

**POLITICAL REGIMES, PUBLIC OPINION AND DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA AND UGANDA'S  
BILATERAL RELATIONS (1986-2002)**

**By**

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**R50/70333/2007**

**This project is submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in International Studies Degree.**

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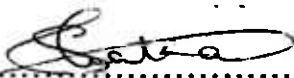
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**Declaration**

I Lewela Magdalene Mashaka hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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## **Abstract**

Political regimes are the structural framework through which a country is governed and through which political processes are established. Political regimes influence how a country is governed. Political regimes formulate the policies of a country and implement the policies. Political regimes have different characteristics that distinguish one regime from another. These characteristics will influence the decisions made and how the decisions are implemented. Public opinion differs from country to country. In some countries public opinion is important in influencing the running of the government while in others public opinion plays an insignificant role in influencing the government's functions.

Diplomatic relations are the relations of states in regards to their diplomacy. Foreign missions and the sending of ambassadors to other countries reflect the way diplomatic relations are carried out. The president, ministry of foreign affairs and other departments play a role in the diplomatic relations of a country. The diplomatic relations are moulded by the ruling political regime. The political regime sets the agenda for foreign policy.

Most studies have concentrated on political regimes and public opinion in the context of other international relation topics; however political regimes and public opinion have not been studied as the main variables in comparing the bilateral diplomatic relations of states. This study is the outcome of an ongoing interest in how domestic politics shape what nations do in international affairs.

## **Abbreviations**

**EAC- East African Community**

**EACSO- East African Common Services Organization**

**DP- Democratic Party of Kenya**

**FEM- February Eighteenth Movement**

**FORD- Forum for Restoration of Democracy**

**ICRC- International Committee of the Red Cross**

**IPPG- Inter- Parties Parliamentary Group**

**KANU-Kenya Africa National Union**

**NCCK- National Council of Churches of Kenya**

**NRA- National Resistance Army**

**NRM- National Resistance Movement**

**UASU- Universities Academic Staff Union**

**WTO- World Trade Organisation**

## **Dedication**

*This research is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather Jesmail Lewela, whose love for education was inspiring; he surely would have cherished the effort put in this study.*

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I want to express my gratitude to those who have had the most enduring influence on my research. My appreciation goes to my supervisor Ms Anita Kiamba, through whom I received consistent direction and focus on this project.

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My deepest debts are to my father Retired colonel Chard Lewela, mother Evangelist Edith Lewela, sisters and brothers, Maria, Andrew, Charity and Vigodi who without the love and support this sustained effort would never have been possible. I thank them for the support.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

The political regime of a country constitutes all the political processes and mechanisms that enable the running of the government. Political processes are the ways in which political rules, norms, methods and modes of interaction are established and maintained, and changed. The importance of regimes on a country has been described by Chazan et al as reflecting both the many constraints and the variegated options open to African citizens and leaders since independence.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, a political regime also performs the function of providing the structural framework within which resources are authoritatively allocated.<sup>2</sup>

According to Bratton and Hyden, regimes determine who has access to political power and they structure the relations between those in and out of power. Some regimes facilitate a political transition process that leads to a more democratic order while others reinforce more autocratic tendencies.<sup>3</sup> The type of regime determines the rules governing power alternation and state-society relations. For example a regime type characterized by the formal rules of the political game that are based on popularly accepted principles of participation and sovereignty, the foundation is laid for a functioning democracy.<sup>4</sup>

Political regimes are made up of variables that shape their behavior and attitude. These variables form the characteristics of the political regime and their conduct or behavior. It has been suggested, alternatively, that leadership styles, corporatist

<sup>1</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, (USA, Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1992) p 133-150

<sup>2</sup> Easton David, *A system analysis of political life*, (New York: Wiley Publishers, 1965)

<sup>3</sup> Hyden Goran, *Governance and the study of politics in Africa*, (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1992) p 6

<sup>4</sup> Okumu Wafula and Kaiser Paul eds, *Democratic transition in Africa*, (England: Ashgate, 2004) p 66

arrangements, party systems, or even the distinction between civilian and military governments capture the main flow of politics in the continent.<sup>5</sup> The criteria for the classification of regime types have varied widely.<sup>6</sup> Different regimes have different structures, characteristics which distinguish one regime from another. Regimes in Africa may vary according to seven main criteria: the structure of the relationship between the administrative, the political, the coercive and the legal apparatus; the degree of elite cohesion; the extent of societal exclusion and inclusion; rulers and modes of socio-governmental interaction; spheres of operation; longevity on institutional arrangements and workability.<sup>7</sup> The structure of the political system adopted by a country plays an integral part in forming the political regime in power.

The public opinion in a country is practiced by the citizens in their different groups and clusters in the society. According to Merrit, the plethora of interest groups making demands upon the decision system, representatives of business, labor, ethnic associations, civic bodies, communications media and still other aggregates who feel that a nation's foreign policy affects them may seek to voice their concerns and desires.<sup>8</sup> The public may or may not voice its concern in a particular regime to influence the regimes decision.

Since independence most African states have gone through a metamorphosis in their political structures and the regime type adopted. The first part of the 1960's was marked by the rise of the single-party governments and the consolidation of authoritarian

<sup>5</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 134

<sup>6</sup> Charlton Roger, *Dehomogenising the study of African politics-The case of Inter-state influence on Regime formation und change. Plural Societies 14 no1/2 (1983): P 32-48*

<sup>7</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 136

<sup>8</sup> Merrit Richard ed, *Foreign policy analysis*. (London: Lexington books, 1975) p 2

patterns of rule.<sup>9</sup> Most countries wanted to achieve national cohesion after colonialism. The leaders in these countries opted for the single and authoritarian types of government, for example in Gabon and Uganda. The latter part of the 1960s witnessed the introduction of the military component and with it the entrenchment of the administrative regimes. The 1970s began with the rise of African tyrants and personal coercive modes of rule. The middle part of this decade was characterized by the addition of an Afro-Marxist, party-centralist dimension to the African political map; and the latter years were accompanied by the brief resurrection of pluralist experiments. The transition to the 1980s was unquestionably the most turbulent. In some cases regimes broke down, populist forms of government were created. The major reason for this transition was International pressure to adopt democratic systems of government. In 1990s democratic systems began to take hold in former one-party contexts, the varieties of authoritarianism had also multiplied, its limitations accentuated and the search for alternatives intensified.<sup>10</sup>

In studying the political regimes and public opinion of countries one will draw attention to how states make their decisions. These decisions are not only limited to domestic decisions but also national decisions. Diplomacy is one means through which states relates with one another and through which foreign policy is implemented.

Diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and other actors. From a state perspective, diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy.<sup>11</sup> Bilateral diplomatic relations are the diplomatic relations between two countries. Foreign policies are therefore the concrete outcome of how

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<sup>9</sup> Williams Richard, *An introduction to the politics of Tropical Africa*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984), p 113-146

<sup>10</sup> Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*. op cit p 136

<sup>11</sup> Russet Bruce. *World Politics*, (New York. W. H. Freeman and company. 1989) p 156

politics is conceived, practiced and transformed.<sup>12</sup> The process of making foreign policy is crucial because it determines the foreign policies adopted and in turn the diplomacy of a country.

As noted by Kissinger, statesmen are constrained by two sets of influences, the first consists of the politics, power and actions of other states; the second consists of domestic constraints ranging from public opinion to the attitudes of the government and bureaucracy. The ideal statesmen must be able to take both sets into account, deal with them and master them.<sup>13</sup> In looking at the importance of political regimes, Kissinger argues that aside from the allocation of resources, the domestic structures crucially affect the way the actions of other states are interpreted.<sup>14</sup> This shows that political regimes, public opinion and diplomatic relations influence each other and this is the main subject of this study.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

This study examines the impact of political regimes and public opinion on bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda during the period 1986-2002. Scholars and statesmen, philosophers and reformers have long debated the question of how best to understand relations among nations. No one study has examined political regimes, public opinion and diplomatic relations in one context. This study will focus on these aspects of international relations.

The political regime in a country is involved in all political processes including diplomatic relations. Inter-state relations will not only depend on the global trends but

<sup>12</sup>Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 133

<sup>13</sup> Russet Bruce, *World Politics*, op cit p 185-186

<sup>14</sup> Kissinger. A. Kissinger, 'Domestic structure and foreign policy', in Hanrieder. F. Wolfram (ed), *Comparative Foreign Policy. Theoretical essays*. (New York: University of California, David Mckg company, 1971) p 24

also on the domestic structure of a country. How fast a decision is reached and who is involved in the decision making plays an important role in diplomacy. These attributes are designed by the incumbent political regime.

When a country makes a wrong diplomatic decision the political regime in power is questioned by the citizens and by the international community. At times the citizens of the country may decide to participate in street protests or give their opinions as indicated in opinion polls. However, in a tyrannical regime public opinion is restricted although at times citizens protest against the government but this happens in the midst of bloodshed and violence between the citizens and the government. Political regimes implement the diplomatic decisions made. It is therefore the mandate of the regime to ensure that the diplomatic relations implemented safeguard the national interest of the country.

It is the function of the political regime in a country to formulate national strategies that will benefit the country. Countries have written or un-written foreign policies which may be implemented by the political regime in power or ignored altogether. Some countries for example, Kenya in the 1970's to 1980's had adopted a wait and see foreign policy. Such a policy is not systematically planned but is in reaction to a certain event.

There are different aspects of political regimes that play a crucial role in influencing the diplomatic relations of a country. This study will concentrate on two variables in a political regime; the political system and the style of leadership. The study will also look at the public opinion in a political regime.

In order to make a valid assessment of the influence of political regimes on any specific foreign policy decision making and implementation through diplomacy, the

study will establish what impact the political system, leadership style and public opinion have on foreign policy. It is important for political regimes to understand that the domestic structures they adopt have a significant influence on their diplomatic relations.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study:**

The main objective of this study is to determine the influence of different forms of political regimes and public opinion on bilateral diplomatic relations. The case study will be Kenya and Uganda's bilateral relations from 1986-2002. Other secondary objectives include:-

1. To investigate the extent to which the political system in Kenya and Uganda's political regimes (1986-2002) influenced their bilateral diplomatic relations
2. To determine the influence of the style of leadership in Kenya and Uganda's political regimes from 1986-2002 had on their bilateral diplomatic relations.
3. To establish the extent to which the public opinion in Kenya and Uganda's political regime from 1986-2002 had on the bilateral diplomatic relations.

### **1.4 Literature review**

The literature to be reviewed in this section will include the foreign policy making process and foreign policy in Kenya and Uganda. Secondly the impact political regimes have on diplomatic relations in the international arena will also be reviewed and the political regimes of both countries will be analyzed.

#### **1.4.1 Foreign policy making process**

According to Goldstein, states establish various organizational structures and functional relationships to create and carry out foreign policies. Officials and agencies collect information about a situation through various channels; they write memoranda

outlining possible options for actions; they hold meetings to discuss the matter and reach decisions. Such activities, broadly defined, are what is meant by 'the foreign policy process'.<sup>15</sup> Foreign policy process is a process of making decisions. The foreign policy adopted will influence the diplomatic relations implemented. This is because foreign policy is the strategy and diplomacy is the means of implementing the strategy.

The rational model is a decision making process where the decision makers calculate the costs and benefits of each possible course of action, then choose the one with the highest benefits and lowest costs. The decision maker clarifies the goals, rank-orders them, lists the alternatives, investigates the alternatives and finally chooses the best course of action to take. However this model, is somewhat complicated by the uncertainty and the multiple goals of decision makers. Decision makers may hold different conflicting goals simultaneously.<sup>16</sup> The diplomatic relations implemented in this process are dependent on individual decision makers.

The ministry of foreign affairs plays an important role in decision making. As an organization, its mandate is to formulate and implement foreign policies. Foreign policy makers in the ministry of foreign affairs may choose to generally skip the labor-intensive process of identifying goals and alternative actions, relying instead for most decisions on standardized responses or standard operating procedures. This is the organizational process model of decision making.<sup>17</sup> The diplomatic relations adopted in this process depend on the operating procedures in the ministry of foreign affairs.

The bureaucratic politics decision making model is a model in which the foreign policy decisions are made as a result of the bargaining process among various

<sup>15</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, (New York: Longman, 2001) p 164

<sup>16</sup> Ibid p 166-167

<sup>17</sup> Ibid p 167



government agencies that have somewhat divergent interests in the outcome.<sup>18</sup> In this process the diplomatic relations implemented depend on the bargaining power of the different ministries in a country. It is important to note that the foreign policy making processes are used differently in different regimes.

#### 1.4.2 Kenya and Uganda's foreign policy

In his analysis of Kenya's foreign policy in the mid-1970s, Professor John Okumu said that Kenya's policy was motivated by three factors, though he mentioned four when listing them. These were: First, the threat of secession in Kenya's coastal and north-eastern provinces alerted her to the primary need to consolidate her boundaries. Secondly, Kenya realized that a good neighbor policy based on mutual understanding between her and her neighbors was a logical step for the security of both her people and her territory. Third, a policy of vigorous economic development at home and economic cooperation and cultural exchange with her neighbors would strengthen her position in Africa. Finally, nonalignment was to remain a major tenet in her foreign relations.<sup>19</sup> Katete argues that doubts exist as to whether foreign policy of Kenya conforms to theoretical propositions that have been used to analyze foreign policies of developed countries. This is because Kenya's foreign policy during the 1980's was a wait and see foreign policy. However foreign policy is influenced by many factors in and out of the country. Katete described foreign policy as being influenced by national (domestic) and systematic variables or elements.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Welch David. The organizational process and bureaucratic politics paradigms. Retrospect and Prospect. *International Security* 17 (2), 1992:112-146

<sup>19</sup> Okumu. J. 'Kenya's Foreign Policy', p 138

<sup>20</sup> Orwa Katete D, Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi in Oyugi Walter (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Educational publishers, 1994 p 297-298

Uganda's main foreign policy pre-occupation during the early post colonial period was with Kenya and Tanzania. This is because the three east African countries have had a lot of things in common. Historically, all of them were under British colonialism. In the economic realm, they were tied in several common market arrangements for their easy exploitation by imperialism.<sup>21</sup>

The political regime in power in any country is entrusted with the function of ensuring that its diplomatic relations is consistent with the principles of a countries foreign policy. Ojwang<sup>22</sup> supports this in saying that well-conducted diplomacy will create ways of gaining knowledge from the experience of other states, drawing in investors and creating an attractive climate for the proper development of relations with other countries.

#### **1.4.3 Political regimes, public opinion and diplomatic relations**

A major focus of study has been the impact of a political system on a country's foreign policy. Kappeler argues that in determining a state's diplomatic relations, in a single party system, the party may constitutionally or de facto be in charge of formulating all government policies, including as regards the conduct of external affairs.<sup>23</sup> In an administrative-hegemonic regime, the ruling party makes the decisions. In a personal coercive regime the leader makes the policy decisions. An autocratic system is a closed system of governance and policy making is restricted to the leadership or the party in

<sup>21</sup> Oyugi Walter (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Educational publishers, 1994) p 361

<sup>22</sup> Ojwang J.B and Luis G Frances, *Constitutional Regulation of the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya: A Comparative Assessment: Journal of African Law*, Vol 46, No 1, (Cambridge University Press 2002) p 43-58,

<sup>23</sup> Kappeler Dietrich, Graduate Institute of International Studies Diplomatic studies programme. Training 3rd world diplomats. International seminar organized by the diplomatic training programme, University of Nairobi 5-8 April 1988, (Geneva 1990) p 8

charge. Ball postulates that an autocratic system has limitations on open political competition, absence of strong articulated ideology and long emphasis on nationalism.<sup>24</sup>

In contrast, a democratic system is a more open system and other non state actors are directly or indirectly involved in policy making. Kappeler argues that in a democratic system, the government has specific functions as regards the conduct of external relations, for example, the ratification of a treaty. The legislature approves the budget and the judiciary interprets the treaties. In democratic countries pressure groups may exercise considerable influence on the conduct of external relations and even force their views upon the government.<sup>25</sup> One reason for this according to Howell, is that politicians of new states are by nature compulsive participants in the pageant of international affairs, and this activity may sometimes impress home opinion.<sup>26</sup>

According to Watson, totalitarian states sometimes adopt restrictive practices. Communist governments for instance, dislike their citizens having cultural or personal contacts with foreigners except under the auspices and with the blessing of the state. In a modern democracy, a great number of pressures and influences form to shape the states' foreign policy and the content and aims of its diplomatic dialogue. The personal interests of public opinion all carry great weight-some would say too much weight for the welfare of the state. He added that, especially in democracies, but also in other forms of government where the rulers need the support of the public opinion, they will usually incline to say what is expected of them, and then find ways of avoiding precipitate or

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<sup>24</sup> Ball Allan, *Modern politics and government 2nd edition*, (London: Macmillian press limited, 1977) p 45-46

<sup>25</sup> Kappeler Dietrich. Graduate Institute of International Studies Diplomatic studies programme. Training 3rd world diplomats. International seminar organized by the diplomatic training programme, University of Nairobi 5-8 April 1988, op cit p 8

<sup>26</sup> Howell John, *An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy*, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (May, 1968), pp. 29-48, Cambridge University Press

dangerous action which would harm the more specific interests of the state and the people they rule or administer.<sup>27</sup>

Nicholson described democratic governments as slow in implementing diplomatic relations. He also argued that authoritarian governments break treaties and rarely follow international law in implementing their foreign policies.<sup>28</sup> This usually happens when the national interest of a state are at stake. According to Waltz, first in the minds of many critics is the thought that democratic foreign policy is unstable. With the ends and execution of policy dependent upon shifting majority, the policy of today maybe rejected tomorrow.<sup>29</sup>

Personal diplomacy is diplomacy where the head of state is actively involved in diplomacy. According to Peter Calvert, this is practiced more in presidential systems of government. Calvert looks at presidential form of government. From the prevalence of presidential systems in developing countries a number of effects on foreign policy can be seen. The largest impact is on the style of conducting policy, with a preference for relying on direct negotiation by the head of the states and the use of personal diplomacy.<sup>30</sup> Summit diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and parliamentary diplomacy are other forms of diplomacy.

