other in the international system. Interstate conflicts exist due to unchangeable national interests, ideological differences, and the pursuit of natural resources across the globe.

Globally, peace diplomacy was first used to stop the interstate conflicts that existed in the 17th century. Diplomatic appeasement was used to initiate the peace treaty of 1648. Soft power or diplomacy was seen as an instrument that would bring many states engaged in that war. It was seen as a better foreign policy tool as it brought together different state actors with different cultural values, educational backgrounds, and political and economic differences. It meant that states were to discard their notion of hard power (military) and embrace the strategy of using carrots instead of sticks in their pursuit of national interests and foreign policy[26].

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[26] Nathalie Rivere De Carles, *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (Springer, 2016).

The rise of modern state systems changed state interactions in the international arena. Many state actors were considered superior due to the system's anarchic nature. The pursuit of national interests worldwide led to the decline of the use of soft power (peace diplomacy). The existence of primary and secondary national interests made many actors use hard power to satisfy their wants. For instance, external actors such as the US and Arab nations have intensified the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The US has been at the forefront in veto power to make sure that they protect Israel, hence protecting their national interests. The acquisition of national interests through hard power has made it challenging to resolve interstate conflicts that affect different continents across the globe. Peace diplomacy has been seen as a weaker mechanism in conflict resolution as it raises many suspicions about the motives of the Americans together with their allies such as the British and Israeli governments. Forging lasting peace would mean that Americans have won the war of democratizing the Arab world and fulfilling their interests, e.g., the oil drilling in the Middle East[27].

Clash of civilization has also contributed to interstate conflicts across different borders in the world. Different cultural and social identities have contributed to the interstate conflicts in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Many scholars analyzed the America-Iraqi w.ar in 2003 that it was a clash of civilizations between the US and the Islamic world. Other scholars suggest that introducing democracy and liberal economic and political order can forge peace due to their belief in free trade, democracy, and institutional building. This liberalism notion advocates for an interconnected world, bringing many people together to achieve a common goal, i.e., interdependence[28].

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[27] Harvey Sicherman, 'American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict', *Orbis*, 2011 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2011.04.020>.

[28] Bruce M. Russett, John R. Oneal, and Michaelene Cox, 'Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 2000 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343300037005003>.

Liberal variables such as economic interdependence, democracy, and members in a particular organization can contribute to the resolution of interstate conflicts that exist. Dyadic and comparative foreign policy approaches among states that embrace these liberal attributes may experience peace but not at all times. The Vienna Congress of the 19th century in Europe introduced diplomacy to settle disputes, but it did not last long. Due to security dilemmas, state actors use hard power to pursue national interests, which led to the two devastating world wars besides the cold war[29].

According to Peace Focus 2019 Report, 2019 recorded 50 peace processes slightly higher than previous years. 2018 and 2017 recorded 49 and 43 peace processes, respectively. Africa recorded the highest 19 (38% of the total), 12 in Asia (24%), seven in Europe (14%), another seven in the Middle East (14%), and five in the Americas (10%). The 38% peace processes recorded in Africa were slightly low due to the normalization of the Eritrean-Djibouti relations. Peace diplomacy was used as a mechanism to end the antagonism that had ravaged the two states. According to this report, in 2019, most states worldwide, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Cameroon, Mali, and Venezuela, negotiated peace talks to attain a peace agreement to end the conflict. In the peace process negotiation, inclusion was also pursued involving different actors such as influential individuals, NGOs, rebel groups, religious groups, and civil societies[30]. The UN was actively involved in most of these peace processes thus, participating in its mandate of international peace, security, and order across the globe. Article 33 of the UN Charter 1945 was also implemented as many state actors involved in the conflict pursued pacific settlement of disputes, e.g., mediations and negotiations.

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[29] Tshilidzi Marwala and Monica Lagazio, 'Modeling and Controlling Interstate Conflict', in *IEEE International Conference on Neural Networks - Conference Proceedings*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1109/IJCNN.2004.1380119>.

[30] Josep Maria Royo Aspa and others, *Peace Talks in Focus 2019. Report on Trends and Scenarios*, 2018.

The collaboration between the UN and African regional institutions is also evident in reducing a continental conflict that seems transnational. The AU Peace and Security Council partnered with the UN to develop a non-indifference principle, whereby actors both within a state and outside Africa were not allowed with internal affairs of African states but were to use collective action in conflict resolution. This was to be carefully monitored to ensure the African state actors were not abusing it through unilateral action approaches. The aim of this collaboration was not to be strategic but pragmatic. A stronger UN would also mean a stronger AU as the majority of the UN peace missions are in Africa and its specialized agencies such as the UNDP and UNICEF. This effort encouraged multilateralism in peace and conflict resolution, thus, building meaningful relations among states through peaceful diplomacy. The establishment of the Wise and the Early Warning System Panel under the Peace and Security Council built another mechanism on how the AU can deal with cross-border conflicts in the African continent. This was to discourage military power and embrace diplomacy and other peaceful mechanisms to settle disputes across different actors[31].

The establishment of PSC and other positions under it brought the notion of liberal institutionalization to the African continent. This was an effort to replace strong men with strong institutions that would help to bring African solutions to the African problems. The institutions and policies were to help in the democratization of African states to build a peaceful continent that would positively impact the coming generations[32]. Democratic reforms should be introduced in the African states to prevent a clash of civilizations among different nations. Ghana and Nigeria have tried to bring democratization as it can assist in the reduction of rearmament among rebel groups, terror groups, and other oppositions brought by religious

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[31] G. Mulugeta Berhe and D. Alex Waal, 'Peace Missions in Africa : Constraints , Challenges , and Opportunities', March 2015, 2015.
[32] El-ghassim Wane, 'An African Agenda for Peace , Governance and Development At Thirty', February, 1990.

beliefs. Democracy helps to bring inclusivity, peaceful elections, and peaceful transfer of power, among others. In most cases, the African continent has experienced interstate conflicts due to authoritarianism in its systems of government. The introduction of democracy can assist in bringing fairness and justice in the circumstances mentioned above[33].

On the other hand, the African states have been at the forefront to push on the motion to reform the UNSC. Most of the States claim that UNSC does not represent the geopolitical realities of the day. The P5 are accused of being biased in handling the crises that erupt in the African continent. For example, in 2011, the P3 and NATO agreed to impose a military intervention in Libya to remove President Gaddafi from power. This shows clearly that hard power was given priority in that crisis resolution. Until today, Libya remains ravaged by intrastate conflicts adversely affecting its neighbors[34].

In addition, the AU, in the last one and a half-decade, has established a functional collaboration with the UN and its partners. It is reported that the regional block contributes half of the UN peace operations, thus replacing Asia. It has made efforts to own African problems through the mechanism of peace and Security Council. UN assists the union in implementing the treaties, whereas the AU does well in enforcing the security measures. Its peace operations in Nigeria in the pursuit of Boko haram participation in the building of the G5 to fight the rebels in the Sahel region have contributed to West African region stability. This has brought firm faith in the belief of liberal institutionalism hence building peace. There is a need for the PSC to put more effort into investigating the violence that may ravage the African economy in advance. This can be achieved through rebuilding Early Warning Systems and the Panel of the Wise. African states should also put peace diplomacy as their first option and reduce rearmament and

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[33] David R Smock, *Creative Approaches to Managing Conflict in Africa: Findings from USIP-Funded Projects* (US Institute of Peace, 1997), XXXI.
[34] Fabienne Hara, 'Preventive Diplomacy in Africa: Adapting to New Realities', *Preventive Diplomacy: Regions in Focus*, 2011.

avoid security tendencies that can escalate the conflict. Giving some of its states power to regional institutions should be seen by all African states to bring regional security and peace instead of fascism[35].

Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi have faced challenges and crises in their diplomatic sector in the East African region. The three heads of state have embraced hard power mechanisms and supported their opposition groups to subdue each other. For example, in 2018 and 2019, President Kagame accused his Burundian counterpart of supporting Hutu rebel groups. This led to a diplomatic spat, thus creating a diplomatic crisis between the two states. He went ahead to further accuse President Museveni of defending some of the Rwandese nationals involved in the Rwandan 1994 genocide. This led to the closure of their borders which blocked the economy and trade. Military personnel was deployed along the borders to enforce the measures that would block trade and diplomatic interactions between the two states. This is evident that diplomacy was not accorded priority and decided to use military and other hard power mechanisms to deteriorate the diplomatic relations[36].

In the more excellent horn of the Africa region, the majority of the states have embraced the realism school of thought in their pursuits of national interests. Military power has been a critical influence in building alliances and competing in the regional system. Peace diplomacy has been discarded as it is seen as a weaker option than the others, such as the balance of power and forging of regional regimes. Some of the causes of interstate conflicts that destroy relations among state actors include border disputes, natural resources, security dilemmas, etc. The

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[35] Cedric de Coning, 'Africa and UN Peace Operations: Implications for the Future Role of Regional Organisations', in *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-99106-1_11>.
[36] Robert Muhereza, 'Uganda, Rwanda Diplomats on Close Watch as Tension Persists - The East African', 2019.

region has hosted some of the deadliest wars, such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea war, the Somalia intrastate conflicts, and the North-South Sudanese war.

The implementation of peace diplomacy in the region was evident when Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia agreed to forge a tripartite liberal institution known as the Horn of Africa Cooperation (HoAC). According to the statesmen, this institution was to help resolve conflict that do exist among them and find lasting resolutions to the challenges they face in their internal and external affairs. The regional block was seen to overlap the existing institution dealing with conflicts in the Horn of Africa known as IGAD. The forging of the Alliance raised many questions as other states in the region with similar security challenges were excluded. States such as Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and South Sudan were not involved. This meant that collective security action would not be possible as Kenya and Somalia had disputes over the maritime border. Sudan was aligning with Egypt as far as the Nile dispute is concerned, thus making it difficult to find lasting peace[37]. Coming together of these three countries would raise the notion of security dilemma as other states would also develop their mechanisms to counter-attack their security strategy. Peace diplomacy is vital as it encourages the building of collective relations among all states, thus cultivating collective actions instead of collective defensive mechanisms. This will influence the horn of the Africa region and the eastern part of the continent.

Recently, Ethiopia has embraced a robust political reform through diplomacy to enhance internal and external relations across the Horn of Africa. Prime Minister Abiy has used diplomacy to solve the 20-year conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The forging of the alliance also has led to the implications as far as foreign policy and peace diplomacy is concerned. Uniting with Somalia meant that it wanted to reconsider its security support towards

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[37] Ingo Henneberg and Sören Stapel, 'Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A New Regional Bloc Between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and Its Consequences for Eastern Africa', *Africa Spectrum*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002039720936689>.

Somaliland. Somaliland declared its independence in 2001, although it is not internationally recognized. Another implication will mean that Sudan will support Egypt in the Blue Nile basin conflict. Most state actors here have taken much time to build on their military power to secure their interests at home and abroad. Peace diplomacy embraced by the current Ethiopian regime has yielded quick results as two-decade complete has been ended. Hopes for building new alliances have emerged as well as giving diplomacy a chance[38].

Chapter eight of the UN Charter 1945 explicitly illustrated that UNSC had given regional arrangements some greater responsibility to resolve conflicts in their respective regions. Although many African states have tried to do this, the problem of non-interference and border disputes in the Horn of Africa remains one of the key challenges. Despite the Ethiopian regime introducing diplomacy to resolve disputes among estates, many actors remained loyal to their past strategies and tactics. For instance, the Ethiopian government aligning with Somalia has created internal turmoil in its state, leading to the escalation of the Tigray conflict. On the other hand, the existing maritime boundary dispute between Kenya and Somalia also threatens the stability of bilateral relations between Kenya and Ethiopia. Kenya and Ethiopia have enjoyed a successful interstate security relation established in 1964, leading to the Kenya-Ethiopia security border commission. Kenya and Ethiopia have extensively participated in stabilizing the Somalian government since the beginning of the 21st century. On the Kenyan side, choosing hard power (military intervention) to destabilize Al-Shabaab was one of its first foreign policy challenges since independence. Ethiopia was there before, and both have participated in the fight against terrorism that had adverse spillover effects in the security complex of the region.

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[38] T. Erästö, T.; Cronberg, 'SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security OPPOSING TRENDS: THE RENEWED SALIENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR ABOLITIONISM Tytti Erästö and Tarja Cronberg', *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, 2018.

Although hard power was used, it was seen as an effective mechanism in conflict resolution within the Horn of Africa[39].

Finally, Kenya-South Sudan interstate relations have been heavily influenced by the conflicts of their neighbors. Kenya has been a key partner in the formulation and implementation of the CPA Agreement of 2005. This peace agreement was negotiated between the Northern and Southern governments of Sudan, thereby proposing a transitional government that would lead to a referendum that made South Sudan a sovereign state. Despite the unprecedented steps taken by the South Sudan government, ethnic and tribal conflicts are still evident in the country. The dispute over available natural resources (oil) and the resultant cash flow escalated another conflict that destabilized the political and economic markets of South Sudan[40]. Peace diplomacy remains the fundamental instrument that Kenya can use to bring sustainable peace to South Sudan. Kenya has started its rotational term as a temporary member of the UNSC, allowing Kenya to embrace multilateral diplomacy in the Horn of Africa region. Kenya can use diplomacy and other soft power mechanisms to bring all state actors of the greater Horn of Africa region to embrace peace as the UNSC has the enforcement powers that would help to enhance international peace and security across the world[41].

In conclusion, diplomacy remains the only suitable instrument that states can use to resolve conflict across the globe. It should be used as the first option and make military power the last option. In the Horn of African region, most states have taken considerable amount of time building on their military power that would enable them to enhance their pursuit of national interests. Liberal tendencies should be implemented, such as respecting the rule of law and

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[39] ISS, 'Regional Conflicts Add to Somalia's Security Concerns - ISS Africa', 2020 <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/regional-conflicts-add-to-somalias-security-concerns> [accessed 17 April 2021].
[40] Alex De Waal, 'A Political Marketplace Analysis of South Sudan's Peace', *Medford, MA: Justice and Security Research Foundation Brief*, 2 (2016), 1–7.
[41] Umberto Tavolato, 'Kenya on the Security Council: An Opportunity for Peace and Multilateralism – European Council on Foreign Relations', 2021 <https://ecfr.eu/article/kenya-on-the-security-council-an-opportunity-for-peace-and-multilateralism/> [accessed 17 April 2021].

human rights, building functional institutions that would encourage liberal economic and political orders, and solving the current needs affecting their respective states. Sustainable peace should be pursued to find an amicable solution that would shape the trajectory of future generations to come. There is a need for states to be flexible in peace negotiation agreements to implement them in the best way possible.

1.6.2.2. The Effectiveness of the Approaches used in the Enhancement of Peace in Interstate Relations

Despite having visible mechanisms in promoting peace diplomacy in conflict resolution and enhancing interstate relations, much more needs to be done by the states and international organizations to realize international peace and security.

The UN is one of those institutions that propagate global liberal principles. All member states are expected to implement pacific settlement of disputes at all times. Former UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, emphasized the need to use peace diplomacy and make sure the impact of diplomacy is experienced at local levels. This means that conflict resolution results must be experienced to the lowest levels of government across all regions. UN efforts must have their presence locally to address the needs of the people represented at higher hierarchies. This was a paradigm shift supported by the UNDP Report 1994 that refocused security analysis from state centrism to a human-centric approach. Peace diplomacy emphasizes the conditions of individuals directly and indirectly affected by the skirmishes instead of state security that emphasizes the threats that can affect a country's survival in the international arena[42].

Many actors across the world have implemented the approaches of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations. The effectiveness of these approaches has been applied

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[42] Mareike Schomerus, 'The UN Wants to Focus on People – but Is More "peace Diplomacy" the Answer? | Odi.Org', 2017.

depending on the situation and the magnitude of the conflict. Some of the approaches used include the use of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), tribunals, and UNSC. Some of the disputes that have ravaged the world since UN inception include maritime and border disputes, the fight for natural resources, geopolitical and economic wars, etc.

Internationally, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict illustrates how many state actors involved discarded the notion of diplomacy in enhancing peace in the Middle East. The use of military force by the Israeli government in the 1960s to acquire territories such as the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Gaza street intensified more tension across the region. The American government supported them, whereas the Arab nations were anti-Israel in the Middle East. President Sadat's efforts to use diplomacy as an instrument to bring peace between the two nations were unfruitful. His collaboration with Moscow made the conflict even more complicated as the issue of geopolitical conflict came into place. Moscow resorted to military power to assist the Egyptian government in as far as their negotiations are concerned. The Americans refused to convince the Israeli government to withdraw its troops from the contested borders. This step brought more suspicion among the actors, especially those from the Arab world[43].

In the 18th century, state actors such as the French government led by Louis XV resolved to use diplomacy to resolve the crisis that existed during that time. The crisis was a result of territorial integrity and disputes. He stated that much time had been lost to attain more territories across the world, especially in the Asian and African continents. It was now time to construct and build governing structures that would help to shape how the world would be managed. It was an effort to liberalize the imperialism brought by colonial governments

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[43] Kenneth W Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (Psychology Press, 1999).

globally. Peace diplomacy and talks were held to bring calmness and peace, thus enhancing positive interstate relations during that time[44].

In addition, the effectiveness of the approaches used by state actors in promoting international peace and security has also been taken by double standards as far as national security and interests are concerned. Most of the actors claim that international institutions and law are not applicable in world politics. They claim that allowing some constraints to their national sovereignty and power is considered an infringement of their freedoms and rights and how their states should be governed. Most of the realists' schools of thought scholars term this as fascism. For example, the failure of the international institutions such as the UN to intervene in the Bosnia Herzegovina and Rwanda genocides raised criticism as the UN principles were gravely violated. Territorial expansion was evident, contrary to the will of territorial integrity enshrined in the UN Charter 1945. The massive killings of the Tutsi tribe in Rwanda also brought questions about the role of the UN in intervening in the internal affairs of a country[45].

