

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

AN ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS UGANDA BETWEEN
1963 AND 2014

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DECLARATION

I, Sammy Kiplimo Kiptoo, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed..... Date.....

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

Signed..... Date.....

Dr. Anita Kiamba

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear wife Janeth Jerono who has been an encouragement during the Course of my study. I would also like to recognize my mother Pauline Kiptoo who despite the challenges we had; she managed to take me to school and ensured that I maintained the course. At a point, I opted to drop out of school she rebuked me and took me back to school.

I also thank God for his provision throughout the learning process. Finally, to my late brothers Mwalimu Justine Kipkoech Kiptoo and Kenneth Kipkorir Kiptoo who passed away in a span of two years when I was still studying. You helped me in my early stages of education and now you are no more to celebrate my success. It was an uphill task managing the emotional feelings of losing two brothers and the academic demands. May their souls Rest in Eternal Peace.

To God be the Glory.

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda, 1963-2014, with specific focus on commercial and economic foreign policies. It contends that until 2014 Uganda remained Kenya's leading trade partner, thereby necessitating an analysis of Kenya's foreign policy tools and instruments towards Uganda. Kenya's foreign policy generally aims at protecting Kenyan territorial integrity/ security and in maximizing wealth creation. Kenya has stayed up until late 2014 without a concrete foreign policy document in place; however, there was over-reliance on the executive through experts in the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

The study was guided by realism theory of foreign policy.

The goal of the gain knowledge of were to find out the contextual understanding of Kenya's foreign policy; to assess the role and effectiveness of Kenyan foreign policy towards Uganda; to ascertain the influence of Kenya's commercial and economic policies towards Uganda; to investigate the challenges faced by the administration of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda.

This study used explanatory research design. It assessed the causal relationships between foreign policy in Kenya towards Uganda and the achievement of Kenyan foreign policy goals. The study drew heavily from secondary sources such as executive orders, foreign and Diaspora policies, defence policies, Sessional papers, economic policies, and the Constitution of Kenya. The findings of the study were analysed qualitatively by establishing interrelationships between variables and reported in narrative form.

The study findings will contribute to knowledge towards understanding Kenyan relationship with Uganda, add knowledge to regional studies, contribute to policy debates towards

harmonious co-existence in the region, and enhance economic and political cooperation with Uganda.

The study found out that Kenya's commercial and economic foreign policy towards Uganda was meant to enhance the flow of capital into Kenya and the East Africa Community; promote exportation of Kenyan products and encourage investments in enterprises in Kenya and East Africa; portray the good investment environment available in the country, conferencing and tourism; expand opportunities to tap markets locally and identify new markets for goods being exported by Kenya; develop better technologies by exploring the existing technologies; identify new sources of energy than can be used in industrial production; empower economic organizations and other groups to enhance the growth of both international and local markets; and spearhead fair trade and the establishment of agreements that are beneficial to both parties. In addition, the study found out that there are some challenges such as trade imbalance that hampered Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda.

This study concluded that there is need for optimization of Kenya's foreign regulations towards Uganda in order to maximize the nation's goals and interests. The study further recommended need to articulate Kenya's foreign policy properly and sensitize the citizens to work in line with it.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU: African Union

COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EAC: East Africa Community

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

PTA: Preferential Trade Area States

US: United States of America

USSR: United Soviet Socialist Republics

WTO: World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The world is beset by states' self-interest arising from the interaction of individuals, groups, and nations. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries international relations were mainly between governments, and diplomacy was controlled by a set of behaviour code which enhanced the activities on the chess board of power politics. States have been evolving time after time and their existence with neighbouring countries has been yielding more positive aspects of inter-state relations. Mutual states living in the same trading blocs have had enormous support from one another in terms of boosting their economies.¹

The conduct of Kenya's foreign policy generally aims at protecting Kenyan territorial integrity/ security and in maximizing wealth creation. Kenyan has stayed up until late 2014 without a concrete foreign policy instruments in place; however, there was over-reliance on the executive through experts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs².

The Kenyan Government through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been improving its relations with other countries and also enhancing its image locally and abroad. Since her independence, the government has evolved in terms of its foreign missions and shaping the

¹ Morgenthau, H. J. *Politics among nations; the struggle for power and peace*. 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1967.

² Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenyan Foreign Policy*. Nairobi, 2014.

international relations. Until 2014, Kenya has never had a well-documented Foreign policy aimed at protecting the nation's interests abroad³.

National interests are aimed at legitimizing their way of relation to other nations and bring consensus on the way of relation with other countries. To portray an event taken as 'in the interest of the nation' is to label those don't support it as not being loyal, and to point out the actions and values of the government as above party politics. For those against, the foreign policies it is a way of pointing out the wisdom or lack of it in the statesmen's.⁴ In terms of economic growth and development in Kenya, commerce and the regional blocs cannot be neglected as they have been acting as catalyst of promoting cohesion and trade among the states within the region. When it comes to the economic implication of the regional blocs, all the observations, recommendations and guidelines that had been previously made⁵ are valid.

Among these intergovernmental organizations is the East Africa Community (EAC) which was formed in 1967 and collapsed ten years later. It was again revived in the year 2000, Preferential Trade Area (PTA) which later changed to Common Market for Eastern and Southern States (COMESA). The major aim of these intergovernmental organizations are to promote co-operation and integration encompassing all areas of economic activity, which includes trade, transport and communication, agriculture among others. Furthermore, they are

³ *ibid*

⁴ Morgenthau, H. J. *Politics among nations; the struggle for power and peace*. 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1967.

⁵ Musambayi, C. I. K. *The Politics of foreign policy execution : consistency and inconsistency in Kenya's foreign policy towards South Africa, 1978 to 1992*. Thesis (M.A.) - University of Nairobi, 1995

also planning to improve the standards of living among its citizens by fostering closer ties among the member states⁶.

Peace and stability is necessitated by the demand of attaining political stability so that there can be favourable conditions for people interacting freely and transacting business wherever need be. Kenya has been playing an instrumental role in establishing peace among her neighbours. For example the government of Kenya has been in the forefront in ensuring that South Sudan enjoys paramount peace by sending its peace keeping troops and also appointing a number of diplomats to spearhead negotiations between the warring sides⁷.

The Kenyan economy still lags behind in comparison to other countries. According to ECI (Economic Complexity Index) Kenya is the 92nd most complex economy and the 106th largest export economy in the world. Kenya exported goods worth USD 5.96 billion in 2014 and brought into the country good worth USD 18 billion, ending up in a trade imbalance of USD12 billion. In the same year Kenya had GDP of \$60.9 billion and its GDP per capita was \$2,950. The dominant goods exported by Kenya are refined petroleum (721 million Us dollars), tea (957 million USD), cut flowers (USD 700 million), legumes (USD 170 million) coffee (USD 227 million). Its top imports are refined petroleum (\$4.03 billion), delivery trucks (USD 460 million) cars (USD522 million), medications (USD 413 million) and wheat (USD 375 million).

⁶ ibid

⁷ Hill, C. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

These dominant goods that are exported find their way Zambia (\$741 million), Tanzania (\$646 million), Uganda (569 million), the Netherlands (\$519 million) and the United States (\$519 million). Many products in Kenya are imported from China (\$4.9 billion), India (\$4.39 billion), Japan (\$928 million), Malaysia (\$739 million) and South Africa (\$718 million).

However, for the past decade until 2014, Kenya has exported most of its products to Uganda. In view of the scrapping of trade barriers within the East Africa community, Tanzania has eclipsed Uganda as a major export destination for Kenyan products⁸. In 2013, Kenya goods valued at KES. Sixty-seven (67) billion (Euro 632 million) were exported to Uganda. Therefore, Uganda came second to European Union as the export destination for Kenyan goods. Ugandan exports to Kenya were worth 15 billion Kenyan shillings (Euro one hundred and forty four million). The inter-trade worth 82.3 billion Kenyan shillings (seven hundred and seventy six million Euros) made Uganda our country's 7th largest trade partner⁹.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya has some concerns that necessitate a calculated foreign policy direction. These include terrorism and regional security, free trade, or environmental issues. Kenya's foreign policy in relation to Uganda has always advocated peaceful co-existence through non-interference. Kenya has maintained the assumption that this foreign policy direction will not jeopardize her interests towards Uganda. In addition, there has been registered certain turbulence in the

⁸ Tanzania becomes Kenya's largest East Africa market. *The EastAfrican*. August 30, 2014.

⁹ Kennedy Kangethe, Kenya Records FDI Growth Despite Insecurity. *AllAfrica.com*. May 28, 2014.

political stability of Uganda ever since Kenya gained independence; for example, political instability and civil wars in Uganda. However, until 2014 Uganda remained Kenya's largest economic market in the world¹⁰. This study, therefore, attempts to assess the effectiveness of Kenyan foreign policy framework in manoeuvring through challenges in her relations towards Uganda, as she tries to secure and protect her interests.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The major goal of the gain knowledge of was to analyze Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda, with more focus on commercial and economic foreign policies.

The following were the specific objectives:

- i. To determine the contextual understanding of Kenya's foreign policy
- ii. To assess the role and effectiveness of Kenyan foreign policy towards Uganda
- iii. To ascertain the influence of Kenya's commercial and economic policies towards Uganda
- iv. To investigate the challenges faced by the administration of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda.

