GLOBALIZATION AND EMERGING TRENDS IN AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY

VOLUME II

A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa

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Project Scope and Acknowledgments

This volume focuses on globalization and emerging trends in African foreign policy in “Eastern Africa,” a geographical designation that is inclusive of the Horn of Africa, and therefore more expansive than the classic conception of “East Africa.” This study is part of a larger research project sponsored and funded by the Africa Institute of South Africa that will eventually cover all five regions of the African continent. The first volume of this research agenda, *Globalization and Emerging Trends in African States’ Foreign Policy-Making Process: A Comparative Perspective of Southern Africa* (2002), focused on the region of Southern Africa and was edited by Korwa G. Adar and Rok Ajulu. Peter J. Schraeder joined this project in 2006, and together with Adar will serve as the co-director of future research activities that will result in the publication of volumes devoted to Central Africa, North Africa and West Africa. The majority of the chapters in the current volume were originally written and revised in 2004, with some updating to take into account events that have occurred in 2005 and 2006. The volume was completed in December 2006. Readers will note that the editors decided to exclude a chapter on Somalia. Since the fall of the Siyyad Barre regime in 1991, the country has been without a functioning central government capable of exerting effective control over its territory.

This volume would not have been possible without the constructive comments from reviewers on earlier drafts of the chapters. Their insights and ideas had a great deal of influence in rewriting the manuscript. While it is not possible to include all of the names of colleagues who played important roles in this project, the following individuals deserve to be recognized: Olooo Adams and Philip Nyunguro (University of Nairobi, Kenya); Frank Matanga (Maseno University, Kenya); Oscar G. Mwangi (University of Lesotho); Boniface Dulani (Chancellor College, Malawi); Ufo Uzodike (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa); Ivor Sarakinsky (South Africa); Jabril Ibrahim Abdul, Adam Musse Jibril and Abdulkadir Yahya Ali (Centre for Research and Dialogue, Somalia); John G. N. Yoh and André Mbata Mangu (University of South Africa, Pretoria); and Musa Abutudu (African Association of Political Science, Secretariat, Pretoria, South Africa). We would also like to thank the Africa Institute of South Africa and Loyola University Chicago for the generous support we received in the preparation of the final manuscript. We especially thank Kirstin Hilary Kilian at the Africa Institute and Nora Rybackzyk at Loyola University Chicago for the administrative support that they have provided on this and other projects.
Introduction

Globalization and the Foreign Policies of Eastern African States

Peter J. Schraeder and Korwa G. Adar

Introduction

The principal theme of early studies of African foreign policy is that foreign policy begins and ends with the desires of African leaders. What became known as the "big man" syndrome of African foreign policy became very popular due to the tendency of the first generation of African leaders to create highly centralized authoritarian regimes that suppressed other centers of power capable of challenging the foreign policy supremacy of the presidential mansion. It therefore was common to identify the African state and its foreign policy with the beliefs, psychology or personal whims of the African president in power, as best captured by an amusing play on words of a famous French phrase to describe the nature of Kenyan politics under President Daniel arap Moi: "L'Etat, c'est Moi!" (The state, it's Moi!) (Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Chan 1992). Personal rule tendencies were reinforced by the African continent's incorporation into the larger Cold War struggle between the United States (U.S.) and the Soviet Union. According to what can be labeled the "great power" interpretation of African foreign policy, authoritarian African leaders depended on foreign powers—whether France and the U.S. in the West or the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union in the East—to provide security and ensure their continuation in power. The African continent constituted a Cold War battleground in which the great powers were able to intervene and impose their will on the foreign policies of African states (Gavshon 1981; Laidi 1990). The primary theme of this book is that the process of globalization amidst the end of the Cold War has altered the domestic and international contexts of African foreign policies. Even if one accepts the validity of big man and great power theories to explain the sources of African foreign policies during the Cold War decades of the contemporary independence era (beginning with Libya's independence in 1951 and ending in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall), these theories are insufficient to explain the changes that have taken place as a result of the process of democratization that has gathered strength on the African continent beginning in the 1990s.
Globalization, Democratization and Neo-Liberalism