Towards the 20th century, the institutional approach was somehow implemented by introducing the responsibility to protect (R$_2$P) by the UN. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan brought this in 1999 due to the devastating effects of the two genocides experienced in the century's last decade. This was a clever way and necessary institutional approach in the enhancement of interstate relations. There was a need to redouble the efforts to promote human security across the world and shift from the state security approach[46].

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[44] Fiona McConnell, Nick Megoran, and Philippa Williams, 'Geographies of Peace', 2014.
[45] Lawrence D. Freedman and Colin Flint, 'The Geography of War and Peace: From Death Camps to Diplomats', *Foreign Affairs*, 2005 <https://doi.org/10.2307/20034372>.
[46] Bs Okolo, 'Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect Approach: A Solution to Civilian Insecurity in Darfur', *Human Security Journal*, 7 (2008), 46–61
<http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&btnG=Search&q=intitle:Human+Security+and+the+Responsibility+to+Protect+Approach:+A+Solution+to+Civilian+Insecurity+in+Darfur#0>.

In the 21st century, the institutional approach was strengthened further through ICJ to solve interstate disputes; ICC in the resolution of cases related to rape, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity; and international tribunals that are formulated specifically to deal with genocide cases. This approach has been tested as some significant powers, such as the US, have refused to ratify their statutes, leading to rebellion against international justice frameworks. The failure of the UN to intervene in the Myanmar crisis has led to the massive killing of the Rohingya Muslims by the state authorities. The UN has failed to formulate a tribunal to deal with this case, and the Chinese government is applying veto power to protect Myanmar's government from being brought to justice[47].

At the continental level, African diplomacy is considered a thing that has not developed for a long time. In 1945 during the UN's inception, the African continent had only four states, but in the second decade of the 21st century, Africa comprised 25% of States in the UN. In July 2011, the continent witnessed a new sovereign state, South Sudan. Most of the African states have started to embrace and implement diplomacy in their governance structures despite experiencing frequent interstate conflict and wars[48].

The UN has partly lost its legitimacy in the reforms of its governance structures and the rigidity in legal frameworks that formulate the UN Charter within the African continent. This has led to the formulation of an emerging power group known as the BRICS. This is to counterattack the unsatisfactory steps taken by the P3 in conflict resolution across Africa and the world. The misuse of enforcement powers bestowed to the UNSC has heavily influenced some African states to lose confidence in the regional institutional approach. The majority of the states have embraced authoritarian regimes and unconstitutional ways of gaining power and forging

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[47] Haradhan Kumar Mohajan, 'The Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar Are Victim of Genocide!', *ABC Journal of Advanced Research*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.18034/abcjar.v7i2.82>.
[48] Yolanda K. Spies, 'African Diplomacy', in *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118885154.dipl0005>.

alliances that will serve their interests. The balance of power approach appears to be politically tricky due to the security dilemma among different nations and the presence of the anarchic nature of the international system, i.e., UN is close to a world government but not a world government[49].

In addition, the AU has established an institutional approach to deal with interstate conflicts that are experienced across borders through peaceful diplomacy. This approach is known as Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). It comprises the Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, the Peace Fund, and the African Standby Force. The challenge is that there is a gap between what AU is doing and what it aims to achieve. In some circumstances, other states, such as South Africa, chose to pursue unilateral approaches in conflict intervention in other states and sidelined the AU. For example, it intervened in Mozambique and Angola though the negotiations failed. The AU should put more effort into the structures mentioned above to attain sustainable peace across the continent. Early Warning System should be prioritized as it can prevent war escalation through peaceful mechanisms and preventative diplomacy[50].

In the East African Community Treaty, Chapter 23 emphasizes the need to decentralize the UN principles enshrined in its Charter 1945. Some of the fundamental principles that the Treaty emphasizes include territorial integrity, non-interference, and good neighborliness. The region has faced several challenges as far as these principles are concerned due to the trans-border conflicts among state actors. Non-interference has been one of the critical challenges as states do this to satisfy their national and selfish interests to fulfill their foreign policy objective goals. This act has deteriorated peace diplomacy and peaceful coexistence among member nations.

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[49] Hara.
[50] Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk, 'South Africa and the African Peace and Security Architecture', *CMI - Chr. Michelsen Institute*, 2014.

This has also hindered regional integration and democracy, cultivating a conducive environment for peace diplomacy and liberal institutions that facilitate growth and development[51].

The 9/11 terror attack gave the USA more power to globalize the fight against terrorism across regions. The al-Shabaab started spreading its extremist ideologies across the Horn of Africa region. This resulted in the deterioration of state relations across different borders. As a prominent actor in the fight against extremist ideologies, the USA forged alliances with the Horn of African actors to counterattack the infamous militia. They came together through diplomacy to neutralize the activities of the al-Shabaab. A collective security approach was used though the partnership failed to build an effective Somalia government that would assist in preventative diplomacy and forging functional institutions that would bring solutions to the present problems affecting the region. The existence of weaker institutions in and outside Somalia has led to the increase of terror activities (al-Shabaab) as they can utilize their well-defined structures to conduct their activities in different countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia. At some point, security and diplomacy analysts saw that the al-Shabaab was penetrating more in the neighboring societies than how the partnership was penetrating inside Somalia. This shows the gap that existed due to the lack of a proper, collective security approach in fighting a common enemy[52].

In addition, most scholars that have written about conflicts in Africa claim that ethnic antagonism, natural resources, religion, and secessionist conflicts have ravaged the region. However, others claim that states being at the center of political, social, and economic factors

[51] Reginald H. Green, 'The Treaty for East African Co-Operation: A Summary and Interpretation', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1967 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00016219>.
[52] Negasa Gelana Debisa, 'Security Diplomacy as a Response to Horn of Africa's Security Complex: Ethio-US Partnership against Al-Shabaab', *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2021.1893423>.

that directly affect the people have been the source of these skirmishes. Most politicians have refused to embrace global diplomacy at their regional and local governance structures. This has intensified and deteriorated interstate conflicts leading to a diplomatic spat. Regional trade cannot thrive in such an environment as goods and services cannot crisscross borders due to violence. There is a need for the Horn of Africa states to build more effort on the new diplomacy that insists on development and democratic principles. Most of them are stuck in the old strategies of diplomacy in conflict resolution. The new diplomacy cultivates the notion of access to information, signing open agreements, including the public as one of the actors of foreign policy formulation and implementation, etc.[53].

Kenya and South Sudan partnerships have developed due to Kenya playing a major role in finding amicable solutions facing the South Sudanese people. Both states embraced peace diplomacy through the collective protection development approach in empowering refugees who have fled their states due to ethnic and tribal wars, which escalated after the two years of independence. This approach focused more on track two diplomacies that advocate for all people's inclusion in the peace-building processes and empowering those severely affected by the violence. Some of the bilateral efforts put in place by the two-state actors include the provision of water, education, and health. This was in collaboration with the UN specialized agency famously known as the UNHCR. This assisted in the building of peace in South Sudan, although implementation of peace agreements have faced enormous challenges as a result of antagonist groups fighting as well as their selfish interests[54].

Finally, Kenya South Sudan relations have been majorly boosted by the collaboration between the UNHCR and Kenya as far as the welfare of the refugees is concerned. The UN and GoK

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[53] T Olika, 'Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa: Toward the Study of Regional Peace and Security', *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2011 <https://doi.org/10.4314/ejossah.v6i1-2.72253>.
[54] UNHCR, *Kenya Refugee Response Plan for South Sudan*, 2013, LIII.

have invested heavily in improving the lives of refugees living in Kenya who have escaped the violence that erupted in South Sudan in 2013. The improvement has been made in the sector of education, economy, and personal security. This has brought peaceful coexistence between the GoK and the South Sudanese refugees. The promise to implement the 2018 Peace Agreement by the two key leaders of South Sudan has influenced the peace diplomacy of Kenya and South Sudan heavily. This means that the two nations can implement some of their bilateral agreements, such as the LAPSETT Project and the Oil Pipeline. Animosity in South Sudan and the spillover effects that emerge from it due to the security complexes in the region hurt Kenya's economic and diplomatic interests. Peace Diplomacy is vital as it contributes significantly to enhancing interstate relations of Kenya and South Sudan.[55]

In conclusion, the UN principles on non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and the territorial integrity enshrined in the UN Charter have been violated in the Greater Horn of Africa. Most of the states interfere in other states to pursue their national interests and support their allies. The existence of rigid national interests has also contributed to the escalation of conflict in the region. The failure to embrace peace diplomacy has also been one factor contributing to conflicts across multiple borders. States should embrace applying the rule of law in their bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to build sustainable partnerships that will impact the present and future generations. Human Security and Bottom-Up approaches should also be implemented to achieve inclusivity in the foreign policy decision-making processes. The New Diplomacy demands openness in the implementation of peace agreements and the involvement of the public in the formulation and implementation of the policies.

1.6.2.3. The Influence of Economic Security on Peace Diplomacy in Interstate Relations

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[55] UNHCR, 18 Dec 2018: Kenya Refugee Response Plan for South Sudanese, January 2019 - December 2020

In the 21st Century, the shift from geopolitical to geo-economic strategies in the international arena has forced actors to change their national interests and foreign policy viewpoints. The Realism School of Thought was on the decline towards the 20th Century giving rise to multilateral and bilateral diplomacy and the liberal economic and political order. State and non-state actors started to formulate and implement the new diplomacy that advocates for the involvement of many actors in a state's decision-making processes. This meant that actors such as the media, the public, and civil societies were part and parcel of the decision-making. The human security approach was also emphasized as it promotes people-centered mechanisms and plans that ensure freedom from fears and wants. The security complex changed from the state-centric, which focused more on eliminating threats that may compromise the state's survival. This shifted to the human-centric approach, which proposes solutions to the conditions that affect people living in a particular state. Economic security is one of the human security approaches, and it, directly and indirectly, how states trade and interact in the international system.

According to the UNDP report, the United Nations should provide a platform for implementing human security issues across the world. This approach can only be executed through multilateral and bilateral diplomacy among different state actors. The UN's tendency of liberalism and international cooperation can assist in promoting the international legal order in different regions, especially those that have not embraced democratic transitions and the rule of law. Improving the living standards of individuals in different continents will help reduce ethnic violence, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.[56]

The rise of nationalism and global integration between the two largest economies, the USA and China, has also shown the importance of economic security and peace diplomacy in the

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[56] UNDP Report 1994

international system. The trade war between the two countries has adversely affected their diplomatic relations due to the considerable bargaining power both possess and seek win-win agreements. During President Trump's tenure, he focused on economic nationalism and protectionism policies in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. This policy was in line with his rallying call 'America First.' On the other hand, President Xi Jinping embraced global integration and internationalization. This was mainly fronted in the infrastructure sector under the 'China Belt and Road Initiative.' In this project, China funded and provided skilled labour in constructing various transportation and structural developments via the provision of loans and grants. The Project is focused on developing countries in Africa and Asia. This strategy attracted many allies to China, thus helping them to expand their sphere of influence across different regions and even at the United Nations. These activities show the vitality of economic security in the 21st Century. Wars have also shifted from Military and Nuclear Wars to Trade Wars. The Covid 19 Pandemic has ravaged states, societies, and markets, leading to social unrest. This calls for solutions centered on its management and control and learning more on the human security aspect.[57]

Economic Security is one of the key concepts in international relations and diplomacy. Different states and regions pull together to fulfill their economic security and diplomatic relations. An increase in trade in goods and services intensifies imports and exports, thus improving their balance of payments. The decrease in the exchange of goods can lead to intolerance and conflicts of interest, destroying interstate relations.[58]

Trade integration across the world can decrease inter and intra-state conflicts due to the interdependence that comes with the interaction of different economies across regions. Most

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[57] US–China Relations: Nationalism, the Trade War, and COVID-19, Brandon M. Boylan, Jerry McBeath, and Bo Wang, Fudan J Hum Soc Sci. 2020 Oct 4 : 1–18. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7533044/
[58] The impact of economic diplomacy over national economic security. Case study on Eastern Partnership region, Corneliu MUNTEANU

scholars claim that states and markets interact with each other through regional and global integration. This is done through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, which intensifies interstate relations, thus building peace. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Europe experienced remarkable achievements in the field of trade and industrialization. This did not, however, prevent the destructive World Wars. There is a need to formulate and implement functional institutions (ad hoc) to facilitate trade integration across different countries through peaceful diplomacy. Most conflicts that have ravaged states across different regions can be solved through economic institutions and cooperation. Economic security should be pursued together with peace diplomacy to achieve sustainable peace and development.[59]

After the collapse of the bipolar world order, globalization became an alternative to the military force used as an instrument to fulfill the national interests of different states. Globalization created a 'Global Village' through its significant components: liberalization, internationalization, and technological revolution. This intensified trade interactions, thus promoting economic security. The new diplomacy also embraces technological innovations to include more actors in diplomatic engagements. Open diplomacy was used in diplomatic interactions as it reduces the secret signing of agreements, thus promoting peace. Economic security and peace diplomacy go hand in hand as they bring together different sectors and actors that bring peace across regions.[60]

Modern diplomacy assists in developing new solutions in the 21st Century that political institutions have failed to offer. Diplomacy is an instrument that propagates democratic principles and good governance in the interaction of different actors in the international system. Soft power mechanisms advocate for economic cooperation and institutional building, and

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[59] Lee, Jong-Wha and Ju Hyun Pyun, "Does Trade Integration Contribute to Peace," ADB Working paper Series on Regional Economic Integration No. 24, Asian Development Bank, December 2008.
[60] Globalization and Peace: How Economic Integration Can Reduce the Incidence of International Conflict, 1 January 2003, Erik Gartzke, Quan Li

liberal mechanisms that will enhance positive interstate relations. Trade is one of the essential aspects of economic cooperation as it encourages the exchange of goods instead of investing more in the defence sector (hard power). When state actors are democratic, it is hard for them to go to war, thus making peace in their interactions. When there is peace in the anarchic nature of the international system, institutions trade and democracy are prioritized. Giving some state powers to the functional institutions through diplomatic agreements enhances good relations among different actors as suspicions are lessened by the benefits emanating from the functional institutions. Diplomacy is an instrument that hardly prevails when states embrace authoritarian mechanisms in their way of governance. Diplomacy promotes inclusion as many actors are involved in the cooperation processes.[61]

In addition, economic diplomacy works hand in hand with economic security. Economic diplomacy facilitates the smooth movement of goods across different borders with fewer restrictions. It ensures that there are bilateral and multilateral agreements that will enhance good relations with other state actors. The shift from geopolitical to geo-economic strategies has led to the emergence of powerful non-state actors such as Multinational Corporations (MNCs). MNCs play a vital role as they contribute to the development of economic diplomacy. They have been accused of causing economic insecurities, especially in developing nations. The existence of unequal trade agreements and interference with the internal affairs of states has also been on the rise. This can be experienced when some MNCs support dictatorial regimes to fulfill their specific interests. This goes contrary to the spirit of diplomacy as it thrives in a democratic regime.[62]

Economic security has experienced adverse effects in the last few years due to the rise of economic nationalism among the great powers in the international system. Economic

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[61] Modern Diplomacy. Ed J. Kurbalija (1998)
[62] Economic Diplomacy and Economic Security: Peter A.G. van Bergeijk and Selwyn Moons, July 2009

nationalism opposes global integration as it sees it as a stumbling block in the economic prosperity and sovereignty of the individual states. In 2016, the British people voted to exit the European Union (EU), claiming that the EU was not negotiating a win-win agreement that would directly benefit them. In the United States (US), the election of President Trump was a showcase that the Americans were in support of economic nationalism. President Trump opposed regional agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership and NAFTA. He imposed high tariffs on imports to promote the consumption of American goods. For instance, he fronted a 20% border tax on Mexican goods to build a wall and protect the Americans from Mexican cartels, which is some form of economic nationalism.[63]

For states to achieve sustainable peace, there is a need to engage the foreign publics in foreign policy decision-making processes. Economic security can be achieved through bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, which encourages states and market interactions with the societies involved. Diplomacy helps in building interstate relations through economic interactions among different actors across regions.[64]

In the African context, diplomacy has been on the rise though retarded by political influences and interstate conflicts across the continent. Apart from Ethiopia, most of the states have been under the influence of colonial rule and slave trade that was rampant in the 18th century. Some states, such as Ghana (Ashanti Kingdom), opted to trade unilaterally to meet their economic goals. The border disputes that have been one of the significant challenges in the African continent resulted from the Berlin Conference of 1885. The inception of AU in 2002 brought the notion of economic solutions to the political challenges affecting Africa by establishing

[63] January 30, 2017 Economic Nationalism in a New Age for International Economic Law: Recalling Warnings of Ludwig von Mises and the Austrian School, Written by Diane Desierto
[64] Public Diplomacy and International Conflict Resolution: A Cautionary Case from Cold War South America Christopher Darnton Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2020, Pages 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz003 Published: 14 March 2019

functional institutions that would help improve Africa's economic status. These institutions were to be boosted by the instruments of diplomacy to find sustainable peace. Some of these institutions include the Early Warning System and the Panel of the Wise. This move was to ensure that African problems were solved through African solutions. Africans were encouraged to own their challenges through the establishment of regional integration and to shift from political to economic strategies in their respective states.[65]

In the Greater Horn of Africa region, economic security has been hampered due to the divided loyalties among its member states. The existence of IGAD, which was meant to help promote regional integration, peace and security, and economic prosperity, faced a significant challenge when three of its members decided to form their regional cooperation. The Horn of Africa Cooperation formulated by Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea, meant that some economic implications would be incurred to the rest of the IGAD members. For instance, Ethiopia started to look more to Djibouti for trade deals at the expense of Kenya. This means that Kenya's influence in the region would decline due to the reduced trade interaction. This move by the three countries has also side-lined the existing institutions such as the African Union, The Eat Africa Standby Force, and IGAD.[66]

IGAD failed to implement its mandate of integrating the region as political challenges were on the rise compared to the economic ones. The rise of ECOWAS and SADC in Africa's western and southern regions meant that Africa trade relations were on the rise. The recurring state violence and non-interference policies ignored by the Greater Horn of Africa states made economic strategies challenging to implement in their respective domestic arena. These conflicts were transnational, making it difficult for bilateral trade relations to be executed.