The importance of political regimes in international relations cannot be ignored. Potholm argues that after all, democracy, despotism and other forms of government have become part of human heritage not simply because we have written accounts of the

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<sup>27</sup> Watson Adam, *Diplomacy: The dialogue between states*, (Great Britain: J W Arrow smith limited, 1982) p 71

<sup>28</sup> Palmer N and Perkins H, *International Relations, 3rd edition*, (India: CBS publishers, 2001) p 226

<sup>29</sup> Waltz Kenneth, *Foreign policy and democratic politics. The American and British Experience*, (London: Longman, 1968) p 13

<sup>30</sup> Calvert Peter, *The foreign policy of new states*, (Sussex: Wheatshaf Books, 1986) p 95-8

rationale behind them, but because the forms themselves have endured, reappearing in time and space throughout the course of human history.<sup>31</sup>

Categorizing African states according to their political processes has elicited different arguments. Anirudha argues that any formal approach to categorize African political systems under multi-party, single-party or military rule does not help much, in determining how power is made and exercised in societies which are largely pluralistic and heterogeneous in composition. The approach to categorize states fails to take account of the differences that may occur in the contents of politics even in the countries grouped under a single category.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the importance of studying political regimes unravels the way decisions are made and implemented and what responses these actions evoke; it also draws attention to the fundamentals of politics: to how centers are constructed and legitimized; how their political visions are crystallized and authority conceived; how civil societies form and break down; how transformations take root and why.<sup>33</sup>

The second variable in political regimes is the style of leadership. The role played by the leadership in Africa is paramount in the governing the state. For Goran, the personalized nature of rule in so many African countries means not only that public policy making looks the logic and empirical content that typically characterizes such an activity in other contexts but also that governance structures are largely informal and subject to arbitrary change.<sup>34</sup> The generally weak structures linking social groups and government agencies have highlighted the role of individual leaders as the pivot of

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<sup>31</sup> Potholm Christian, *The theory and practice of African politics*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Incorporation, 1979) p 5

<sup>32</sup> Gupta Anirudha, 'Approaches to Study of African Political Systems', *Peeling off the Wrapping*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 17, No. 30 (Jul 24, 1982), pp. 1205-1207

<sup>33</sup> Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 151

<sup>34</sup> Hyden Goran. Bratton M. *Government and politics in Africa*, (London. Lynne Rienner publishers. 1992) p 22

official political thought and action.<sup>35</sup> Kissinger agreed with this by saying that, whatever ones view about the degree, to which choices in International affairs are 'objectively' determined, the decisions are made by individuals who will be above all conscious of the seeming multiplicity of options.<sup>36</sup> It is not only the leaders in Africa that play an important role in state relations but also in other continents.

There are three main aspects of the leadership process: the articulation of a political vision, frequently an ideology, which sets forth the goals of the rulers and their plans for governing; the refinement of leadership styles and modes of operation and the establishment of the rules of the political game. These facets are integrally interlinked. Political ideologies, as distinct from policies, are systems of beliefs that serve as a standard of evaluation and a guide to action. In the aftermath of decolonization, most African regimes attempted to set out the framework of a political vision that would capture the exigencies of their circumstances and also provide a referent for policy making.<sup>37</sup> This was done through the adoption of a certain political ideology.

The style of leadership plays an important role in the political process of a country. Ali Mazrui argues that 'throughout Africa, the tendency has been to spiritualize the head of state and government'. The unique aspect of a political order derives much from the personal qualities of a leader, who as Head of State, comes to hold all powers in his own hands. In such a situation, success or failure of a political system can largely be explained by reference to the personal idiosyncrasies of the leader himself.<sup>38</sup> Individual level theories trace international conflict to individual political leaders, the content of

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<sup>35</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 150

<sup>36</sup> Hanriede Wolfram (ed), *Comparative Foreign Policy: Theoretical essays*, (New York: David McKay, 1971) p 33

<sup>37</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 154-155

<sup>38</sup> Gupta Anirudha, 'Approaches to Study of African Political Systems', *Peeling off the Wrapping*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 17, No. 30 (Jul. 24, 1982), pp. 1205-1207

their belief systems or their 'operational codes' about world politics, the psychological processes through which they acquire information and make decisions and their personalities and emotional states.<sup>39</sup>

However, Leadership cannot be looked at in isolation as it is correlated to other variables. Gupta adds that a political system cannot be adjacent with the doings of a single individual, no matter how powerful he might be. Kenya's political conservatism and continuity, for instance, came to be molded around the father-figure of Jomo Kenyatta; but this does not explain why these two components in politics have persisted even after Kenyatta's death.<sup>40</sup> All these variables in a political regime are correlated and interrelated.

Goldstein argues that a state is not a single conscious being; its actions are a composite of the individual human choices-by its citizenry, its political leaders, and its diplomats and bureaucrats-aggregated through the state's internal structures.<sup>41</sup> Confronted with social diversity expressed in cultural, ethnic, linguistic, geographic, religious and racial terms, and with growing social differentiation based on location, income, occupation, education and life-styles, specific regimes have sought ways to mold and regulate social relations.<sup>42</sup> Most African regimes have come up with ways to ensure social order and repress public opinion.

According to Chazan et al, during 1951-1990 Kenya's political regime was classified as Administrative-Hegemonic. In this type of the regime, the three key institutions are the executive, the bureaucracy and the coercive apparatus (at times with

<sup>39</sup> Levy Jack S. *Theories of Interstate and Intrastate war. A level of Analysis Approach*, pg 17

<sup>40</sup> Gupta Anirudha, 'Approaches to Study of African Political Systems', *Peeling off the Wrapping*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 17, No. 30 (Jul. 24, 1982), pp. 1205-1207

<sup>41</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 163

<sup>42</sup> Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 170

one-party dominant auxiliary organ subordinated to the presidency). Main policy decisions are centralized around the leader and his close advisors. Specific technical and professional decision making is carried out in the bureaucracy and the military is generally controlled. More significant, the bureaucratic structures and the judiciary maintain a certain autonomy vis-à-vis each other. Political operations however, are strictly guided by the executive. Strategies of social control are avowedly elitist in orientation. Leaders use state resources as a means of constructing a state managerial class with a common interest in bolstering the public apparatus. On the domestic side, this organizing principle has involved the careful construction of networks of patrons and clients. In international matters, foreign countries have been encouraged to invest in these countries and the government has attempted to impose some controls to enhance its revenue.<sup>43</sup>

On the other hand, Uganda has had a personal coercive political regime since 1951-1990. The entrenchment of the regime has been predicted on the connection between a strong leader and the coercive apparatus. All other structures-the bureaucracy, the political machinery where it existed, the court system-have been subjugated to the whims of the leader backed by the military force. Personally based, coercive regime constructs have limited access to public institutions to those individuals or social groups loyal to the leader. Rules of political behavior consequently tended to be haphazard. Under these conditions, resistance to the regime and outright repression of these efforts is marked.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid p 137-140

<sup>44</sup> Ibid p 147-148



The Republic of Kenya is a democratic State. Kenya won its independence from British colonial rule on 12 December 1963. The Country has a multi-party political system which was established in the 1990's after a single autocratic system of government whose hallmark is parliamentary democracy. After the accession of President Daniel arap Moi in August 1978, however according to Waruhiu, Kenyans' freedoms diminished, the independence of the judiciary was reduced, the autonomy of non-governmental institutions was curtailed, and even the electoral process was tampered with, violating the secret ballot and candidates' freedom to campaign. By 1970 Kenya's brief experience of multi-party politics had ended. The country once again became a single-party state: this time Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) was to remain the sole political party for the next twenty-two years.<sup>45</sup> After the attempted coup in 1982, Kenya became a single-party system de jure. International pressure during the 1990's resulted to Kenya's shift to a multi-party system.

The republic of Uganda is a state that won its independence from the British colonial rule. Idi Amin seized power from the Obote regime in 1971 and he ruled until 1979 when Idi Amin was ousted from power. The three years that followed were ruled by Lule, Binasia and a military council. In 1981 to 1985 Obote took over power but the current president Yoweri Museveni took power in 1986.<sup>46</sup> According to Ali Mazrui, one interesting paradox of the Uganda situation is that it has indeed tended quite often since 1971 to display both tyranny (too much government) and anarchy (too little government) at the same time.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Waruhiu S.,N, *From Autocracy to democracy in Kenya*. Party system of government reforms for the future, (Nairobi: Expert printers limited, 1994) p 118

<sup>46</sup> Oyugi Walter (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, (Nairobi: East African Educational publishers, 1994) p 503-529

<sup>47</sup> Hansen Holger and Twaddle Michael (ed), *Uganda Now*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1988)

In January 1986 Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Army assumed control of Uganda's capital Kampala. Shortly thereafter, Museveni declared himself president. Museveni established a no party system. Museveni came into power through the National Resistance Movement (NRM). According to Okumu, this system allowed parties to exist so long as they did not perform the normal functions of political parties.<sup>48</sup>

Former president Daniel Moi's leadership style was patriarchal, authoritarian and rested on a mixture of clientelism. Patriarchal leaders are glorified as, 'the fathers of the nation'. This style of leadership creates a bond with the bureaucratic elites and the leaders see themselves as implementers rather than molders. Such a leader makes his decision with his handful of trusted advisors. Patriarchal modes of operation reward favoritism and nepotism and fuel factionalism and corruption. Authoritarian leaders have options when to use the carrot and when to employ the stick. Patriarchal leaders are able to put in place dominant administrative-bureaucratic elite whose interest lies in perpetuating this system. Both President Moi and President Yoweri Museveni showed characteristics of autocratic and patriarchal styles. Autocratic leaders are tyrannical and unpredictable. Yoweri Museveni's style of leadership was tyrannical. Such a leader sees the state as their private domain, potential sources of opposition are eliminated and repression is a means to replace entreaties.<sup>49</sup>

The powers of a leader are articulated in the constitutional framework. In the Constitution of Kenya there is no express provision concerning the exercise of the power of foreign affairs, with one exception: Section 111 gives the President "the power to appoint a person to hold or act in the office of Ambassador, High Commissioner or other

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<sup>48</sup> Okumu Wafula and Kaiser Paul. *Democratic transition in East Africa*, (England: Ashgate, 2004) p 2

<sup>49</sup> Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 163-168

principal representative of Kenya in another country, and to remove from office any person holding or acting in any such office." The President has both the power to conduct diplomatic relations and the primary responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs. It is also recognized that, being an executive function, the foundation of such power is to be found in section 23(1) of the Constitution which provides that "The executive authority of the Government of Kenya shall vest in the President and, subject to this Constitution, may be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him." The implication from section 23 and from actual practice makes it clear that the foreign affairs power in Kenya is vested in the President. Parliament plays no role either in the appointment of diplomatic agents, the recognition of foreign states or governments, nor in the conclusion of treaties, or declaration of war.<sup>50</sup>

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is involved in all multilateral and some bilateral agreements. Other ministries do negotiate bilateral agreements on behalf of the state. Some restrictions are imposed by some scattered Acts of Parliament. However, the Constitution leaves the matter unresolved, and there seems to be an urgent need to conform Kenya's constitutional law to the modern demands of the international legal order.<sup>51</sup>

According to section 122 (1) of Uganda's constitution, the President may, with the approval of Parliament, appoint ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions. The President may receive envoys accredited to Uganda. When dealing with the execution of treaties, conventions and agreements under section 123 (1), the President or a person authorized by the President may make treaties, conventions, agreements or other

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<sup>50</sup> Ojwang, J.B and Luis G Frances, *Constitutional Regulation of the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya: A Comparative Assessment*: Journal of African Law, Vol 46, No 1, (2002) pp 43-58. Cambridge University Press

<sup>51</sup> Ibid p 43-58

arrangements between Uganda and any other country or between Uganda and any international organization or body, in respect of any matter. Parliament shall make laws to govern ratification of treaties, conventions, agreements or other arrangements made under clause (1) of this article.<sup>52</sup>

The citizens of a country have a role to play in diplomatic relations. According to Reynolds, the influence that pressure groups can exercise in foreign policy making, when they seek to exercise it, thus varies with the nature of political system, the general political strength or weakness of the administration, the proximity or distance of an election, and the extent to which an unsatisfied group is able to politically harm leaders who resist it.<sup>53</sup> This influence from different groups in and out of the country is what makes up the public opinion.

In an Administrative hegemonic regime the elite reflect popular participation; however the elite's opposition is fairly weak or fragmented. Personal modes of control have been cruel. They have generated protests and exacerbated violence.<sup>54</sup> According to Okumu, in 1989 the political space of the public realm was completely monopolized by the KANU government in Kenya. In Uganda in 1989, the non-governmental registration statute was introduced to provide guidelines for non-governmental organizations.<sup>55</sup>

The literature review has developed the different opinions and arguments regarding political regimes, public opinion and diplomatic relations. The literature review has described the background of Kenya and Uganda to set the tone of the study of both countries' political regimes.

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<sup>52</sup> [http://www.ugandaonlinelawlibrary.com/files/constitution/constitution\\_1995.pdf](http://www.ugandaonlinelawlibrary.com/files/constitution/constitution_1995.pdf) p 189-190

<sup>53</sup> Reynold P.A (ed), 3rd edition. *An introduction to International Relations*, (Longman: London, 1994) p 86

<sup>54</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, op cit p 150-155

<sup>55</sup> Okumu Wafula and Kaiser Paul, *Democratic transition in East Africa* op cit p 105-116

## 1.5 Justification of the study

The importance of domestic political influence is widely acknowledged throughout the analytic literature on foreign policy. Political influences are at the core of the theoretical efforts among researchers interested in the comparative analysis of foreign policy, where there has long been interest in the idea that states with different domestic politics arrangements engage in different patterns of foreign behavior.<sup>56</sup>

Most of the literature gives general clues to the contours of the influences of political regimes and public opinion on diplomacy. The most extensive and analytical category of literature is the debate on political systems and foreign policy which developed the democratic peace debate. The literature on public opinion and foreign policy is also extensive especially in looking at the United States of America.

However, most of this literature produces only 'bit and pieces' of the influence of political regimes. Most of the literature has generalized state relations by looking at foreign policy of states. There is a gap in looking specifically at bilateral diplomatic relations of states. By looking at the political system, the leader and the public opinion this study will categorize the influence each has on a country's relation and the link among the three variables.

This study seeks to begin to fill the gap in research through a detailed yet largely exploratory, national examination of the empirical linkage between political regimes, public opinion and diplomacy. Its starting point is that foreign policy making is an inherently political process and that such domestic influences on foreign policy are a national pervasive phenomenon.

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<sup>56</sup> Hagan Joe. *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy*. (London: Lynne Rienner. 1993)

However, these effects cannot be inferred entirely or mainly from the political regime of a country. How states are able to manipulate these factors to determine the implementation of their foreign policy will still depend on the agents of diplomacy and the politics of the country.

The study will investigate all aspects of bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda. This will include treaties, disputes, bilateral agreements, presidential visits, economic and trade diplomatic relations, diplomatic missions and ministry of foreign affairs exchanges. The study will establish the relationship between the variables and their influence on each other in the bilateral diplomatic relations of Kenya and Uganda.

The results of the study will be used by scholars and policy makers in understanding the role of political regimes on diplomatic relations. This will benefit the academic institution and the political sphere as a whole.

#### **1.6 Hypotheses:**

1. Kenya and Uganda's bilateral diplomatic relations were influenced by the political systems prevailing in each country
2. The bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda were influenced by the prevailing style of leadership.
3. The public opinion in Kenya and Uganda played an important role in shaping its bilateral diplomatic relations.

#### **1.7 Conceptual framework:**

This study will use the concept of dyads as the observational unit of interstate relations. By looking at the unit of analysis you can deduce the relationship between

states. In order to establish the relationship between two states, one needs to look at states as a pair. This level of analysis will show the true interstate relationship. A dyad is a pair of state.

As an observational unit, it captures the “inter” in interstate interactions; in general, conceiving of bilateral relationships is the easiest and most tractable approach to studying behavior that takes place between states.<sup>57</sup> The dyadic approach projects bilateral interactions rather satisfactorily.