1.4 Literature Review

This section reviews both empirical and theoretical literature relating to Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda between 1963 and 2014. It contributes to the debate on the many theories of international relations that are at times seen as rivals though this should not always be the case. Rather, is based on some epistemologies and assumptions, is restricted

¹⁰ Tanzania becomes Kenya's largest East Africa market. *The EastAfrican*. August 30, 2014.

within particular stipulations, and to carry its own analytic objective. Even as more than a few theories may result into less or more conclusions that are compelling about worldwide relations, none is out rightly 'right' or 'improper'. Alternatively, each and every one of them own some tools that can be of use inspecting and analysing wealthy, multi-causal phenomena. Therefore, the role and effectiveness of Kenyan foreign policy towards Uganda are informed by various empirical and theoretical understandings.

1.4.1 Conceptual Understanding of Instruments of Foreign Policy

The most popular theories on global interactions beliefs and their positivist epistemology have been criticized by many scholars like marxists and feminists. These scholars have come up with critiques of States international relations. Majority of these scholars are concerned on the establishment of authority and the nation, which are not considered to be of importance by Realism or Institutionalism theories. For example, Marxists argue that perceive the State-to-State relations prevent the important dynamics class relations. State behavior can only be explained by understanding the association between interests and global capital.¹¹ Similarly, feminists have explained the importance of gender in outlining the perspectives of State behavior and the impacts it leave when it emphasizes on gender as a variable of interest¹². This has led to the development of the security approaches that go beyond state security that is of significance to Realist. For example, in such a perspective the results of war, can be felt beyond the battlefield.

¹¹ Cox, R. W. and T. J. Sinclair. *Approaches to World Order*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996.

¹² Ackerly, B. A., M. Stern and J. True (eds). *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006.

In addition, this review focuses on four theories of importance in global relations relating to the instruments of Kenyan foreign policy towards Uganda. First, realism note that a state of lawlessness defines international system—lack of a central authority¹³. States are independent and as such do not share structures to direct relations between them. In aforesaid anarchic system, State power plays a key role because the state can only defend itself so as to thrive using power.

This world vision rests on four assumptions¹⁴. First, advocates of Realism allege that the paramount aim of every state is to survive. Some of the immediate threats of any state are therefore occupation and foreign invasion. No matter the national interests, international demands and cultural determinants in existence, every state will ensure that it has enough power so as to survive. Second, Realists argue that States are reasonable. Based on survival objective, nations will act accordingly so as to ensure that they continue to exist. 3rd, Realists infer that all countries have military power and no nation can predict what its neighbor destines. Fourth, in such a world only states with great economic and military power will grow to greater heights. Therefore, international relations enshrined on Great Power politics¹⁵.

Other realists hold different views. The offensive Realists argue that, states will increase their power in relation to others to ensure survival¹⁶. A country cannot be safe if enemy countries have more power. In contrast, defensive Realists, believe that countries should not employ

¹³ Waltz, K. N. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Reading, 1979.

¹⁴ Mearsheimer, J. J. The False Promise of International Institutions (1994) 19(3) *International Security* 5–49.

¹⁵ bid

¹⁶ Mearsheimer, J. J. The False Promise of International Institutions (1994) 19(3) *International Security* 5–49.

domination to survive¹⁷. They note that aspirations of greatness may bring conflicts with other peer states. Instead, the defensive Realists advocate for equity in power distribution as a way of ensuring stability¹⁸.

Realists' overriding emphasis dictatorship and forced rule leads them to a small perception of legislation and worldwide associations. Certainly, Realists suppose such sides of worldwide politics to be a mirrored image of the stability of vigour, but don't constrain or have an impact on State behaviour. In an anarchic procedure without line authority, realists hold it that regulation can best be put into action by way of State vigor. Thus States may just create international legislation and worldwide associations, and could implement the principles they codify. Nevertheless, it isn't the regulations only that assess why a nation acts a detailed manner, but rather the underlying material pursuits and vigour members of the family. Global regulation is for that reason a symptom of State behaviour, not a purpose.

Furthermore, the institutionalists share a number of authenticity's presumptions concerning worldwide framework—that it is anarchic, that countries are self dependant, they only pretend with an aim of survival as they increase their assets, and that vulnerability swarms relations between nations. In any case, Institutionalism depends on diversion hypothesis as well as microeconomic hypothesis to achieve a fundamentally extraordinary conclusion—that it's possible to have cooperation between countries¹⁹.

¹⁷ Waltz, K. N. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Reading, 1979.

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ Keohane, R. O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press Princeton, 1984.

The major insight is the interaction could also be a self-interested and rational, method for nations to go after within specified stipulations. Bear in mind 2 business companions. If both nations decrease their tariffs they are going to do business more and each and every will grow to be more affluent, however neither desires to shrink limitations until it can be certain the opposite will too. Sustainability of such cooperation's without coercive vigor are doubted by the realists due to the fact that both nations have the power pushing them to say they're opening to alternate, send their items onto the neighbor nations market country, and now not accept any goods from a foreign state.

Institutionalists, in the other hand, state that associations—defined as a norms, set of rules, decision-making techniques and practices that form expectations—can walk past the challenges that do not foster cooperation. First, associations increase the interaction period, developing an involving game as a substitute than a single circular. Nations that agree on ad hoc tariffs may manage to trick their neighbors and partners to come to a round table for negotiation. However nations that comprehend they ought to have interaction with partners over and over again via an organization will rather have incentives to conform to deliberations in the brief time period so that they could proceed to get the advantages of cooperation. Institutions as a result promotes the utility of a nice reputation to nations; additionally making punishment credible.

Besides, Institutionalists contend that establishments increase data concerning the nations conduct. Remember that the major reason why realists doubt the sustainability of the cooperation is due to uncertainty. Organizations regularly gather data and make judgment about the state of the nation's conduct and whether they are consistence or rebelliousness with specific standards. States along these lines know they won't have the capacity to

understand their incapability to 'get away with it' in the event that they don't conform to a given run the show. Institutionalists believe that productivity can be expanded extraordinarily by establishment. It is expensive for States to consult with each other on an impromptu premise. The transaction cost of coordination can be reduced by the institution if they develop a central point or forum where they can meet. Institutionalism along these lines clarifies the collaboration that exists internationally in light of the presumptions that lead Realists to be doubtful of universal law and establishments.

The other hypothesis is progressivism/ liberalism. Progressivism makes for a more unpredictable type of hypothesis than Institutionalism/ Realism. The basic understanding of the hypothesis is that the national attributes of individual nations play a big role in their global cooperation. This view stands out from both Institutionalist & Realist accounts, in which all nations have similar practices & goals (in any event universally) — self-intrigued on-screen characters looking for wealth; survival. A major achievement by the theorist that supports liberalism is something referred to as 'peace brought by democracy' which portrays the nonattendance of war between nations that are liberal, characterized as develop liberal majority rule administrations.

Andrew Moravcsik came up with a more broad liberal hypothesis of worldwide relations, in light of 3 center suppositions: (i) private organizations and people, not nations, are the key players in world governmental issues (Non-State Actors); (ii) States stand on behalf of some predominant subset of household, who they serve their interest; and (iii) the design of these inclinations over the global framework decides State conduct. Worries about the appropriation of force or the part of data are taken as settled requirements on the interchange of socially-determined State inclinations. This view places that nations are designs of people

and organization intrigues who invests the profits into the global market via specific sort of government.

This theory links domestic politics and laws to international law. These hypotheses are most important sources of perception in designing global associations, equivalent to courts, which can be intended to have an effect on home politics or to hyperlink as much as home institutions. The role of the ICC is a case in point; figuring out the outcome of war crimes or crimes in opposition to humanity in terms of the home constitution of a government. Kenya is a member of the Rome Statute that created the court and abides by its rules and regulations. This also influences Kenyan foreign policy behaviour towards Uganda.

In addition, complex interdependence theory which was propounded by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye observes that states are coherent units and are the dominant actors in international relations; second, force is a usable and effective instrument of foreign policy; and finally, the assumption that there is a hierarchy in international politics. Multiple channels that connect societies exceeding the conventional Westphalian system of states exist. This manifests itself in many forms ranging from informal governmental ties to multinational corporations and organizations²⁰. This explains the fact that intercommunity relations between Kenya and Uganda across the borders makes it possible to enhance good ties between Kenya and Uganda at all levels, especially commercial and economic.

Secondly, Keohane and Nye argue that there is not, in fact, a hierarchy among issues, meaning that not only is the military arm of foreign policy not the supreme tool by which to

carry out a state's agenda, but that there are a multitude of different agendas that come to the forefront. The line between domestic and foreign policy becomes blurred in this case, as realistically there is no clear agenda in interstate relations²¹.

The use of military force is not exercised when complex interdependence prevails. The idea is developed that between countries in which a complex interdependence exists, the role of the military in resolving disputes is negated. However, Keohane and Nye go on to state that the role of the military is in fact important in that "alliance's political and military relations with a rival bloc²². This assumption is also made on the view that Kenya is the more dominant partner.

Finally, constructivism is another theory of international relations that can help to explain the role and effectiveness of Kenyan foreign policy towards Uganda. The theory argues that the variables of interest to international relations such as trade relations, military power, domestic preferences or international institutions are not useful since they are objective facts about the universe, but due to the fact that they have a particular social meanings²³. The meaning is developed out of complicated and specific outline of history, norms, ideas as well as beliefs which are easy to understand when explaining the conduct of the nation. For instance, Constructivists state that the nuclear weapons of china and the United Kingdom, in us much as they are not that destruct ,gives different meaning to the US making tem to have a different pattern of interaction²⁴. It is the same case with Kenya. Kenya's foreign policy towards

²³ Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: CUP, 2000.

²⁴ Ibid

Uganda is informed and affected by several factors that are given meaning by the Kenyan actors based on national conditions and history.