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[65] African Diplomacy and the Development of Self-Awareness, Stephen Chan, Nov 8 2017
[66] Henneberg, Ingo & Stapel, Sören. (2020). Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A New Regional Bloc Between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and Its Consequences for Eastern Africa. Africa Spectrum. 55. 10.1177/0002039720936689.

Peace Diplomacy was not considered as most of the states invested heavily in their military security, making it their first option. Regional regimes and democracy were in existence as this would assist in formulating African Principles and norms that would guide their interaction across the region. Most states pursued the rational actor model in their interactions and were reluctant to give some of their national power to supra-national organizations.[67]

Finally, The GoK has made remarkable efforts in the peace agreement signed by the two leaders of South Sudan. The geographical location between the two states encourages inter-trade relations, diplomatic relations, and regional integration and cooperation. The two states share similar challenges as far their domestic audience is concerned. In this century, the domestic actor plays a key role in foreign policy formulation and implementation (diplomacy). Some of the hindrances that influence foreign policy (diplomacy) of the two states include negative ethnicity, equitable distribution of natural resources, and promotion of good governance and democracy. Economic security is vital for both states as they rely heavily on trade, agriculture, and industrialization in their economic development.[68]

In conclusion, the Greater Horn of Africa must shift its focus from political strategies and build economic security mechanisms (economic diplomacy) in their foreign policy formulation and implementation. This strategy will assist in improving the lives of citizens living in that particular region hence enhancing positive interstate relations. Peace will be achieved through diplomacy and having the goodwill to follow the rule of law in implementing peace agreements signed by different states. Peace diplomacy should include all member states to ensure that all states are included in the peace agreements and decision-making processes.

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[67] Healy, S., 2009, 'Peacemaking in the Midst of War: An Assessment of IGAD's Contribution to Regional Security', Working Paper no. 59, Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, London

[68] Kenyan foreign policy emphasises strengthening regional integration and fostering bilateral relations, https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/analysis/clear-vision-foreign-policy-emphasises-strengthening-regional-integration-and-fostering-bilateral

1.6.2.4 Gaps in the Literature

Since the end of the cold war, the majority of the states across the globe have embraced geo-economic strategies in their domestic and foreign sectors. In the Horn of Africa region, the majority of the states have continued to experience interstate conflicts that have caused regional security complexes across borders. The UN principle of noninterference in a State's internal affairs has significantly been violated in the region. States have aligned themselves to ensure their national interests are preserved instead of finding sustainable peace through diplomacy. The existence of divided loyalties in as far as regional co-operations are concerned has also been evident. This aims at examining the benefits of the Bottom Top approach and human security approach and how they facilitate the implementation of peace agreements through diplomacy. Track 2 diplomacy will also be examined in conjunction with the emergence of new diplomacy that insists on including all people in peace diplomacy and decision-making processes. Economic security is key (economic diplomacy) as it can assist in the building of alliances and regional co-operations that would help improve lives across different states, thus offering solutions to the poverty levels that are rampant in the region.

1.6 Research hypothesis

H1: The trend of interstate relations in the Horn of Africa region has influenced Peace Diplomacy.

H0: The approaches of peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa region have not been practical.

H1: Economic Security has an impact on Peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitation of the Study

The research focuses on the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations: A case study of Kenya-South Sudan Relations. The study's limitations included the constrained time,

resources, and access to government data. The resource limitation also means that the focus was on Kenya and South Sudan with minimal reference to the other African States.

The delimitation of the study is that the research relied on secondary data that is more accessible than the primary data whose acquisition is limited. The primary data was collected from the accessible population, whereas the general and target population information was acquired through secondary data.

1.8 Significance of the Study

This research will help contribute knowledge in diplomacy and international relations, especially in the republic of Kenya and South Sudan. International Relations scholars can use this knowledge to educate students and other foreign policy practitioners on employing peace diplomacy to enhance interstate relations. Foreign policymakers can also learn from this knowledge and formulate and implement policies that will be favourable in improving the relations of Kenya with other states.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

A theory can be defined as acceptable principles or organized ideas that explain and guide analysis. It can also be said to be a supposition intended to explain something based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained.

Liberal theory is a school of thought that is concerned with international relations and stresses the role and relevance of the interests and values of the state in the politics of the world. According to Immanuel Kant, the state should be internally formed in a republic government mechanism where the legislative powers and executive powers are separated. This situation gives more control to the citizenry to make decisions that influence the state. This, therefore, makes it difficult for a state to approve wars because the citizens are the most affected. Externally, republican governments should come together, negotiate and sign treaties. The

treaties should enhance the abolishment of war at all costs, encourage trade and other linkages and ensure promoters of war would suffer maximum damaging effects if the war escalates. Globally, citizens are given the right to coexist peacefully across the world due to the existence of a conducive environment in the international arena due to peace[69].

In diplomacy, states engage in negotiations and signing treaties to build and enhance good relations. This ensures that they have a good image in the international system and achieve their national interests. This soft power model is conducive for many states in the 21st century. It brings and cultivates coexistence among each other in terms of democracy, trade, and fairness as they interact on the international stage. Many African states, Kenya included, have not fully applied diplomacy in their domestic and foreign policies hence the need to use this theoretical viewpoint to research the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations: A case study of Kenya-South Sudan Relations.

1.10   Methodology of the Research

The methodology is the science of systematically studying how the research problem is solved, including the steps adopted by a researcher in studying the research problems and the logic behind them. This section, therefore, focuses on the research site and targets, data collection and analysis methods, and the sampling mechanisms.

1.10.1 Research Design

Research Design is the conceptual framework within which the research is conducted, from formulating a hypothesis to the final data analysis[70].

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[69] Weiss, T. G., & Wilkinson, R. (Eds.). International organization and global governance. Routledge, 2018.
[70] Kothari C, R. Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques. New Age International (P) Limited, Publishers, 2004.

This study used descriptive, and two-case study approaches to analyze peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations in the Horn of Africa. The study is mainly qualitative and minimally quantitative as it describes the conflict in South Sudan and how it influences its relations with Kenya. The research is a case study focusing on analysing how interstate of Kenya and South Sudan can be positively enhanced through peaceful diplomacy.

1.10.1.1   Sampling design

The subjects were selected using a simple random sampling technique, a probabilistic method whereby every sample selected has a non-zero chance of being included in the research.

1.10.1.2   Observational Design

The subjects selected for the study were personnel directly or indirectly involved in diplomacy matters, foreign policy, and international relations. This information was determined through focused pre-discussions and study of their profiles and curricula vitae in the online database.

1.10.1.3   Statistical Design

The sample included 15 subjects from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, ten subjects from the University of Nairobi, two subjects from United States International University (USIU), one subject from Kenyatta University, and ten subjects randomly chosen from the citizens in South Sudan Embassy in Nairobi, and five randomly chosen from International Organisations that deal with International Relation Foreign Policy and Diplomacy.

1.10.1.4   Operational Design

The technique used in the research was the mixed-method approach, where the research was largely qualitative and partly quantitative. A descriptive approach was used to describe some of the phenomena, and the transformative approach was used to bring the lens of the liberal approach and was narrowed down to a case study of Kenya. The random sampling method was

used in the selection of the 43 subjects to be studied. Because the sample size was less than 200, the census sampling calculation strategy was used in selecting the population sample size. The study used research design triangulation, where data methods used were primary and secondary data. Method triangulation was also used whereby observational structure, interview/questionnaire guide, and observational scope were used to collect data. Data analysis included content analysis for qualitative data and SPSS software for quantitative data to analyze the findings from the primary data[71]. Presentation of results was done through frequency tables and graphic presentations.

1.10.2 Research Site

The research was conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Embassy of South Sudan in Kenya, International and Non-Governmental Organizations offices, the University of Nairobi, United States International University, and the Capital City of Kenya, Nairobi.

1.10.3 Target Population

The target population for the study included the staff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade offices, The Embassy of South Sudan, and policymakers in International and Non-Governmental Organizations. The other target group consisted of the academicians in the University of Nairobi and United States International University.

1.10.4 Research Sample Size

The research sample is a part of the total population that can give sufficient information on behalf of the population. The research used the census sampling calculation method since the sample size is less than 200 as the majority of the respondents had vast experience in internal relations and diplomatic matters, thus, the homogeneous characteristics of the respondents. A

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[71] Denzin, N. K. The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. Routledge, 2017.

convenient sample of 43 subjects was selected from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, The Embassy of South Sudan, International and Non-Governmental Organizations, The University of Nairobi, United States International University. These were subjects who were willing to participate in the research and meet the sampling criteria to be used in data collection.

1.10.5 Data Collection Methods

The study comprised both primary and secondary data. For primary data collection, an interview guide and focused group discussions were used. The study utilized secondary data sources such as published books, academic articles, journals, policy documents of Kenya and South Sudan, and reputable internet sources for secondary data collection.

The questions used were both open and close-ended to obtain as much information as needed from the respondents. The researcher was also involved in the focused group discussions to ensure that the required information was acquired according to the specific objectives.

1.10.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of refining and modelling the research data to obtain valuable insights in line with the research objectives. For the quantitative data, the information collected was analysed using SPSS, while for the qualitative data, content analysis was done.

1.10.7 Data Presentation

Data Presentation refers to the visual organization of the data to represent the relationship between the data sets and obtain logical and statistical conclusions. The value outcome from the data analysis was presented using frequency tables, tabulations, figures, and narrations.

1.10.8 Piloting

The interview guide was presented to 5 people to gauge the validity of the responses and modify some to achieve maximal results.

1.10.9 Research Ethics

Research ethics is important in protecting user data and the proper use of the information obtained for the specific research objectives. The study took practical steps to ensure that confidentiality, anonymity, and the right to refuse participation were adhered to. Fundamental human rights were also upheld throughout the research time.

1.11   Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduces the topic of the study and includes the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, and research hypotheses, the literature review, limitations and delimitation of the study, the significance of the study, research methodology, theoretical framework, and the chapter outline.

Chapter 2: Focuses on the trend of peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region.

Chapter 3: Expounds on the effectiveness of the approaches used by the Government of Kenya to enhance peace in South Sudan.

Chapter 4: Analyses the influence of economic security on Peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan**.**

Chapter 5: Consists of the summary, findings, recommendations, and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRENDS OF PEACE DIPLOMACY IN ENHANCING INTERSTATE

RELATIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION

2.0 Introduction

Diplomacy in the horn Africa region is not new as some of the ancient histories, such as the cradle of humankind, existed on this continent. Matters concerning colonization have ravaged the African continent's economies, thus leading to interstate conflicts, especially those associated with natural resources and border disputes[72]. This chapter, therefore, examines the trend of peace diplomacy in the horn of Africa region. The chapter covers the demographic characteristics of the study's respondents explicitly; the influence of the UN on peace diplomacy; border disputes and its impacts on peace diplomacy; the impact of ideological differences and clash of civilizations on peace diplomacy; the influence of international and regional regimes on peace diplomacy and; the existence and impact of authoritarian regimes on peace diplomacy.

2.1 Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of respondents are important elements in the collection and analysis of data. The key demographic characteristics to be examined in this section include educational qualifications, age, and experience in the diplomatic profession that played a significant role in data acquisition and analysis. The research had a total of 43 respondents.

2.1.1 Age

Age was considered a critical component in this research as the view on the role of diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations is perceived differently among the respondents involved in this study. The study considered ages ranging from 24-60 years, as shown in Figure 2.1.

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[72] Spies.
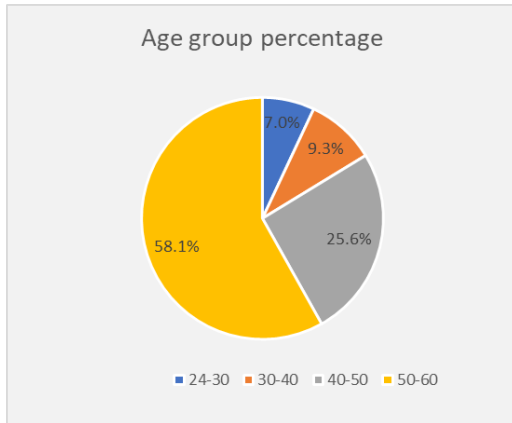
Figure 2.1 Summary of the respondents' age groups

Source: Field Data, 2021

The majority of the respondents were between 50-60 years old, representing 58.1%.

2.1.2 Educational Qualifications

The educational qualification was categorized between undergraduate to doctoral levels, as shown in Figure 2.2. The level of education was considered important in this study since one`s level of education determines their level of conceptualization of different issues at stake. For this case, the trend of peace diplomacy in the horn of Africa region.
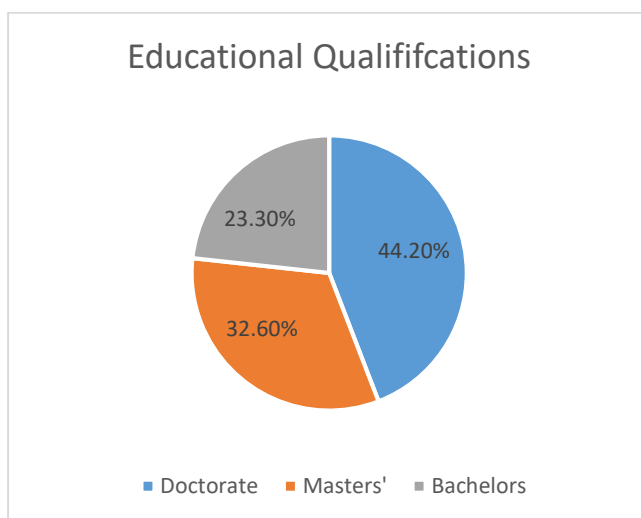
Figure 2.2 Summary of the respondents' educational qualifications

Source: Field Data, 2021

This revealed that most of the respondents' educational qualification was up to the doctoral level making up 44.2%.

2.1.3   Working Experience

The working experience was another key factor considered in the data collection process. The respondent's working experience in international relations and diplomacy sectors ranged between 1-30 years as shown in Figure 2.3.
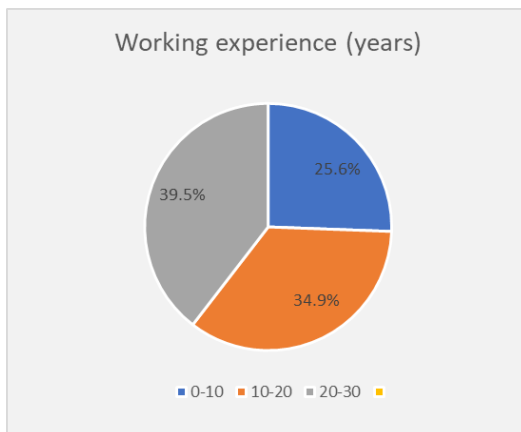
Figure 2.3 Summary of the respondents' working experience
Source: Field Data, 2021

The majority of the respondents had a working experience of between 20-30 years and 10-20 years, making up approximately 39.5% and 34.9%, respectively. 25.6% of the respondents' experience ranged between 1-10 years.

2.2 The Influence of the United Nations on Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa

Even though the UN is considered equivalent to the world government, it is not in a real sense. It has, however, offered global governance to the majority of the people across the world. Its principle of non-interference of internal affairs of a State, sovereignty, and territorial integrity in some way have been abused by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security

Council (P5) and some of the states in the Horn of African Region.[73] There was a balance of opinion over the UN's responsibility in managing conflicts in the Horn of African region. Half of the respondents felt that the UN is not doing enough to intervene in interstate and intrastate conflicts despite many resources at their disposal. On the other hand, the other half feel that the UN fulfils its mandate of ensuring peace and stability in the Horn of Africa Region.

For example, one of the respondent's responses on UN's influence on peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa said,

> "*First assignment was attached to UNHCR office in Cairo. Their charter is like an international constitution, but its implementation is poor. What is captured in the chapter isn't necessarily translated into the implementation, especially regarding the veto powers. They have turned a blind eye to many giant nations' actions that do not align with the rule of law. No one was willing to help South Sudan's struggle because they would have antagonized 27 other countries. Libya is also another example.*"

Another respondent said,

> "*To some extent, the main principles of the UN Charter are adhered to by member states. However, the principles are sometimes faulted by members of the Horn of Africa region to serve their interest, e.g., the interference of some states in the internal affairs of other countries (Kenya in Somali land). On the whole, however, I conclude that the main principles of the UN Charter tend to be adhered to.*"

On the other hand, the respondents agreed to UN's responsibility and involvement in peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region. They emphasized that much has to be done to ensure UN principles are adhered to by all nations. For example, the UN should invest more in the institutional building in the Greater Horn of Africa, as many existing conflicts result from internal affairs that ultimately may cross borders to make it a regional conflict. The building of functional institutions will assist in the prevention of failed states, thus bringing stability and cohesion among people of a particular state. The experience of rebuilding Europe through the Marshall Plan project is one of the best ways the UN can do in the Horn of Africa. The P5

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[73] United Nations Secretary General, "Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results", 2011.

should unite and resolve to build sustainable peace in the region by putting aside their interest which is assumed to be permanent.[74]

The UN should emphasize its initiative of the responsibility to protect (R2P) vulnerable nations in the region. Genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes have been evident in the Greater Horn of Africa due to States' failure to protect their citizens. They were willing to use military intervention as the last resort after diplomacy had failed. The existence of the R2P initiative by the UN was not to infringe on the internal affairs of a state but to promote good governance and international peace and security. In 2007, the Freedom House listed some of the countries experiencing difficulties due to civil wars. Three of the listed states were from the Horn of Africa region. They stated that 18 countries in the African continent had been devastated, thus, the need for R2P intervention.[75]The AU has also adopted the R2P initiative formulated by the UN through the constitutive Act of the AU. Article 4 of the Act provides that the union has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of a state if that state engages in conflicts that are assumed to be grave circumstances, or a state can request the union for intervention. In this particular area, the horn of the Africa region has failed, especially members of IGAD, have failed to intervene in circumstances that may lead to the endangering of its citizens or that of the others. For instance, in the West African region, ECOWAS, led by Nigeria, was more than willing to intervene in the Gambian crisis when President Jaime refused to respect the peaceful transfer of power.[76]

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[74] A Peter Mutharika, 'The Role of the United Nations Security Council in African Peace Management: Some Proposals', *Mich. J. Int'l L.*, 17 (1995), 537.