There are several reasons why the dyad is the proper unit of analysis to use. First, it is ultimately pairs of states that come into conflict with each other. This point is most clear in bilateral conflicts where State A and State B fight each other. However, multilateral conflicts should also be broken down into their dyadic components because doing so allows us to differentiate between pairs of states that were fighting each other at different levels.<sup>58</sup> States do not interact in isolated pairs, but rather in a networked system where the various players react to and anticipate the moves of others.<sup>59</sup>

To this day, international politics specialists use the term ‘levels of analysis’ to refer, in Waltzian fashion, to different categories of explanatory factors or to different social entities or aggregations as targets for analysis.<sup>60</sup> Russett et al, for example, define ‘levels of analysis’ as ‘points on an ordered scale of size and complexity’. They go on to

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<sup>57</sup> Croco Sarah, Assessing the Dyadic Approach to Interstate Conflict Processes: A.k.a. “Dangerous” Dyad-Years, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/scroco/cmprocscroco.pdf> Conflict Management and Peace Science, 22:5–18. 2005

<sup>58</sup> Primo David, Sarah A. Binder, Forrest Maltzman. Who Consents? Competing Pivots in Federal Judicial Selection. <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748986/PDFSTART>

<sup>59</sup> Croco Sarah, Assessing the Dyadic Approach to Interstate Conflict Processes: A.k.a. “Dangerous” Dyad-Years, Department of Political Science, op cit

<sup>60</sup> Ray Lee James, Integrating levels of analysis in world politics, <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/g/gDf5Ty/levels.pdf>

explain that 'a level may refer to the actors themselves, to the states or individuals whose actions we are trying to explain, or . . . to different kinds of influences on those actors'.<sup>61</sup>

According to Singer, working at the dyadic level, i.e. examining the relations between pairs of states – what they actually do to each other – has been much more productive in the analysis of foreign policy. There is a significant relationship between the political regime characteristics of a dyad and the actions of a country.<sup>62</sup>

By looking at the dyadic level the study will demonstrate a strong and consistent relationship between regime type and foreign policy behavior. The dyadic approach is the best conceptual framework for this study, you cannot compare two states and their behavior without looking at their dyadic relationship. A good example is the dyadic approach on democratic states.

States with more democratic characteristics tend to behave more cooperatively and less confliction in the international system; these tendencies intensify when democratic states interact with other democracies. Meanwhile, non-democracies tend to treat democracies with more conflictual and less cooperative behavior. The influence of the internal institutional structures of states on their external behavior extends well beyond decisions to go to war.<sup>63</sup>

The concept of dyadic approach will be used in this study as the main framework in studying the behavior of Kenya and Uganda and in establishing the findings which will compare the regimes in both countries.

<sup>61</sup> Russett, Bruce, Harvey Starr and David Kinsella, *World Politics*, 6th edn. Op cit

<sup>62</sup> Singer, J. David, 'The Level-of Analysis Problem in International Relations', in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba (eds) *The International System: Theoretical Essays*, Princeton, (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961).

<sup>63</sup> Leeds Brett Ashley, Davis R. David, *Beneath the Surface: Regime Type and International Interaction, 1953-78*, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 5-21 (1999)



## **1.8 Methodology**

This study will be undertaken using qualitative research methods. The quality of the data collected matters more than the quantity of people studied. The study is a descriptive research design. This is a design which describes and explains a certain phenomenon. The study will use the secondary data collection method to collect data. Secondary data will be collected from the library and this includes other publications, books, journals and the internet. Data will be analyzed and recorded as appropriate.

The literature to be studied will constitute work on diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda; work on political regimes in Kenya and Uganda and papers on foreign policy of both Kenya and Uganda.

## **1.9 Scope of the study:**

The political regimes in Kenya and Uganda have been chosen as the case studies because they represent two types of political regimes in Africa. It is important to note that political regimes are dynamic and change from time to time. Some political regimes change in totality while others transform in one way or the other. The existence of public opinion in both countries will be analyzed to compare the two regimes and the influence of the public.

The study will focus on Kenya and Uganda's bilateral diplomatic relations during 1986-2002. This period is significant due to the paradigm shift experienced in the governance of the respective political regimes of Kenya and Uganda. Both countries experienced an avenue of cooperation and conflict relationships which still plague their bilateral diplomatic relations. The events that characterized the bilateral diplomatic relationships which occurred between Kenya and Uganda both locally and internationally

will be examined. The study seeks to establish why the events happened and what influenced each of the events.

### **1.10 Chapter outline**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will introduce the topic of our research study by first setting the broad context of our research study, the statement of the problem, justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses and the methodology of the study.

#### **An analysis of political systems and their influence on leadership and public opinion**

This chapter will analyze the theoretical framework of political systems and determine the influence of such systems on the style of leadership and the degree of public opinion.

#### **The influence of political regimes, public opinion on bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda (1986-2002)**

This chapter will analyze the political regimes and public opinion in Kenya and Uganda and establish their influence on their bilateral diplomatic relations

#### **Bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda (1986-2002)**

This chapter will provide the background of the situation in Kenya and Uganda's bilateral diplomatic relations.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter will provide conclusions of the study; it will give recommendations and provide suggestions on areas for further study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE STYLE OF LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC OPINION

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the theoretical work on political systems and its influence on leadership and public opinion. The study will also establish a link between the political system, style of leadership and public opinion. This chapter will evaluate the relationship among the three variables and how they influence each other. It is important to see what role political systems have in shaping the leadership style and the public opinion. This will establish a clear picture on the variables and the role each one plays.

Politics are based on systems; there are two main types of political systems. There are dictatorships (which is also called the autocratic political systems) and democracy and each system has their own ideology which sets how the nation will operate.<sup>64</sup> Democracies are multiparty political systems that rest on the principle of rule by the people. Most people that live in democracies have civil liberties and political rights. Individuals that feel multiparty systems are best value equality, accountability, and freedom. Nations that have multiparty political systems will meet the needs of the public through means of political equality, a higher standard of living, and civil liberties. Democratic systems allow citizens to participate in the government through various means like free multiparty elections. Periodic elections are held to ensure that political leaders are accountable to voters. In a dictatorship citizens are not allowed to participate in the government but are to submit to the leader's authority and power. If elections are

<sup>64</sup> Democratic Essays. [http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper\\_5839.html](http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper_5839.html)

held it is to give citizens the feeling that they are allowed political involvement, but the election are rigged and in the end the citizen's votes don't matter.<sup>65</sup>

## **2.2 A comparative study of leadership and political systems**

In an autocratic system, the national leader is likely to dominate the foreign policy decision making process. Furthermore, from this it is inferred that decisions reflect the leaders personal characteristics, indeed 'his anger and his adore, his whims and his convictions, may become the mood of his country's policy.'<sup>66</sup> A leader's characteristics become the foreign policy of the country.

Ojo argues that leaders in an autocratic political system are unfettered by the restraints of entrenched bureaucracy and large scale organizations, these leaders can set policies which primarily express their personal ambitions, ideologies and frustrations. Foreign policy is, for the most part, thought to reflect the personal traits of the leader.<sup>67</sup> In such a system institutions are not strong and depend on the leader for decision making.

Institutions are under the influence of the leader and report to the leader making them rely on the political regime in power. In a democratic system the parliament and other parties take part in formulation of foreign policies especially if the foreign policy affects them in one way or another.

The term autocrat is derived from the Greek word *autokratōr*, *auto* meaning self, and *kratia* meaning rule. It implies self-rule, where one can do whatever they want if they have power. Totalitarianism is considered a modern form of an autocratic government, where the government controls all aspects of the society. A totalitarian political party seeks to control not only all economic and political matters but the attitudes, values, and

<sup>65</sup> Democratic Essays, <http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper/5839.html>

<sup>66</sup> Ojo Olatunde, *African international relations* (Lagos: Longman group limited, Lagos, 1985) p 46

<sup>67</sup> Ibid

beliefs of the people, eliminating the distinction between state and society. The ultimate goal of a totalitarian government is to establish a “perfect” society in the eyes of the political party. Totalitarianism is an attempt to change the society as a whole, which is implemented by a single political party that controls all aspects of the society. The government would control all lines of communications, and used terror to intimidate society in hope that the society would only hear the political party’s ideology without any outside distractions.<sup>68</sup>

According to Jackson, Personal rule has been a compelling facet of politics at least since the time of Machiavelli. It is the image not of a ruler but of a type of rulership.' Personal rule is a dynamic world of political will and activity that is shaped less by institutions or impersonal social forces than by personal authorities and power; it is a world, therefore, of uncertainty, suspicion, rumor, agitation, intrigue, and sometimes fear, as well as of stratagem, diplomacy, conspiracy, dependency, reward, and threat.<sup>69</sup> A leader who is associated with personal rule will set the tone of the foreign policy as this is an important part of his government.

Autocratic systems of government came into question after the two world wars and the adoption of democratic principles became the norm. President Woodrow Wilson believed that war would permanently be eliminated if the civilized nations of the world undertook to do a number of things. First, all absolute governments must go and be replaced by democratic governments. Second-self determination ought to be extended to all people because wars were caused by oppressive regimes.<sup>70</sup> One characteristic of an autocratic political system is a system which is not well institutionalized. Well

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.oppapers.com/essays/Autocratic-System-Government/175760>

<sup>69</sup> Jackson Robert and Rosberg Carl. Personal Rule. Theory and Practice in Africa, The Image of Personal Rule

<sup>70</sup> Ojo Olatunde, African international relations, op cit p 4

institutionalized political systems have structures and norms that are widely accepted, so that decision makers cannot easily violate the 'rules of the game' and must recognize the legitimacy of opposition challenges to policy, and ultimately to their hold on political office. Outcomes of elections (however restrictive) are respected, opposition groups are tolerated and trusted, and the rules for policy making and allocation political power are well established.<sup>71</sup>

According to Hagan, democratic norms and open political processes predispose leaders emphasize various forms of accommodation as a means of coping with opposition at all levels. In contrast, authoritarian leaders are in a better position to manipulate opposition and policies via political legitimization. All this is not to say that leaders in an autocratic system are immune to opposition, but only that they are probably better able to insulate it from domestic politics and have greater options for dealing with domestic opponents.<sup>72</sup> This means that autocratic leader will do all in his power (the powers of the leader are extensive) to suppress opponents in his country. However, the leader might not succeed in suppressing the opinion of its citizens especially if the citizens get the support of other countries. Therefore the success of an autocratic leader in stopping domestic opponents at times never succeeds.

Manipulation by leaders may take different forms. The manipulatory behavior by presidents has important consequences in the realm of constructing foreign policy, especially if the policy involves military service personnel, international prestige, or

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<sup>71</sup> Hagan Joe. *political opposition and foreign policy in comparative perspective*. (London: Lynne Rienner publishers, 1993) p 90

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

foreign conflict.<sup>73</sup> Manipulation in a country may include claims by governments of outside influence or attacks to divert the attention of the citizens from internal strife.

As in democracies, leaders in authoritarian regimes conduct foreign policy in a manner designed to minimize the chances of removal from office. While the possibility of losing office produces caution among democratic leaders, it can cause more risk-acceptant behavior among leaders of military regimes, who have few institutional weapons at hand to secure their incumbency. The consultation in democratic states can result to delay in decision making especially if the decision is a decision which needs to be made with urgency.

Kaarbo asserts that leadership style includes how the leaders relate to those around them, how they like to receive information, and how they make up their minds. Leadership style has the greatest impact on the decision-making process and that although the direct effect of leadership style on foreign policy behavior is less, leadership style indirectly influences foreign policy through the decision-making process. These differences in leadership style can have both direct and indirect effects on foreign policy. Rather, the underlying assumption is that individuals make decisions, and thus it is important to know how individuals approach decision-making. Again the hypothesis would be that different leadership styles lead to different types of foreign policies, either through their effect on process and decision outcomes, or independently. A direct effect of leadership style on foreign policy outcomes would most likely occur in certain situations such as crises when the influence of individual characteristics increases and the

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<sup>73</sup> Leadership and foreign policy change: the enigma of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/6/9/8/7/p69873\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/6/9/8/7/p69873_index.html)



influence of other factors, such as bureaucratic routines, decreases.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the autocracies that failed so spectacularly in the twentieth century, today's autocracies are said to be not only compatible with capitalist success but also representative of a rival form of capitalism. And their presence in the international system supposedly foreshadows growing competition and conflict and is dangerously undermining the prospect of global cooperation.<sup>75</sup> Cooperation by states may be affected by different aspects. One aspect is the ideology of a country.

Leaders may use ideologies to create friends and foes. Adopting a certain ideology shows that you accept the philosophies ascribed to it and therefore you agree with countries that also adopt the same ideology. This is well portrayed when countries with the same ideology take the same stance in an international relation issue.

In his argument Smith emphasizes that there exists the possibility that democratically elected leaders act against the interests of the citizens precisely because the public can remove them from office. The prospect of future elections causes democratic governments to use foreign policy for political gains rather than the good of the nation. Emphasis is placed on deriving the conditions under which these diversionary policies are pursued. Institutional arrangements are shown to limit the ability of the government to act against the public interest. Democratic nations are more likely to become involved in wars early in their electoral term. This empirical phenomenon initially appears to contradict diversionary war theories, where democracies have an incentive to engage in aggressive behavior prior to an election. Although democracies become more likely to intervene in a crisis at the end of their electoral cycle, they are

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<sup>74</sup> Kaarbo Juliet, Prime Minister Leadership Styles in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Framework for Research, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sep., 1997), pp. 553-581

<sup>75</sup> Deudney Daniel, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63721/daniel-deudney-and-g-john-ikenberry/the-myth-of-the-autocratic-revival>

presented with fewer opportunities to intervene. The government can use their informational advantage to pursue the policies they prefer rather than those desired by the electorate. In a general framework they show that elections are insufficient to ensure that the government enacts the electorate's preferred policies. Competent governments, having a higher probability of success, are more likely to enact adventurous foreign policies. The electorate wants to elect those governments that are likely to produce good outcomes in the future, and they use the signal of past performance to infer whether a government is competent.<sup>76</sup> The leadership in a democratic system in the beginning of its term would pursue adventurous policies to impress the public. At the end of the term the government would also want to impress the public but would be cautious at this moment more than in the beginning of the term.

The role of leadership needs to be clearly understood, appropriate modalities of nurturing and appointing dynamic leadership have to be developed, and also critical is the need to foster accountability and transparency in the exercise of leadership functions. A major challenge is to transcend the notion of leadership being a personalized preoccupation to the building of a culture of leadership as being an institution. The government's ability to manage international situations, that is, international or foreign policy competence, affects the likelihood of success. If a government chooses good military leaders, mobilizes resources well, and can influence its allies then it is likely to succeed.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Smith Alastair, *International Studies Quarterly* (1996) 40, 133-153 *Diversionsary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems* Alastair Smith Washington University, [http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96\\_diversion.pdf](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96_diversion.pdf).  
<sup>77</sup> Ibid

Explanations of the pacific character of democratic polities hold that these polities produce leaders who are less bellicose in international affairs and that the pluralistic nature of democratic political constraints imposes greater institutional and opposition constraints on foreign policy.<sup>78</sup> The argument on whether the plurality of democracies benefits or impedes foreign policy decision making is an ongoing argument which cannot be won completely as the benefits and draw backs offer a background that make the argument dynamic.

All in all, these differences in leadership style have both direct and indirect effects on foreign policy. The main argument by Kaarbo, is the underlying assumption that individuals make decisions, and thus it is important to know how individuals approach decision-making. Personality theorists do not see every individual as completely unique but rather classify individual differences into personality types.<sup>79</sup> It is important to note that classifying individuals is a good way to generalize character traits but human beings are different and therefore likening one individual to another may result into the wrong diagnosis.

The personality type of a leader, the political system adopted in combination with other internal and external factors will influence the type of decision made in terms of foreign affairs. The political system will shape the leader and his role in foreign affairs. Both leadership and political systems go hand in hand in the form of diplomatic relations that a country will implement.

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<sup>78</sup> Hagan Joe. *political opposition and foreign policy in comparative perspective*, op cit p 12

<sup>79</sup> Kaarbo Juliet, *Prime Minister Leadership Styles in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Framework for Research Political Psychology*. Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sep., 1997), pp. 553-581

### **2.3 Public opinion and political systems, a comparative study**

In an autocratic political system, regime leaders can readily suppress opposition groups and violate constitutional norms in order to achieve policy goals and retain power.<sup>80</sup> Especially in democracies, but also in other forms of government where the rulers need the support of the public opinion, they will usually incline to say what is expected of them, and then find ways of avoiding precipitate or dangerous action which would harm the more specific interests of the state and the people they rule or administer.<sup>81</sup> Public opinion in democracies is respected and even encouraged.

The public in an autocratic system will try to influence the government to adopt a democratic system. In a democratic system the ruling regime will feel the pressure to listen to the citizens. Citizens voice their opinions on foreign policy issues because they are concerned at not only what is happening in their country but what is happening in other countries. Street riots and protests on international issues have increased as the world becomes a global village. Decisions made by leaders of the west affect countries in the east. The growth of industries in the west has resulted to massive dumping and pollution which is affecting countries all over the world.

Dictatorships are one party political systems that are ruled by one leader or elite group of people under the principle of authoritarian. Some feel that dictatorships are the most effective forms of government because decisions are made quickly and extreme nationalism benefits the military and economy. These people value order, nationalism, and authority. Dictatorships outlaw or limit freedom of speech, assembly and the press. Civil liberties and involvement are virtually non-existent. Citizens are forced to listen to

<sup>80</sup> Hagan Joe, *political opposition and foreign policy in comparative perspective*, op cit p 90

<sup>81</sup> Watson Adam, *Diplomacy. The dialogue between states*, (Great Britain: J.W. Arrowsmith limited. 1982) p 71

propaganda based on fear of the leader. The leader uses intimidation to ensure he or she has complete power over the people. Government allows no personal rights or freedoms in order to maintain security. Basically the people only know what the government tells and them because they have no rights or freedoms to go against the leader.<sup>82</sup>

According to Watson, Ideology and dogma concern the relations between states, and therefore the diplomatic dialogue of a country. When religious conviction and moral indignation do not develop at state frontiers but lead individuals, and states which are composed of individuals, to use pressure and perhaps military force in order to put a stop to intolerable practices in other countries, then ideology will affect the relations of states. The more a man is attached to dogmas, the less responsive he is to calls for agreement through compromise, believing that fundamentals may be negotiated away if they are treated on a level with the mundane balancing of interests familiar in negotiations between states. Most democratic governments are committed to some degree, and often a very high degree of international cooperation; and this requires an effective diplomatic dialogue and a minimum ideological conflict.<sup>83</sup> Ojo argues that conflict over ideology is common in African international relations. Ideological differences have created an atmosphere of hostility between many African states.<sup>84</sup> The two super powers, that is the United States of America and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics managed to influence countries around the world to adopt different ideologies and create animosities with other countries who adopted a different position. This affected states relations in the world and enhanced the cold war period.