Constructivism has put more emphasis on the position of non-State actors more than other tactics. For instance, the role of transnational actors e.g. Non-governmental organization or transnational firms in changing the belief of the country about disorders like applying landmines in war. Such 'norm entrepreneurs' are equipped to alter the conduct of the state by means of rhetoric or different varieties of shamming lobbying and persuasion. For instance, constructivism notes that worldwide bureaucracies may just decide to go after thinking that what interest them only equivalent to free alternate or human rights safeguard even in opposition to the desires of the nations which formulated them ²⁵.

1.4.2 Actors of Kenya's Foreign Policy

The form of the outside arrangement process varies from the example of legislative issues on household issues in various ways. The official has certain favorable circumstances which don't hold so unequivocally in the residential field. The nearby connection between the images of nationhood and outside arrangement gives the perspectives of the administration, as speaking to the express, an exceptional power. The level of mystery in remote arrangement, the degree of the administration's prevalence in its wellsprings of data, is far more noteworthy than in any range of local governmental issues²⁶. Actors in foreign policy are institutions,

²⁵ Barnett, M. N. and M. Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

²⁶ Barnett, M. N. and M. Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

individuals or groups that influence behaviour in the states' relations. On the other hand, institutional actors are mechanisms or structures of social order and co-operation governing set of individuals conduct in a particular community.

The institutional actors in Kenya's foreign policy include the head of state – presidency, parliament, foreign affairs ministry, judiciary and other ministries like the Ministry of finance, defense, trade and commerce that are also presumed to be empowered to speak and act on issues of foreign relations that concern specific tasks of their ministries²⁷. The Kenyan foreign policy changed from being dualist to monist in that, the constitution has a clause that states that any convention or treaty ratified by Kenya will be part of the international law of Kenya. This perhaps will mean that the international laws shall be incorporated automatically into the Kenyan constitution.

Consequently, the executive normally takes the initiative in defining and formulating the troubles as they appear in public debate; and whoever determines what politics is about runs the nation due to the fact the definition of the options is the selection of conflicts, and the selection of conflicts allocates energy.²⁸

In the case of Kenyan government, power rests with the president. This has made it cumbersome as the institution of foreign affairs is highly compromised to appease the head of state. This will be in contrary to the purpose of establishing international ties with other governments. The essence of international relations is to aggregate the interest of the state

²⁷ Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenyan Foreign Policy*. Nairobi, 2014.

²⁸ Barnett, M. N. and M. Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

and not the head of state. Most agents in the Kenyan foreign missions are more of agents of the president rather than of the state²⁹.

In the conduct and formulation of overseas policy, the head of state is the top diplomat because he/she represents the state in the international conferences and summits. The head of state credits diplomatic envoys, signs credentials given to the head of diplomatic missions, authorizes a delegate to sign a treaty on his/her behalf. In many states, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy begins and ends with the head of state. The head of state appoints ambassadors who represent him/her in other states and all these envoys report directly to the head of state making him/her a central figure in the foreign policy formulation, conduct and implementation.³⁰

1.4.3 Role of Government Institutions and Non-Governmental Institutions in Process of Making Foreign Policy

Foreign policy of a country refers to a plan of action taken by a country to realize its own objectives while interacting with other countries in the international realm. When looking into foreign /overseas policy the parliament plays a major role. Some of the key functions of parliament, with regard to foreign policy, involve proposing, deliberating and deciding about public policy. Foreign policy is an externalized public policy. The effectiveness of the public policy, the only thing that differentiates them is the territory. This means that the parliament

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Murithi, A. K. *The domestic context of Kenya's foreign policy on international terrorism: 1998-2004*. Thesis (M.A.- IDIS) - University of Nairobi, 2005.

formulate policies and establish committees/ structures. This includes foreign relations committee that oversee the implementation of foreign policy.³¹

This is one of the institutions that that will enact laws of the country. They also play a crucial role of vetting the presidential nominee of post of cabinet secretary in charge of foreign affairs and international trade. Other than vetting, they also provide oversight roles to the diplomatic missions and monitor the contacts while abroad³². According to a 2010 report by Parliamentary Committee on Defence and Foreign Relations it was sated that Kenya lost 14 million USD in a deal to purchase Tokyo embassy, and a lot more cash was lost in deals to purchase embassies in Pakistan Egypt, Belgium and Nigeria³³ This led to parliamentary investigations and recommendations of prosecution of key members of the Kenyan foreign policy architecture. But the major problem with some investigation of the parliamentary committee is failure by the executive to implement the recommendations. This seems to be thwarting the efforts of the Committee and also reducing the roles of the Committee to almost nothing.

The legislature and unofficial companies be afflicted by some of precise disadvantages. Overseas affairs are matters for negotiation instead of regulation. It is consequently less smooth for those who formulate laws to challenge proposals by the government, or to extensively examine and even debate about them. Whilst a treaty is below negotiation, ministers can pull away questions about ground of delicacy and versatility; whilst a settlement has been reached they could claim that it's too late for an amendment by

³¹Mwagiru, M. Foreign policy and the Diplomacy of conflict Management in Kenya: A Review and Assessment. *African Review of Foreign Policy*; 1, 1 (March, 1999) pp. 44-64

³² ibid

³³ ibid

parliament, even though right here its exam is hampered with the aid of secrecy and through attention of national security. Its limited get admission to information prevents even the maximum powerful legislature from taking the initiative in most important problems and forces it to rely upon government proposals.³⁴

Another very instrumental body in foreign relations and foreign policy is the Judiciary. In 2011 the High Court of Kenya issued orders compelling the executive to arrest President Omar el Bashir of the Sudan if and when he sets foot on Kenyan soil. Recrimination was swift and clear. Khartoum recalled her ambassador and the executive was thrown into a diplomatic crisis. By that one decision the courts became an actor in putting into action of our overseas policy.³⁵ The relationship between the two countries was hampered as Khartoum recalled its ambassador in Nairobi and asked Kenyan ambassador to leave Sudan within 72 hours. Kenyan judiciary has been playing a very crucial role in exercising its independence. The most effective judicial system is the one that works freely without interference from executive. Kenyans should acknowledge the little reforms the judiciary is making.

Media is one of the institutions that have helped the world to be a global village. The presence of various media forms in the global space has facilitated communication and interaction among people of different cultural background and races. Serving to the complete world's persons to keep in touch is an imperative a part of the Millennium development

³⁴Ngunjiri, N. *The Interaction of Kenyan Parliament back benchers and the Kenyan foreign policy*. Dissertation (B.A.) - University of Nairobi, 1974

³⁵Cottam, R. W. *Foreign policy motivation: a general theory and a case study*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.

pursuits, agreed upon with the aid of presidents and govt at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000.³⁶ The revolution of mass communications has in turn given rise to the new ‘public’ diplomacy, whose techniques are as yet imperfectly understood.³⁷

Our perception on media is that it is a commercial venture that is a source of enrichment to the owners. We hardly recognize the efforts the local and international media houses put in place to ensure that eradication of all vices locally and internationally are made possible. Any independent media house helps in providing information, acts as government watchdog, and monitors those who corrupt power. Media also provide a forum for debating sensitive issues affecting any given community. The media have an important function to play in monitoring any peace agreements. They may be able to make sure that there's a right public debate concerning the nature of any settlement, rather than leaving it as a property of political elites.³⁸

The emergence of Information Communication and Technology (ICT) has really transformed the world. Kenyan government has been in the forefront in harnessing the citizen’s power and ability in acquiring these new technologies; for example, was the invention of the money transfer through the mobile phone. This has gone far to the extent of banks incorporating mobile banking in their services. The Country is exporting the technology to various

³⁶Abudo, P. O. *An Empirical investigation of the policy determinants of the supply of manufactured exports: A case study of Kenya*. Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1994.

³⁷Njagi, P. K. *Kenya's foreign policy in a changing world : themes, fora and prospects*. Thesis (M.A.) - University of Nairobi, 2008

³⁸Awuonda, G. O. *The role of International law in the foreign policy of African states: A case study of Kenya*. Thesis (M.A.) - University of Nairobi, 2001.

countries of the world. Therefore, communication technology has revolutionized the practice of diplomacy. Governments still speak to other governments, but they speak also to peoples – and listen to them.³⁹

1.4.4 Relationship between Foreign Policy and Country's Political Processes

The Kenya's foreign policy document was launched in November 2014. The document has set its own objectives that outline how the country is going to interact with other states in the international arena. Nations do not make objectives: administrations of countries do. In outside arrangement, as in household approach, they make their arrangements and take their choices underweight from various distinctive sources.

The Policy is slanted towards maintaining the nation's sway, advancing all inclusive peace and cultivating better interactions with those around them, whatever is left of the African landmass and the world on the loose. In such manner, Kenya will proceed to solidify and fortify its outside interactions & discretionary ties with different nations and in addition global and multilateral associations at the territorial, mainland and worldwide level. Kenya's remote arrangement is tied down on 5 interrelated columns that describe her reciprocal and multilateral arrangements. These columns are Diaspora, Cultural, Environmental, Peace and Economic.⁴⁰ The policy was made by technocrats from the Foreign Affairs ministry and International Trade with other people appointed by the head of state. Such documents

³⁹Burugu, J. N. *Management of foreign policy and diplomatic service: a critical appraisal of diplomatic training in Kenya*. Thesis (M.A.) - University of Nairobi, 2008.

⁴⁰Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenyan Foreign Policy*. Nairobi, 2014.

represent the government of the time; meaning, if another government comes into power, there will be different approach on their foreign policy⁴¹.