[75] Jeremy Sarkin, 'The Role of the United Nations, the African Union and Africa's Sub-Regional Organizations in Dealing with Africa's Human Rights Problems: Connecting Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect', *Journal of African Law*, 2009 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855309000011>.

[76] Ben Kioko, 'The Right of Intervention under the African Union's Constitutive Act: From Non-Interference to Non-Intervention', *Revue Internationale de La Croix-Rouge/International Review of the Red Cross*, 2003 <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1560775500179945>.

For the horn of Africa region to realize sustainable peace, it must formulate and implement peace diplomacy that is in line with the vision and mandate of the SDGs. This will assist the region in moving forward together with the rest of the world, as these are some of the goals and frameworks that shape the direction in which the world should move. It is also vital for the UN to use resolutions instead of veto powers when dealing with interstate conflicts, especially in the horn of Africa. For example, UN resolution 377a, "Uniting for Peace," adopted by the UN general assembly when UNSC experienced a deadlock during the Korean war of 1950, which was of great importance in maintaining international peace, security, and diplomacy.[77]

In 2020, Kenya managed to secure a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Being one of the countries based in the Horn of Africa region, Kenya should establish and enhance multilateral diplomacy with other states to find sustainable solutions to the domestic and regional conflicts among state actors. Diplomacy should be prioritized to ensure there is peaceful coexistence and regional integration across borders. Security Council has the powers of enforcement mechanisms, should be taken advantage of by Kenya and other states in the region to find a sustainable mechanism that will assist the region to end the current conflicts.[78]

2.3 Border Disputes and Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa

Border dispute refers to the conflict that emanates from the disagreement between two or more countries on where their boundaries should be drawn. In the Greater Horn of Africa region, the majority of the states have violated the UN principle of territorial integrity. Border disputes have been one of the major causes of interstate conflicts associated with the existence of natural resources within different states. For example, Eritrea and Ethiopia border dispute, the current Kenya and Somalia maritime border dispute, Kenya/Somalia/Ethiopia dispute over the Ilemi

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[77] Larry Attree, 'Five Challenges the UN's "Sustaining Peace" Agenda Needs to Address - News and Resources - Saferworld', 2018 <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/news-and-analysis/post/755-five-challenges-the-unas-asustaining-peacea-agenda-needs-to-address> [accessed 27 July 2021].
[78] Tavolato.

triangle, and Ethiopia's Tigray region dispute. The maritime dispute has led to the infringement of UN principles as Kenya has been since supporting opposition leaders in Somalia, especially those that are anti-government. They have also collaborated with other state actors such as Somaliland and Ethiopia, whose foreign policies have not been favourable to Somalia. This has made things worse, especially in the diplomatic arena[79]. The Berlin Conference of 1885 that formulated the African borders did not consider the African population and national interests. The African continent was not involved; hence, this has been a major challenge of the conflicts that exist, not just in the Horn of Africa, but the whole African continent. Since independence, most of the Greater Horn of African states have been grappling with border disputes that have remained a major stumbling block for the development and formation of alliances that would lead to regional integration and cooperation. The majority of the respondents agreed that natural resources and border disputes had escalated civil wars in the region.

Diplomacy has not been emphasized by most of the statesmen due to their current selfish interests. As a result, states have pursued cessation. The principles have not adhered to the letter. Kenya should be at the forefront in the enhancement of peace diplomacy in the horn of Africa due to its capabilities in the economic, military, and political spheres. Its efforts to enter Somalia through AMISOM was a good sign in the enhancement of diplomatic relations. The government of Kenya should not lessen its efforts by not hosting refugees coming out of Somalia due to the existing border dispute. Instead, it should help formulate a functional institution in Somaliland to enable the Somali people to live a fulfilled life.[80] Peace diplomacy is an effective solution that will help bring many states such as Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea

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[79] Jules Swinkels, 'Positive Diplomatic Moves in the Horn of Africa and Risks Thereto – HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies', 2018.
[80] IGAD, 'Igad Special Summit on Durable Solutions for Somali Refugees', 2017, 1–17.

to a common ground. Peace diplomacy brings many states with different ideas and differences to a level that will bring unity for the common good. This can be attested by some of the border disputes managed through peaceful mechanisms such as those of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Sudan. The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 by two rival groups of North and South Sudan resulted from diplomacy that led to the birth of a new state, South Sudan. Diplomacy is key as it assists the two conflicting groups to solve natural resource and border disputes between them.[81] Border disputes have existed for an extended period due to the absence of Africa in the formulation and implementation of the border policy mechanisms.

Diplomacy is an instrument that can offer solutions to conflicts that emanate from these border clashes. The signing of the peace accord by Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2018 was a positive diplomatic move that ended a 20-year border conflict between the two states.[82] This move has positively impacted the Horn of Africa region as it has encouraged the signing of more treaties that will positively influence their political, economic, and cultural spheres. For instance, the signing of the tripartite agreement between Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia best illustrates this.[83] All respondents agreed that peace diplomacy is critical for resolving the border and natural resource disputes in the Greater Horn of Africa. One respondent claimed that it is good to start with peace talks instead of war.

Although the Berlin conference did not consider the nations that exist in the region, the divisions that exist, for example, Somali nation in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia itself, should

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[81] Markus Kornprobst, 'The Management of Border Disputes in African Regional Sub-Systems: Comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2002 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X02003968>.
[82] Siphamandla Zondi and Emmanuel Réjouis, "The Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Conflict And The Role Of The International Community", *African Journal On Conflict Resolution* 6, no. 2 (2006).
[83] Hend Elmahly and Degang Sun, 'China's Military Diplomacy towards Arab Countries in Africa's Peace and Security: The Case of Djibouti', *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1525/caa.2018.114006>

be a plus in promoting peace diplomacy in the Greater Horn of Africa. This has not been the case, however. For example, one of the respondents said,

> "*Africa was divided by others; the borders were haphazard. Nuers, Masalit, Lang'o, Kalenjins – and these divisions were not considered. This should actually create bonds – same people in two different countries. Legal principles and diplomacy as a way to solve this.*"

On the issue of ideologies, one of the respondents said,

> "*Right now, no. But in the '70s and '80s probably. Sudan has been communist and then an Islamic state. Some just ride on the ideologies but do not implement them. There is no die-hard clear framework but three main ideologies (communist, socialists, and capitalists). They are not as outspoken in Africa as the European countries, where ideologies drive politics. In Kenya, it is more or less along region or tribes. Parties are formed to manage elections and are dissolved as soon as elections come. In the Horn of Africa, no government is formed based on ideologies but based on tribes, ethnicities, and regions.*"

For example, Article 39 of the Ethiopian constitution stipulates every nation has a right to self-determination, secession, develop a language, or form a government. This clearly shows that most of the Horn of African countries have ideologies based on their nationality and ethnicity.[84]

2.4 The Impact of the Clash of Civilization and Ideological Differences on Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa

Clash of civilization is a conflict that occurs due to cultural identities and differences between the community of nations across the world. In most cases, the clash of civilizations does not cause interstate wars but a cultural conflict between states. In the Horn of Africa region, it is perceived that the clash of civilizations is not a primary source of conflict but a secondary one. On the other hand, ideological differences are world views held by a state in perceiving other states' interactions in the international system. These world views shape a state's beliefs and political systems and how they align or realign with other actors in the international arena.

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[84] The Federal Government of Ethiopia, 'The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution', *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, 1995.

Towards the end of the 20th Century, the world experienced international conflict due to the ideological differences between the two major blocks- USA and USSR. At the beginning of the 21st Century and after the 9/11 attack, scholars predicted that the world had shifted from ideological differences to a clash of civilizations. This meant that peoples and nations would battle around cultural differences instead of geopolitical and economic differences. Although the clash of civilizations has not been openly experienced in the Horn of Africa Region, there has been some of it to some extent. For example, the Ilemi triangle has been the cause of war among the communities of Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya because of delimiting boundaries and determining the extent of pasture claimed by the communities in the different countries.[85] The respondents depicted divided opinions, but it was evident that even though a clash of civilizations exists, it cannot be one of the major causes of interstate conflicts in the Horn of Africa region.

It was evident that religious and cultural differences have contributed to interstate conflict but certainly not one of the key contributors. For example, one respondent said,

> *"Certainly. Colonial activities and legacies brought improper demarcation of boundaries, thereby splitting communities of the same culture and values while lumping those of diverse backgrounds together. This irresponsible practice is the reason for persistent interstate conflicts."*

Some of the signs that have shown the existence of clash of civilizations in the region have been due to the alliances forged by states in pursuit of their national and selfish interests. Existing conflicts between Egypt and Ethiopia over River Nile are one of the key examples. Sudan and Egypt, who both share the same Islamic religion, sideline Ethiopia as far as River Nile is concerned, thus resulting in conflict.

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[85] United Nations Secretary General, "Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results", 2011.

Samuel Huntington argued that nation states across different continents would battle based on their civilizations instead of geopolitics and economics in the new century. States would remain the main actors in the international system, thus aligning themselves according to their cultural similarities and identities. This, in some way, has been evident in the Horn of Africa region.[86] Although ideological differences in the Horn of African have been evident, these ideologies have been heavily influenced by external actors who have interests in a specific geographical location. For example, the US would align itself with Egypt in any matter due to the strategic operation that exists amongst themselves.

On the other hand, China has also taken a frontline in the Horn of Africa region matters. It has developed its military base in Djibouti as well as projected its soft power mechanisms and diplomacy. This is through infrastructure building and the construction of Confucius institutes. Its development agenda has intensified its interactions with the Horn of Africa states, thus improving its image across the geographical location. This will most likely bring conflict of interest with the USA as both are P5 members of the UNSC.[87]

In retaliation to the existing clash of civilizations, some illegitimate none state actors such as the Al-Shabaab have emerged. This infamous group of terrorists has retaliated using terror attacks in some Horn of African countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda. The failure to use peace diplomacy has worsened things due to a lack of commonalities among the conflicting actors. The peace diplomacy mechanism is critical as it can assist in bringing peace events in terror-attack-affected countries. The Al-Shabaab militia has been consistently changing tactics in the way they conduct their activities. They have established strong partnerships, especially among younger people, thus fulfilling their mandate. The pursuit of peace can be a win-win

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[86] Samuel P Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?: The Debate', *A Foreign Affairs Reader*, 1996.
[87] Hend Elmahly and Degang Sun, 'China's Military Diplomacy towards Arab Countries in Africa's Peace and Security: The Case of Djibouti', *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1525/caa.2018.114006>.

scenario for all since it promotes diplomacy and builds and improves relations among different actors who have different opinions in matters of regional conflict.[88]

2.5 The Influence of International and Regional Regimes on Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa

Regimes refer to the principles, norms, and rules which govern states in the international and regional arena where their expectations and interests converge in a particular area.[89] The United Nations is a legal regime that has shaped how nations interact in the international system and pursue their interests. Article 52 of the UN Charter explicitly stipulates the collaboration between the UNSC and regional arrangements worldwide. This article encourages the pacific settlement of disputes through these arrangements as authorized by the UNSC. The enforcement powers applied by the UNSC gives regional mechanism a chance to promote peaceful interaction of states through the implementation of the UN principles in their specific geographical locations. The UN judicial organ clears and mediates conflicts between nations, for instance, the Kenya-Somalia maritime border dispute. This shows the collaboration between the UN council security organ with the states to resolve such border problems.[90]

The majority of the respondents fully agreed that regional regimes are critical in promoting peace in a specified geographical area. Still, there is a need to empower them through the disbursement of more resources to perform their mandate fully. For example, IGAD in the Horn of African region was highly ranked by the respondents but claimed that there is no need to create more regimes that will promote regional peace and order. This regional mechanism should also compel others who openly violate international and regional principles and norms.

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[88] Debisa.

[89] Krasner, Stephen D. *International Regimes*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.

[90] Patrick Muthengi Maluki, "The Maritime Tussle Between Kenya And Somalia -- And What Happens Next", The Conversation, Last modified 2021, https://theconversation.com/the-maritime-tussle-between-kenya-and-somalia-and-what-happens-next-159953.

This will assist in full compliance with the law to promote matters concerning trade, regional security, and development. For instance, most interstate conflicts in the Horn of Africa have resulted from their citizens' internal affairs. The spillover effect that emanates from these countries has created regional conflict, thus the need to pursue a regional approach to promote peace diplomacy and peaceful mechanisms in the resolution of interstate conflicts[91]. The regional arrangements are critical and should be used as an instrument to include all actors such as civil society and influential individuals in promoting and maintaining regional peace.

Regional regimes in the region should also strive to bring together states in areas of difficulty, such as those of economics and famine. It is estimated that 62 percent of the land in the horn of Africa is occupied by pastoralists, which are claimed to be twelve percent. This group of people is based across different countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, and Kenya. They engage in conflicts in search of their food and pasture for their livestock. One of the respondents claimed that food insecurity is one of the significant sources of conflict in the horn of Africa. IGAD should formulate and implement policies that will assist in bringing solutions to the problems that cannot be solved by states alone. This will also require peace diplomacy.[92]

Sustainable peace diplomacy can only be achieved when gender provisions are included in peace processes. Research conducted by the UN from 1993 to 2019 concluded that six percent of the negotiators were women, six percent were signatories, and 7 percent were negotiators. This means that women have taken an active role in search of peace as they are one of the most vulnerable groups during interstate conflicts.[93] For instance, in December 2019, IGAD tried to implement UN resolution 1325 on the role of women in matters concerning conflict and gender

[91] Sarah Smiles Persinger, 'Regional Organizations and Peacebuilding The Role of Civil Society POLICY BRIEF', 2014.

[92] F. Burgess Stephen, 'Stabilization , Peacebuilding , and Sustainability in the Horn of Africa', *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 2009.

[93] United Nations, 'Facts and Figures: Women, Peace, and Security | What We Do | UN Women – Headquarters', 2021 <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures> [accessed 27 July 2021].

as a whole. The horn of Africa members attempted to analyse resolution 1325 in the interstate conflicts across the region. This was clear evidence of the collaboration between the UN and other regional arrangements across the region.[94]

For regional arrangements to be successful, one of the respondents acknowledged the need for Africa's horn to have hegemony. There is no apparent hegemony that can help other state actors fulfil regional mechanisms and their applications in the internal affairs of a specific state(s). A hegemony helps bring stability in a region where peace has been compromised in the quest for selfish national interests. This actor helps to bring stability by offering leadership, having the political will to do so, and being powerful in almost all sectors that influence regional arrangements and beyond. In West and Southern Africa, Nigeria and South Africa have acted well in this sector, thus, minimizing conflicts in their respective regions through the pacific settlement of disputes through diplomacy and other mechanisms, including military intervention. This has helped promote compliance and stability in applying the rule of law in their day-to-day national and regional governance. This approach can assist in managing conflict that arises from political, social, and economic battles.[95] For instance, in the European Union, regional regimes can neutralize a lot of conflicts. Regimes can be created and believed in, like IGAD, a regime that does serious work and research.

2.6 The Existence of Authoritarian Regimes and their Influence on Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa

Authoritarian regimes are forms of government that opt for using solid central power to maintain the status quo by reducing all forms of democracy through rejection of political plurality, power separation, democratic voting, and the rule of law. Peace diplomacy in the

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[94] IGAD, 'RESOLUTIONS OF THE IGAD HIGH LEVEL MINISTERIAL MEETING ON WOMEN', DECEMBER, 2019, 13–15.
[95] Lionel Cliffe, 'Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Horn of Africa', *Third World Quarterly*, 1999 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599913938>.

horn of Africa has not been well implemented due to the existence of bad governance and authoritarian regimes in the region. For diplomacy to thrive, it has to go hand in hand with democratic principles and liberal political order in its day-to-day governance system. Authoritarian leaders can't implement diplomatic relations as their decisions are confined within a small circle. The 21st century peace diplomacy requires lots of consultations and involvement of all actors due to the technological revolutions. The peaceful transfer of power, freedom of expression, trade, and regional integration are highly supported by peace diplomacy. This has not been so in the governance structure of the horn of the African region, thus hindering the significance of diplomacy in the maintenance of regional peace and development.[96]

Adherence to the rule of law has been a challenge due to authoritarian leaders who do not comply with the spirit of their constitutions and regional charters. The respondents were sceptical about the horn of African countries' adherence to the rule of law. For instance, one respondent claimed that,

> *"Simple logic and theory of law is a good thing if implemented – will cut down violence. But is it applied? In a practical bit, it is not applied. The rule of law is a culture. Well-trained and well-funded police and a good judicial and prison system are very important for a comprehensive legal system. No country in the Horn of Africa can truly say that they have a comprehensive adherence to the rule of law."*

The formulation of authoritarian policies and support of dictators by some of the UN P5 has cultivated and fuelled interstate conflicts in the horn of Africa. Some of these states include Russia and China. These policies have discouraged the decentralization of governance structure that gives people more power to rule themselves by the rule of law and encourages liberal norms and tendencies. Liberal norms should not be advocated by outsiders but should be implemented according to existing communities within a specified territory. Democracy is key

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[96] Ralf Fücks, 'Dealing with Authoritarian Regimes: Challenges for a Value-Based Foreign Policy | Heinrich Böll Stiftung | Washington, DC Office - USA, Canada, Global Dialogue', 2015.

as it gives people more power to say what they would like to happen in their governance structure and choose their leaders. For example, after the cold war towards the end of the 20th century, states in Eastern Europe that embrace diplomacy, democratic, and liberal principles have developed and are clearly distinct from those that did not. This is due to globalization and technological revolutions that have made the planet a small village.[97] Some of the respondents acknowledged that bad governance, political wrangles, and authoritarian regimes are significant contributors to interstate conflicts in the greater horn of the African region.