<sup>82</sup> Democratic Essays, <http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper/5839.html>

<sup>83</sup> Watson Adam, *Diplomacy, The dialogue between states*, op cit p 70-78

<sup>84</sup> Ojo Olatunde. *African international relations*, op cit p 130

In a democratic society some of the most useful spokesmen for another country are prominent personalities who have a connection with that country, understand its aspirations problems and want to promote a better understanding and more cordial relations between it and their own for one reason or another.<sup>85</sup> These means that the public is involved in the implementation of foreign policy and diplomatic relations of states which are more open. The public opinion does not only come from the citizens of that country, but from anyone who has an interest in the country. Most of the opponents of the invasion of Iraq by former president George W Bush of America were Muslim nationals in other countries which included Muslims in America.

Watson argues that in a modern democracy, a great number of pressures and influences form to shape the states' foreign policy and the content and aims of its diplomatic dialogue. The personal interests of public opinion all carry great weight-some would say too much weight for the welfare of the state.<sup>86</sup> For smaller advanced industrial states, especially in Western Europe, a distinctive feature of the political system is the impact of the open, pluralistic process on the central direction of foreign policy. Although third world systems are often thought of in single leader terms, in practice a variety of systems of central foreign policy organization can be distinguished, shaped by complex domestic and socio-economic considerations.<sup>87</sup>

According to Smith, the government makes its foreign policy decisions based upon its abilities. The electorate uses foreign policy decisions as well as foreign policy performance in determining whether to retain the government. The electorate learns about the government from both its foreign policy decisions and the outcome of those policies.

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<sup>85</sup> Watson Adam, *Diplomacy. The dialogue between states*, op cit p 126-127

<sup>86</sup> Ibid p 150

<sup>87</sup> Barston R P. *Modern Diplomacy*, (UK: Longman Group Limited, 1988) p 12

The electorate cares about economic and foreign policy decisions. Voters care about economic outcomes. The ability of the government to run the economy is defined as economic competence. Voters prefer good economic outcomes to bad ones. They use the signal of past economic performance to estimate the economic competence of the government. In public opinion terms, a government has a high approval rating if the voters believe it is economically competent. If competence is low the electorate does not retain the government and instead elects the opposition.<sup>88</sup>

Democracies are assured to have much opposition because they have competitive, regular electoral contests, legalized two or multiparty organizations aimed at offering alternative governmental leadership, a high degree of toleration for autonomous groups in politics, and acceptance of constitutional restraints on governmental power. Autocratic systems in contrast are pictured as being largely immune from domestic constraints.<sup>89</sup> This is not entirely true as autocratic systems do face domestic constraints but the way they handle them is different from a democratic system. Autocratic systems will use other organs of the government, for example the army or the police to suppress domestic tension. A democratic system will use any means that is lawful and accepted by the population.

In democratic states voters have the power to remove unsatisfactory governments. According to traditional democratic theory, a government should enact those policies that are in the best interest of the nation. Unfortunately, under certain circumstances, the mechanism of elections causes the government to behave against the national interest when forming policy. These circumstances arise when the policies that maximize the

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<sup>88</sup> Smith Alastair. *International Studies Quarterly* (1996) 40, 133-153 *Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems* Alastair Smith Washington University, [http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96\\_diversion.pdf](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96_diversion.pdf)

<sup>89</sup> Rosenau J Kegley Jr. (ed). *New directions in the study of foreign policy*, (Boston, Unwin Hyman, 1987) p 341

government's chance of reelection are different from those that maximize the nation's welfare. To gain reelection, a democratically elected government may risk the lives of its citizens through its foreign policy choices.<sup>90</sup> For example when a country goes to war against a neighbor claiming to be protecting its borders and suffers extensive damage to its soldiers, yet dialogue would have been a better option. Although the country might have won and protected its territory, it also risked the lives of its citizen.

The public opinion in a democratic system can be detrimental to the foreign policies of a country. It is argued that not all citizens are knowledgeable of foreign policy issues and therefore should not influence foreign policy decision making. Woodrow Wilson fathered the League of Nations and was then unable to get his own country to adopt the child.<sup>91</sup> This was because the country preferred isolating itself from world issues. According to Waltz, foreign politics demands scarcely any of those qualities which are peculiar to a democracy; they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those in which it is deficient....a democracy can only with great difficulty regulate the details of an important undertaking, persevere in a fixed design, and work out its execution in spite of serious obstacles.<sup>92</sup> According to Waltz, first in the minds of many critics is the thought that democratic foreign policy is unstable, with the ends and execution of policy dependent upon a shifting majority, the policy of today maybe rejected tomorrow.<sup>93</sup> Diplomacy and interstate relations involve a lot of facets that may not be obvious to the citizen unlike to the leaders who are implementing the policies.

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<sup>90</sup> Smith Alastair, *International Studies Quarterly* (1996) 40, 133-153 *Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems* Alastair Smith Washington University, [http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96\\_diversion.pdf](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96_diversion.pdf)

<sup>91</sup> Morton R Davis and Vaughn Lewis, *Models of political systems*, London: Pall Mall press, 1971) p 13

<sup>92</sup> Waltz N Kenneth. *Foreign policy and democratic politics: The American and British experience*, (London: Longmans, 1967) p 10

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid* p 13



However, this has changed as more citizens are quickly learning different aspects of international relations.

What is the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy? The first theoretical construction about the public opinion is summarized as “Almond-Lippmann consensus” that sees the general public as emotional and ill-informed about foreign affairs. More recently, the so-called “revisionist” school challenged the consensus and suggested that the public is neither volatile nor capricious, but rather tends to be stable and rational. And when it changes, it is a rational response to international and domestic events.<sup>94</sup> The public is generally cognizant and knowledgeable about foreign policy issues, and political leaders, even though they do not always pursue vote-maximization, are responsive to public opinion. At the same time, political leaders try to mobilize foreign policies to achieve domestic political goals.<sup>95</sup>

Smith argues that manipulation of diplomatic decisions to gain popular vote are usually done without the public knowing the intention of the government. The central theme is that when a government, democratic or not, is under domestic pressure it enacts an adventurous, diversionary foreign policy. This foreign policy event diverts attention away from the domestic situation to the international system.<sup>96</sup> If the foreign policy event overshadows domestic problems, then the government avoids being removed from power. Even if the crisis does not fully divert the public's attention, governments may still undertake risky foreign policies. If the government succeeds, by either winning a war or extracting foreign concessions, then it may retain power. Success is a signal of

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<sup>94</sup> Leadership and foreign policy change: the enigma of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/6/9/8/7/p69873\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/6/9/8/7/p69873_index.html)

<sup>95</sup> Ibid

<sup>96</sup> Smith Alastair, *International Studies Quarterly* (1996) 40, 133-153 *Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems* Alastair Smith Washington University. [http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96\\_diversion.pdf](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96_diversion.pdf).

competence. Since the electorate prefers a competent government, successful policies convince the public that they should keep their leaders. This generates incentives for the government to undertake diversionary activities. These policies are not necessarily in the interest of the nation.<sup>97</sup> When governments are assured of re-election, they make unbiased decisions considering only international factors. Decision making is similarly unbiased when governments have no prospects of re-election. When the voters' evaluation of foreign policy out-comes could have an effect on election results then governments are biased towards violent, adventurous foreign policy projects. Institutional constraints are shown to reduce the magnitude of these biases. The bias in Foreign policy decisions at the end of the electoral cycle influences decision making in other countries. As a nation approaches the end of its electoral cycle other nations are more conciliatory and less confrontational towards it.<sup>98</sup>

The public opinion also contributes to the debate of the peaceful nature of democracies. Rummel advances three explanations for the peaceful nature of democracies. The first-level explanation is that the public's in democratic societies generally prefer to avoid war. Rummel attaches greater importance to the second-level explanation: the influence of democratic institutions and culture. "Where by virtue of their institutions democratic people must, to maintain democracy, negotiate and compromise rather than fight, this becomes part of the cultural heritage". Moreover, he states, since we deal with others through a cultural matrix, it is also natural for democratic people to perceive other regimes in these terms, to believe that all basic issues between nations can be settled by people sitting down at a table and talking them out, and

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<sup>97</sup> Smith Alastair, *International Studies Quarterly* (1996) 40, 133-153 *Diversionary Foreign Policy in Democratic Systems* Alastair Smith Washington University, [http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96\\_diversion.pdf](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/smith/Smith96_diversion.pdf).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

to tolerate the existence of other regimes and ideologies that do not openly threaten one's democratic way of life.<sup>99</sup>

The converse is equally true: totalitarian regimes see other regimes as being as ruthless, duplicitous, and brutal as themselves, and they act accordingly, thereby intensifying the cycle of violence. Even more significant than the impact of democratic political culture, Rummel contends, is the third-level explanation: the operation of a "social field" based on diversity and individual freedom. "This spontaneous social field of constantly interacting individuals and groups, all pursuing their own interests, is a field of continuous nonviolent conflict". In other words, the way to minimize violence, both domestic and international, is to decentralize power by strengthening civil society and constraining the role of the state. Rummel does a credible job of making the case that there is a continuum of violence: as one moves from democratic states to authoritarian and then totalitarian ones, the level of violence increases.<sup>100</sup>

Apart from a democratic and autocratic system, other systems also have an influence on leadership and public opinion. From the prevalence of presidential systems in developing countries a number of effects on foreign policy can be seen. The largest impact is on the style of conducting policy, with a preference for relying on direct negotiation by the head of the states and the use of personal diplomacy.<sup>101</sup>

Internal political pressure also determines how foreign policies will be formulated. The continuous internal conflicts in Africa, political party structures and governing system have influenced the foreign policies. This has thus undermined the public opinion aspect of policy making in Africa. The field of Foreign Affairs is often

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<sup>99</sup> Carpenter Ted, *Democracy And War*, *The Independent Review* 2 (Winter 1998): 435-441. Carpenter is Vice President, Defense and Foreign Policy Studies, at the Cato Institute. [http://www.mega.nu/ampp/rummel/pk\\_rev\\_tgc.htm](http://www.mega.nu/ampp/rummel/pk_rev_tgc.htm)

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>101</sup> Calvert Peter, *The foreign policy of new states*, (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986) p 95-8

regarded as the special preserve of the President. Frequently, this predetermines Foreign Policy formulation as the elite are the actors. Bureaucracy also poses a challenge to the process as different departments conflict as to who should handle Foreign policy. This is due to multiplicity of actors in the Foreign Policy making process and the lack of capable institutions. This ontological description has been ascribed to most of the African States' Foreign Policy making process.<sup>102</sup>

In most cases, the national interest and Foreign Policy of African States tend to reflect the interests of the leadership or a given regime instead of a state. The effect of this has been that different regimes come up with different leaders who have different ideologies. Hence, the foreign policies are altered any time a new regime comes into place. An example is Kenya which was once focused towards the West but is seeking more opportunities with the non-traditional partners in the East. Hagan argues that tasks of political survival and state-building suggest that foreign policy issues are to be manipulated to legitimize the current regime's hold on power.<sup>103</sup> Overall, the two political systems differ in several ways; democracy values the individual wealth and the dictatorship values society wealth. Each system's ideology determines how each situation is dealt with.<sup>104</sup>

In terms of resource mobilization, states can either be relational or reactional in their Foreign Policies. Most Foreign Policies in Africa are not relational but reactional. The states do not mobilize their resources targeting a particular country.

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<sup>102</sup> Hagan Joe, *political opposition and foreign policy in comparative perspective*, op cit p 48

<sup>103</sup> Ibid

<sup>104</sup> Democratic Essays, <http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper/5839.html>

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has described different arguments on the influence of political systems on leadership and public opinion. These arguments will enable the study look at the political regimes and public opinion forms in Kenya and Uganda and their influence on diplomatic relations.

A good indicator of the degree of influence a political regime has on the country's diplomatic relation has been described by Orwa. Orwa argues that a change of the government in a state may have a dramatic effect on International Relations. For Example, if a traditionally conservative state, allied to other conservative states, changes from a conservative to a radical government, its allies are likely to be alarmed by the new government and to view it with suspicion and disfavor.<sup>105</sup>

The type of leader, the political system and the public opinion in a country are all linked and inter-twined. They all have a compounding effect in the existing political regime in a country. However some variables have a greater influence on foreign policies than other variables. The type of leader has a greater influence, as some leaders do go against the established political system. However, if the political system established is strong and institutions are well established then leadership will be influential to an extent.

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<sup>105</sup> Orwa, *Causes of conflict in relations of African states* in Ojo Olatunde. *African international relations* (Lagos: Longman group limited, Lagos, 1985) p 46

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL REGIMES AND PUBLIC OPINION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND UGANDA (1986-2002).

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the political regimes in Kenya and Uganda (1986-2002) and how these regimes influenced bilateral diplomatic relations. The chapter will investigate political systems, leadership and public opinion in Kenya and Uganda and determine their influences on interstate relations.

All political regimes have goals and objectives which they set out to achieve when they are in power. The main objective of a country may remain the same but the style of implementation depends on the actors involved in implementing the policy. According to Oyugi, Kenya's objectives towards its neighbors have not changed. They have remained traditional; emphasis continues to be a preservation of territorial integrity and the creation of a regional environment that would enhance national economic development and political stability.<sup>106</sup> Due to the underdevelopment and poverty levels in Kenya and Uganda, it is important for the existing regimes in Kenya and Uganda to ensure that the foreign policies adopted enhance economic development and economic growth.

According to Goldstein, the foreign policy process is a process of decision making.<sup>107</sup> Decision making is very important as no action can be taken between two states without a decision being made. The foreign policy making process is an effective guide for showing the actors involved in the implementation of foreign policy and at what level the actors are involved.

<sup>106</sup> Oyugi Walter, *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African Publishers.) p 319

<sup>107</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 165

According to the rational model of decision making, a decision maker may hold different conflicting goals simultaneously. The goals of different individuals involved in making a decision may diverge, as may goals of different state agencies.<sup>108</sup> However, the final decision on diplomatic relations is usually left to the president of the country. Other actors who are involved in implementing diplomacy are the diplomats.

A diplomat is at times spoken of as the eyes and ears of his government in other countries. His chief functions are to execute the policies of his own country, to protect its interest and its nationals and to keep his government informed of major developments in the rest of the world.<sup>109</sup> Representing the interest of the country is one of the key functions of a diplomat. The importance of a diplomat in projecting the regimes interest in the host country is crucial in implementing foreign policy. Due to the emergence of a 'new diplomacy', the role of diplomats has become diverse.

Diplomats provide much of the information that goes into making foreign policies, but their main role is to carry out rather than create policies. Nonetheless, foreign ministry bureaucrats can often make foreign relations so routine that top leaders and political appointees can come and go without altering the country's relations.<sup>110</sup> However by gathering information and advising the ministers, diplomats indeed make foreign policies.

The diplomat is not the only agent that is involved in diplomatic relations. The president, the foreign affairs and the different ministries in a country all contribute in diplomacy. Apart from the foreign ministry, other ministries engage with other countries in their duties. The organizational model is based on the premise that decisions being

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid p 167

<sup>109</sup> Palmer N Perkins H, *International relations: The world community in Transition*. (New Delhi: CBS Publishers) p 85

<sup>110</sup> Goldstein Joshua. *International Relations*, op cit p 179

made are standardized responses or standard operating procedures. Most decisions taken by the ministry of foreign affairs are handled by applying general principles. These low-level decisions may not even reflect the high-level policies adopted by the top leaders, but rather have a life of their own.<sup>111</sup> The bargaining process among various government agencies describes the bureaucratic politics model of making decisions.<sup>112</sup> When engaging in other duties, countries meet each other and they do this with the help of the diplomatic agents representing their countries. This diplomatic environment enables negotiations to take place.

The collective term for a group of diplomats from a single country who are residents in another country is a diplomatic mission. Ambassador is the most senior diplomatic rank; a diplomatic mission headed by an ambassador is known as an embassy. The collective body of all diplomats of particular country is called that country's diplomatic service. The collective body of all diplomats assigned to a particular country is the diplomatic corps. The ability to practice diplomacy is one of the defining elements of a state, and diplomacy has been practiced since the first city-states were formed a millennia ago. For most of human history diplomats were sent only for specific negotiations, and would return immediately after their mission concluded. Diplomats were usually relatives of the ruling family or of very high rank in order to give them legitimacy when they sought to negotiate with the other state.<sup>113</sup> However, this has changed as diplomacy becomes more diverse; diplomats reside in receiving states in order for them to perform efficiently.

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<sup>111</sup> Avabt, Deborah D, *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995)

<sup>112</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*. op cit p 167

<sup>113</sup> Magalhaes Jose Calvet, *The pure concept of diplomacy*. (New York: Greenwood press, 1988) p 101



The main types of diplomacy are bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. Diplomacy between two states is bilateral while diplomacy among countries more than two is multilateral diplomacy.