In conducting foreign policy, there are some objectives that the government has to define. The objectives of outside approach creators are clear and just characterized. Whatever a definitive points of universal legislative issues, power is dependably the prompt point. States seek after their national enthusiasm for remote arrangement, and their national intrigue can be characterized as the amplification of national power.⁴²

It is the definition of the objectives that are clearly missing in the Kenya foreign policy. The policy makers should have elaborated on how the mentioned objectives will be realistic. Given that the tenure of presidents in Kenya will last for five years, and another term in case he or her seeks the final term, it will be hard to assess the objectives⁴³. Relationship between international coverage and domestic political method is that the overseas coverage starts at the end of domestic policy. Overseas policy is assumed to be, at the least in steady and well governed states, a government services in making of which the natural sample of domestic political clash plays little part.

⁴¹ Nyamwaya, L. K. *The effect of foreign aid on human development in Kenya*. Thesis (M.A. - Economic Policy and Management) - University of Nairobi, 2007.

⁴² Mintz, A. (ed). *Intergrating cognitive and rational theories of foreign policy making: the polyheuristic theory of decision*. Basingtoke: Palgrave, 2003

⁴³ Ochilo, F. O. *An econometric analysis of Kenya's imports and exports: Empirical tests for the impact of selected policy changes*. Thesis (M.A.) - Lakehead University, Department of Economics, 1994.

In the process of making of Kenya's foreign policy, several groups and communities were not involved in the process. The function of social political and domestic environment performs in influencing, possibly deciding upon, international coverage tend to look partisan conflict, curiosity team stress and elite opinion as alternatively extra critical to the formula of coverage.⁴⁴

1.5 Hypotheses

- i. There is a significant interaction between Kenya's commercial and economic foreign policies towards Uganda and her economic growth
- ii. There is no significant relationship between Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda and domestic politics in Kenya
- iii. There is no significant relationship between the challenges faced in the administration of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda and their effectiveness in securing and protecting Kenya's interests

1.6 Methodology

This section deals with the sampling and population design, research design, data analysis and collection

⁴⁴Okello, G. O. *Economic dependency as a basis for co-operation and political compliance in inter-state relations: a case of Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain, 1963-1998*. Thesis (M.A) - University of Nairobi, 1994.

1.6.1 Research Design

This study used explanatory research design. A causal study design is a style of non-experimental investigation where researchers seek to establish rationale-and-outcomes relationship by way of forming organizations of members/ objects in whom the unbiased variable is gift or absent- or reward at a few levels- after which making a choice on whether the groups differ within the stylish variable⁴⁵. This study, therefore, assessed the causal relationships between foreign policy of Kenya towards Uganda and the achievement of Kenyan foreign policy goals.

1.6.2 Population and Sampling Design

Populace is the whole group of events, people, objects that have observable characteristic that are common⁴⁶. The study drew heavily from secondary sources such as executive orders, foreign and Diaspora policies, defence policies, Sessional papers, economic policies, and the Constitution of Kenya.

1.6.3 Data Collection

1.6.3.1 Type and Sources of Data

The data for the study were secondary. The secondary data involved extraction of information from existing written sources.

⁴⁵ Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: ACTS press, 2003.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

1.6.3.2 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher spent time in the library reading books, journal articles, and theses.

1.6.4 Data Analysis and Reporting

The findings of the study were analyzed qualitatively by establishing interrelationships between variables and reported in narrative form⁴⁷.

1.7 Justification of the Study

This study therefore attempted to assemble the bits and pieces of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda with a view of drawing a theoretical understanding of its effectiveness. Therefore, the study findings will contribute to knowledge towards understanding Kenyan relationship with Uganda, add knowledge to regional studies, contribute to policy debates towards harmonious co-existence in the region, and enhance economic and political cooperation with Uganda.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study concentrated on Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda between 1963 and 2014, with special focus on commercial and economic policies. In addition, the study looked at the contents of the policy documents, ascertained their role and effectiveness and investigated any challenges in their administration. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kenya in Nairobi was the point of reference of the study.

⁴⁷ Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. *Research methods in the social sciences*. 6th ed. New York: Blackwell, 1999

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by realism theory of foreign policy. Realism observes that the conduct of outside policy and choice of foreign policy tools depends on a rational assessment of the international environment and balance of power between states; and that states tend to make rational choices⁴⁸. Meashheimer and Waltz are the proponents of this theory.

Realism observes that the global organization is defined by anarchy and that sovereign states are autonomous of each other and lack a unifying mechanism that ensures that order exists among them.⁴⁹ And that order can only be restored or maintained by coercion or consent⁵⁰. Quite often the survival of a state depends on her state power, as manifest in her military, economic and diplomatic capability⁵¹.

This theory, therefore, explains Kenya's foreign policy relative to great powers, especially in the cold war where Kenya was forced to take a non-aligned stance, or in the African Union or in East African Community where Kenya's position is more authoritative relative to Uganda. In this respect, this theory argues that the principle of non-alignment that has been the backbone of foreign policy Kenya in the cold war period was informed by the realistic acknowledgement of Kenya as a weaker state vis-à-vis the US and USSR at the time. Therefore, this theory claims that every instrument of foreign policy employed by Kenya both

⁴⁸ Smith, S. A. Hadfield and T. Dunne (eds). *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

⁴⁹ Waltz, K. N. *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Reading, 1979.

⁵⁰ *ibid*

⁵¹ *ibid*

in the past and at present is a result of the general assessment of the conditions of the state and that of external environment that has direct impact on Kenyan foreign policy goals.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter one looks at the general introduction to the gain knowledge of including the statement of the problem, goals/objectives, literature review, study hypotheses, methodology, significance and justification of the study, scope and limitations, and theoretical framework.

Chapter two focuses on contextual understanding of foreign policy with specific discussion and analysis of the relationship between overseas policy and power, formulation of this policies, foreign policy instruments, nature and pillars of Kenya's foreign policy, and emerging issues in overseas policy.

Chapter three deals with foreign Kenya policy towards Uganda between 1963 and 2014, with an in-depth analysis of commercial and economic policy from bilateral and multilateral facets

Chapter four highlights the challenges of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda, especially in the commercial realm.

Chapter five gives a summary and discussion of major findings, conclusion and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 Introduction

Foreign policy is the investigation of the direct and routine of interactions of various performers, essentially states, in the universal framework. Strategy, knowledge, exchange arrangements and social trades all frame part of the substance of remote approach. It is additionally around an examination concerning basic leadership, the individual chiefs, procedures and conditions that influence outside arrangement and the results of these choices. Subsequently remote approach is worried about the limits of environment outside the country and the interior or household environment. Remote approach focuses on genuine state lead and the wellsprings of their choices went for enhancing outside strategy basic leadership with the goal that states could accomplish better results and improve the likelihood of serene relations between states⁵².

International systems have been transformed by foreign policies due to globalization, making the interaction of countries easier. Its own scope is expanded for the accountability of those who act without the aid of any nation e.g. multinational corporations or global environmental activists or. Foreign policy focuses on overseas policy formulation process, the nature of choosing foreign policy and the decision-makers role; however, it tends to direct more emphasis on its works agency⁵³.

⁵² Clarke, M. and B. White. *Understanding foreign policy: the foreign policy systems approach*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1989.

⁵³ *ibid*

A triumphant overseas policy is calculated in phrases of a nation's capability to consistently show case its interests and claim itself within the global procedure. Vital to this success is a working out of vigor, its sources and an assessment of the approach needed to achieve state objectives. The potential to forge dimensions right into a coherent overseas coverage correct to the state in query, its unique material stipulations as well as its role inside the global procedure is equally important.

2.2 Foreign Policy and Power

Anarchic nature of the global process—that is without any recognized crucial authority—forces nations to try and achieve a desire for wealth and protection. With nations out rightly competing each other to acquire wealth and security needs, their corporation is eventually tactical & restrained to a sequence of self- alliances. A 'security obstacle' reigns, therefore efforts made by one nation to broaden its sense of safety by means of acquisition of arms or other protecting measures simply encourage different states to adopt equivalent procedures, and sarcastically creates a condition of lack of security in nations.

The centrality of energy – notably manifested as army vigor – is the predominant component in deciding upon a nations potential to sustain an effective overseas policy. Vigour is explained as the capacity of a nation to force other state do things which can be to the first nation's knowledge and which the latter nation could not pursue anyway. There are three approaches of interpreting the position of vigor in overseas coverage: as a context inside which states operate, as a way to an end and as end in itself. There are two normal ways that this can also be executed: by way of direct action (drive or coercion) or via oblique action (has an effect on or persuasion).

The coercion includes forcing the nation targeted via outright intervention into its serious activities or through overt chance. This would incorporate demonstration by the army, mobilizing of troops, invasions or genuine navy strikes. It may additionally involve valuable fiscal ambitions, reminiscent of stopping the supplies of oil or an exchange embargo, that results into the country targeted suffering economically. Persuasion is more proper since it incorporates using the diplomatic methods universal principles are applied and any other source of influence that are acceptable. The ability of country make others start using their policy preferences as ‘delicate energy’, while coercive way ‘tough power’.

The nation’s source of power can also be discovered peculiarly in its army and fiscal capabilities which provide the way recreation non-coercive and coercive have an effect on. Different explanations that have an effect on a country’s capability to pursue a triumphant overseas coverage incorporate the geographic role, the resources available to it & its populace size. The society’s stage of monetary growth and the pervasiveness of recent applied sciences, chiefly as developed through regional ‘research and development’ programs, are additional indications of energy.