2.7 Summary of the Key Chapter Findings

The trends of interstate conflicts in Africa's horn have been characterized by the influence of the UN regional regimes, authoritarian system of governance, border disputes, and clash of civilizations and ideological differences. It is clear that the UN principles have not been adhered to by the majority of the states. Border disputes are an inherited challenge from our colonial masters. Implementation of peace diplomacy is one of the major solutions to the challenges facing the horn of Africa. Democratic and liberal principles need to be implemented as it is difficult to enhance peace diplomacy through an authoritarian system of governance. Border disputes can be overcome when states give some of their power to a supranational institution (regional regime) through the instrument of diplomacy, for it is possible to choose friends, but it is important to accommodate our neighbours.

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[97] David Lewis, John Heathershaw, and Nick Megoran, 'Illiberal Peace? Authoritarian Modes of Conflict Management', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836718765902>.

CHAPTER THREE

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE APPROACHES USED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA TO ENHANCE PEACE IN SOUTH SUDAN.

3.0 Introduction

For state actors to achieve effective approaches in enhancing peace diplomacy, collaboration is needed by all members. The involvement of all persons, such as civil society, is critical. The implementation of peace agreements by all conflicting parties is necessary for achieving sustainable peace that will positively impact the present generations without compromising that of the future. This chapter illustrates the general approaches that enhance peace diplomacy and interstate relations in the horn of Africa region; the tracks of diplomacy as applied by Kenya in enhancing peace in South Sudan; the contribution of the civil societies in implementing peace-building strategies; elites driven peacebuilding strategies with a focus on the Government of Kenya as well as its role in collaboration with regional institutions in enhancing peacebuilding in South Sudan.

3.1 General Approaches that Influence Peace Diplomacy in Enhancing Interstate Relations.

Diplomacy refers to the high level of engagement between two governments. In the 21st century, this has shifted as the rise of powerful non-state actors has also been involved in matters concerning peace diplomacy. Peace diplomacy comes in when conflict (violence) exists between actors or rebel groups. On the other hand, interstate relations refer to the interaction of states in pursuit of common interests. This behaviour of states can be regulated, and it is supposed to be fair. General approaches are the global standards of conflict resolution accepted by the majority of the actors across the community of nations. The interstate approach was forged due to the notion of cooperation and conflict that existed in the 20th century. IR scholars base their arguments on the realists' and liberalists' schools of thought. Nearly half of

the 20th century was characterized by war and interstate conflicts that existed during the two devastating world wars. The formation of the UN in 1945 promoted the culture of diplomacy and interstate cooperation among states in the world. Diplomacy was considered a key instrument in the foreign policies of many nations, especially at the end of the cold war and the fall of the USSR.[98]

The majority of the respondents mentioned Article 33 of the UN Charter 1945 as a guiding principle that shapes the general approaches that all should pursue in conflict resolution and management. Some of these mentioned approaches include mediation, negotiation, arbitration, conciliation, judicial settlement, enquiry, regional agencies or arrangements, and fact-finding. UN resolution 1177 advocates for the use of peaceful settlement of disputes through peaceful mechanisms, as mentioned above.[99] For example, the situation of the Eritrea-Ethiopia border dispute was settled through diplomacy.[100] The two governments pursued mediation and arbitration through the joint committee that was formed. The pursuit of peaceful mechanisms assisted in ending a twenty-year conflict that existed between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Diplomatic practitioners in the horn of the African region must implement different negotiation styles to achieve favourable treaties that will project their national interests and foreign policies. This can be done by studying different continents and how they prefer negotiations to be discussed. For example, in the North American continent, most foreign policy analysts use the linear strategy in signing their diplomatic agreements that influence their policies abroad. The linear approach starts with preliminary discussions, negotiations, and then implementation of the intended agreement. On the other hand, the African continent, Asia, and the Middle East

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[98] Alexander Rozanov and others, 'Approaches to Analysis of Interstate Cooperation', in *Education, Human Rights and Peace in Sustainable Development*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.93986>.

[99] UNSC, 'United Nations Security Council: Resolution 1177', *International Organization*, 17.1 (1963), 226–30 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300025091>.

[100] Jean-Louis Peninou, 'The Ethiopian–Eritrean Border Conflict', *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, 6.2 (1998).

may have different approaches as far as the signing of diplomatic documents is concerned. For the horn of African policies to be projected abroad, consideration of the negotiation strategies is key. It should go hand in hand with the national branding of a particular state which is majorly done by public diplomacy.[101]

Article 99 and 100 of the UN Charter gives the Secretary General the mandate and power to bring the attention of the UNSC any international or concerning that may threaten international peace and security. The Secretary General is expected to be impartial in the performance of their mandate. The good office's Secretary General can forge and conduct fact findings and formulate a commission of inquiries to promote peace and diplomacy in the regions experiencing interstate conflict. This act can assist in promoting diplomacy and peace since many nations across the world would have confidence in the Secretary General's functions.[102] The Horn of African governments should embrace good offices and fact-finding commissions to assist the UNSC in maintaining peace across the planet. These essential actors bring reports to the Secretary General and intensify international pressure on UN members to respond to interstate conflicts and cooperation.[103] For example, Kofi Anan established a fact-finding commission after the 2007/2008 post-election skirmishes in Kenya. The commission fostered peace and reconciliation strategies that dealt with the root causes of the post-election violence.[104] Another example was in Sudan, where the commission uncovered the atrocities by South Sudan's government and violation of human rights that took place in the City of Darfur. It made the international community impose economic sanctions on the government and served a warrant of arrest for South Sudan's President through the International Criminal Court.[105]

[101] Volker Stanzel, 'New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century', *Stiftung Wissenschaft Und Politik*, 2018.
[102] United Nations, 'UN Charter | United Nations', *Un.Org*, 2020.
[103] Hara.
[104] International Peace Institute, 'Preventive Diplomacy Regions in Focus', 2011.
[105] International Peace Institute.

Although most of the respondents mentioned Article 33 of the UN to be the most famous section that explicitly stipulates on the general approaches that state actors can use to enhance pacific settlement of disputes, some of the respondents mentioned other techniques such as diplomatic approaches, cultural exchange, trade interaction, and peace education among states that have experienced internal and external disputes in the horn of Africa region. In reference to the peace education strategy, the data collected highlighted peace education as the key mechanism that the horn of African governments can use during preventative diplomacy as well as times of post-era reconstruction. Peace education is the process where people of different backgrounds learn skills to deal with the challenges that arise from conflicts and are achieved through developing values that help in the attitude transformation of those involved in a particular dispute.[106] Educational institutions and ministries must be actively engaged in foreign policy and diplomacy as they can greatly assist in achieving their key peace mandate. Schools are institutions where people of diverse cultures and opinions come together to be trained on how to deal with 21st-century challenges, such as building peaceful and just communities that are transparent and honest in the way they conduct their internal and external relations.[107] Peace education can facilitate the transformation of rigid minds and the hearts of those involved in conflict hence achieving peace diplomacy. For example, Rwanda and Sierra Leone pursued this important factor after going through devastating periods of war. However, they have faced some challenges, their governments have been able to prevent other conflicts.[108] [109] In Rwanda, the government constructed a memorial museum that educates locals and foreigners on the importance of peace at home and abroad. Also, they light a fire for

[106] Yonas Adaye Adeto, 'Peacebuilding Through Peace Education in the Horn of Africa', in *Peacebuilding in Contemporary Africa*, 2019 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351031462-11>.

[107] Samura, '<em>Peace Education for Reconstruction and Peacebuilding in Postwar African Societies</Em>', *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 2013 <https://doi.org/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.3.2.24>.

[108] Lyndsay McLean Hilker, 'The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda', *Prospects*, 2011 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-011-9193-7>.

[109] Paul Richards, 'The Political Economy of Internal Conflict in Sierra Leone', *Working Paper*, 2003.

a hundred days every year as a symbol of education for peace. This serves as a reminder of the devastating effects that emanated from tribal conflict between the Hutu and Tutsis. The horn of African countries should emulate this as the majority of the state actors have not heavily invested in peace education and have not involved education ministries in matters concerning Foreign Service and the National Security Council.[110]

In addition, peace education, cultural exchange, and interactions. Cultural exchange refers to the teaching of traditions, sharing of knowledge and ideas to a particular group of people of different identities and backgrounds[111]. This is done especially in states with different cultures, hence the need for diversity and inclusion. The exchange of experiences between different nations in the horn of Africa can immensely promote the notion of global citizenship as different peoples representing diverse communities come up with distinct ideas that can develop and improve the quality of diplomacy in the region. This can also enhance a firm foundation for the next generations as young people will be nurtured on future leadership and good core values such as tolerance and living together in peace. This will intensify good neighborliness, regional integration, and regional diplomacy that can help achieve a common good for all.[112]

In conclusion, peace diplomacy can be fostered through the explicitly illustrated approaches in Article 33 of the UN Charter. The Secretary General should also use his powers to perform their mandate as defined in Article 99 and embrace impartiality as explained in Article 100 of the UN Charter. UN peacekeeping missions and broken relationships experienced across different state actors in the international arena can be resolved by pursuing fact-finding missions and commissions of enquiries and good offices. Peace Education and Cultural

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[110] Tina Robiolle, 'Promoting a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Africa through Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention, Phase 1: Mapping, Final Report'.
[111] Kesley Holmes, 'What Is Cultural Exchange?', *2016*.
[112] Mahamoud Sougueh, 'On Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue in the Horn of Africa | URI', 2015.

interactions should also be administered as they can intensify peaceful coexistence among different states who have gone similar challenges.

3.2 Impact of the Tracks of Diplomacy as applied by Kenya in Enhancing Peace in South Sudan

In the field of international relations, tracks of diplomacy have been categorized into three, i.e., track one, track two, and track one and a half. Track one refers to a sovereign government's formal instruments and interactions to enhance interstate relations with other parties. It is considered a primary instrument in promoting peace diplomacy among conflicting parties and is used to influence political structures during conflicts.[113] Track two diplomacy refers to the informal interactions among conflicting actors involved in the influence of public opinion and material resources to resolve a particular conflict dispute.[114] The majority of these actors include activists, opinion leaders, and lobby groups, among others. Track one and a half refers to the public and private interactions of official actors who are brought together to change attitudes and political structures that may cause a conflict.[115] The majority of the scholars agree that this diplomacy track tries to complement track one and track two as it tries to bridge the gap between the two tracks, thus, resolving conflicts.[116]

Since the 1980s, when president Moi took over power after his predecessor's death, he maintained the multilateralism agenda as his forerunner, President Jomo Kenyatta. His foreign policy focused more on peace diplomacy across international systems, specifically in the Greater Horn of Africa region. He left a remarkable legacy in Sudanese peace processes that

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[113] Jose Calvet De Magalhaes, *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1988), CCXIV.
[114] Vamik D Volkan, 'Official and Unofficial Diplomacy: An Overview', *The Psychodynamic of International Relationships: Unofficial Diplomacy at Work, Edited by VD Volkan, D. Julius, and J. Montville. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books*, 2 (1991).
[115] Jeffrey Mapendere, 'Consequential Conflict Transformation Model, and the Complementarity of Track One, Track One and a Half, and Track Two Diplomacy', *Atlanta, GA: The Carter Center*, 2000.
[116] Jeffrey Mapendere, 'Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks', *Culture of Peace Online Journal*, 2005.

culminated through the signing of CPA 2005. President Moi used Track One and the special envoy led by General Sumbeiywo in the peace talks held in Egypt. Presidents Moi and Hosni Mubarak worked together with the Sudanese warring parties to develop an amicable solution to end the 22-year conflict. Although President Moi was facing domestic crises, he was able to formulate a successful peace agreement that led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.[117]

Most of the respondents acknowledged that track one and track two diplomacies pursued by the Kenyan government in South Sudan have been effective, but there is a need to refocus more on track two diplomacy due to the involvement of many actors in the 21st-century diplomacy. Some of these actors include media professionals, women, and youth. Track one was a key instrument that led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011 after a series of negotiations that lasted for more than five years after signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005. This clearly showed that track one involved a few people who could implement the agreement, although some groups, such as the youth and women, were not actively involved. Two years after independence, the newly independent country on the planet started having domestic crises due to disagreements between President Kiir and his former deputy president Machar.[118] Implementing peace agreements and forming alliances that can foster peace diplomacy should also influence domestic actors as they assist in inclusion and diversity. This means that if women and youth in South Sudan are involved in the peace agreements, then the implementation will be successful; thus, lasting cohesion will be built between the domestic and foreign policies of a nation. Track two tends to be inclusive compared to track one, as many parties are involved in mediation processes and negotiations.[119] One respondent stated that:

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[117] Patrick Muthengi Maluki and Wilfred Nasong'o Muliro, 'How Moi Put Foreign Policy at the Centre of His Presidency', 2020.

[118] Sophie Desmidt, Philomena Apiko, and Karl Sævarsson, *Women and Mediation in Africa under the APSA and the AGA* (Discussion Paper 217). Maastricht: ECDPM, 2017).

[119] Andrew Hurrell and others, *Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States* (Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2000).

> *"The ongoing process seems to have borne some fruit. However, some Track I processes in the past also failed. Track II processes have not been institutionalised; thus, they have lacked a proper basis of operation. The Government of SS has failed to adopt an inclusive process, for example, by involving civil society in its peace activities. This has led to citizens and their groups being largely left out of the peace processes."*

For example, recent research by Dayal and Christien conducted in 2017 stated that 60 per cent of global negotiations and mediations were conducted by women who heavily influenced both track one and track two diplomacy concerning conflict resolution. In South Sudan, women groups were involved in mobilizing agreements both at the local and regional levels. They helped forge coalitions that sensitized people about peace at the grassroots level, thus enhancing peace diplomacy in the domestic arena.[120] The case study of Liberia and Afghanistan best illustrates how women played a key role in legitimizing the formal peace agreements signed by their sovereign governments. The government of Kenya should also apply this collaboration between track one and track two diplomacies as it tries to bring sustainable peace in South Sudanese land.

In addition, track two also accommodates youth participation as of the essential actors in peace mediation and negotiation processes. In most Horn of African states involved in peace processes, youth tend to have more power due to their numbers and capability to influence decisions and legitimize them if they are engaged in peace processes. Successful peace talks must involve the youth as they can reduce mistrust among warring parties and forge a solid foundation in matters concerning peace and security. UNSC Resolution 2250 acknowledges the vital role of young people in issues concerning peace and security, which suggests that for any state to attain sustainable peace, youth must be involved.[121] Kenya and South Sudan have failed to apply track two diplomacy in their peace agreements. It has caused the formation of

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[120] Anjali Kaushlesh Dayal and Agathe Christien, 'Women's Participation in Informal Peace Processes', *Global Governance*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02601002>.
[121] 'Un Security Council Resolutions', in *The Cyprus Issue*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755622252.0010>.

unsustainable peace due to the illegitimate peace agreements in their domestic policies and the existence of mistrust amongst citizens and their leaders. Both Nations have experienced the signing of peace accords but thereafter experienced conflicts due to the implementation of track one diplomacy without integrating track two diplomacy to complement it.[122] One respondent commenting on the effectiveness of Track 1 and Track 2 in South Sudan stated:

> *"Yes. To the extent that they have brought momentary peace in South Sudan. They, however, need different enforcement strategies for the peace to hold."*

For instance, the CPA 2005 that led to a referendum conducted in 2011 and the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement of 2015 clearly shows the need to invest more in grassroots initiatives, institutional building, and cultivate the spirit of unifying ethnic groups in South Sudan. Diversity can be used to build communities and empower the people rather than tearing them apart. After their independence in 2011 that ended the 22-year conflict between the north and the south, two years later, another conflict arose between the two ethnic groups of South Sudan, which left 2 million people displaced and 400,000 killed as a result of the skirmishes.[123] Sustainability is needed during peace negotiations to build firm foundations that will ensure a long-term solution to the challenges that affect the majority of the groups. Track two offers a sustainable solution as it tries to resolve existing challenges. In 2004, the Sudan Council of Churches greatly influenced peace negotiations held in Lokichogio and Kisumu. They were perceived to be influential in persuading both conflicting groups in the North and South to embrace peace. The GoK collaborated with the Council of Churches by offering an enabling environment that helped sign the CPA 2005. These informal meetings encouraged both groups to embrace the slogan of One nation, One tribe, One tongue.[124]

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[122] Ali Altiok and Irena Grizelj, 'We Are Here . We Are HERE . WE ARE HERE !', *Office of the Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth*, 2019.

[123] UN, 'Building Peace in South Sudan: Progress, Problems, and Prospects', *Journal of Peace and Conflict*, 2017.

[124] John Ashworth and Maura Ryan, '"One Nation from Every Tribe, Tongue, and People": The Church and Strategic Peacebuilding in South Sudan', *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 10.1 (2013), 47–67.