Historically the influence of political regimes and public opinion on diplomacy started when states were formed. Many contemporary divisions are thus traceable to differences in the domestic structure. Although this is not the only cause of divisions, Hanreide and Wolfram argue that when domestic structures are based on fundamentally different conceptions of what is just the conduct of international affairs grows more complex.<sup>114</sup>

### **3.2 From autocracy to democracy in Kenya**

Political system is that system of inter-action in any society through which binding and authoritative allocations of values are made and implemented.<sup>115</sup> According to Dahl, every political system engages in foreign relations, for the actions open to one system are affected by the past or probable actions of others.<sup>116</sup>

After the attempted coup in 1982, Kenya became a single-party system de jure. This system was autocratic in nature and the leader and ruling party were supreme. According to Lai and Slater single-party regimes tend to exhibit greater institutional capacity to mobilize coercive and ideological resources on behalf of incumbent leaders. In terms of coercion, single-party regimes prioritize party supremacy and the political subordination of the armed forces. This provides single-party regimes with a more potent institutional infrastructure for suppressing potential opposition both in the wider society

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<sup>114</sup> Hanreide and Wolfram (ed), *Comparative foreign policy. Theoretical essays*. (New York: David McKay Company, 1971) p 22

<sup>115</sup> Agarwal R C, *Political Theory: Principles of political science*. (New Delhi. S. Chand and CO limited, 1991) p 409

<sup>116</sup> Dahl Robert, *Modern political Analysis*. (New Jersey: Prentice hall Inc. 1970) p 44

and within the state apparatus itself.<sup>117</sup> In Kenya the opposition was either imprisoned or suppressed. Many people were jailed while others were exiled because of opposing the government and the ruling party Kenya Africa National Union (KANU), foreign ambassadors who opposed the ruling elite were seen as enemies of the regime. The opinion of the public or other civil society groups was suppressed and only the opinion of KANU and its leaders mattered.

Moi's centralization and personalization of power had led to the subordination of the functions of the judiciary and of parliament.<sup>118</sup> In foreign policy this meant that parliament was handicapped in making decisions as it was subordinate to the party in power and the leader of the party who was the president. The foreign policy and diplomatic relations were formed by the leader and his party.

In a democratic system the government has specific functions in external relations e.g. ratification of a treaty or appointment of an ambassador before the head of state can proceed with appointing the ambassador. However in a single party system, the party may constitutionally or de facto be in charge of formulating all government policies, including as regards the conduct of external affairs.<sup>119</sup> As the leader of the ruling party KANU, president Moi made all the decisions regarding diplomatic relations. When he consulted, he consulted his political allies and foreign affairs minister who was a KANU official.

After intense international pressure for example the US Congress, passing the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 1991

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<sup>117</sup> Lai Brian and Slater Dan. *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 113-126 Midwest Political Science Association

<sup>118</sup> Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyae. *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001*. African Studies Quarterly 5(1):1 (2001) <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>

<sup>119</sup> Dietrich Kappeler (ed), Geneva 1990. Graduate Institute of International studies, diplomatic studies programme. Training 3<sup>rd</sup> world diplomats. International seminar 5 to 8 April, 1988.

requiring Kenya to meet certain conditions before \$15 million in economic and military aid could be disbursed, the Moi regime tactically gave in. It agreed to repeal Section 2A of the Constitution which made Kenya a de jure one-party state. This decision paved the way for the formation of political parties, namely FORD (Forum for Restoration of Democracy) led by the opposition veteran, Oginga Odinga, and the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) under Mwai Kibaki.<sup>120</sup> Kenya adopted a democratic system of government.

Before adopting a democratic political system, Moi's regime opposed multipartyism as he compared it with a system that will result to incitement of ethnic nationalism.<sup>121</sup> Although the degree of democracy takes time to develop, the signs of a shift in the political system started to slowly develop. Political parties and the civil society started calling for changes in the country's foreign policies and called for the power of the executive to be reduced in all aspects. Calls for diplomacy and the appointment of ambassadors to be on a professional platform developed.

According to Palmer, while diplomacy has remained a rather esoteric profession, carried on by men of wealth and influence on power, it is conducted with the assistance of a growing number of career offices, the elite guard of diplomacy whose standards of competence and training are being steadily raised. Diplomacy is thus being put more generally on a professional and non political basis.<sup>122</sup> In the autocratic system, most government decisions went to people who support the government and the ruling party, including particular tribes which were favored. When Kenya became a democratic state, the tribes which were sidelined also wanted to get diplomatic positions.

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<sup>120</sup> Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyae, *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001* op cit

<sup>121</sup> Njiru's Lee article: "The Making of a President." Kenya Times, December 11, 1997  
<http://nairobiChronicle.wordpress.com/2008/10/09/moi-day-special-kenya%E2%80%99s-second-president>

<sup>122</sup> Palmer N Perkins H, *International relations: The world community in Transition*, op cit, p 94

Democracy brought new friends and foes into Kenya's relations. Countries that supported democracy became friends while countries with other political systems became foes. However this is not the case at all times as foreign policy decisions shift depending on the particular situation.

### 3.3 No Party political system in Uganda

When President Museveni took control of State House, his strong anti-parties stance immediately translated into a legal ban on the activities of the old political organizations. In 1996, the presidency of the former rebel leader was for the first time sanctioned by a successful electoral campaign and a second mandate was obtained in 2001. The anti-party stance espoused by Museveni during the guerrilla war did not remain a mere rhetorical strategy, but quickly translated into a far-reaching state policy: the first legal act of the NRM (National Resistance Movement) era was an immediate ban on political parties.<sup>123</sup> Alongside party candidatures, party conferences, local branches and party electioneering were also prohibited. The ban on party activities, initially meant as a transitional measure necessary to 'modernize' the country, was constitutionalised in 1995.<sup>124</sup> The no party system in Uganda had all the features of an autocratic political system. After a while, a new framework was established. The new framework, however, formally prohibits party activities, rather than parties per se. It still allows parties a formal existence and a central office, as it is rather their operations that are subject to limitations.<sup>125</sup>

According to Museveni, the ideological underpinnings of no-party politics were provided by an interpretation of Uganda's post-independence history as a spiral of violent

<sup>123</sup> Legal notice no. 1/1986 of the constitution of Uganda

<sup>124</sup> Art. 269, Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995).

<sup>125</sup> Giovanni Carbone, *'Populism' visits Africa: The case of Yoweri Museveni and No-party democracy in Uganda*. Crisis States Research Centre. (London: Università degli Studi di Milano, 2005)

conflicts prompted by ethnically-based political parties. The bulk of Museveni's argument for a no-party model was that western representative democracy could hardly be imported to African countries.<sup>126</sup> Thus, a Movement Act was passed in 1997 that established countrywide party-like structures at different levels. The movement evolved a very centralized and leadership-oriented modus operandi that kept it heavily dependent upon its leader's personal charisma and patronage linkages.<sup>127</sup> Like in an autocratic system, all decisions were made by the president and the opinions of others did not matter much to the ruling elite.

According to Onyango-Obbo, clearly, all external policy initiatives by Museveni's government have always been servants of domestic political agendas. One of the best examples of this is the question of the "no party" (movement) system, and whether it is a democratic or one-party state renamed. The Movement bears all the hallmarks of a one-party system, though the international community now widely accepts it as a "new model" of democracy. Open political party activities are outlawed, and the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) monopolises power and has an obscene advantage against other groups in elections. Having used the standards of the west to create a domestic majority in favor of their argument over political systems, Museveni and his men flipped the coin and seized on the fact that "an overwhelming number" of Ugandans had accepted the NRM's system of governance and confronted the international community with it as evidence that the "no party" system was democratic

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<sup>126</sup> Museveni Yoweri, *What is Africa's problem?*, Kampala: NRM Publications, 1992, p.279.

<sup>127</sup> Giovanni Carbone, *'Populism' visits Africa: The case of Yoweri Museveni and No-party democracy in Uganda*, Crisis States Research Centre, op cit

and popular. If it wasn't, the majority of Ugandans wouldn't have accepted it.<sup>128</sup> The citizens and the opposition played a minimal or insignificant part in influencing decisions of foreign nature. Yet this was meant to be a new kind of democracy where freedom of speech and opposition is allowed. As in the case of Kenya, the foreign policy was a wait and see policy and appointment of diplomats was done by the president to reward loyalists.

Uganda's no party system was ruled by the National Resistance Movement which had a military background. According to Lai and Slater authoritarian regimes resting on military institutions are more likely to initiate interstate conflict than those relying on party institutions-regardless of whether those regimes are personalized or not.<sup>129</sup> Museveni had seized power through his military movement and this meant that his regime was resting on a military institution. Any country seen to meddle in the running of Uganda's government was met with stiff resistance. The military was greatly feared as the organ for oppression and suppression of the opposition.

When Kenya became a democratic state, the ruling regime started viewing Uganda as a country that does not conform to the democratic values. Kenya tried as much as possible not to interfere in the internal affairs of Uganda. This might be due to the non-interference stance of most countries or to protect itself from criticism from Uganda. Kenya and Uganda had different political systems and this may have had an impact on their diplomatic relations. According to Kissinger, when the domestic structure and the

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<sup>128</sup> Onyango-Obbo Charles, Museveni: Foreign Policy Schemer, Or Just Getting By? From *The East African*, April 28-May 4, 1997. <http://www.newsafrika.com/article72.html>

<sup>129</sup> Lai Brian and Slater Dan, *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 113-126 Midwest Political Science Association

concept of legitimacy on which they are based differ widely, statesmen can still meet, but their ability to persuade has been reduced for they no longer speak the same language.<sup>130</sup> According to Potholm Kenya's relations with her two principal neighbors Tanzania and Uganda have had an element of suspicion that goes back to the colonial period, when a settler-dominated Kenya used Tanzania and Uganda as captive markets for its agricultural products.<sup>131</sup>

Although the system in Kenya and Uganda were different as one system was a one party system and the other was a no party system, both systems served the same purpose. The autocratic nature of both systems enabled the leader to take centre role of inter state relations.

### **3.4 Diplomatic relations and the style of leadership in Kenya and Uganda**

Goldstein argues that individuals are the only true actors in International relations. Every international event is the result, intended or unintended, of decisions made by individuals.<sup>132</sup> According to Adar and Munyae, Moi began to centralize and personalize power when he took over the presidency. He pledged to follow Kenyatta's nyayo (Swahili for "footsteps"). His grand design turned out to be a strategy geared toward the achievement of specific objectives, namely, the control of the state, the consolidation of power, the legitimization of his leadership, and the broadening of his political base and popular support. Moi succeeded in assuming the presidency and thereafter began to systematically institute an authoritarian and oppressive one-man state rule.<sup>133</sup> Any form

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<sup>130</sup> Kissinger Henry. Domestic structure and foreign policy in Hanriede and Wolfram (ed) *Comparative foreign policy making. Theoretical essays*, (New York: University of California, David McKay Company, 1971)

<sup>131</sup> Potholm, C, P. *The theory and practice of Africa politics*, op cit p 251

<sup>132</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 163

<sup>133</sup> Korwa G Adar and Isaac M. Munyae. *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001*. African Studies Quarterly 5(1):1 (2001) <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>

of aggression towards the Moi regime was met with stiff resistance. On Jamuhuri day 1987, President Moi accused Uganda of 'interfering' in Kenya's internal affairs'.<sup>134</sup>

The ruling government would do all it can to prevent interference by other states. In a country with an authoritarian ruler, the same can be expected on its diplomatic relations. What the leader says stands and should not be opposed by anyone. The interest of the leader is translated to the interest of the country.

Moi's style -- the centralization and personalization of power -- gradually laid the foundation for a dictatorship. To ensure his grip on power, Moi systematically usurped the functions of the other institutions of governance to the extent that the principle of the separation of powers was rendered ineffectual. A few days after releasing all the political detainees, he rushed a bill through Kenya's parliament which granted the president emergency powers for the first time in Kenya's post-independence history. Moi associated insecurity and instability with open criticisms and challenge to his policies and style of leadership. Patronage and loyalty therefore remained characteristic of Moi's leadership style which enabled him to centralize and personalize his rule. There were no checks and balances on Moi's personal authority.<sup>135</sup> This allowed for ad hoc and reactionary foreign policies since laid down policies were not used as guidelines only the decisions of the ruler were implemented.

This type of decision making restricts long term planning as decisions are made on the spot. The people consulted are usually the president's close allies and advisors. Patronage and clientelism meant that the President rewarded his loyal supporters by appointing them as ambassadors. This not only brought tension between the politicians

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<sup>134</sup> Daily nation, Dec 13, 1987, standard Dec 13 1987

<sup>135</sup> Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyae. *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001*. African Studies Quarterly 5(1):1 (2001) <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>



and the career bureaucrats but also affected how policies were implemented. Bureaucrats have laid down procedures that they use in diplomatic relations. Tension is common between state leaders and foreign policy bureaucrats. Career diplomats try to orient new leaders and their appointees while politicians struggle to exercise power over the formal bureaucratic agencies.<sup>136</sup>

The leadership style President Moi adopted was reflected in the implementation of his foreign policy. President Moi ensured that he sets the tone of foreign policy, but he has also made numerous personal diplomatic moves in furtherance of Kenya's interest and image.<sup>137</sup> Whereas Kenyatta practiced a hands-off style of leadership, Moi preferred hands-on management. He famously said, "Those who want to lead the country must wait their turn ... I am the President and every minister must sing like a parrot to my tune."<sup>138</sup> Moi was at the centre stage in the management of foreign policy. Since taking office, he visited many countries personally, to promote Kenya's national interests.<sup>139</sup> Moi practiced personal diplomacy in his relations with other countries. According to Katete, personal diplomacy is the direct participation of foreign ministers, prime minister and even heads of states in diplomatic negotiations.<sup>140</sup> Moi and Museveni both traveled to other countries to strengthen relationships and promote economic ties.

According to Kappeler, the personalization of power results to leaders considering the external relations as their own reserved domain.<sup>141</sup> Most decisions in this political regime have to pass through the president. The lack of decentralization and delegation of

<sup>136</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 179

<sup>137</sup> Oyugi Walter (ed), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East Africa educational publishers, 1994) p 323

<sup>138</sup> Njiru's Lee article: "The Making of a President." Kenya Times, December 11, 1997  
<http://nairobi-chronicle.wordpress.com/2008/10/09/moi-day-special-kenya%E2%80%99s-second-president>

<sup>139</sup> Okumu John, Some thoughts on Kenya's Foreign policy. *The African review* Vol 3(2) 1973, p 138

<sup>140</sup> Orwa Katete, Continuity and change, Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi, in Oyugi Walter. *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, (Nairobi: East African Publishers,) p 101

<sup>141</sup> Kappeler Dietrich (ed), Geneva 1990, Graduate Institute of International studies, diplomatic studies programme. "Training 3<sup>rd</sup> world diplomats. International seminar 5 to 8 April, 1988.

duties and decision making makes the decision making process extensive Kappeler argues that the importance of leadership style on diplomatic relations is affected to some extent with the size and quality a foreign ministry. This is because leaders prioritize external relations differently.<sup>142</sup> Both Moi and Museveni gave foreign relations great importance. In addition to this, depending on which country the leader views as important to its needs, then an ambassador will be sent to match up the skills. Some leaders tend to send a political supporter as a diplomat, in a country where they attach great importance.

In the course of the electoral phase of his rule, Museveni's leadership took on an increasingly plebiscitarian tendency and developed an uneasy relationship with other newly-created central institutions, notably parliament and the courts of justice.<sup>143</sup> Uganda has had a personal coercive regime since 1951-1990. The entrenchment of the regime has been predicted on the connection between a strong leader and the coercive apparatus. All other structures-the bureaucracy, the political machinery where it existed, the court system-have been subjugated to the whims of the leader backed by the military force. Personally based, coercive regime constructs have limited access to public institutions to those individuals or social groups loyal to the leader. Rules of political behavior consequently tended to be haphazard. Under these conditions, resistance to the regime and outright repression of these efforts is marked.<sup>144</sup>

Addressing diplomats and journalists at state house, Entebbe over the Uganda, Kenya border violence, Museveni warned that Uganda would take appropriate 'self-defence' measures if Kenyan security forces did not stop firing at Uganda troops, people

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>143</sup> Giovanni Carbone, *'Populism' visits Africa: The case of Yoweri Museveni and No-party democracy in Uganda*, Crisis States Research Centre, (London: Università degli Studi di Milano, 2005)

<sup>144</sup> Chazan Naomi et al. *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*. op cit p 147-148

and territory.<sup>145</sup> Main policy decisions are centralized around the leader and his close advisors. Specific technical and professional decision making is carried out in the bureaucracy and the military is generally controlled.<sup>146</sup> According to Mugisha, building institutions and organizations involves delegating power, something that is foreign to Museveni's leadership style. The President notoriously prefers to dictate and 'micromanage' personally all decisions, regardless of institutional settings, norms and procedures.<sup>147</sup> Ministers and other officials who are nominally in charge of a policy area are hardly consulted and often by-passed. This is notably the case for key sectors such as the economy and finance, defence or foreign policy.<sup>148</sup>

The NRM government introduced new radical foreign policy objectives when it first came to power and consequently brought new complications into Uganda's foreign relations. During its first four years in power, the NRM government moderated its foreign policy stance to one that more closely reflected the conventional positions of preceding Ugandan governments than the changes proposed in its Ten-Point Program. Post-independence heads of government in Uganda made almost all significant foreign policy-making decisions themselves, leaving their foreign ministers to carry them out or explain them. They also used foreign policy symbolically to signal the international posture they wished to cultivate. All three presidents often used foreign policy as a public gesture in an effort to give the government more autonomy in international affairs, improve its public standing with radical states, or satisfy vocal militants in the government. Although Museveni managed to increase the economic growth of Uganda, there was debate to

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<sup>145</sup> New vision, Dec 16-1987

<sup>146</sup> Chazan Naomi et al, *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*. op cit p 137-140

<sup>147</sup> Mugisha Muntu. MP in the East African Legislative Assembly and former army officer, interview, Kampala, 21 October 2004

<sup>148</sup> Tangri Roger & Mwenda Andrew. 'Military corruption and Ugandan politics since the late 1990s'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 98 (2003), pp 539-552.

whether the leadership style was effective for economic development and economic growth.<sup>149</sup>

Both leaders practiced personal rule in their governance and this meant that implementation of diplomacy also took a personal rule dimension. According to Goldstein, individual decisions reflect the values and beliefs of the decision makers. The belief systems of political leaders influence how they interpret information and this is projected in their differing goals and how they pursue their goals. Decision makers suffer from misperceptions, selective perceptions, affective bias and cognitive biases.<sup>150</sup> All these will have an effect on both the high level and low level foreign policy decision makers.