2.3 Formulating Foreign Policy

Basic procedures to foreign coverage focal point on the system of objectives and pursuits headquartered upon ‘country wide curiosity’. What constitutes country wide curiosity, how it is determined and eventually applied are vital for the overseas policy to understanding alternatives and pursued responses through nations. Rationality assumptions that are established on the notion that international policy objectives (‘preferences’) of selection makers are self-evident, extra beef up the realist view. Nonetheless, country wide curiosity

will also be headquartered on a narrow basis of the society, like representing the influence of robust lobby companies or social type buildings on international coverage. Consistent with this interpretation, just whose pursuits are being multiplied to the league of 'countrywide curiosity' and the reason for their adoption with the aid of the nation, is a show of the wrestle between the dominate society and segments of the power elite. The capacity of conflicting interests inside the domestic atmosphere to mobilize assets, be it via monetary incentives or claims by populists, is a pillar to success in construing their parochial considerations as necessary of state action.

Balance of vigour is as well seen as the foremost means for initiating global approach and making it to remain at equilibrium. Nations show action to try and curb to much power by joining forces with other states that are facing the same predicaments. This strategy of forming a coalition is descriptive since it acts as a mirror of the old habits of Europe and at the same time the coalition is normative since it can be taken as an international policy important for preserving global peace. The proposal of a steadiness of energy has exercised gigantic influence over international policy making though, because of its systemic anarchy assumptions underlying. Nonetheless, it would it foster the very feel of instability which it tries to alleviate.

Essentially all states subscribe with the aid of necessity to maintain integrity in the territories and monetary stability as relevant activity of the current government of their global deals. Furthermore, traditionally states have mostly used the stability of vigour strategy to keeping stability & order inside the worldwide process. What is disputable is whether targets are best done via the short-time period approaches headquartered on restricted cooperation provisions

or whether states attain more by way of incorporating long-time period techniques that emphasize cooperative university constructing.

2.4 Instruments of Foreign Policy

Traditionally, nations have usually turned to economic, navy instruments and diplomatic means to get their targets. In addition not too long ago, these ‘difficult energy’ devices had been supplemented via realization of the significance of incorporating ‘gentle vigour’ right into a nation’s repertoire. Promoting of norms by way of non-administration and governmental factors is without doubt one of the ‘tender vigor’ instruments which is able to support states shape a goal nation’s overseas coverage objectives. All these have weaknesses and strengths relating to a given overseas coverage predicament and it's nations capability to take advantage these numerous sets of devices that determines whether it has a successful foreign coverage or no longer .

Diplomacy is the noblest figure of the worldwide conducts and covers a large part of the international interaction of nations. It includes discussions that are either informal or formal directed at resolving issues of common hindrance. The mediation, chats or negotiations can be between two nations (bilateral) or can involve a number of nations (multilateral). Traditionally, officially famous diplomat’s expert within the levels of international protocol behavior such deliberations. Collaborations with the nations of like minds or nations sharing a normal belief of danger & have business ties with desired nations are fashioned topics in the diplomatic environment. The role diplomat play is overshadowed by day-to-day duties of maintaining constructive members of the family among nations, showing concern of the citizens who live overseas and disorders related to protocol. In these occasions when one nations conduct causes chronic drawback diplomatic moves or alarm – starting from protest

to receiving of formal notification, applying of matter of diplomacy like impeaching a government that is not working well – can also be utilized to precise a state's displeasure⁵⁴.

Contemporary discretion owes its codes and practices to traditions created in Europe amid the 18 & 19 century. Hidden understandings binds states to the guard of each other framed the foundation of European discretion up to WWI. In the 20th century, the ascent of majority rules systems, the media and universal organizations, for example, the League of Nations and that which succeeded it UN, has achieved a move towards a more open type of discretion. Universal summitry, when states' pioneers meet up to talk about prominent outside approach issues, has assumed an expanding part from the 20th century going on also.

Monetary assets are utilized by nations when strategic methods are seen to be deficient in accomplishing their points. They incorporate financial authorizations, for example, forcing exchange limitations against an objective state; and military assents, for example, forcing confinements on exchange or produce of arms to an objective state. With couple of exemptions, assents are just truly viable if actualized by a collaboration of nations and thoroughly authorized by every one of them. Hence, it is frequently said that the significance of approvals lies more in its typical esteem as an indication of dismay with a specific nation than its real impact upon that country.

Subversion is an instrument supported by pioneers for its capacity to offer an express a strategic favorable position over different states. The social affair of knowledge and its

⁵⁴ ibid

examination by masters prepared in evaluating outlines and abilities of different states can give understanding into option approaches to be sought after by an adversary and an eagerness to seek after these activities. Less regularly – however surely prevalently connected with secret activities – is the proclamation of clandestine operations went for destabilizing an adversary in somehow. Dim and dark purposeful publicity (the previous mostly in light of truth, the last an altogether manufacture) against the objective state or its pioneer, giving incognito money related or support by army to restriction developments, & political deaths, all shape part of the weapons store used in this type of reconnaissance. Wrangle inside majority rule states seethes with regards to the profound quality of seeking after incognito operations during peaceful periods, however verifiably these nations have demonstrated no contrition against their utilization when country's security was accepted to be debilitated.

Values advancement is an unequivocally 'delicate power' way to deal with remote approach that is operationalized through an assortment of means. Government organizations that advance the general public's social values through, for instance, instructive trades and grants to élites or planned élites, are methods for forming the points and decisions sought after by outside arrangement on-screen characters in another nation. States can likewise finance non-legislative performing artists with an unequivocal qualities advancement plan, for example, human rights bunches, exchange union support or appointive help. The quality of this method is that household performing artists inside a specific target nation grasp the hidden estimations of another nation and afterward this turns into the reason for outside arrangement decision that, maybe unwittingly, adjusts to the interests of the promoter nation.

At long last, army assets remain a definitive articulation of a nations' ability to seek after its outside approach. States utilize their army mainly in emergency situations to shield their interests, be they regional, assets or subjects, or in support of outside arrangement points, for example, getting new domain, accessing vital assets or maintaining global rule. The military, in the hands of a specialist, can be a significantly more expanded outside strategy assets than is promptly evident. For example, it can stamp the quality of a nation's dedication to a security organization together through the nearness of changeless army installations or the sending of a maritime armada to a locale in debate. Similarly, open presentations of innovative ability, for example, the starting of ballistic rockets or the testing of atomic weapons can be vital signs to potential enemies and companions alike. Peacekeeping strengths, for the most part under the support of a worldwide association like the United Nations are a later development of the exemplary military instrument and a few states incorporate an exceptionally prepared legion close by for such missions.

2.5 Kenya's Foreign Policy

This section discusses the nature of Kenya's foreign policy and the pillars in which the policy framework is explained. It takes into consideration the national conditions and the country's legal regime and the prevailing international relations situation.

2.5.1 Nature of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Our country is experiencing a good global perception due to its strategic region, strong political institutions, sustained stability, good monetary strategies, environmental approaches & particularly educated & expert personnel. Other confident qualities are great efficiency by means of Kenya's exercises people and the growing involvement our citizens overseas in

national progress. The institutional framework in the conduct of foreign policy of Kenya's comprise of the Cabinet, International Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Presidency relevant Ministries, Agencies, Departments and Parliament, Retired Heads of State, County Governments and other Statesmen⁵⁵.

The overseas policy seeks to pursue the following countrywide pursuits: guard Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty and; promotion of regional integration and sub-regional and collaboration; increase global & regional security & peace; strengthen Kenyans financial prosperity of her men and women; task Kenya's picture and prestige; promote multilateralism & cooperation globally; promote and shield the pursuits of Kenyans overseas; and increase collaboration with the Kenyans overseas. These objectives are pursued by means of 5 key inter-linked devices of Kenya's foreign coverage that intention at cleansing of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republic of Kenya; resolution of disagreements amicably; coexisting peacefully with neighbouring nations; promoting integration in the region; admire for the equality; and admire for worldwide norms, customs and legal guidelines .

Prior to written international policy framework in 2014, Kenya relied on more than a few professional records, and government pronouncements and circulars, together with The structure of Kenya ; The Sessional Paper of African Socialism No. 10/1965 on and its software to Planning in Kenya; The Sessional Paper on economic management for Renewed development No. 1/1986; Manifestos of political parties that are ruling; countrywide progress Plans; the 2013 Kenya Environmental policy; Kenya's Medium term Plans for vision 2030;

⁵⁵ Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenyan Foreign Policy*. Nairobi, 2014.

and worldwide Conventions, Treaties, Charters and Agreements. Kenya's foreign coverage rests on 5 interconnected instruments: Peace instrument for diplomacy; fiscal instrument for diplomacy; Diaspora diplomacy instrument, atmosphere diplomacy instrument and Cultural diplomacy instrument.

2.5.2 Pillars of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Pillars of Kenya's foreign policy are the tools that Kenya employ to exert its diplomatic power among nations. There are many pillars of Kenya's foreign policy which are anchored in the constitution and best practices internationally. They include diplomatic and political, diaspora, environmental and cultural pillars.

2.5.2.1 Diplomatic and Political Overtures

This instrument acknowledges the significance of security diplomacy and peace is the cognizance of peace and balance as necessary pre-stipulations for progress and prosperity. The conviction of Kenya that its possess steadiness and economic wellness are elegant on the stable state of the sub-vicinity, our continent & that of the world is linked to this.

The goals of this pillar are to advertise the peaceful resolution of conflicts; join hands with other African international locations to give a boost to the conflict resolution, management and prevention capability of regional associations, incorporating EAC-East African community- IGAD-Inter Governmental Authority on development-, COMESA-Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa-and the AU-African Union-with the intention of promoting sustainable development and peace; aid peace efforts by way of the AU and UN via sending troops and delivering management in missions for keeping peace globally and in

the continent; and create clash evaluation and prevention capability nationally and within the vicinity through the international service Academy.