The failure to use track two and the lack of functional institutions and underrepresentation of the key groups mentioned above in peace negotiations can lead to the emergence of non-state armed actors. They are illegitimate actors who use violence to pass across their arguments and force them to attain their ultimate goals. This has been evident in South Sudan, as many rebel groups are young people who lack empowerment and education. There is a need to pursue inclusivity and liberal tendencies in the political and economic spheres to achieve sustainable peace.[125]

Kenya and South Sudan should also embrace implementing peace processes and negotiations through sports activities and other mechanisms that can foster faster cohesion among local communities. The example of Tegla Loroupe, who used sports during the 2016 Olympics to unify refugees in the Kakuma camp, among other refugee camps, acted as a unifying factor in peacebuilding in South Sudan. Her influence in sports created a conducive environment for other actors to develop a desire to implement some of the peace treaties agreed upon in the Addis Ababa Peace Treaty in 2015.[126] In addition, Haile Gebreselassie's influence in sports also contributed to the development of peace communication between the Ethiopian government and the warring parties in the Tigray region. This effort led to the implementation of ceasefire agreements that brought some sense of calmness.[127] Track two should be implemented as it actively brings unity through influential personalities involved in peace processes. There is a need for coordination between track one and track two to achieve peace and sustainable development, which can be achieved through information and resource sharing, collaborative strategizing, and collaboration through partnerships between conflicting parties.

[125] Claudia Hofmann and Ulrich Schneckener, 'Engaging Non-State Armed Actors in State-and Peace-Building: Options and Strategies', *International Review of the Red Cross*, 2011 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383112000148>.
[126] UNHCR, 'Ambassador Tegla Loroupe Honoured as UN Person of the Year in Kenya – UNHCR Kenya', 2016.
[127] PDC Peace and Development Center, *Ethiopia Peace and Development Center Report*, *Αγαη*, 2019.

Collaboration is a major component as it fosters cooperation between different actors in diplomacy and peace mechanisms.[128]

Finally, the media practitioners and professionals have also been categorized under track two diplomacy. It is estimated that a third of the younger generation in the African continent can access technological innovations through handheld devices. Preventative diplomacy can bring these technological revolutions to prevent violence to impact states and communities ravaged by war positively. Through the ministry of foreign affairs, governments can use this channel to spread innovative diplomacy and peace diplomacy, hence cultivating interstate relations in the Horn of African region. Media and civil societies should collaborate with sitting governments so as to ensure that peace is cultivated by all actors involved in foreign policy and peace diplomacy of a nation.[129]

President Kenyatta showed his commitment to building sustainable peace in the Republic of South Sudan by nominating former Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka to head his special envoy in South Sudan. Track one diplomacy was used to build a peace partnership between two major political actors, Salva Kiir and Riak Machar. His influence has somehow helped bring calmness and a power-sharing agreement that was forged in 2018.[130]

In conclusion, the impact of the tracks of diplomacy as applied by the Kenyan government to enhance peace in South Sudan has been effective. Track one was famously used by President Moi's regime in conjunction with General Sumbeiywo to foster peace through the signing of CPA 2005 that later led to South Sudan's independence. The eruption of internal conflicts in 2013 that led to the Addis Ababa Agreement of 2015 indicated that there is a need for

[128] Ronald Fisher, 'Coordination Between Track Two and Track One Diplomacy in Successful Cases of Prenegotiation', *International Negotiation*, 2006 <https://doi.org/10.1163/157180606777835775>.
[129] Francesco Mancini and Marie O'Reilly, 'New Technology and the Prevention of Violence and Conflict', *Stability*, 2013 <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.cp>.
[130] Ian Omondi, 'Uhuru Appoints Kalonzo Musyoka Special Envoy to South Sudan - Citizentv.Co.Ke', 2019.

collaboration between track one and track two diplomacies to enhance interstate relations between Kenya and South Sudan. Track two is key as it encourages inclusion, thus legitimizing peace agreements and the use of other actors such as the media in matters concerning foreign policy and diplomacy. Failure to that, the existing peace agreements will not achieve their full purpose due to the exclusion of key groups that can assist in the maintenance of peace and security. The majority of these groups must be included to achieve sustainable peace that will impact the present generation without compromising future generations.

3.3 Working with the Civil Society in Implementing Peacebuilding Strategies

Community-Based Organizations (CBO) are a group of informal and non-state actors with limited resources that can assist them in performing their mandate effectively, especially in areas where the government cannot fully perform its functions. These essential groups can work hand in hand with the government through mediation, human rights, and development strategies which are often voluntary, collective, and non-profit oriented. This section illustrates the role of CSOs and their strategy in peacebuilding in collaboration with governments affected by conflicts. Some of the civil societies that have impacted peacebuilding in South Sudan include Justice Africa, New Sudan Council of Churches, and the South Sudan Law Society (SSLS).[131]

All of the respondents agreed that CSOs have a greater role in enhancing peace diplomacy in the Horn of Africa region. Some of the key functions of these essential groups include human rights advocacy, mediation, and development projects independent from those of the state. CSOs can facilitate ownership of local conflict among the communities in South Sudan, and they can significantly assist in the development of local communities through the provision of

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[131] Africa Peace Forum, InterAfrica Group, Saferworld, "Enhancing Sudanese Civil Society Participation In Peace-Building", Sudan Policy Dialogue Nairobi: Safeworld, 2005, https://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/Sudan%20Policy%20Dialogue%20seminar%20report.pdf.

education, civic education, and creating an essential link between the government and the locals.[132] These groups can initiate partial insider mediation depending on the issues at hand. Their diversity and inclusive nature can easily enhance trust among conflicting parties. Kenya and South Sudan should try using this type of mediation, especially in implementing peace agreements, to enhance sustainable peace.[133] For example, in the Addis Ababa Peace Treaty that brought together two political rivals, Kiir and Machar, civil society groups were not given full power to articulate their concerns during the peace negotiation processes. One of the respondent's views on the significance of partial insider mediation in conflict resolution highlighted that,

> *"Insider partial mediators would be better placed by virtue of being part of the conflict. They tend to be individuals held in high esteem, thereby bringing their influence to the negotiating table."*

Another respondent stated that,

> *"There are advantages and disadvantages in employing this strategy of mediation. Often, many parties to a conflict have little faith in the success of mediation unless it is structured to address their concerns fully. They may not easily adopt a give-and-take posture in mediation. Two, mutual suspicion regarding the motives of the protagonists also acts to destroy confidence in mediation processes. Three, lack of good faith, which, for example, has been witnessed in South Sudan where agreements are not implemented the way they have been structured."*

Research shows that when CSOs are actively involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements, the solutions tend to last. Nepal used this strategy and brought a positive impact on its peace diplomacy at the domestic level.[134] Collaboration with other actors such as the state and regional institutions is important as it can intensify the social cohesion among warring

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[132] Safeworld, 'Support for Local Peacebuilding Is Critical for the Future of South Sudan - News and Resources - Saferworld', 2019 <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/news-and-analysis/post/838-support-for-local-peacebuilding-is-critical-for-the-future-of-south-sudan> [accessed 19 September 2021].
[133] P Kagwanja, 'Enhancing Capacity for Regional Peace and Security through Peace Operations Training', *Issue Briefs Series, Issue No. 5, Third Quarter*, 2013.
[134] Iffat Idris, 'Support for Civil Society Engagement in Peace Processes', 2019.

parties. West Africa serves as the best example as the CSOs in Mali collaborated with ECOWAS and the government in finding a sustainable solution in 2015.[135]

The respondents also advocated for the human security approach as it remains one of the key contributors of interstate conflicts in the horn of Africa region. CSOs can contribute to implementing peace agreements that can bring people-to-people relations to enhance sustainable development at the grassroots level. For example, the South Sudan Civil Society Coalition has collaborated with the UN to uncover the human rights violations and atrocities committed by rebel groups and spoilers who are directly involved in matters concerning government and its operations in 2015-2019.[136] One of the respondents stated that,

> *"Horn states have emphasised military approaches to resolving conflicts. They have failed to fully embrace the human security approach, which is more wholesome, and demands that the material conditions of citizens are considered in dealing with peace. Amid corruption claims in nearly all the countries, governments have failed the economy and job creation tests. Thus, poverty and want continue to characterise the conditions of Horn of Africa citizens."*

In the Horn of Africa region, peace diplomacy and interstate relations can only be enhanced when CSOs are given enabling surroundings to perform their functions effectively without any economic or social barriers.[137] For example, they can assist Kenya and South Sudan in the fight against corruption by sensitizing the public on the diverse effects of this scourge and participating in policies that will curb the vice.[138] Empowering CSOs can greatly assist the favourable building of the image of a state at home and abroad due to the inclusivity and involvement of many actors in the foreign policy decision-making processes. Corruption and authoritarian regimes are some of the key thematic areas where CSOs can play a greater role

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[135] Gaudence Nyirabikali, 'OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACEBUILDING IN MALI', *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, 2016.
[136] Kenya Human Rights Commission, *Civil Society Coalition on Kenya's 2nd Universal Periodic Review (CSCK-UPR)-Advocacy Charter*, 2019.
[137] IGAD, 'East Africa Civil Society Organizations Hub', 2017, 1–8.
[138] Ndifon Neji, 'Civil Society Organisations and Peacebuilding: A Functional Perspective', *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*, 2018.

in implementing government policies at the grassroots level. Given this chance, they can enhance the government's legitimacy in promoting democracy, human rights, and transparency concerning public relations and diplomacy. Both countries have been poorly ranked in Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2020) [139]; thus, there is a need for their respective governments to work with CSOs in these particular areas. Collaboration between these two actors can intensify inclusion and hence encourage the implementation of policies at the grassroots level, thereby enhancing peace. For example, UNICEF partnered with CSOs in the field of education in Sudan in search of common interest between the two conflicting communities, the Dinka and the Misseriya, by building schools that served as a unifying factor, therefore, encouraged the implementation of peace agreements formulated in 2005. This created a sense of inclusion and empowerment among the local communities living within the disputed area.[140]

Conflicting interests among the state actors in the Horn of Africa region have made it difficult to find an amicable solution to peace in South Sudan. Uganda, Kenya, and Sudan have involved themselves in South Sudan's internal affairs by supporting rival groups, thus making peacebuilding difficult. There is a need to develop a regional policy that will enhance peace diplomacy and interstate relations. Good governance across the region can be embraced by formulating favourable acts of parliament that would empower international NGOs. These actors can help create a neutral environment when states take active sides in a particular conflict in the region.[141]

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[139] Transparency International, '2020 - CPI - Transparency.Org', 2020
<https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nzl> [accessed 10 September 2021].
[140] Department for InternationalDevelopment, 'Building Peaceful States and Societies: A DFID Practice Paper' (Department for International Development London, 2010).
[141] Anita Ernstorfer, 'Peacebuilding Networks and Alliances in Kenya: A Retrospective Look at Collective Peacebuilding Effectiveness', *CDA Collaborative Learning Projects*, 2018.

In conclusion, the republic of Kenya and South Sudan should double their efforts in empowering CSOs, especially in foreign policy and diplomacy. Favourable and enabling environments can be built by formulating acts of parliament that can finance their activities and equip them with functional approaches at the grassroots level. Diplomacy cannot be enhanced without the involvement of CSOs since the 21st century diplomacy demands the participation of many non-state actors. Decision-making processes can be done from the grassroots level as the younger generations tend to be proactive in matters concerning their state's cohesion. State actors should not perceive CSOs as opposition but should perceive them with the lens of actors who want to formulate policies that bring positive change in their domestic and international arena. States should cultivate the separation of power to achieve the intended goals in the field of peace diplomacy and interstate relations across the region.

3.4 Government of Kenya's Focus on Elite-Driven Peacebuilding Strategies

This section illustrates the role played by the government of Kenya in enhancing peace diplomacy in South Sudan. It highlights the elite-driven strategies that have been implemented by the South Sudanese government in the enhancement of peace as well as recommends other approaches that can foster unity and diversity across the region.

The majority of the respondents agreed that elite-driven peace strategies had promoted exclusion, especially among people living within the territories affected by ethnic and tribal hatred. One of the respondents argued that,

> *"If the grassroots people are engaged and are made to understand that they are the ones losing and dying, they will become passive against any moves to be mobilized to attack into war. It would greatly help isolate and mobilize the grassroots in matters that bring them together such as socio-economic amenities and water."*

Another respondent also stated that,

> *"Peace processes that are grounded in the needs and grievances of the general population tend to be more successful than those that are only geared towards meeting the interests of the elite. Citizens ordinarily do not go out of their way to cause conflict*

with the citizens of other states. It is the interests of the elite that engineer inter-state conflicts. Citizen processes (social, economic) such as trade, intermarriages, etc., tend to foster peace and understanding between states."

The GoK has focused more on elite-driven peace strategies (track one), which have intensified the politics of the social status in South Sudan. In peace negotiations, the collaboration between the elite and the people at the grassroots level is essential. The inability of the government to ensure information sharing and lack of political accountability can worsen conflict situations. Decentralizing development projects is key as it can easily promote good relations between the government and its domestic audience. Creating a conducive environment for the CSOs to work with the public can improve relations between the government and its people. CSOs participate in civic education and translation of peace agreement materials into native languages, thus, building trust and understanding between different actors. In South Sudan, it is perceived that high illiteracy and poverty levels have intensified elite-driven peace strategies, making peace diplomacy difficult to achieve at the grassroots level.[142]

Conflict prevention and early warning systems can be implemented when the two states agree to re-shift their peace strategy and embrace the people-to-people approach. This approach effectively brings trust and understanding among conflicting parties and intensifies empathy due to the early promotion of coexistence and interaction among themselves. Long-term strategies need to be embraced so as to create a sustainable peace agreement that will be able to serve its full purpose. The Sudan government has faced three-generational wars; hence, there is a need to embrace this approach to intensify preventative diplomacy and promote sustainable peace.[143] One of the greatest challenges facing South Sudan in implementing peace diplomacy is the existence of short-term and temporary peace agreements that favour the political elite,

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[142] DFID, 'The Politics of Poverty: Elites, Citizens and States', *DFID Synthesis Paper*, 2010.
[143] C M M USAID, *People-to-People Peacebuilding: A Program Guide* (USAID/DCHA/CMM, Washington, DC, 2011).

who are few.[144] This situation makes it difficult for mediators to find a long-term solution as the agreements are forged according to the interests at hand.[145] The CPA agreement of 2005 was considered the most remarkable achievement attained by the two rivals, but its implementation was hindered by the unfavourable surroundings and environment that made it difficult to implement the peace agreement.[146] After South Sudan's independence in 2011, the two rival ethnic groups continued to battle due to mistrust, conflict of natural resources (oil), and lack of functional institutions that could help resolve the conflicts.[147]

In addition, there has been a disconnect between military, political elite, and South Sudan citizens in the formulation and implementation of peace agreements. The top-bottom approach has been embraced in the peace agreement, thus leading to unsustainable peace due to the frequent wars experienced in South Sudan after independence. The military and political elites negotiated this peace agreement with their selfish interests, which made it difficult to implement some of the key terms negotiated during the CPA 2005. Some of the terms were providing security for its citizens and building functional institutions that would facilitate democracy and the rule of law.[148] There is a need to distinguish between political sovereignty and the rule of law. Constitutionalism should be given a chance as it illustrates the rule of the law of the land, limiting the elites' power and bestowing more power on the citizens. The inclusion of citizens in peace negotiations can build trust as they can work with CSOs to

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[144] MDG Achievement Fund, 'Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Review', 2013, 42.

[145] Joakim Öjendal, Hanna Leonardsson, and Martin Lundqvist, 'Local Peacebuilding: Challenges and Opportunities', *Stockholm. EBA Report*, 5 (2017).

[146] Katie Smith, 'Building a Constituency for Peace in South Sudan', *Search for Common Ground. November. Http://Www. Sfcg. Org/Wp-Content/Uploads/2017/08/Building-a-Constituency-for-Peace-in-South-Sudan. Pdf*, 2017.

[147] Dan Watson, 'Surface Tension: "Communal" Violence and Elite Ambitions in South Sudan | ACLED', 2021 <https://acleddata.com/2021/08/19/surface-tension-communal-violence-and-elite-ambitions-in-south-sudan/> [accessed 18 September 2021].

[148] Jok Madut Jok, 'Lessons in Failure: Peacebuilding in Sudan/South Sudan', in *The State of Peacebuilding in Africa*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46636-7_20>.

legitimize these peace agreements at the grassroots level.[149] There is a need for the elite to work hand in hand with the CSOs and citizens to attain sustainable peace diplomacy.

The government of Kenya has involved itself in South Sudan's peace agreements, such as the CPA 2005 and the Addis Ababa peace agreement of 2015. These agreements were widely negotiated by the elites from the two conflicting tribes, the Dinka and Nuers. These negotiations concluded in 2018 after the two rival groups agreed to forge a power-sharing agreement among themselves. This mechanism failed to achieve its purpose due to the human security challenges and weak institutions that have not fully fulfilled their mandate. The GoK needs to coordinate local, national, regional, and international leaders in implementing peace diplomacy that will enhance interstate relations across the region.[150] The conflicts often tend to travel over short distances; thus, there is a need to develop proper coordination mechanisms that will bring long-term security solutions and positively impact South Sudan and its neighbours. This can only be achieved when GoK and other negotiators invest in early warning systems to facilitate preventative diplomacy and analyze the optimum time for an intervention.[151]

In conclusion, the GoK should re-strategize its plan of enhancing peace in South Sudan by pursuing the bottom-top approach. The recurring conflicts in South Sudan are clear evidence that working with the elite cannot provide sustainable peace for the present and future generations. The inclusion of local actors will provide sustainable development as local

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[149] Fritz Nganje, 'Local Peace Committees and Grassroots Peacebuilding in Africa', in *The State of Peacebuilding in Africa*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46636-7_8>.

[150] Alliance for Peacebuilding and Peace Direct, 'Local Peacebuilding - What Works and Why', 2021 <https://www.peaceinsight.org/reports/whatworks/> [accessed 18 September 2021].

[151] David J. Francis, 'Timing and Sequencing of Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Efforts in South Sudan', in *Building Sustainable Peace*, 2016 <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198757276.003.0016>.

communities will feel part and parcel of peace agreements. This will create a sense of ownership in peace challenges faced by South Sudan.

3.5 The Role of the Government of Kenya in Collaboration with Regional Institutions in Enhancing Peacebuilding in South Sudan.