### **3.5 Public opinion and diplomatic relations in Kenya and Uganda**

According to Goldstein, foreign policies operate in the context of the political debates in their society. There are societal pressures that influence foreign policy, although these are aggregated and made effective through different channels in different societies. In pluralistic democracies, interested parties influence foreign policy through interest groups and political parties. In dictatorships similar influences occur but less visibly. Public opinion has greater influence on foreign policy in democracies than in authoritarian governments. But even dictators must pay attention to what citizens think.<sup>151</sup> Autocratic governments also need to convince people to accept its policies, because in the end policies are carried out by ordinary people-soldiers, workers,

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid

<sup>150</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 169-170

<sup>151</sup> Ibid p 181

burcaucrats. Unpopular wars are hard to wage successfully.<sup>152</sup> Gradually, public opinion in Kenya has been growing. In the 1990's the major worry for the presidency became the church, particularly the Anglican Church (then known as the Church of Province of Kenya), the Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, which together account for over 70% of the Kenyan Christian community, a majority of the population. Together with the umbrella organization, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCKK), the church had persistently and consistently used the pulpit to criticize Moi's authoritarian regime.<sup>153</sup> Personalized regimes view public opinion as a threat to its control and authority in a country.

Arrests and detentions in fact followed every one of Moi's warning against his critics. As has been the practice throughout his leadership, the police moved quickly and arrested those in the forefront for democracy, with the judiciary merely sanctioning what is commonly known in Kenya as political cases. The ruling against the Universities Academic Staff Union (UASU) and its officials from 1993 to 1995 serve as good examples of the level of state interference in political cases. The union which sought to promote academic freedom and professionalism in Kenya universities was faced obstacles when the courts refused outright to hear it while the police harassed its officials. Moi's actions were meant to silence the intelligent, perceived to be critical of his authoritarian rule. Moi used the same tactic when he denounced the February Eighteenth Movement (FEM) which he accused of planning attacks on Kenya to be launched from

<sup>152</sup> Ibid p 186

<sup>153</sup> Munyai Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyai, *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001*. African Studies Quarterly 5(1):1 (2001) <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>

Uganda in the early 1990s.<sup>154</sup> Suppression of freedom of the press, assembly, association, expression and movement and other fundamental rights of individuals were extended to the press, and non-governmental organizations. In 1991 Moi banned the production of plays that were considered by the regime to be subversive because it attacks post-independence African dictators.<sup>155</sup>

The Public Order Act gave way to a measure of freedom of assembly as long as the police were notified by organizers of public gatherings. These reforms were the result of negotiations by an inter-party forum known as the Inter- Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG). It made recommendations to Parliament and some laws were indeed changed.<sup>156</sup> The political system adopted by both countries established the degree to which public opinion and freedom is practiced. According to Reynolds, the influence that pressure groups can exercise in foreign policy making, when they seek to exercise it, thus varies with the nature of the political system, the general political strength or weaknesses of an administration, the proximity or distance of an election and the extent to which an unsatisfied group is able politically to harm leaders or resist it.<sup>157</sup>

Public opinion in democratic countries may exercise considerable influence on the conduct of external relations and even force their views upon the government.<sup>158</sup> In democracies, where the flow of information and opinions is not tightly restricted by the

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<sup>154</sup> Korwa G. Adar and Isaac M. Munyae, *Human Rights Abuse in Kenya under Daniel Arap Moi 1978-2001*. African Studies Quarterly 5(1):1 (2001) <http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i1a1.htm>

<sup>155</sup> Ibid

<sup>156</sup> Ibid

<sup>157</sup> Reynolds P. A, *Introduction to International relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, (London: Longman, 1994) p 86

<sup>158</sup> Kappeler Dietrich (ed), Geneva 1990, Graduate Institute of International studies, diplomatic studies programme. Training 3<sup>rd</sup> world diplomats. International seminar 5 to 8 April, 1988.

state, it is possible to accurately measure public opinion through polling. This has developed into an important part of the foreign policy making process.<sup>159</sup>

The need for public support even in authoritarian governments pushes regimes to spend great effort on propaganda to win support for their foreign policies. States use television and other information media in this effort. In democracies, where governments must stand for election, public opinion is even more important.<sup>160</sup> In Uganda, the public was suppressed when it came to public opinion. This means that public opinion was met with stiff resistance. According to Irving, people may avoid addressing their issues in public because public opinion may illicit psychological problems in so far as groups will reach decisions without accurately assessing their consequences, since individuals members tend to go along with ideas they think the others support. This is called group-think.<sup>161</sup>

As much as public opinion in Uganda was suppressed, there were still calls for a better and more democratic system which will allow citizens to influence government policies including diplomatic relations. According to Goldstein, decision makers enjoy some autonomy to make their own choices, and they are pulled in various directions by bureaucracies and interest groups, whose views often conflict with the direction favored by the public opinion at large. States use propaganda (in dictatorships) or try to manipulate the media (in democracies) to keep public opinion from diverging too much from state policies.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 187

<sup>160</sup> Ibid

<sup>161</sup> Janis Irving, *Victims of groupthink: A psychological study of foreign policy decisions and fiascoes*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

<sup>162</sup> Goldstein Joshua, *International Relations*, op cit p 188

### 3.6 Conclusion

Overall the differences in the foreign policy process from one state to another are more influenced by a state's type of government than by the particular constellation of bureaucracies, interest groups or individuals within it. Democracies tend to share values and interests and hence tend to get along better with each other than with democracies.<sup>163</sup> Goldstein argues that democracies fight wars against authoritarian states; democracies almost never fight each other. This is what is called democratic peace.<sup>164</sup> Although this generalization is historically valid, it might not be applicable in the future.

Foreign policy is a complex outcome of a complex process. It results from the struggle of competing themes, competing domestic interests, and competing government agencies. No single individual, agency or guiding principle determines the outcome. Yet, foreign policy does achieve a certain overall coherence.<sup>165</sup>

The political regimes and public opinion in both Kenya and Uganda shaped their diplomatic relations with one another. The main decision makers in foreign relations practiced the same style of leadership and restrained the influence of the public opinion. This made Kenya and Uganda's relations to be cooperative but also made Kenya and Uganda conflictual as both leaders fought to establish themselves as the hegemony in east Africa. When Kenya became a democratic state, it had to denounce or condemn countries which are less democratic. This was not easy especially if the country is your neighbor, therefore Kenya had to cooperate with Uganda at the same time project its dissatisfaction with the system adopted.

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid p 189

<sup>164</sup> Ibid p 193

<sup>165</sup> Ibid



## CHAPTER FOUR

### BILATERAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND UGANDA (1986-2002)

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the bilateral diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda. This will establish the state of affairs and dealings between the two countries. This chapter will particularly examine the historical background and the foreign relations between Kenya and Uganda during 1986-2002. Cooperation and conflictual scenarios which stood out in Kenya and Uganda's relations will be analyzed and the key findings will be established.

The present framework for relations between Kenya and Uganda stems from their historical past, proximity and their shared borders. Both countries were colonized by the British, share the same border and trade with one another. Through history, Kenya's relations with her two principal neighbors Tanzania and Uganda have had an element of suspicion.<sup>166</sup> The relationship between Kenya and Uganda is cemented by foreign trade between the two countries. In addition to this, the lack of an outlet to the sea for Uganda ensures that Uganda remains dependent for its external trade upon Kenya which provides this outlet at its port of Mombasa.<sup>167</sup>

A general climate of good neighborliness and noninterference in each others' affairs marked relations among the three East African states during the 1960s. But these ties became strained at the end of the decade, as President Obote's (the then president of Uganda) tentative moves toward more radical domestic and foreign policies caused

<sup>166</sup> Barkan Joel and Okumu John (ed), *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books, 1979) p 251

<sup>167</sup> Okoth Godfrey, *The foreign policy of Uganda since independence toward Kenya and Tanzania*. In Oyugi Walter (Ed) *Politics and administration in East Africa*, (Nairobi: East African publishers, 1994) p 36

anxiety among the more conservative Kenyan leadership. After Obote was overthrown in 1985, the short-lived military government maintained friendly ties with the Kenyan president, Daniel T. arap Moi. However, Moi feared that the example of a guerrilla force taking power from an established African government might give heart to Kenyan dissidents and that the NRM (National Resistance Movement) government might even assist them.<sup>168</sup>

The first instance of cooperation between Kenya and Uganda was when president Moi successfully mediated peace negotiations between the NRM and the Okello government in Nairobi in late 1985. However, the agreement for the two sides to share power was never implemented, as war broke out a month later and quickly resulted in the NRM's seizure of Kampala. President Moi, together with the heads of state from Zaire and Rwanda, met with Museveni shortly thereafter in Goma, Zaire, but president Moi remained irritated over the NRM's "betrayal" of the agreement in which he had invested much of his time and prestige.<sup>169</sup> However this improved Moi's profile in the region as a peace maker and in the African continent.

In September 21<sup>st</sup> 2000, Kenya and Uganda reaffirmed their commitment to enhance and consolidate their historical ties of friendship and the good neighborliness existing between the two peoples, through a joint communiqué. After a two-day state visit to Kenya by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni at the invitation of his Kenyan counterpart Daniel arap Moi, the two leaders issued the communiqué, saying they pledged to work closely to expand cooperation in the fields of trade, tourism, transport and communications, and energy. In addition to this the two countries agreed to set up a

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<sup>168</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, Uganda, <http://countrystudies.us/uganda/67.htm>, Data as December 1990

<sup>169</sup> Baker Baker, *The Class of 1990: How Have the Autocratic Leaders of Sub-Saharan Africa Fared under Democratisation?* Third World Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Mar., 1998), pp. 115-127 Taylor & Francis, Ltd

Committee of Ministers of Finance and Trade to ease trade between Kenya and Uganda.<sup>170</sup> Trade has been a crucial and important sector for both Kenya and Uganda.

A trademark of cooperation between Kenya and Uganda is the formation of the East African Community. East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania established the East African Community (EAC) to boost regional trade and commerce. Moi, Museveni and Mkapa had signed the treaty in November 1999 which set out the principles for economic, monetary and political union. It also provided for common action on the movement of people and goods between member countries and on transport, tourism and telecommunications. The treaty calls for common external tariffs and the elimination of international tariffs, the establishment of an East African legislative assembly and of a common customs union.<sup>171</sup>

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have made two attempts to unite in a regional organization since they gained independence. In each case, the nations sought a loose federation underpinned by an economic common market. In 1961, the three countries formed the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), in which a shared and centralized administration was to provide services, including transportation, communication, tax collection, scientific research, social services and university education. The EACSO charter was also to create a common currency, a common appellate court, and a common market in which goods and labor could circulate freely. These were to be directed by a central legislative assembly. By 1965, the EACSO began to come apart due to growing tendencies toward nationalism and diverging economic and

<sup>170</sup> Xinhua News Agency, September 21, 2000 Copyright, Kenya, Uganda Pledge to Enhance Cooperation, <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-18307938.html>

<sup>171</sup> The East African Community, <http://www.africa-business.com/features/eac.html>

political policies. In 1967, a new organization was founded under the rubric of the East African Community (EAC), established under the Treaty for East African Cooperation. This time, Tanzania's move toward socialism and Uganda's national misfortunes under the brutal regime of Idi Amin led to the dissolution of the cooperative effort. By 1977, the community was inoperative and by 1983, it was formally dissolved. Relations among the countries improved when the community's assets were redistributed and when relations with Tanzania improved in the wake of the agreement. But new tensions arose in the late 1980's between Kenya and Uganda.<sup>172</sup> The EAC was dissolved because of differences in economic policies by the three countries and the lack of commitment by the three governments. Kenya was economically strong and did not want to lose this position in the region because of the integration. While Uganda and Tanzania wanted parity and policies which will ensure economic equilibrium in the region.

By the early 1990's, however, a push for regional integration was again making itself felt. The presidents of Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya held a conference about reestablishing cooperation in Arusha, Tanzania in November 1993. A permanent tri-national commission, once again named the East African Cooperation, was inaugurated in March 1996, whose first secretary-general, Francis Muthaura, was Kenyan. This cooperative effort was more modest in its ambitions, mainly emphasizing cooperation in transport, energy, the management of Lake Victoria and cross-border trade. Uganda and Tanzania are presently the two leading export markets, with Kenyan manufacturers the principal beneficiaries. The nations' three currencies are now convertible, and in April

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<sup>172</sup> African studies centre Foreign Relations. <http://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/kforeignrelation.htm> Kenya

1997 the three presidents oversaw the introduction of an EAC flag and passport.<sup>173</sup> These efforts towards cooperation have been commendable; however some of them have not yet been fully implemented.

Formal economic and social integration in the East African region commenced with, among other things, the construction of the Kenya Uganda Railway 1897 – 1901, the establishment of the Customs Collection Centre 1900, the East African Currency Board 1905, the Postal union 1905, the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa 1909, the Customs Union 1919, the East African Governors Conference 1926, the East African Income Tax Board 1940 and the Joint Economic Council 1940; Provision was made by the East Africa (High Commission) Orders in Council 1947 – 1961, the East African Common Services Organization Agreements 1961 – 1966, and the Treaty for East African Co-operation 1967 for the establishment respectively; of the East Africa High Commission, the East African Common Services Organization and the East African Community as successive joint organizations of the said Countries to control and administer certain matters of common interest and to regulate the commercial and industrial relations and transactions between the said countries and by means of a central legislature to enact on behalf of the said countries laws relevant to the purposes of the said joint organizations; In 1977 the Treaty for East African Co-operation establishing the East African Community was officially dissolved, the main reasons contributing to the collapse of the East African Community being lack of strong political will, lack of strong participation of the private sector and civil society in the co-operation activities, the continued disproportionate sharing of benefits of the community among the Partner

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<sup>173</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1998, Country Profile. Kenya, The Unit: London, p. 10.

States due to their differences in their levels of development and lack of adequate policies to address this situation; Upon the dissolution of the East African Community the said countries signed on the 14th day of May, 1984, at Arusha, in Tanzania the East African Community Mediation Agreement 1984, hereinafter referred to as “the Mediation Agreement” for the division of the assets and liabilities of the former East African Community; Pursuant to article 14.02 of the Mediation Agreement the countries agreed to explore and identify areas for future co-operation and to make arrangements for such co-operation; On the 30th day of November, 1993, provision was made by the Agreement for the Establishment of a Permanent Tripartite Commission for Co-operation between the Republic of Uganda, the Republic of Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for Co-operation hereinafter referred to as “the Tripartite Commission” to be responsible for the co-ordination of economic, social, cultural, security and political issues among the said countries and a Declaration was also made by the Heads of State of the said countries for closer East African co-operation; On the 26th day of November, 1994, provision was made by the Protocol on the establishment of a Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for Co-operation between the Republic of Uganda, the Republic of Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania, for the establishment of the Secretariat of the Tripartite Commission for Co-operation between the Republic of Uganda, the Republic of Kenya and the United republic of Tanzania to act as Secretariat of the Tripartite Commission, hereinafter referred to as “the Secretariat of the Tripartite Commission” ;On the 29th day of April 1997 at Arusha in Tanzania, the Heads of State of the said countries after reviewing the progress made by the Tripartite commission, in the development of closer

co-operation between the said countries in the fiscal, monetary, immigration, infrastructure and service fields and after approving the East African Co-operation Development Strategy for the period 1997 – 2000, directed the Tripartite Commission to embark on negotiations for the upgrading of the Agreement establishing the Tripartite Commission into a Treaty; The Founding Nations, the Republic of Uganda, the Republic of Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania were subsequently joined on the 1st day of July 2007 by the Republic of Burundi and the Republic of Rwanda as members of the East African Community.<sup>174</sup>

The East African Treaty establishes that the member countries shall strengthen their co-operation and resolve to adhere themselves to the fundamental and operational principles that shall govern the achievement of the objectives set out in the Treaty and the principles of international law governing relationships between sovereign states. Furthermore, the said countries, with a view to realizing a fast and balanced regional development are resolved to creating an enabling environment in all the Partner States in order to attract investments and allow the private sector and civil society to play a leading role in the socio-economic development activities through the development of sound macro-economic and sectoral policies and their efficient management while taking cognizance of the developments in the world economy as contained in the Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade Organization, 1995 referred to as “the WTO Agreement” and as may be decided by Partner States, the development of technological capacity for improved productivity. The Treaty paved the way for the creation of various EAC bodies – the Summit of Heads of State, the Council of Ministers, the Co-ordination

<sup>174</sup> E.A.A History, [http://www.eala.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=63](http://www.eala.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=63)

Committee, Sectoral Committees, the East African Legislative Assembly, the East African Court of Justice and the EAC Secretariat. The East African Legislative assembly (EALA), which is the independent, legislative arm of the Community, was formally inaugurated by the Heads of State of the original three EAC Partners States at its first sitting in Arusha, Tanzania on the 30th day of November 2001. Hon. Abdulrahman O. Kinana, an Elected Member from Tanzania, was unanimously elected as the Speaker of the First Assembly.<sup>175</sup>

The obstacles which resulted to the dissolution of the East African Community in 1977 still afflict the new East African Community. Efforts to moderate the regional body are underway to prevent dissolution and foster greater cooperation and trade. However, implementation is slow in pace as countries debate on which role they would like to take and how extensive they would want the integration to be. Regionalism faces such challenges as countries rarely agree on the roles and degree of integration. In the European Union, referendums assist in making decisions on the degree of integration of all the members and in accepting or rejecting new members. In the EAC the organs of the government play a more central role in making decisions on the foreign relations and debating on contentious issues.