In trying to achieve these ambitions, Kenya's international peace diplomacy continues to attract on Kenya's experiences in mediation, conflict decision and peacekeeping. Additional, Kenya continues to be part of associations which are concerned in peace keeping in the Continent which incorporate global training centre for peace support and the standby force command for East Africa among others. This instrument has all along recognized the instability of Uganda as each a neighbor and a buying and selling partner.

2.5.2.2 Diaspora Foreign Policies

The federal administration of Kenya acknowledges the big and untapped capabilities of Kenyans overseas which are able to make a contribution to the nation's countrywide agenda of development. The overseas instrument targets to tap the varied expertise, knowledge, abilities and assets of Kenyans residing overseas, and enhancing their incorporation the development agenda of the country. This informs the overseas instrument that seeks to tap the contribution of Kenyans residing outside the country by the implementation of the country wide Diaspora coverage.

The goals of this strategy are to furnish responsive consular services; empower Kenyans overseas to take part in the development of the nation; promote the entry via Kenyans to the worldwide market; make use of great Kenyans, and tap into the capabilities and resources of the Kenyans overseas for country wide progress.

2.5.2.3 Environmental Foreign Policy

The Environmental coverage of Kenya, 2013 stated that natural resources and environment and are useful country wide and the goals of sustainable development depends on it. Kenya recognizes its big stake within the sustainable administration of its own natural resources those of the region and the arena. The powerful orientation towards environmental disorders is accordingly a distinctive function of Kenya's foreign coverage. Among underlined key issues by way of the atmosphere instrument is the mighty implementation of the MEAs (Multilateral Environmental Agreements) such as the convention on international alternate of Endangered Species (CITES) .

Underlying this dedication is the need to urgently confront the affect of modern-day problems facing the environment such as international climate exchange, air and ocean pollution, depletion of ozone and useful resource degradation compounded by using the increasing world population.

The goals of this pillar are to promoted UNEP- United Nation Environmental Programme- and UN HABITAT (United Nations Human Settlements Programme in Nairobi) in prioritizing the global sustainable development agenda; promote compliance with the crucial country wide, regional and global environmental laws, regulations, requirements, and other suitable operational methods and recommendations; promote the mixing of environmental management into countrywide and regional economic hobbies, together with agriculture and tourism to decrease poor impact on the environment; promote study as a mechanism to encourage innovation and reduce adversarial environmental impacts; and motivate public communicate, attention and advantage production on environmental concerns by way of country wide, regional and worldwide forums .

2.5.2.4 Cultural Exchanges

The competencies of cultural heritage in Kenya are significant and there is a desire for it to be explored to enhance sustainable development in the country. Kenya has continually positioned emphasis over the years on cultural recognition and figuring out because the basis for talk. It is through cultural routine that a nation's concept of itself is high-quality depicted. Kenya's cultural diplomacy ambitions to increase realization of her cultural richness and to generate interests within the nation's cultural heritage.

The goals of this pillar are to recognize and respect diversity in culture and heritage; encourage partnerships cultural exchanges; encourage world intercultural talk; promote physical activities and diplomacy of art by giving recognition the position of artist in Kenya, athletes and different sportsmen and ladies; and encourage the recognition of Kiswahili as an international and continental language; putting this pillars into practice will furnish a guiding framework for diplomatic engagements. This will additional consultant the country as it pursues its vision of fitting peaceful, affluent and globally aggressive at the same time selling sustainable progress.

2.6 Emerging Issues in Foreign Policy

Growing international interdependence in fiscal progress, environment and communications, is blurring the honor between home and international policy. Nuclear proliferation and the danger of terrorist corporations obtaining WMDs -Weapons of Mass Destruction- nuclear, organic, and chemical weapons — stay important international coverage concerns and combat in opposition to world terrorism. International fiscal policy is an extra rising international policy quandary. Selections made about worldwide economic policy by means

of one or a couple of states have an immediate home affect. For instance, practicing protectionism could hinder setting up international locations to come out of poverty.

Finally, environmental issues and climate change is becoming a powerful collective international policy hassle. The discovery of a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica and evidence of world warming show that environmental alternate has a global have an impact on and requires global motion. A progress has been made in ensuring that the creations of chemical compound that smash ozone have been reduced with the help of global intervention. Global warming believed by many scientist to have begun is attributed to burning of fossil fuels, is a extra complicated situation. The 1997 Kyoto Protocol to the United nations Framework on climate exchange (UNFCCC) mandated enormous reductions in greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide, for illustration), the Inter-Governmental Panel on climate exchange (the 2015 Paris contract) also binds states closer to decreasing greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Such are world issues that have equally impacted on Kenyan overseas coverage toward Uganda, for example by way of the Nile Basin Initiative where Kenyan is an upstream state, whereas Uganda is a downstream state.

CHAPTER THREE

KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS UGANDA BETWEEN 1963 AND 2014

3.1 Introduction

Overseas policy, also called international family members or overseas policy contains strategies to satisfy self-chosen by means of the nation to guard its country wide pursuits and to reap ambitions inside its global family member's milieu. The procedures are employed strategically to interact with other international locations. The gain knowledge of such procedures is known as international coverage analysis. In latest instances, as a result of the increasing level international activities and globalization, the nations will even have to have interaction with members who act independent of any country. The interplay mentioned before is monitored and evaluated in attempts of maximizing benefits of multilateral global interactions. Due to the fact that the interests of the citizens are paramount, international policies are developed via the administration by way of excessive-level determination making procedure.

Interest of the nation accomplishments can take place for that reason of interacting peacefully with other nations, or by means of exploitation. In general, developing overseas policy is the task of the head of state or the minister in charge of foreign affairs. In some nations the executive part of the government responsible for the formulation of the law also has giant results. International policies of nations have various premiums of change and scopes of intent, which may also be affected by explanations that vary the perceived countrywide pursuits or even influence the steadiness of the nation itself. The foreign coverage of one

nation can have a lasting effect on many other nations and on the path of worldwide interactions as a whole.

Overseas coverage is an action plan put in place by adopted by one nation with regard to its diplomatic dealings with different international locations. Foreign coverage is founded as a systemic option to care for issues that can come up with other nations. Within the trendy technology, no nation can manage to pay for to are living in isolation in this age of interdependence.

World War II and its challenges posed a nice threat and project for humanity which showed everybody the necessity of global family members. Although international coverage policy remained to be a closely guarded approach on the countrywide degree, wider entry to the files of the government and the bigger interest of the public gave information from which educational work placed international members of the family in a in an organized framework of political science. Post graduates and graduate publications developed. Study was stimulated, and step by step, global relations became a tutorial self-discipline in universities for the period of the sector.

Foreign coverage orientation can be divided in two: treating foreign policy and international politics as an indifferent, single discipline of gain knowledge of, and recognizing foreign policy as a source than the substance of international politics and putig it as a discipline for

study. The 2nd aspect restricts its work to international coverage making. The works of 2nd aspect comes closer to the idea of international coverage.

The absence of a basic idea on this discipline leads to a couple serious penalties such as the crisis of explaining the relationships and making predictions concerning the foreign coverage conduct, depending on educative guesses to come up with beneficial research theory, or that a diplomat can be likely to have an extra complicated estimate or talents of other administrations. His or her estimate, nevertheless, will definitely be simplistic and closely related with the aid of his or her possess blinders, main to faulty/biased policy judgments. Officials in the government taking part in the development of foreign policies usually view giving out information on how they make the policies as a risky affair and therefore they don't even talk about it since controlling information is itself one of the foreign policies. This drawback was now not certain to Kenyan international policy towards Uganda between 1963 and 2014.

Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda works within the available bilateral, regional, and multilateral platforms between Kenya and Uganda. The foremost among them is the East African Community. In the present day world that is globalized, interdependency and interconnectedness and are a reality. Kenya in this manner perceives the significance of reinforced respective relations, local collaboration and improved multilateral engagement as essential segments of its remote arrangement and section focuses for accomplishing its national advantages.

3.2 Bilateral Arrangements

Kenya proceeds to grasp two-sidedness in pursuing its overseas policy targets in the direction of Uganda through reciprocal trade, social natural and political agreement. Among necessity nations are East Africa Community member nations which form part of Kenya's key exchanging accomplices. These countries host a gigantic number about Kenyans expatriates and stay that side of the point for premium of the Kenyan trade assembly.

The implementation of bilateral preparations with Uganda types an imperative aspect of Kenya's international policy strategy which lays emphasis on rising economies and economic zones. Further the merchandising and security of the interests of the colossal number of Kenyans overseas will proceed to notify the strengthening of bilateral family members with Uganda.

3.3 Regional Frameworks

Regional integration is key to Kenya which includes regional balance and make bigger in trade amongst others. Therefore the integration in the region remains to be one o the strong holds of foreign policy in Kenya. The EAC (East African Community), IGAD (Inter Governmental Authority on Development), COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) and the AU African Union) are Kenya's essential avenues for pursuing its foreign policy goals toward Uganda⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenya Vision 2030*. Nairobi, 2003.

3.3.1 The East African Community (EAC)

The EAC is Kenya's most important overseas policy area and her principal buying and selling and funding bloc. Guided by way of the imaginative and prescient of shared prosperity with its neighbours, Kenya continues to fortify ties with the EAC nations, in particular with Uganda. Kenya accordingly continues to play its rightful function in speedy-tracking the EAC integration via the full implementation of the provisions of all normal instruments.

3.3.2 The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

Kenya being one of the nations that founded IGAD the nation has continually provided support and leadership to IGAD as a potent regional device for counteracting challenges for development sustainability within the neighborhood. Strategic interventions incorporate mobilization of worldwide aid to permit IGAD to maintain regional peace and steadiness, and strengthen its capability to without difficulty deal with regional environmental disorders.