Peacebuilding refers to the process of transforming structures, resolving issues, or other forces that cause conflict through non-violent ways to resolve injustice across national, racial, ethnic, and religious boundaries. The Kenyan government has collaborated with regional institutions such as the AU and IGAD to enhance peace in South Sudan. Article 4 (j) of the AU Act and Article 18 of the IGAD Agreement gives the member states an obligation to intervene in peace and security matters to restore regional order and security.[152] Article 18 gives them the mandate to enter into agreements that will foster regional peace and security.[153] In the Horn of Africa region, Kenya has collaborated with IGAD and AU to maintain international peace and security.

Firstly, the UN has collaborated with the AU in peace and security in various regions across the African continent. They have played a role in the financing of sub-regional institutions in the effort to decentralize some of the structures of the AU at the grassroots level. They have assisted in the coordination and implementation of preventative mechanisms that help in the early detection of conflict resolution matters. Article 52 of the UN Charter decentralizes international peace and security to regional institutions across different continents[154]. For example, in 2008, UNICEF forged an action plan in South Sudan for water supply to unite warring communities during that time. The mandate of the action plan was to build sustainable

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[152] 'Constitutive Act of the African Union', *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 2005 <https://doi.org/10.3366/ajicl.2005.13.1.25>.
[153] K. Isaac Weldesellassie, 'IGAD as an International Organization, Its Institutional Development and Shortcomings', *Journal of African Law*, 2011 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855311000015>.
[154] African Union, '2020 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture African Regional Consultation Report', June, 2020.

peace and facilitate communication between local communities. The collaboration between UNICEF and IGAD member states created an influence of building broken relationships and mending the fragile peace situation in South Sudan.[155] In one of the UN sessions, Secretary General Ban Ki Moon reiterated that African peace and security was one of the top-most priorities in the continent. He emphasized the need to create local ownership of the conflict crises in the horn of Africa region, especially that of South Sudan. This was to be done by forming functional institutions at the local, national, and regional levels.[156] Despite these efforts, the region has continued to experience prolonged conflicts due to conflicting interests among state, non-state, and individual actors. There is a need for the horn of Africa states to refocus on state-building and sustainable peace among warring actors. In addition, the AU has intensified its mandate of promoting peace and security among states in Africa by establishing the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). These include continental early warning systems, the Panel of the Wise, the African Standby Force, and the Peace Fund.[157]

Kenya has effectively collaborated with the AU to maintain the peace of security by participating in the East African Standby Force, which is part and parcel of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC). This mechanism's main objective was to bring stability and peace coexistence among people living within the horn of the African region. There is a need to refocus on the early warning systems and the Wise Panel to enhance sustainable peace diplomacy in South Sudan. For example, the Kampala Convention advocated for the responsibility of states to share the burden of refugees and internally displaced persons across different countries. This was a call of inviting regional institutions such as the IGAD and the

[155] UNICEF, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding, Programming Guide', November, 2016.
[156] United Nations, 'Long-Term Institution-Building, National Ownership Critical to Peacebuilding in Africa, Speakers Stress at Security Council Debate | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases', 2016 <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12465.doc.htm> [accessed 27 September 2021]; Monica Juma and Aida Mengitsu, 'The Infrastructure of Peace in Africa Assessing the Peacebuilding Capacity', September, 2002.
[157] Siphamandla Zondi, 'African Union Approaches to Peacebuilding : Efforts at Shifting the Continent towards Decolonial Peace', *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 2017.

AU to assist in the post-war conflict reconstruction in the horn of Africa countries. Though some states have ratified this convention, Kenya has lagged due to the adverse effects of the protection and hosting of the refugees coming from neighbouring countries such as Somalia and South Sudan. This act has slowed down the collaboration between Kenya and other regional institutions in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. There is a need for a collective approach in the Horn of the Africa region to achieve sustainable peace across different state actors.[158]

Collaboration between regional and sub-regional institutions needs to be more formalized due to the increased cases of intra and inter-state conflicts across the region. Ad hoc frameworks have been established to facilitate conflict resolution in states such as Somalia and South Sudan. There is a need to develop permanent mechanisms and legally binding agreements that will facilitate collaboration between AU and IGAD.[159] For Kenya to fully collaborate with regional institutions, there is a need to formulate policies in the area of peace diplomacy and interstate relations. Objectivity needs to be observed by the Kenyan government to enhance peace in South Sudan to avoid partiality during negotiations.[160] For instance, after signing the CPA 2005, the South African government collaborated with South Sudan to formulate policies that would enhance great service delivery to its locals. They went on to sign an MOU that established their diplomatic relations between the two nations. In this scenario, peace diplomacy and interstate relations were enhanced through the bilateral approach in conjunction with the peace negotiation processes facilitated by IGAD and the AU. Beyond collaborating with regional institutions, the Kenyan government should emphasize a bilateral approach with

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[158] Charles Obila and Ariadna Pop, 'Reflections on State Experiences in the IGAD Region', *Forced Migration Review*, 65, 2020, 73–76.

[159] Cheryl Hendricks and Amanda Lucey, 'South Africa and South Sudan Lessons for Post-Conflict Development and Peacebuilding Partnerships', 2013.

[160] Amanda Lucey and Berouk Mesfin, 'More than a Chip off the Block: Strengthening IGAD–AU Peacebuilding Linkages', 2016.

other actors such as women, youth, and civil society groups. This will cultivate trust and understanding among warring parties.

In conclusion, collaboration should be emphasized by all actors in matters concerning peace diplomacy and interstate relations. The GoK, in conjunction with the South Sudan government, should help in the facilitation of collaboration with regional institutions such as AU and IGAD. The involvement of multiple actors in the conflicts in the horn of Africa should pave the way for a super-national institution that will assist in the area of early warning systems that will encourage preventative diplomacy across different actors. The AU peace architecture should be decentralized across various sub-regional institutions, which will have an impact at the local level in the final analysis. External funding should be discouraged as it can lead to dependence rather than independence of those actors involved in a conflict.

3.6 Summary of the Key Chapter Findings

Most of the respondents mentioned article 33 of the UN charter as one of the state actors' methods to enhance peace diplomacy and interstate relations. The respondents also mentioned peace education and cultural interaction/exchange to be one of the methods that foreign policymakers can use to enhance peace diplomacy. Though track one diplomacy was mentioned, most of the respondents agreed that there is a need to empower and establish track two diplomacy in matters concerning the conflict in South Sudan. Civil Society groups should also be empowered as they act as a link between the state and the people. There is a need to cultivate the shift from the current top-bottom approach in matters concerning the conflict in the horn of Africa. The bottom-top approach should be implemented due to multiple actors involved in 21st century diplomacy. Permanent frameworks should be established between states and regional institutions in the process of peace negotiations and implementation.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC SECURITY ON PEACE DIPLOMACY

BETWEEN KENYA AND SOUTH SUDAN.

4.0 Introduction

The UN Human Security Report 1994 emphasized the need to re-shift the notion of security from state to the human security approach. According to the report, human security highlights the area of economic security that also impacts peace in many societies across the globe[161]. Economic security refers to the ability of human beings to meet their essential needs sustainably, including clothing, shelter, hygiene, and food[162]. It is linked to peace diplomacy to some extent as it touches the majority of people across the two nations. According to South Sudan's vice president, Rebecca De Mabior, 76% of the South Sudanese population comprises the younger generation[163]. This means that economic security must be prioritized in the bilateral relations between Kenya and South Sudan to attain sustainable peace. This chapter discusses the contribution of economic security to the bilateral relations between Kenya and South Sudan, the geo-economic strategies on peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan and; the impact of liberalism on peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan.

4.1 The Contribution of Economic Security to the Bilateral Relations between Kenya and South Sudan

Economic security has greatly contributed to the bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Sudan. Economic inflation has been one of the main contributors to conflict in South Sudan. The Kenya government has participated in peace diplomacy in South Sudan, including

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[161] UNTFHS, 'Human Security in Theory and Practice, Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security', *Un*, 2009.

[162] ICRC, 'What Is Economic Security? | International Committee of the Red Cross', 2015 <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/introduction-economic-security> [accessed 15 October 2021].

[163] UN, 'South Sudan - Vice President Addresses General Debate, 76th Session | UN Web TV', 2021 <https://media.un.org/en/asset/k1r/k1rpprglpa> [accessed 15 October 2021].

economic mechanisms. A 2018 research study showed that inflation rates in South Sudan had risen by 100-150% [164]. The absence of peace emanating from conflicts among different communities in South Sudan made it to be termed as a reduced city-state. The majority of the respondents agreed that economic security should be prioritized as it cuts across people from different backgrounds. One of the respondents claimed that,

> *"When you force a society to a situation where death and life are equal, anything is possible since they have nothing to lose. But if you inspire a young man to live for the family and career, then recruitment and brainwashing are powerless. Jobs should be created to inspire people."*

Peacebuilding and economic security are interlinked as they all greatly contribute to the wellbeing of different communities and peace diplomacy between different countries. When the economy produces jobs and business opportunities for its people, it enhances growth and sustainable development. Using track two diplomacies in the field of economics helps bring inclusion as there will be equal resource distribution across the public represented at the grassroots level. The absence of war does not mean sustainable peace, but peace is achieved when economic opportunities are given to the majority, access to quality education, meeting their basic needs, and creating conducive environments for business opportunities to thrive. Nairobi and Juba should collaborate in the decentralization of economic progress at the grassroots level. The ruling elite must invest in policies that would show a human face in economic security and peace diplomacy.

Peace in South Sudan is one of the key components in Kenya's diplomacy as Kenya has greatly invested in the air travel and banking industry in South Sudan. This is one of the indicators that Kenya has contributed to economic security in South Sudan. For example, one of the respondents claimed that,

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[164] Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 'Envisioning a Stable South Sudan', 4, 2018.

> *"KQ is like Sudan's national courier. KCB and Equity are more or less the banking sector in S. Sudan. Kenya's diplomatic state with S. Sudan is very important and very strong. S. Sudan was the first to support Kenya with the non-permanent security council seat and also Amina Mohamed in her bid for AU's chairperson seat."*

Suppose the government of Kenya fails to participate in the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy in South Sudan. In that case, its local investors will be adversely affected as they are considered to be one of the major shareholders in S. Sudan. It is assumed that KCB and Equity are the largest banking sector, whereas Kenya Airways (KQ) has also taken routes in that country through several flights a week from Nairobi to Juba. This is a sign that the economic security of S. Sudan has been of the major boost in the Kenyan economy; thus, peace diplomacy is vital between the two nations[165]. For example, in 2021, during the EAC summit, President Kenyatta and his counterpart President Kiir agreed to implement a visa waiver plan between Kenya and S. Sudan. Their citizens were allowed to travel freely across their borders. This was a step toward improving their bilateral trade interactions and relations amongst their citizens. Another example is when South Sudan's Ambassador to Kenya stated that Kenya had been one of her greatest partners in matters concerning trade relations. He highlighted that S. Sudan received goods worth $200 million in 2020, making it the largest trading partner after Uganda in the East African region[166].

On the other hand, regional competitions and narrow interests have negatively influenced economic security between the two states. Some states such as Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia have supported rebel actors in S. Sudan, affecting economic integration and trade[167]. Emphasis should be focused more on the economy to build a regional institution that can promote economic security. Collective action between Kenya and S. Sudan has been hampered

[165] Yutaka Yoshino, Grace Ngungi, and Ephrem Asebe, 'Enhancing the Recent Growth of Cross-Border Trade between South Sudan and Uganda', *World Bank Africa Trade Policy Notes*, 2011.

[166] KTN NEWS, '(5) The Diplomat: Meet the Ambassador of South Sudan to Kenya, Chol Ajongo - YouTube', 2021 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hyPklp5oHAA> [accessed 15 October 2021].

[167] Luka Kuol, 'Navigating the Competing Interests of Regional Actors in South Sudan', *African Center for Strategic Studies, May*, 29 (2018).

by the conflicts and politics happening across the region, leading to the implementation of negative policies that have ravaged the economies of the horn of African countries. For example, one of the respondents highlighted that,

> *"There have been incremental gains in economic cooperation and economic growth. Regional integration initiatives have been the most important when it comes to cementing these gains. However, the states in the Horn of Africa are far from achieving economic security where some states continue to rely on external budget support while others have borrowed heavily to sustain their economies."*

In addition, economic security and peace diplomacy can be greatly achieved through the facilitation of movement of people first, then the movement of goods. This can be done through the building of infrastructure that can connect Kenya and S. Sudan. S. Sudan being a landlocked country, can harness the Kenyan potential through its coast in the transportation of goods and services. For example, the initiative by Kenya, S. Sudan, and Ethiopia to construct a pipeline and railway lines that connect the three countries was a major boost in the promotion of economic security and peace. The project aimed to build and strengthen economic relations that will facilitate the movement of people and goods to improve people's living standards across the three countries. The construction of a port in Lamu was also a major boost to Kenya's economy as a collaboration between Kenya and S. Sudan in the oil industry strengthened their bilateral relations and economic diplomacy[168]. Kenya played a vital role in the promotion of peace and security when Northern Uganda and South Sudan engaged in conflict in 2006. The infrastructure that was used belonged to the Kenyan soil in the North-western part (Lokichogio). This infrastructure was used to transport humanitarian aid to the capital city of S. Sudan, Juba. This evidently shows that Kenya is a key link between itself and S. Sudan in economic and peace matters. There is a need to double efforts in infrastructural development between Kenya and S. Sudan to achieve sustainable peace and economic security. Both nations

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[168] Luke M Obala, 'South Sudan and Kenya: The Relationships', *Al Jazeera Centre*, 2012.

have a high number of young people; hence, investing in the movement of people and goods can facilitate job creation and business opportunities[5].

On the other hand, economic security has been hampered by the rigidity of the geopolitical and national interests, which are being spearheaded by state and individual actors between the two nations. One of the respondents claimed that there is not much effect because there is little economic cooperation among the horn of Africa states. In the Horn of Africa region, the majority of the state actors have involved themselves in competing interests that have greatly hindered the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy. The involvement of the state actors in the internal affairs of S. Sudan has hindered the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy. This situation has hindered collective security that promotes economic security and has led to the intensification of the security dilemma that hinders regional integration and peace diplomacy across the region. This clearly shows that the majority of states in the region have not shifted from geopolitical to geo-economics strategies concerning interstate relations[169].

Furthermore, military pacts have prevented cooperation between states, which has intensified the notion of geopolitical alliances and thus prevented the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy in interstate relations. The military pact between S. Sudan and Egypt created a security dilemma between Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia. This greatly hindered open integration in the horn of the Africa region due to the heavy reliance on military and political agreements[170]. Formulation of foreign and regional policies should be restructured to build bilateral relations between Kenya, S. Sudan, and other state actors in the region. The admission of Kenya to the UNSC as a non-permanent member should assist Kenya in bringing

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[169] C. Elowson and A. Lins de Albuquerque, 'Challenges to Peace and Security in Eastern Africa: The Role of IGAD, EAC and EASF', *Studies in African Security*, 2016.
[170] Berouk Mesfin, 'The Regionalisation of the South Sudanese Crisis', 2015.

a democratic transition structure in S. Sudan and implementing the Ceasefire Agreement of 2018. Its economic powerhouse in the region, estimated by the World Bank, should also help shift the geopolitical to a geo-economic situation. All these opportunities should assist Kenya in the enhancement of economic security interest and peace diplomacy in S. Sudan and the Horn of Africa region through the enhancement of bilateral diplomatic relations among different actors[171].

The negative effects emanating from the political crisis in S. Sudan, such as the influx of refugees in Kenya and narrow interests shared among the political elites due to natural resources, have negatively influenced the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy among the larger S. Sudanese population. This has created weak functional institutions in their local economy, hindering the equal distribution of resources among the young people. This has intensified animosity and disharmony due to the lack of connection between the states and their citizens. Kenya investing in S. Sudan should compel the political elites in S. Sudan to shift from political to economic strategies and peacebuilding. This will be a win-win scenario as both states will be able to benefit economically as well as enhance their diplomatic relations with each other[172]. Kenya and S. Sudan must enhance political solutions within the region so as to shun external forces that enhance their own western interests. This will greatly assist in finding a permanent solution in matters concerning Africa's horn and encourage the shift towards economic security and peace diplomacy[173].

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[171] Edmond J. Pamba, 'Kenya Should Reshape Her Foreign Policy to Reflect Changes in the Region – HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies', 2021 <https://horninstitute.org/kenya-should-reshape-her-foreign-policy-to-reflect-changes-in-the-region/> [accessed 21 October 2021].

[172] Aldo Ajou Deng Akuey, 'South Sudan and the Emerging Security Implications for East Africa', *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.13189/ujer.2018.060202>.

[173] Raphael Obonyo, 'Peace in South Sudan Critical to Regional Stability | Africa Renewal', 2014 <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/august-2014/peace-south-sudan-critical-regional-stability> [accessed 23 October 2021].

In conclusion, Kenya has invested in S. Sudan in the banking and air travel industries, which should intensify the contribution of economic security and peace diplomacy towards assisting S. Sudan in the shift from political to economic activities. Economic security can be achieved through improved bilateral relations between the two states as well as building infrastructure that can ease the movement of people and goods across their borders. Peace diplomacy should be embraced so as to avoid internal and external conflicts between state actors and encourage economic integration that thrives in a conducive environment free from inter and intrastate conflicts. Failure to do this will make it difficult for Kenya to maximize profits in that foreign land, as economic security goes hand in hand with peace diplomacy.

4.2 The Geo-Economic Strategies on Peace Diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan

Geo-economics is the process where politics and economics closely interact in interstate relations in a specified geographical relation. IGAD has facilitated the geopolitical strategy in the horn of Africa, whereas in the 21st century, the same institution has closely facilitated the shift to geo-economics due to the rise of geo-economics, regional integration, and other factors such as economic bilateralism amongst state actors in the horn of African region.