After Kenya became a democratic government, the parliament was able to debate more on economic integration in the region. Unlike before, the debates were influential in the signing of the treaty. For example, Dr Mukhisa Kituyi, a then member of the parliamentary defence and foreign relations select committee described the treaty as silent on fundamental issues which include regional conflicts and military expeditions.

<sup>175</sup> EALA History, [http://www.eala.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=63](http://www.eala.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=63)



His main concern was if one president can unilaterally commit his country in meaningless wars without consulting, yet such adventurism would have direct consequences at the regional level. He insisted that Kenya should request for a clear statement on the principles of pluralism.<sup>176</sup>

In as much as there is still debate on the mandate of the EAC, some progress has been achieved in increasing the degree of cooperation between Kenya and Uganda through the regional body. Kenya and Uganda not only cooperate through trade, but also socially and culturally. Kenya and Uganda cooperate in ensuring peace in the region. Although their approaches to peace might be different, the two countries are always willing to react to stability in the region especially in Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia.

#### **4.2 Kenya and Uganda's border dispute**

The border between Kenya and Uganda has not only brought the countries together as neighbors but it has also been the root cause of conflict between the two countries. Sharing of resources and the movement of people, goods and services between the borders has at times caused friction and unending conflict within the communities inhabiting the border regions and between the two states. Security and sovereignty has been a very important element in the foreign policy of Kenya and Uganda.

Addressing diplomats and journalists at state house, Entebbe over the Uganda, Kenya border violence, Museveni warned that Uganda would take appropriate 'self-defence' measures if Kenyan security forces did not stop firing at Uganda troops, people and territory.<sup>177</sup> Uganda saw this as an attack on its borders and this was direct interference from Kenya. On president Moi's own part on Jamuhuri day, he accused

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<sup>176</sup> Daily Nation, Monday, January 25<sup>th</sup> 199, Kituyi Cautions on EA ties p 4

<sup>177</sup> New vision, Dec 16-1987

Uganda of 'interfering' in Kenya's internal affairs'.<sup>178</sup> Relations between the two countries did not improve overnight. The tense border situation led to fuel rationing as Kenya sealed its border.<sup>179</sup> Fuel rationing did not only affect Uganda's economy but also caused a standstill in the day to day activities in Uganda. Transport was greatly affected and this was a threat to Uganda. On December 15<sup>th</sup> 1987, Kenya charged that Ugandan soldiers crossed the border and engaged Kenyan policemen in a gun battle.<sup>180</sup> According to Rule, Kenya and Uganda animosities has long been shaken by clashes of personality and ideology.<sup>181</sup> Kenya's ideology leans more to the capitalist states while Uganda was a great supporter of the communist states. What was projected by the personalities of both leaders is that they had the 'big man syndrome'. Both Moi and Museveni wanted to be the leader in the region and occupy the hegemonic position.

It was not until the two presidents met on December 28, 1987 at Malaba, two Kilometers inside Kenya, that the two weeks border conflict was resolved.<sup>182</sup> The move towards warm diplomatic relations was meant to enhance economic development in both countries. Economy plays an important role in the foreign policy of most African states as they seek to improve their living standards and enhance growth and development.

The year 1988 had begun on a positive note when the two governments agreed to establish a buffer zone along their common border near Busia. As a result of the December skirmishes in 1986, In January 1988, Kenya and Uganda became parties to a joint communiqué in which cooperation in problems related to the flow of traffic along

<sup>178</sup> Daily Nation, Dec 13, 1987,

<sup>179</sup> New Vision, December 18, 1987

<sup>180</sup> Rule Sheila, *Kenya Charges Uganda Raid, Deepening Crisis in Relations*. <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/12/15/world/kenya-charges-uganda-raid-deepening-crisis-in-relations.html>. Tuesday, December 15, 1987

<sup>181</sup> Ibid

<sup>182</sup> New vision, Dec 29, 1987

the common border were settled.<sup>183</sup> The joint communiqué was meant to iron out the tense relationship between Kenya and Uganda. This was a good step towards reconciliation and cooperation between Kenya and Uganda. However, peaceful coexistence was short-lived.

At about the same time, however, the NRM government alarmed Kenyan officials by announcing it was considering shipping imports and exports through Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, rather than Mombasa, Kenya. This would have cost Kenya transit fees and several hundred jobs in its transport industry, and suspicions of economic sabotage began to sour relations between the two countries. A more serious problem occurred in July 1988, when several Ugandan soldiers attacked fishers at Sumba Island in Kenyan territory on Lake Victoria. Kenyan security forces responded and inflicted several casualties. Charges and countercharges were aired through the rest of 1988. There were also outbreaks of sporadic violence along the border and accusations that Ugandan vehicles were being detained or delayed at the Kenyan border points near Nakuru and Eldoret. Despite some progress toward peaceful negotiations, the hopeful atmosphere was disturbed on March 2, 1989, when some 300 armed forces, believed to be Ugandans intent on stealing cattle, killed a Kenyan army officer in Kenya's West Pokot District. Kenyan security forces responded, killing seventy-two of the alleged cattle rustlers, by their count. Five days later, the Kenyan government claimed that a military aircraft from Uganda had dropped two bombs near a police post near Oropoi. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the bombs killed five people and injured seven others. The Ugandan government denied complicity in the attack and

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<sup>183</sup> Abisaab, *The concept of international organization*, UNESCO, 1982 p 25

suggested that the aircraft had originated in Sudan, a report that appeared to be confirmed by independent observers. Ugandan minister of foreign affairs Tarsis Kabwegyere then sought mediation.<sup>184</sup> The threat to export and import through Dar es Salaam was in essence meant to give Kenya a warning. Uganda wanted to portray that they can use other routes for trade. As much as this threat was taken seriously, it is evident that it is too costly for Uganda to use the Dar es Salaam route. Cattle rustling are a continuous challenge for both governments, as cattle rustlers cross borders to steal cattle from other communities.

In March 1989, the Kenyan government claimed that a sizeable contingent of NRA troops had invaded northwest Kenya and that a Ugandan aircraft had bombed a small town in the same area. Uganda denied both allegations, pointing out it had no aircraft capable of carrying out such a raid and that the "soldiers" were probably cattle rustlers who had carried out raids across the border for years. For its part, the Ugandan government claimed that the Kenyans were continuing secretly to assist rebels infiltrating eastern Uganda, and tensions remained high through mid-1990. Both leaders expressed their willingness to improve relations, however, and in mid-August 1990, Museveni and Moi met and agreed to cooperate in ending their longstanding animosity.<sup>185</sup>

The border disputes between Kenya and Uganda are mainly caused by the resources shared by both countries, the main resource being Lake Victoria. Cattle rustlers have incited border disputes as cattle raiders from both sides infiltrate the community with intentions to steal cattle. Pastoral communities in both countries cross the border regularly in such of pastures and this exposes them to raids by cattle rustlers. Both

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<sup>184</sup> Rule Sheila, *Kenya Charges Uganda Raid, Deepening Crisis in Relations*, <http://www.nytimes.com> 1987/12/15 world/kenya-charges-uganda-raid-deepening-crisis-in-relations.html, Tuesday, December 15, 1987

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*

Kenyan and Ugandan governments have implemented methods of preventing cattle rustling. Tensions regarding Lake Victoria are intermittent and both governments have implemented some programs to ensure cooperation between the two countries. However, both political regimes viewed territorial integrity as a very important tool in their foreign policy. This meant guarding ones natural resources from other countries. When natural resources are utilized efficiently, then they can be determinants of a countries foreign policy and an effective bargaining tool.

#### **4.3 Harboring dissidents in Kenya and Uganda**

When Kampala NRA (National Resistance Army) took power in Jan 1986, Moi accepted the fact and offered full cooperation to the new Uganda president Yoweri Museveni.<sup>186</sup> Moreover Kenya authorities became anxious that continued unrest in Uganda could provide a source of arms for "Mwakenya" supporters in Kenya.<sup>187</sup> Mwakenya was an opposition group in Kenya which was accused of trying to topple the Moi regime. Kenya and Uganda accused one another of harboring dissidents and this was rarely proven by both regimes.

A Ugandan national teaching as an expatriate in Kenya (Kisii) died in a police custody in 1987. The Kenya police alleged that he was performing intelligence activities for the Uganda national resistance movement.<sup>188</sup> At least 500 Ugandans were among numbers of foreigners to be detained in March 1986 following a speech made by President Moi, assailing 'illegal aliens' who were creating unrest in Kenya, this allegation was not substantial. In Dec 1987, president Moi and Museveni agreed to withdraw troops from either side of the border and to allow the resumption of normal traffic. In July 1988

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<sup>186</sup> Africa south of Sahara, 1988 p 570-571

<sup>187</sup> Ibid p 572

<sup>188</sup> Ibid

however, tensions along the frontier were renewed when Uganda accused Kenya of complicity in smuggling weapons to a rebel group in northern Uganda.<sup>189</sup> President Moi also regarded Museveni's government as left-wing and likely to make alliances with radical states, which Kenya shunned. A year later, Moi accused the Ugandans of permitting Kenyan dissidents to arrange for guerrilla training by Libya.<sup>190</sup> Moi and Museveni blamed most of the internal tension in their countries to dissidents from other countries. This denial attitude was a leadership style meant to shift attention from the problems in ones country and shift the attention of citizens to the 'aliens' issue'.

As far as Uganda was concerned, far from harboring any Kenya dissidents on its territory, it felt aggrieved that it was Kenya which had become the haven of many Ugandan dissidents actively engaged in destabilizing and undermining the NRM government. Periodic high level talks aimed at soothing ruffled tempers and reduce tension between the two countries were followed by brief periods of respite and calm in an otherwise troubled atmosphere.<sup>191</sup> Apart from internal pressure to reduce the tension, the international community through the representative ambassadors was also involved in calls for resolution.

Kenya on its part has frequently since 1986 claimed that Uganda is in collusion with Libya, it is harboring Kenyan dissidents whose intentions is to overthrow by force the Nyayo government.<sup>192</sup> These allegations and counter-allegation contributed to an atmosphere of distrust between the two countries. As a result in December 1986 the two countries security forces engage in armed skirmishes along their common border at

<sup>189</sup> Ibid p121-123

<sup>190</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, *Uganda*, <http://countrystudies.us/uganda/67.htm>. Data as December 1990

<sup>191</sup> Sathyamurthy T. V, *Uganda's political system 1962-1990* In Oyugi Walter (Ed) *Politics and administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African publishers, 1994) p 527

<sup>192</sup> Weekly Review, March 10 1989, p 35

Busia.<sup>193</sup> In 1989 when an unidentified aircraft bombed Lokichoggio, Kenya pointed accusing fingers at Uganda and Libya.<sup>194</sup> Moi also has long been suspicious of left-leaning Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's links with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Allegations that Libyan troops have been supporting Museveni's forces in battles against anti-government rebels in northern and eastern Uganda were rife in the Kenyan government.<sup>195</sup>

President Moi also alleged that 200 or so Kenyan children had been taken to Libya, for military training through Uganda where they were issued passports.<sup>196</sup> President Moi grew increasingly concerned about subversive activity in his country. He cracked down on a clandestine internal group, Mwakenya, that he says is Communist inspired, and he worried that Libya may use Ugandan territory to destabilize Kenya.<sup>197</sup> The era of the cold war saw capitalism and communism fighting for territorial establishment in the African continent. Kenya was a capitalist state while Uganda leaned more to the communist countries. This fear probably diminished, however, following Libya's June 1992 termination of its military relationship with Uganda.<sup>198</sup> But the damage had already done in fostering an era of suspicion between the two countries. Communist ideology has different policies from the capitalist ideology. The ideologies differ in terms of economic policies and social life. Countries with different ideologies have difficulties in agreeing on something because they tend to differ on the approach and even on the implementation.

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<sup>193</sup> Weekly Review, January, 1987

<sup>194</sup> Weekly review, March 10, 1989, p 35

<sup>195</sup> Kraft Scott, Times Staff Writer, December 19, 1987, Kenya Expels 2 Top Ugandan Diplomats - Move Caps Tension. Fighting on Border: Libyan Mission Closed, [http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142\\_1\\_kenya-expels?pg1](http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142_1_kenya-expels?pg1)

<sup>196</sup> Daily Nation, Dec 13, 1987, standard Dec 13 1987

<sup>197</sup> Kraft Scott, Times Staff Writer, December 19, 1987, Kenya Expels 2 Top Ugandan Diplomats - Move Caps Tension. Fighting on Border: Libyan Mission Closed, [http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142\\_1\\_kenya-expels?pg=1](http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142_1_kenya-expels?pg=1)

<sup>198</sup> Byrnes Rita, June 15, 1992. History of Uganda. Country Studies Area Handbook by the US Library of Congress, <http://motherearthtravel.com/uganda/history.htm>

Both President Moi and Museveni accused foreign dissidents and blamed them for any instability or tension in their countries. This leadership style of manipulation was meant to convince the citizens in their countries that the problems they were going through were not the result of their fellow citizens. Therefore they should continue having confidence in the ruling regime. The accusations and counter-accusations by Kenya and Uganda showed how vulnerable both countries were to the domestic politics in the neighboring states. The accusations were a manifestation of the stability of the country both internally and externally in the world system.

#### **4.4 Economic integration and the differences in economic policies**

According to Holsti, just as modern nations are politically and economically independent, so do they rely upon each other for resources and commodities which enable them to develop and sustain viable economies.<sup>199</sup> After collapse of EAC, Kenya made a concerted effort to increase trade with countries of northern corridor- including Uganda.<sup>200</sup> The Presidents of Kenya and Uganda reaffirmed their commitment to regional economic cooperation and the coordination of energy and transport policies. The Kenyan President, Daniel arap Moi, said during his visit to Kampala that he believed Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania would achieve greater development by forming what he called a single economic unit. He said the three countries should make regional peace, the eradication of poverty and the provision of education their top priorities. The Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni, said that during President Moi's visit, they would have an

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<sup>199</sup> Holsti Kalevi Jaaka, *International politics; A framework for analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (New Jersey: Prentice hall Inc, 1972)

<sup>200</sup> Orwa Katete D, *Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*, In Oyugi Walter (Ed) *Politics and administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: East African publishers, 1994) p 319



opportunity to discuss issues including the exploitation of Uganda's energy resources and the balance of trade between the two states.<sup>201</sup>

The different economic policies adopted by the East African countries contributed to the collapse of the East African Community. The collapse of East African community in 1977, and the closure of the border at one time with Tanzania, at other times with Uganda, barred Kenya's industrial products from next-door markets.<sup>202</sup> However both Kenya and Uganda have made reforms in their trade policies to ensure harmony in the region. As EAC, the region is competing with other regional organizations in Africa. Both countries have made efforts in introducing sound trade policies.

In Kenya, the 1986 sessional paper on economic management for viewed growth therefore called for export growth of at least 5 percent a year. It also urged for diversification of exports and targeted concentration on Kenya's three largest exports, coffee, tea and petroleum products (re-export to other parts of eastern Africa, plus tourism as the main means of export expansion).<sup>203</sup>

In its first year in office, the NRM government attempted to reduce the cost of transporting its coffee to the Kenyan port of Mombasa by shifting from private Kenyan trucking companies, thought to have connections with Kenyan government figures, to rail delivery. It also announced plans to shift some of its other trade from Kenyan to Tanzanian routes. The Kenyan government and its press reacted strongly by castigating Uganda, disrupting supplies and telephone service and unilaterally closing the border on

<sup>201</sup> Wednesday, 20 May, 1998, 13:46 GMT 14:46 UK Kenyan, Ugandan Presidents committed to economic cooperation  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/97432.stm>

<sup>202</sup> Ogot B A and Ochieng W R (E.d), *Decolonization and independence in Kenya 1940-1993*. (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 1995) p 166

<sup>203</sup> Republic of Kenya, economic management for renewed growth p 20-21

several occasions. In response, in the middle of 1987 Uganda closed down its supply of electricity to Kenya and suspended all coffee shipments through Kenya. In mid-December 1987, there was firing across the border and it appeared that the two countries might go to war. The two high commissioners were harassed and expelled. The two presidents met in the border town of Malaba two weeks later. They reopened the border, pulled their troops back from it, and agreed to ship coffee to Mombasa on Kenya Railways, but similar hostile threats and actions occurred intermittently over the next several years. Both leaders expressed their willingness to improve relations, however, and in mid-August 1990, Museveni and Moi met and agreed to cooperate in ending their longstanding animosity.<sup>204</sup>

Both Kenya and Uganda depend on each other for trade. This symbiotic relationship of dependency has been exacerbated by Uganda being landlocked. Ugandan coffee is transported over Kenyan roads to the Indian Ocean port of Mombasa, and imported goods such as gasoline reach Uganda through Kenya. This means that Kenya is Uganda's economic lifeline. The state and nature of the economy is instrumental in determining the power structure in the international system. Often, weak economies have been pushed to the periphery. Economic power thus determines whether a country is a regional hegemony or not. Without any strong economic base at home, none of them could really afford to pursue really vigorous or adventurous policies abroad.