3.3.3 International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)

Kenya is not only a signatory to the peace and security pact but also an active member of ICGLR which seeks to acquire sustainable peace and balance in region where the great lakes lies. Sustainable peace on this region is critical to the development of the neighborhood. Kenya acknowledges that sustainable peace and protection is vital to the progress of the east and central African countries and will as a consequence search to promote its regional peace agenda.

3.3.4 The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

Since the inception of COMESA in December 1994, Kenya has been a lively member. Being the largest African regional fiscal bloc, the organization is of strategic value to the development of economy in Kenya. It presents a large marketplace for the exports from Kenya and is a principal supply of funding opportunities for those investing in Kenya. The regional bloc is also a key player in the agenda of integration in Africa by way negotiations with SADC & EAC to set up a Free trade area. Kenya will, as a result, continue to help the strengthening of COMESA as a chief in continental integration.

3.3.5 The African Union (AU)

Kenya will maintain those procurements of the AU constitutive act and the acknowledgment of its vital objectives. As overseas policy precedence, Kenya will proceed to assume its part clinched alongside fortifying of the AU and its associations in line with the African unions dream. As a member of, IGAD COMESA and EAC Kenya certainly supports the agenda of AU which aims at lifting intra-African exchange and consciousness of Africa's skills as a pole for world fiscal development. Kenya may continue assisting Africa's strategic partnerships with other areas aimed at promoting world peace and security and achieving the sustainable progress agenda in the MDGs (Post-Millennium Development Goals) period.

3.4 Multilateral Platforms

Kenya will continue selling the standards of UN constitution and carry out its function in assisting the work of the UN system in the promoting of worldwide safety and peace, exchange, democracy, human rights sustainable development, refugees, and the reform of the

UN system. In view of this Kenya will promote better interactions with UN systems and other worldwide associations and our bodies.

Kenya can even continue to simply have interaction with the Commonwealth, South-South Cooperation, and different multilateral organizations to advertise worldwide collaboration and interaction and to find lasting options to international problems and in serving to changing of the multilateral method to reflect the range of our international locations, and to make certain its centrality in international governance. Moreover, Kenya will proceed to look after and increase her overall worldwide policy goals through strong engagement on the WTO to develop a transparent, enabling and predictable environment for fair multilateral trading approach.

3.5 Single Taxation Regime Agreement

It was established that businesses in east Africa are loses billions in taxes as a result of the countries in the region failing to ratify the issue of double taxation agreement by EAC. The contract was thought of to increase the investment across the border and at the same time significantly reduce the amount of taxes paid. In as much as the treaty of double taxation was approved by the ministers in the EAC council way back in 2010 its only Rwanda that has ratified it. The remaining country that is Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and Burundi are yet to adopt it. The treaty wishes to be ratified through all countries to turn out to be operational.

Kenya's federal government has concluded DTA's with some nations and is presently increasing the network of her treaty. DTA's are major in view that they support in assuaging

double taxation where industry is carried out in distinct tax obligations and in addition guide tax administrations in stopping evasion .

More often than not international locations have got to seek approval from the parliament or the cabinet to undertake international treaties. The cabinet of Burundi accredited the agreement however its parliament has not passed it into. Failing to enact the agreement into law is obvious as some of the largest non-tariff obstacles to increasing go-border exchange and investment and one that is continually limiting the region's good looks to buyers. For those in business getting taxed in two regions — their dwelling nation and the nation in which they invests — it's a massive flip-off. The notion was for the principal buying and selling companions to avert those investing in other nations from getting double taxation on their revenue.

Kenya is the most important Tanzanian investor however, Uganda is Kenya's biggest buying and selling associate. Uganda is also Rwanda's greatest buying and selling companion. Ratifying the treaty could save corporations thousands of shillings in tax and furnish better incentives for investments across the borders. Specialists say administrations are resisting the concept of signing the DTA for worry that they are going to lose revenues with some international locations trying to talk again about the contract that they consider are skewed. At the same time Uganda has not passed the East African group DTA as law mostly seeing that of crimson tape, developing issues about misuse of those preparations for concealment of earnings by way of multinationals and shortage of research on their advantages and drawbacks has created uncertainty over their economic have an effect on .

When the EAC double taxation treaty comes into drive, EAC companion states that aren't imagined to offer extra favorable therapy to third parties (countries that aren't contributors of EAC) than what's provided to different EAC partner states. However even as the EAC member states delay in ratifying the neighborhood's DTA, they signed the identical treaties with countries outside the bloc. The delay in ratifying the tax protocol has forced businesses within the area to spend time and money on developing complicated monetary structures, in general involving holding corporations in international locations with bilateral tax agreements.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACING KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS UGANDA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses challenges facing the administration of Kenya's commercial and economic foreign policy towards Uganda. It focuses on trade imbalance, customs union, and labour and competitiveness.

4.2 Trade Imbalance

Many Kenyan firms operate in Uganda and they incorporate Equity bank, KCB bank, Commercial Bank of Africa and Nakumatt supermarket. In 2014, Kenya was the greatest investor in the EAC. However, there have been jittery on trade relations in recent past. Each country is taking part in the construction of the standard gauge railway hyperlink that will run through the major cities Kigali-Kampala-Nairobi-Mombasa. Construction of the part that runs through Kenya kicked off in 2014. A motorway that runs from Mombasa to Kigali through Nairobi and Kampala has been proposed. The port of Mombasa has been largely used by Uganda to access its global markets. The common railway will enhance effectiveness in supplying items to Uganda from Kenya. Uganda can even be incorporated in the LAPSSET venture where Kenyan and Ugandan oil fields will be linked through a pipeline. However, Uganda has chosen to reroute the pipeline towards Tanzania, sparking a diplomatic row. Rwanda, at the same time has decided to establish a rail link with Tanzania. This puts the Kenyan commercial and economic foreign policy in jeopardy⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Ibid

Uganda decided to use the sea port city of Tanga, which is situated in the north of Dar es Salaam at a distance of 200km instead of Lamu. The country established that it was a cheaper and more secure option. Uganda stated that that pipeline that would run from Tanga to Kabaale covering a distance of about 1400km will be cost effective when they will venture into exportation of oil in 2020. Having had a pipeline route through Kenya rejected by Uganda, Kenya plans to build a pipeline from Lokichar in its oil-rich Turkana region to Lamu, where it is building a port, close to the border with Somalia. This makes the Kenyan infrastructural ambitions less profitable. Uganda's decision not to partner Kenya was considered a major blow to Kenya's economic diplomacy⁵⁸.

The infrastructural agreements between Kenya and Uganda also brought to fore the challenges in Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy. When, in August 2014 Presidents Museveni and Kenyatta Signed the primary memorandum of figuring out to construct a pipeline from Hoima to Lamu, Kenya complicated the subject by means of wasting the already misplaced time in arguments over the preconditions Uganda had set — comparable to guaranteeing protection, upfront financing, and tariffs no longer larger than supplied by using the replacement. Nonetheless, in March 2015 President Museveni met Tanzanian President John Magufuli on the seventeenth usual East African community (EAC) summit, and the two sealed the deal for the project. Two weeks later President Magufuli met

⁵⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/12/uganda-chooses-tanzania-over-kenya-for-oil-pipeline-route>

the vice chairman for East Africa Javier Rielo, and the two agreed the manufacturer would begin development of the 1,410-kilometre pipeline “as quickly as feasible”.

Uganda imports from Kenya farm animals products, in detailed meat and milk, an assortment of manufactured items, fuel by means of the port of Mombasa, cement, steel bars, original salt and beer. Within the 1st 1/2 of 2016, Kenya exported goods worth USD 253.5 million to Uganda, a upward push from USD 238 million for the duration of a identical interval final 12 months. In 2016, the country’s exports to Uganda was worth USD 578M, a drop from USD 622M in 2013. Alternatively, goods totalling to 171 million greenbacks were exported by Uganda to Kenya in 2014 an increase from USD 152M. Whilst Uganda’s exports to Kenya, which frequently consist of agricultural produce, had been continually rising in the last 5 years, Kenya’s exports to the nation have been declining. Nevertheless, the balance of alternate between the duo international locations is in favour of Kenya greatly.

Kenya and Uganda mentioned find out how to right the shortcoming. In the agreement, Uganda was once to export sugar to Kenya due to the fact that it is approximated that the nation has an access of 26,000 tonnes, which is translates to 17% of the 14900 tons of sugar imported by Kenya yearly. The deal raised political storm in Kenya, with leaders certainly from the Opposition twine, brushing aside it, arguing that it could kill the sugar sector in the East African neighbourhood.

There is a crisis that Kenya will dominate Uganda in EAC, for that reason causing imbalance and inequitable distribution of advantages coming up out of integration. EAC companion

nations have diverse socio-fiscal and political backgrounds as good as competencies gaps. This has resulted in imbalances in entrepreneurship, competitiveness in assembling and service delivery, in particular respectable and economic offerings. From the ancient viewpoint as good as the present state of EAC integration, this venture still remains and as a consequence it will have to be discussed in transition to deeper varieties of financial integration in the EAC. Consequently, this is one of the ambitious challenges going through Kenya's international policy closer to Uganda.

4.3 East African community Customs Union

A customs union is contract that neighbouring countries enter into voluntarily but has got legal regulations that allow these countries to do business and trade without much regulation but apply these regulations only to those countries that are not part of the agreement. Application of customs union agreements at EAC affects Kenya's international coverage toward Uganda seeing that Kenya has to take into accounts the relative development of Uganda.