Bilateral interactions between Kenya and South Sudan have majorly been boosted by geo-economic strategies existing in the horn of the African region through the institution of IGAD. The investments invested in South Sudan, such as Banking and Air industry, have been greatly boosted by the discovery of oil in the Kenyan land Turkana. This has brought new collaborations between the two nations as South Sudan also has vast experience in matters concerning oil and its trade relations with other opaque nations. President Kenyatta has initiated an infrastructural plan that would bring economic relations between the two nations, for

example, the reconstruction of Kitale-Kapenguria–Lodwar–Nakadok road on the border with South Sudan[174].

"The existence of a geo-economic interest in the horn of the Africa region has been heavily disrupted by the presence of geopolitical strategies emanating from the state actors who consistently are in pursuit of their national interest. Kenya should assist South Sudan in finding Horn of African solutions that are free from external interest such as those of the US and the Middle East."[175]   One of the respondents claimed that,

> *"So long as there is geopolitical security – economic empowerment kicks in. IGAD helped in the independence of S.Sudan, and Kenya moved in to invest. It is now an interest of Kenya to ensure geopolitical stability in S. Sudan. It is much better cooperating, and when a region is united, they can achieve a lot. IGAD is an example. This is a dream that the whole continent should be cooperating in terms of economic development."*

In addition, IGAD has really contributed to the geopolitical space in the horn of the African region in conjunction with the African Union Peace and Security Council. This includes the areas of early warning system and panel of the wise. This notion of geopolitical strategies should intensify geo-economic mechanisms, especially in the field of foreign policies of its member states such as South Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Kenya should greatly contribute to the geo-economic shift of the region through IGAD and other strategies as it has a coastal line that can serve the three nations mentioned above as they are landlocked. Geographical access to the Kenyan Coastal line (Indian Ocean), if used well, can contribute to the economic development of Kenya and S. Sudan[176]. Another respondent with a different view stated that,

> *"IGAD has emphasized geopolitical strategies (peace and security) as opposed to geo-economic strategies. Its contribution to economic security and economic diplomacy is*

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[174] President Uhuru Kenyatta, 'SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY | The Presidency'
<https://www.president.go.ke/2021/10/20/speech-by-his-excellency/> [accessed 4 November 2021].
[175] United States Institute of Peace, *F I N A L R E P O R T A N D R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S O F T H E Senior Study Group on Peace and Security in the Red Sea Arena*, 2020 <www.usip.org>.
[176] Jan Vanheukelom, 'The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa: The AU', *Econ Change Restruct*, 2016.

therefore rather limited. Geopolitical strategies have primarily driven its contribution to peace diplomacy as opposed to geo-economic strategies.”

Similarly, another respondent said,

“Very little of it, if any. IGAD has a little economic effect because it does not deal with trade and investment which constitute a high content of economic diplomacy.”

Kenya, as an Influential member state of IGAD, can use the landlocked factor to implement the geo-economic shift, which can heavily act as a game-changer to other states which are landlocked such as Uganda and Ethiopia, which all belong to the horn of the African region

Geo-economic strategies between the two nations should be built on regional norms that emanate from IGAD. This general standard of behaviour must help in the formulation of policies that will help in the control of goods and services between Juba and Nairobi. This flow of products will help bring favourable terms of trade, thus separating politics and economics. Kenya should assist South Sudan in the weight of favourable options so as to create a constructive comparative advantage in their trading activities[177].

Geo-economic strategies are closely related to regional security and the common market. The bilateral relations between the two nations should go beyond their national interests and aim at influencing the whole of the Africa region. A common market is determined by not easing internal and external barriers between the two nations but also encouraging the rest of the states in the region to do the same. This also depends on the regional security and peace diplomacy of all the nations within that specific region. Acceleration of imports and exports is also key so as to impose a competitive market with the rest of other economic actors and other economic integrations that exist around the world, for example, the EU. IGAD should be empowered as

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[177] Pierre Sauve, 'South Sudan ' s EAC Accession Framing the Issues In Brief', December, 2012.

it has done little concerning geo-economics that intensify economic integration and the facilitation of common markets and regional security[178].

In conclusion, geo-economics goes hand in hand with regional mechanisms such as IGAD. For geo-economics to be successful in the horn of Africa, IGAG must shift from geo-political to geo-economic strategies. This regional mechanism should be accompanied by regional security and a common market. The movement of people and goods, the implementation of features of regional integration such as Preferential Trade Areas (PTA) and Free Trade Areas (FTA) are key. Kenya and S. Sudan should collaborate beyond bilateral relations so as to fully realize the geo-economics dream.

4.3 The Impact of Liberalism on Peace Diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan

Liberalism is a political and social process where the government contributes to the liberty of its citizens. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that the government may itself be a threat to liberty. These aspects of liberalism can contribute to economic security and peace diplomacy by creating conducive environments that can enhance peace between two or more nations. One respondent said that,

> *"Africa dilemma is that we just happen to be free and just fall into the terminologies that feed more of the western world. Our economic order is more community-oriented, and thus it doesn't sit well with Africans to give clear classical definitions and theories that come from the West. Treat the social setting with importance, or hence only those with money will flourish. We should be empowered by looking into how our community works instead of going for purely imported terms that have not undergone research in this side of the world."*

For example, since S. Sudan attained its independence, the battle of supremacy has been evident over the oil production in the country. Due to their selfish interests, other regional actors such as Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia have also been involved in the oil sector. There is a need for S. Sudan and Kenya to assist each other in liberalizing the oil activity without

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[178] Craig Mathieson, 'The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa: The East African Community', *Econ Change Restruct*, 2016.

involving external actors in those activities[179]. The internationalization of liberalism has not been effective in the horn of Africa; hence, there is a need to implement a localized specific approach so as to deal with emergencies occurring. Both the government of Kenya and S. Sudan should implement this approach so as to achieve economic security that will enhance peace diplomacy. Local liberal tendencies should be perceived as they may fit the local communities existing between the two nations. This will facilitate open liberalism that will positively impact the prosperity of the two nations in sectors such as Energy, Agriculture, and Mining[180]. This coincides with one of the respondent's views who stated that,

> *"The liberal order can contribute to peace, but it should be custom made to fit the cultural and political structures that already exist in the region and not copy-paste from the Western liberal order."*

In addition, one of the respondents highlighted that,

> *"To the extent that liberal politics put emphasis on the rights of individual citizens, they are able to create and enhance agency among citizens and therefore their ability to take part in peace processes. This agency among citizens tends to be limited or absent among citizens in authoritarian systems, and it is important in Track II initiatives, which in turn can enhance peace diplomacy. The liberal economic order (free market) tends to create inequalities that also lead to conflicts. But on the other hand, trade between two states can increase cooperation between them thus helping to develop a peaceful atmosphere and coexistence which can increase the success of peace diplomacy in the region."*

Liberalism should go hand in hand with democratic society so as to create a conducive environment for human rights and inclusion of all in decision-making processes. Economic democracy requires the dismantlement of barriers across different states so as to facilitate free trade and the common market, hence, intensifying peace security and peace diplomacy[181].

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[179] Patrick Wight, 'South Sudan and the Four Dimensions of Power-Sharing: Political, Territorial, Military, and Economic', *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.7.2.01>.

[180] Kimberly Howe, Jairo Munive, and Katja Rosenstock, 'Views from the Ground: Perspectives on Localization in the Horn of Africa', *Feinstein International Center, Tufts University & Copen-Hagen: Save the Children Denmark, Boston. Https://Fic. Tufts. Edu/Publication-Item/Perspectives-Onlocalization-in-the-Horn-of-Africa*, 2019.

[181] Dov Samet and David Schmeidler, 'Between Liberalism and Democracy', *Journal of Economic Theory*, 2003 <https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-0531(03)00080-2>.

Governments should shy away from authoritarian regimes as it discourages economic democracy and liberalism tendencies. The impact of liberalism can only be felt if there is a political will to do so. Apart from the customization of liberalism (homegrown), citizens should be involved to feel part and parcel of the government rather than infringement of their liberty[182].

In conclusion, the impact of liberalism between Kenya and S. Sudan can only be enhanced by the facilitation of economic democracy, open market, and societies. Liberalism facilitates economic security through the creation of conducive surroundings where market forces flow and governments are accountable for protecting their people and jealously guarding the liberty of their citizens. This act will enhance economic prosperity among its people and should be cultivated by enacting local laws that are favourable to economic security, peace diplomacy, and economic diplomacy. Failure to do this can intensify wars as most young people will not have jobs that facilitate their empowerment.

4.4 Summary of the Key Chapter Findings

Economic security is part of the Human Security Approach advocated by UNDP in 1994. The two governments should emphasize economic security as it greatly empowers citizens across the two nations. 73.6% of the S. Sudanese population are young; hence, bilateral relations between the two countries should focus on this essential group. IGAD should be empowered in the field of geo-economic strategies as it can greatly assist in achieving economic security between the two countries. Kenya and S. Sudan being of IGAD, should facilitate the shift from geo-political to geo-economic strategies so as to create a conducive environment for economic security and peace diplomacy in the horn of Africa region.

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[182] Viktor J. Vanberg, 'Liberalism and Democracy: Legitimacy and Institutional Expediency', *Public Choice*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-021-00873-2>.

The impact of liberalism should be customized and localized to fit the Kenyan and S. Sudanese cultures and local communities to address specific emergencies that will benefit the Horn of Africa states. This should go hand in hand with democratic regimes as it is difficult for liberalism tendencies to work together with authoritarian administrations. Having done this, the liberal school of thought can assist in enhancing economic security between Kenya and S. Sudan.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This research aimed to study the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations between Kenya and S. Sudan. Its findings, conclusions, and recommendations are based on the trends of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations in the Horn of Africa region, the effectiveness of the approaches used by the government of Kenya to enhance peace in S. Sudan, and the influence of economic security on peace diplomacy between Kenya and S. Sudan.

5.1 Summary of the Key Findings

Regarding the first objective of this study which was to examine the trends of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations in the horn of Africa, the majority of the states in the region need to put more emphasis on the implementation of the UN principles as they interact with other state actors concerning state relations to avoid conflicts that can be resolved through peaceful diplomacy. Democratic principles need to be emphasized so as to avoid authoritarian regimes that directly and indirectly fuel interstate conflicts. There is also a need to double efforts on matters concerning peace diplomacy. It can help solve conflicts that are challenging to address through other conflict resolution mechanisms such as war. For example, peace diplomacy is the most efficient method for addressing border disputes and the clash of civilizations. It is necessary for states to give some of their power to international and regional regimes as it can greatly contribute to the implementation of peace agreements, for example, the UN and IGAD. Lastly, there are no clear ideologies in the horn of African states' craftmanship to a country's foreign policies across the board but are characterized by the pursuit of selfish interests of a few powerful individuals.

Several findings were deduced from the second objective, which was to assess the effectiveness of the approaches used by the government of Kenya to enhance peace in South Sudan. The

government of Kenya has emphasized more on the formal track one diplomacy, which is characterized by the representation of a few individuals. There is a need to emphasize the informal track two diplomacies that accommodate many individuals ranging from civil society groups, the general public, technocrats, and the top diplomats. The study also established that civil society groups need to be actively involved in peace diplomacy together with their respective governments (Kenya and S. Sudan) to create a more sustainable environment that will cultivate peace. There should also be more collaboration between the two governments and IGAD in peace matters to create a sense of accountability in the peace agreement implementation processes. Lastly, the study unveiled that Article 33 of the UN Charter explicitly stipulates state actors' approaches in conflict resolution. This research identified two more approaches that state actors need to focus on: peace education and cultural interaction and exchange to create awareness on the adverse effects of war and benefits on peace diplomacy among different actors.

Based on the third objective, the effectiveness of economic security on peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan, the study determined that economic security plays a significant role in enhancing peace diplomacy between the two states. Economic security happens to be a sub-component of the UNDP human security approach report 1994; thus, there is a need to emphasize this vital component to provide jobs for the majority of individuals affected by interstate conflicts to cultivate positive peace enhance fulfilled lives. The study showed that IGAD, as a regional institution, has focused more on political tendencies, and there is a need for the body to shift to the economic sphere to facilitate and intensify economic diplomacy, which is being championed by powerful non-state actors, such as, Coca-Cola and Google. Finally, there is a need to shun western liberal values and cultivate custom liberal economic tendencies that will suit, resolve, and enhance the ability of the respective local communities in the horn of Africa region.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, the majority of the conflicts in the horn of Africa region are a result of not implementing the UN principles that support peace diplomacy, while others are due to border conflicts and natural resources shared among different states. The existence of authoritarian regimes supported by dictatorial leaders who do not support democratic principles, diplomacy, and the rule of law also contributes to interstate conflicts. The study found that most of the horn of Africa states have not prioritized diplomacy as their primary conflict resolution mechanism, but they resort to hard power through military action that escalates into wars leading to loss of lives and displacement of people. This is the rampant influx of refugees into neighbouring states, which worsens ethnic animosity and thus increases poverty levels through the marginalization of minority ethnic groups.

The study revealed that the government of Kenya pursues mediation, negotiation, and fact findings as part of the approaches to formulate and implement peace agreements in S. Sudan. To some extent, these approaches achieved their intended purposes as they helped to strike the 2005 CPA agreement into action. However, despite these efforts, wars still continued in S. Sudan post the 2005 agreement; hence, there is a need to pursue peace education and cultural exchange and interactions to create sustainable peace.

In addition, economic security plays a key role in peace diplomacy as it helps create job opportunities and empowers the marginalized. Cultivating this tendency hugely creates a conducive environment for peace diplomacy as many people will be empowered, especially the younger generation, making it difficult to brainwash them into conflict. Geo-economic strategies have made it possible to establish and maintain foreign direct investments, which are majorly supported by powerful non-state actors and thus, contribute to economic security and eventually peace diplomacy between Kenya and South Sudan. Lastly, western liberal tendencies have not nurtured huge impacts on the economy of the two states.

5.3 Recommendations

For the horn of Africa states to achieve maximum peace diplomacy, there is a need to cultivate political goodwill in the adherence of the UN principles in their foreign policy formulation and implementation processes. This should go hand in hand with creating a regional regime that can facilitate regional integration and cohesion among all state and non-state actors. Peace diplomacy should be used as the first option in conflict resolution situations and shun from using hard power to pursue selfish interests. More emphasis should be put on the peaceful transfer of power and forging ad hoc institutions that can address and resolve the present needs at hand.

There is a need to involve the ministry of education in the foreign policy mechanisms, such as in the field of the national security council and the national advisory security committee. This will, in turn, support peace education which will go a long way in facilitating peace diplomacy and interstate relations. Cultural exchange should also be emphasized to learn from the adverse effects of war and encourage positive peace, hence making war a door of no return.

Finally, a long-term economic plan should be forged by the governments to create an economic framework that will be used by statesmen in the creation of economic security and peace diplomacy between the two states. This will help to forge a clear framework that can help generate jobs from one administrative tenure to the other.

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Appendix 1: Research Interview Guide
INTRODUCTION

Dear Respondent,

I am Vincent Omondi, a Master of Arts (Diplomacy) student at the University of Nairobi.

This interview guide is meant to collect data for an academic research on the role of peace diplomacy in enhancing interstate relations in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Kenya and South Sudan Relations. The research will be in the fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Diplomacy.

Your input is greatly appreciated and the information obtained shall be treated with utmost confidentially

<u>INTERVIEW GUIDE</u>

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible and to the best of your knowledge.

Career Details

1. **Profession**

2. **Organization/Institution and Position**

3. **Experience Period**

Objective 1: The Trend of Peace Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa Region.

A (I) State the major causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa region

A (II) Do you think the Clash of Civilizations has contributed to the interstate conflicts in the Horn of Africa region?

A (III) Do you think the Horn of Africa states have ideologies? If Yes, have the ideological differences contributed to the interstate conflicts? How?

A (IV) The UN has explicitly expressed the general principles that govern nations across the globe. In your opinion, have these principles been implemented in the Horn of Africa Region?

B (I) Do you think the pursuit of peace diplomacy can be a long term solution to the interstate conflicts in the horn of Africa region?

B (II) IGAD has been one of the institutions trying to bring stability in the region. Do you think it has performed well in its mandate? Rate in a range of 1-10

Poorly 1-10 excellent

C (I) Do you think the rule of law has helped to bring stability in the region?

   1- Strongly agree 2. Agree, 3 Disagree, 4 Strongly Disagree

C (II) Creation of a regional regime can assist in the promotion of stability in the Horn of Africa Region. Yes/No. Explain

C (III) Are you satisfied with the role played by the GoK in facilitating the interstate relations with South Sudan? Explain your answer

Objective 2: The Effectiveness of the Approaches used by the Government of Kenya to enhance peace in South Sudan.

A (I) What approaches can facilitate interstate relations?

A (II) Track 1 and Track 2 Diplomacy have been used to bring peace in South Sudan by the GoK. Do you think they have been effective?

A (III) Human security approach has been emphasized by the United Nations (UNDP Report 1994). In your opinion, do you think the Horn of Africa states have paid enough attention to this approach? Explain

B (I) Do you think insider partial mediator can be of great significance in the resolution of interstate conflicts? Explain

B (II) The implementation of Bottom Top approach can facilitate resolution of interstate conflicts in the Horn of Africa region. Do you agree with this statement? Comment on the same

Objective 3: The Influence of Economic Security on the Bilateral Relations of Kenya and South Sudan.

   I.   In your view, can the liberal political and economic order contribute to peace diplomacy in the greater horn of the Africa region?

  II.   Has the Horn of Africa region shifted from geopolitical to geo-economic strategies and peace diplomacy? Expound

 III.   Do you think IGAD has contributed to economic security (economic diplomacy) and peace diplomacy in the region? If Yes, in which ways

  IV.   What are the effects of the Horn of Africa Cooperation in as far as the economic security of the states is concerned?

   V.   Is economic insecurity one of the major causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa Region?

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Mobile: 0713 788 787 / 0735 404 245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke /
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