However, in establishing ones country as an economic power house, capitalistic policies will be implemented which might infringe on the policies of other countries. This results to competition between states and more often than not there will be tension between the two states.

<sup>204</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, *Uganda*, <http://countrystudies.us/uganda/67.htm>, Data as December 1990

#### 4.5 Diplomats role in shaping foreign policy in Kenya and Uganda

The Vienna convention on diplomatic relations clearly postulates how diplomatic agents should be treated by the receiving state. Diplomats need to be treated with outmost respect by the receiving state. This has not been the case in most countries as diplomats are expelled from time to time.

On December 19, 1987 the government of Kenya expelled Uganda's top two diplomats, capping months of mounting tension between the two governments and a week of border skirmishes. In a related move, Kenya closed the Libyan Embassy after accusing it of "gross interference" in Kenya's internal affairs. Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi has repeatedly accused Uganda and Libya of plotting against his pro-Western government. In May 1987, Kenya expelled six Libyan diplomats, including the charge d'affaires, for alleged spying.<sup>205</sup> A flurry of high-level communications succeeded in ending these incidents. Autocratic leaders and autocratic political system is not open to criticism from its citizens and also from foreign countries. Diplomats bear the brunt of tense relations between the receiving state and the sending state. Therefore diplomats need to be cautious when making comments about the receiving state. A wrong remark might cause tension between two countries. However, it is important that they reflect the position of their country. When the position of a diplomat's country is not the position taken by the receiving state, then the approach by the diplomat should be a wise approach to prevent the diplomat from being becoming a persona non grata.

In 1990, personal diplomacy by the two heads of states is what brought peace to the rising tension between Kenya and Uganda. Relations improved after the two leaders

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<sup>205</sup> Kraft Scott, Times Staff Writer, December 19, 1987, Kenya Expels 2 Top Ugandan Diplomats - Move Causes Tension, Fighting on Border: Libyan Mission Closed, [http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142\\_1\\_kenya-expels/pg-1](http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news/mn-7142_1_kenya-expels/pg-1)

met in August and agreed to restore full diplomatic ties and to strengthen border security. However, by year's end, the two countries again were at loggerheads, in part because of Kenyan press allegations that Uganda intended "to establish a Pax Uganda over central and eastern Africa."<sup>206</sup> The leadership style of president Moi and Museveni favored personal diplomacy especially in cementing trade ties with other countries. Both leaders were actively involved in visiting each other and other countries to establish their seriousness on a diplomatic issue. However, at times personal diplomacy might be understood as a way of one leader to gauge the other leader in a certain matter.

Kenya and Uganda have had their share of diplomatic row during 1986-2000. Kenya has accused the Ugandan army of everything from spying to abducting Kenyans to cattle rustling on the border, over which more than 2,000 Ugandans have crossed to escape internal fighting in their country. However, Museveni said his troops were stationed on the border to ensure that Ugandan rebels did not attack his country from Kenya. His remarks, made through the Ugandan High Commission in Nairobi attributed to the high commissioner, Charles K. Katungi, apparently triggered the expulsions. Kenya said that Katungi had heaped "incredible insult on the person of His Excellency President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi." Katungi said that allegations of Libyan involvement on the border were "absolutely ridiculous." He added that his ouster marked the most serious upset in Kenyan-Ugandan ties since they gained their independence from Britain in the early 1960s. Katungi's deputy was also expelled, and the Kenyan Foreign Ministry said that it is recalling the Kenyan ambassador from Kampala. Western diplomats in Nairobi described the conflict as only the latest in a series of flare-ups

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<sup>206</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, *Uganda*, <http://countrystudies.us/uganda/67.htm>. Data as December 1990

between the two former British colonies.<sup>207</sup> An autocratic ruler does not allow free expression from citizens and moreover from ambassadors. This means that an ambassador who out rightly condemns the receiving state, might bare the brunt of being expelled. Diplomatic relations resumed and both Kenya and Uganda have established resident missions in both countries.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Although conflict between Kenya and Uganda is highlighted more in this chapter, it does not mean that there was no cooperation by the two states. Cooperation between the two countries is evident in the development of trade and economy. Apart from the skirmishes and gun battles, the two countries have not gone to war with one another and this is impressive in a continent where territorial disputes has been the cause of most inter-state conflicts. This chapter has established that the political system and style of leadership in a country shapes its reaction to the behavior of another state. The method adopted to solve a tense situation in an autocratic political system will rely on the decision of the leader solely. The decision the leader takes will reflect his leadership style. In a democratic system, the leaders need to consult the government before a decision is made. This depends on the degree of democracy as the last decision still stands with the head of state.

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<sup>207</sup> Kraft Scott, Times Staff Writer, December 19, 1987, Kenya Expels 2 Top Ugandan Diplomats - Move Caps Tension, Fighting on Border, Libyan Mission Closed. [http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news mn-7142\\_1\\_kenya-expels?pg=1](http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-19/news mn-7142_1_kenya-expels?pg=1)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Conclusions**

This chapter will evaluate the hypothesis developed in this study and its contribution to the study of International Relations and diplomacy. This chapter will also give recommendations on the way forward in order for political regimes to have a sound and effective foreign policy.

Kenya and Uganda's bilateral relations were influenced by the prevailing political system in the country. When both countries had autocratic political systems, the heads of state set the tone of the foreign policy. In such a system the foreign policy and diplomatic relations are formulated and implemented by the president and his advisors. President Moi and Museveni took centre stage in diplomatic relations. In Kenya after the country became a multi party system the president's role was in question. However, the influence of the president in diplomatic relations was still dominant. The parliament and the public were able to influence the foreign policy although the degree of influence is growing as Kenya becomes a more democratic state.

However in a democratic system depending on the degree of democracy, the leader will still have great influence on the diplomatic relations. This is because leaders make decisions in the ministries which they deem as very crucial, for example the foreign affairs, defence and security ministries.

In terms of the ideology the political systems adopted, these had a great influence on the diplomatic relations. Since Uganda was pro-communists, Kenya was always suspicious of the role of Uganda dissidents and vice versa. Internal conflict in Kenya and

Uganda was at times blamed on external conflict in the neighboring country. Since NRM came into power through the military, Kenya was always cautious of the role of the military in Uganda. A communist state has different characteristics than a capitalist state. However Uganda did not have all the characteristics of a communist state. Their communist stance indicated which country and which side during the cold war they supported and not really the system of government that they have adopted.

Since both Kenya and Uganda had different political systems, then both countries viewed each other suspiciously and this might not have been the case if they both had the same political systems. The political systems that Kenya and Uganda adopted affected the style of leadership and the public opinion. In an autocratic system the leaders practices personal rule and is not open to public opinion. However in a democratic system, the leader is more open to public opinion and the respect of institutions.

A no party and a one party system have the same underpinnings as the leader and the ruling elite establish which way to go when it comes to diplomatic relations. Such political systems are structured in a way that only a few have a say in majority of the decisions in a country. Others who try to influence and change their decisions are deemed as the opposition and are dealt with. As much as the political systems had an influence, the influence was not that great and could only be seen when it comes to public opinion in the country.

The prevailing style of leadership in Kenya and Uganda had a distinctive influence on diplomatic relations. The influence of the leader was more dominant than the influence of the political system and the influence of the public opinion. Both president Moi and Museveni were autocratic leaders who practiced personal rule. They

wanted to take the centre stage in foreign policy and in the running of their countries. As far as appointing ambassadors, both leaders took this as their prerogative and appointed ambassadors without consulting with parliament. This was seen a move to reward their political supporters. Through personal diplomacy and summit diplomacy both leaders were able to participate in diplomatic relations. .

Leadership had a stronger influence on diplomatic relations as the final decision is the leaders. The president is the custodian of foreign policy and he speaks for his country. However, these powers can be misused and this can lead to the down fall of a country. When the leader's personal interest are translated to the national interest then formulation of foreign policy will be distorted. Although it is important to note that other factors do influence the leader's role in a country. Personal understanding, personal experience, sense of mission and idiosyncrasies of the leader contribute to the foreign policy making process.

Every decision a leader makes is influenced by one thing or another, the rules and the laws set out in the constitution should be able to limit the leader's decision in the right direction. Since the constitution of Kenya and Uganda give the president unlimited power, then the president can use this power to his benefit. This can work for the country and sometimes against the country. The president's advisors are also influenced by personal understanding, personal experience, sense of mission and idiosyncrasies. The minister of foreign affairs and ambassadors are also influenced by these variables. The ambassador is the representative of the country in the receiving state and therefore should reflect the interest of the political regime. This puts the ambassador in a difficult situation as the ambassador has to ignore his values and beliefs and project the values and beliefs



of the ruling regime. The diplomacy practiced is purely the diplomacy of the regime. An ambassador who is seen to project his own views might be recalled or given a warning by the sending state. Most of the time ambassadors are changed when a new regime comes into power. This might be because the new regime is not so sure of the allegiance of the ambassador.

The foreign ministry in such a political regime is always subordinate to the leader. There is no room for consultation and negotiation when the leader is autocratic. The ministry of foreign affairs needs to feel confident in its work and that its views are welcomed by the ruling political regime. If the ministry of foreign affairs feels that its contribution is not needed, then job satisfaction will be low and this will affect their work. Since the employees of the ministry of foreign affairs are well educated, they need to feel that their skills are being used to make important decisions in the country.

Long term foreign policy planning and strategies are not adopted as the foreign affairs experts can make the long term foreign policy plans but the leader will not implement them. When the political regime changes, then the foreign policy will change. Long term foreign policy planning ensures that the country knows its goal in foreign affairs and the strategies to be implemented in order to reach the goals.

An autocratic leader will change the foreign policy of a country when it suits him and his ruling elite. A good example is the trade policies which favor the ruling elite in a country while they disadvantage the middle class and the poor. This is a political plan by the leader to ensure that his ruling elite are satisfied and therefore will support him financially especially during elections.

Long term plans show how serious a country is in its foreign policies. This ensures continuity in the foreign policy of a country. When a new regime comes to power, the laid down plans will be adopted. This was not the case for Uganda and Kenya.

Foreign policy decision making is intrinsically political. This holds that government leaders and decision makers routinely monitor domestic political conditions and incorporate them into their foreign policy calculations. Leaders/decision makers balance their perceived national interest with their expectations about domestic political constraints. This is seen by the way leaders can blame other states for their domestic problems.

Foreign policy decision making includes complex decision making where multiple actors such as executive, bureaucracies, separate institutions such as legislative or a politicized military, and non-governmental actors are essential to the sustained implementation of the decision.

Good leadership translates to good foreign policy decision making and sound diplomatic relations between and among states. Leadership should portray the interests of the country and not the interest of the leader. However it is hard to separate the interests of the leader in the implementation of diplomacy because a leader's decisions are affected by his idiosyncrasies.

Public opinion had a slight influence on diplomatic relations. In an autocratic system, the public opinion is suppressed and therefore does not have any influence. The public opinion in an autocratic system is seen as the opposition group which is not tolerated in such a system. In Kenya during the ascent of democracy, public opinion slightly developed. In a democracy the regime needs to listen to the public opinion as the

electorate will vote for the regime at the end of its term. This is what makes the regime listen to the views of the citizen. But this is not certain as elections can be rigged by the ruling regime making the opinions and views of the public unimportant.

When a group is affected by a certain foreign policy, they will want to influence that particular foreign policy. The civil society in a democratic system is always interested in the foreign relations of the state and other states. Multi national co operations are also involved in the politics of the prevailing political regime. Kenya and Uganda do not only share a border but they also share different communities and tribes. This means that communities sometimes will put the interest of their kin first no matter where they are located.

In a democracy, the citizens know that they can influence the decision of another country and therefore will pressure the government to make a certain decision. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this can be done by street protest, riots, blogging on the internet and even through famous citizens like actors and musicians. By doing this the citizens can gain support from nongovernmental organizations and other arenas.

Interest groups and the civil society play an important role in public opinion. Interest groups can encourage the citizens to join them in influencing the foreign policy of a country. Civil society bodies, for example the human rights bodies will always advocate for the rights of people and this means going against the decision of their leaders whenever possible.

The media was also an important tool in influencing foreign policies. Through reporting and airing of news, then policies will be viewed differently. Diplomacy is implemented by using different methods and tools of diplomacy. Propaganda is one such

tool. Kenya and Uganda used the media as a tool to generate a certain outcome to either destabilize the other country or to emanate some perceived outcome. Sometimes propaganda is also used to shift attention from a certain issue especially an internal issue.

The public in democratic states voice their opinion more when it comes to foreign policy issues as they feel that they can influence a certain decision. As both Kenya and Uganda become more democratic, the public will try and influence diplomatic relations more and more.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

The adoption of a wait and see foreign policy shows the lack of planning on the side of a country's political regime. It also puts into question the role of the ministry of foreign affairs and its independence. Political regimes come and go but foreign policy lasts as long as states continue to exist. Therefore states need to adopt a political regime that will ensure the foreign policy is a process which is well planned and forecasted no matter which regime comes into power.

Institutions should be strong enough to implement and plan on future policies which increase the country's power and strengthen the country's position. This should not result into tension with neighboring countries; the policies should be harmonized to enable both the country and its allies or neighbors to benefit from integration policies.

Since leaders are the custodian of foreign policy, we can not entirely trust the leader as the leader's interest might not be the interest of the country. Power is said to corrupt and giving the leader excessive power will result in the usurping of power by the leader. This will in turn affect the economy and the development of the country. The establishment of effective institutions will ensure that the leader's powers are checked.

The political system adopted by a country should be open enough to allow consultation with other organs of the government and the influence of the public but also closed enough to ensure that decisions which need urgency e.g. decisions to go to war, can be made without too much consultation to cause loss of life and casualties. This means a balance between the two in order for a country to have an effective foreign policy. Diplomatic relations should not only be the preserve of the president but also other actors should be involved. This ministry of foreign affairs should be able to implement the foreign policy of the country with confidence and pride.

The appointment of ambassadors should be transparent and effective. If not then the conflict between the technocrats and the politicians will always exist. Leaders and the leadership need to understand that as much as they are the leaders of the country, they should permit the foreign ministers and diplomatic agents to do their work without feeling intimidated. The diplomatic agents should advise the leadership and enable them make the most effective decisions. The leader needs to consult with the ministry of foreign affairs and the diplomatic agents as they are well suited to give out the best decision when it comes to a certain situation. This means that separating the domestic political issues and appointment of ambassadors is important if a leader wants to be transparent. Parliament should be able to scrutinize ambassadors before they are appointed.

The ambassadors and diplomatic mission should feel that their skills are being utilized efficiently and that they play a decisive role in foreign relations. Political regimes should have confidence in the ambassadors chosen by other regimes. This can only work if ambassadors are chosen because of their skills. Changing ambassadors when a new

regime comes to power shows lack of confidence and rewarding of supporters. Ambassadors should be skilled in foreign relations and diplomacy to ensure a strong force of skills and workmanship in the foreign ministry.

Proper planning on the short, medium and long term foreign policy goals is very important. This will ensure that a country's national interest are always safe guarded. Leaders who take the centre stage in their foreign policy are at times seen advocating for their personal needs and not the needs and interest of the country. A leader should follow the blue print on foreign policy and only go against it after consulting with other actors in foreign policy. It is true that foreign policy decisions might change due to a certain situation, but the framework for decision making should be followed.

The parliament should be allowed to debate matters of foreign relations including ratifying a treaty. However, it is important that parliament understands the importance of foreign policy decisions. Parliament should not turn an important session on foreign policy decision making to a party politics debate.

Through the civil society, political leaders and the citizens, it is important that public opinion in diplomatic relations is allowed. However public opinion should not impede the leader from making important decisions. This is because at times the public may not understand fully the implications of decisions made in foreign policy. This may be caused by the lack of knowledge in foreign affairs by the public. The public should be educated adequately for them to know the implications of foreign policy decisions. This is very important especially when a referendum is going to take place on an issue which is of foreign importance. The countries in the European Union usually vote on

referendums to make and implement decisions. This means that the citizens of the country need to be well educated on the implication of foreign policy decisions.

The style of implementation depends on the actors involved in implementing the policy but the goals of a country need to remain the same. The political regime of a country is not just there to govern but to set objectives and goals which will safe guard the interest of the citizens.

In conclusion, it is important to not that states compete with each other to gain more power in the international system. With more power states can influence other states and this enables states to acquire resources that benefit them. Therefore as much as the foreign policy of states needs to be sound and efficient but it should also increase the bargaining power of a country and enable it to gain more resources for its advantage.

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