The measure of integration is modern with Customs Union (CU) as the entry factor followed by using common Market (CM), financial Union (EAMU) and Political Federation (PF). At the same time the Customs Union is producing fundamental advantages, it has additionally caused competition amongst local corporations. In the quick run, the businesses that stood to obtain most have been those that had been competitive already. It's in view of this that the principle of asymmetry was adopted in doing away with interior tariffs, in an effort to give organizations located in Tanzania & Uganda with an adjustment period of 5 yrs. In the medium time period the corporations must overcome lack of competitiveness, via: further

funding in newer construction applied sciences; specialization in pursuits the place they've a aggressive advantage; formation of alliances with opponents and taking training personnel over and over.

One other meaning of the Customs Union is that it is minimizing authority that was enjoyed by member nations, and which normally had created uneven enjoying ground for companies. Such powers, regarding granting of exemptions from customs responsibilities. The associate nations have undertaken harmonization of their exemption regimes which will likely be administered domestically. There are instances that these have been viewed on the flip side as a way of lowering a nation's sovereignty.

In view of the present worldwide pattern where exchange negotiations are more and more being implemented beneath blocs organized in the region, formation of a Customs Union in East Africa is now necessary and not an option. It could have been hard for companion countries to negotiate a FTA-Free Trade Area- with other blocs in the region until they had made a free trade among them. Due to the fact that these nations have membership in more than one organization in the region it the EAC Customs Union would enter right into a FTA with different buying and selling blocs and even join them to increase the level of trade.

4.4 Labour and Competitiveness

There are concerns that intense integration EAC lead to an increase in mobility of labour disadvantaging the individual that are less skilled and qualified in the labour market. The EAC Market Protocol lacks provisions for addressing the skewed labour mobility and makes

no mention on how economically vulnerable groups will be assisted in catching with the rest in the society. This benefits Kenya with a large pool of skilled labour compared with Uganda⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ *ibid*

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary and discussion of major findings, conclusion and recommendations.

5.2 Summary and Discussion of Major Findings

Kenya's economy is improving ever since the government embarked on the efforts of constructing rails and energy projects. World Bank in its latest report⁶⁰ has indicated that Kenya has attained reduce-middle-income reputation and grew to be the fifth-largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa last year after the nation's facts agency revised the method for calculating GDP, increasing the dimensions of the economic climate by using 1 / 4.⁶¹ The Kenyan government has been faced with numerous challenges that have left both negative and positive impacts in its relations with external world. Among these obstacles is the ineffective leadership that has harboured nepotism, favouritism and tribalism. Every time the country goes into election, the ethnic communities will regroup according to their party inclination. It is not so much numbers of private individuals decide the political direction of a society as interplay between persons holding different positions in the class, ethnic and regional structures of the country. Hence, information relevant to the making of policy must include knowledge of the social and political structure and process. Affiliations with various

⁶⁰ Barnett, M. N. and M. Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

⁶¹ *ibid*

groups – class, occupation, ethnic collectiveness, or regions--affect their outlook and orientations, and these orientations balance or tilt the power constellations⁶². This has led to unequal distribution of resources among the Kenyan citizens, impacting on the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda because the policy framework is not by and large directed for the benefit of everyone by a few elite.

This study looked at the cultural diversity of Kenyan ethnic groups as one of the Kenya's pillar of diplomacy. It analyzed the significance of the cultural diplomacy in enhancing the international relations. The study also examined the economic diplomacy that the Kenyan governments have incorporated in enhancing her international relations. The economic diplomacy focused on the social economic transformations and economic developments that will be in tandem with the vision 2030.

In the process of examining the Kenya's international relations, it was inevitable not to look at the Diaspora which is the major contributor to Kenya's foreign exchange. Both medium and long term plans that the state has put in place to improve its global image have been put into scrutiny and the contributions of these plans have been evaluated to establish whether they are viable or more changes have to be made to ensure that they are in line with the Diaspora goals⁶³.

⁶²:ibid

⁶³ Kenya Diaspora Policy, 2014

In addition, Kenya and Uganda have signed various bilateral agreements to boost the economies of the two countries and sustain the status as the biggest trade partners in East Africa. The agreements centred on infrastructure, transportation, oil and gas, electricity, job creation, and security. They included an oil pipeline, the Standard Gauge Railway line among others⁶⁴.

In July 2015 Kenya's exports to Uganda were greater than doubled, underscoring the latter's function because the nation's key destination of goods. New fiscal information from Kenya national Bureau of statistics (KNBS) show that Kenya exported goods worth over 90 million U.S. Bucks to Uganda in July, from 44 million dollars in June. It is the first time in exchange relations between the 2 countries that Kenya has exported items valued at that so much in a month to Uganda. Kenya's exports to the nation have been averaging 43 million greenbacks a month on the grounds that the 12 months started out and 33 million greenbacks prior to now years. The surge, as a result, is an indication of how relevant Uganda is to Kenya as a trading companion in the East African community.

However, these trade relations are best by challenges such as trade imbalance, inappropriate customs union protocols, and labour and competitiveness challenges. Uganda imports original salt, animal products-meat and milk- assortment of manufactured goods, fuel from port Mombasa, steel bars, beer and cement from Kenya. In the first 1/2 of 2016, Kenya's

⁶⁴ Kenya, Uganda Sign Bilateral Trade Agreements
August 11, 2015 <http://footprint2africa.com/kenya-uganda-sign-bilateral-trade-agreements/>

exported goods worth USD 253.5 million to Uganda, an upward thrust from 238 million dollars throughout an equivalent period in the previous year. In 2016, the average export to Uganda was around 578 million dollars, a slight decrease from USD 622 million in 2013. On the other hand, Uganda exported to Kenya items valued at 171 million bucks in 2014, up from 152 million bucks. While Kenya's export to Uganda that comprises majorly of agricultural products has been falling steadily for the past five years Uganda export to Kenya has been on the rise. However, the steadiness of trade between the 2 nations favours Kenya enormously.

Kenya and Uganda mentioned the way to right the imbalance. In the contract, Uganda is to bring sugar into Kenya since Uganda has a surplus estimated to be 26,000 tonnes, which is only about 17% of what Kenya imports yearly. The quantity imported by Kenya annually stands at 149000 tons per year. The deal sparked fire in the political atmosphere of the country; the opposition leader claimed that the deal will end up in squeezing life out of the local sugar factories'. Additionally, there is a main issue that Kenya will dominate Uganda in EAC, accordingly causing imbalance and inequitable distribution of benefits bobbing up out of integration. EAC companion States have various political and socio-economic backgrounds as well as potential gaps. This has resulted entrepreneurship imbalance, competitiveness in provision of services and manufacturing, peculiarly respectable and financial offerings. From the historical view-factor as well as the present state of EAC integration, this assignment still remains and for this reason it should be addressed in transition to deeper varieties of fiscal integration within the EAC. Hence, this is likely one of the ambitious challenges dealing with Kenya's foreign coverage closer to Uganda.

5.3 Conclusion

Kenya's desire for a stable environment and peaceful is attributed to its development and prosperity in the socioeconomic as well as that of the region. A large economic analysis is vital to protect Kenya's regional and overall economic goals in line with the Kenya Vision 2030⁶⁵.

Kenya's commercial and economic foreign policy towards Uganda was meant to Develop capital flows to the East African region and in particular Kenya; aid investment by Kenya enterprise as well as promote export within the east Africa region or beyond; promote the country as a favorite destination for FDI (foreign direct investment), tourism, and conferencing; broaden entry to natural markets and explore new destinations for Kenya's exports; increase technological development by means of exploring new sources of inexpensive and suitable technological know-how; support the exploration of alternative sources of common and renewable vigour; strengthen regional fiscal communities and firms to serve as aggressive spring boards to rising and global markets; and promote fair alternate and equitable bilateral, regional and multilateral alternate agreements⁶⁶.

This study concludes that there is need for optimization of Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda in order to maximize the country's goals and interests. First, there is need to make clear the motivations for such a foreign policy and requisite approaches. Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda is ad hoc and not clearly articulated. Both rational and irrational approaches have been employed. Rationality and its application in making of decisions by foreign policies is one of the approaches that has got most influence when trying to understand the contemporary international politics, however it has some of its weaknesses

⁶⁵ Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenya Vision 2030*. Nairobi, 2003.

⁶⁶ Government of Kenya (GOK). *Kenya Vision 2030*. Nairobi, 2003.

such as that it is rigid in catching up with the dynamics of both bilateral and multilateral foreign relations.

5.4 Recommendations

In order to optimize Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda, the study made some recommendations. First, there is need to articulate Kenya's foreign policy properly and sensitize the citizens to work in line with it. This should be enhanced through media coverage and also cooperation with the different media organizations and regional bodies. Kenya should have specially trained foreign policy experts that are not politically influenced in order to succeed in her quests and goals towards Uganda. This should involve seeking expertise from recognized institutions and also making use of career diplomats instead of politicians turned diplomats. East African Community and other multilateral forums should be enhanced to create more room for maneuver in Kenya's foreign policy towards Uganda. Kenya should align its diplomatic programmes and relations in all multilateral platforms in which it's a party to.

In addition, to address labor and competitiveness challenges, there is need to equip members of partner States who're skillful in French, Kiswahili and English to get involved in teaching in their respective in States; and boost specified packages for unskilled labour and SMEs; advance an EAC process for abilities and Competitiveness progress to enhance productiveness by means of vocation coaching, science and technology; and expedite the harmonization of curricula and certification across the region. To spring into action on development of institutions so as to deal with price- effectiveness, affectivity and sustainability for fueled growth in economy and developments that are sustainable.

Finally, since the study only concentrated on Kenya's policy towards Uganda, there is need to carry out another study on the influence of Kenya's other foreign policies on her foreign policy framework towards Uganda.

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