This book is concerned with how the process of globalization—the integration of states through increasing contact, communication and trade—is influencing changes in African governance and particularly African foreign policy-making processes at the national level, which is the basic level of analysis of this book (see also Wright 1999; Khadiagala and Lyons 2001; Adar and Ajulu 2002). The African state is facing a variety of internal and external challenges to governance due to the combined impacts of the Cold War’s end and the process of globalization (Villalon and Huxtable 1998; Hoogvelt 2001), as most notably demonstrated by the spread of the “third wave” of democratization to the African continent during the 1990s (Bratton and van de Walle 1997; Villalon and VonDoep 2005). These processes have altered not only the interplay of domestic politics (e.g., the reintroduction of multiparty politics) in individual African countries, but the very nature and structure of African foreign policy establishments as well. Foreign policy-making, traditionally the exclusive domain of African heads of state, is gradually being challenged and democratized to accommodate the re-emergence of multiparty politics in the post-Cold War era.

The rising influence of a variety of actors on the formulation and implementation of African foreign policies cannot be over-estimated (see Figure 1.1). African leaders are facing domestic challengers ranging from resurgent state actors, such as vocal African parliaments (Salih 2005), to increasingly critical public opinion and activist portions of civil society, such as labor organizations, church groups and opposition political parties, many of which enjoy external linkages (Bratton, Mattes and Gvimah Boadi 2005). In many respects, the resurgence of these forces, most notably the spread of pro-democracy and human rights groups, represents the advance of Western neo-liberal ideals, with positive implications for participatory democracy and good governance. Inchoate as these changes may be, the resurgence of state and non-state actors is influencing the ways in which foreign policy decisions are made on the African continent.

The potential foreign policy impacts of these newly resurgent foreign policy actors are examined in the chapters that follow. In the case of Kenya, pressures mounted in the 1990s by pro-democracy and human rights groups with the support of the northern industrialized democracies forced the Moi regime to introduce multiparty politics (see Chapter 4; see also Muriuki 1999; Adar 2000). Other examples include the success of the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) in promoting regime change in Ethiopia and the independence of Eritrea (see Chapters 2-3) and the role of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in contributing to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) (Chapter 9).
The strengthening of a neo-liberal consensus among the northern industrialized democracies in the aftermath of the Cold War has prompted a series of interventionist policies designed to spread the neo-liberal model in Africa and other regions of the developing world (Adar 1998). Specifically, the European Union (EU), the U.S. and other northern industrialized democracies have sporadically integrated a variety of economic and political conditionalities into their Africa policies, such as linking the degree to which an African country promotes good governance to that country’s access to various Western “goods” (such as preferred entry into the U.S. and European markets) (Laakso and Lehtinen 1998). One example of this approach is the African Growth and Opportunity Act.
Globalization and Emerging Trends in African States

(AGOA). Supported by the Clinton and the Bush administrations, AGOA embraces both globalization and neo-liberalism within the context of the so-called "Washington consensus" (Shapouri and Trueblood 2003).

African countries, as weak as they are, continue to push for their national and continental agendas, most notably through intergovernmental organizations. For example, African countries, together with other members of the Group of 77, managed to achieve notable successes in World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations held in Doha, Qatar, in 2001, and in Cancún, Mexico, in 2003. Another example involved the decision by the African Union (AU) to oppose a United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution sponsored by Great Britain, Spain and the United States, that called on the UN to invoke Chapter VII of its Charter to sanction war against Iraq in 2003. From the perspective of the African countries involved in both of these events, their ability to set the agenda for change to make globalization work in the interests of all serves as an important step toward the reconstruction of global governance.

Chapter Summaries

Country Case Studies

The first seven chapters of this book focus on the foreign policies of individual countries in Eastern Africa. In Chapter 1, Medhane Tadesse explores the evolution of Djiboutian foreign policy from the administration of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon to that of President Ismail Omar Guelleh. According to Tadesse, the most significant change in Djiboutian foreign policy involves Guelleh's efforts to reduce his country's dependence on France by pursuing alternative sources of foreign aid, trade and investment. Guelleh's success in diversifying Djibouti's foreign ties was demonstrated by his successful playing of the "9/11 card," which has resulted in the steady strengthening of U.S.-Djiboutian ties, especially in the military realm. (Djibouti hosts the only U.S. base on African soil.)

In Chapter 2, Tanya R. Müller traces the evolution of Eritrea's foreign policy. She argues that Eritrea is a "diasporic" state (i.e., one that relies on its population both from within and from the diaspora to secure its homeland), for which the issues of territorial integrity and secure boundaries serve as the focal points of Eritrean foreign policy. Eritrea's border concerns have placed it in direct confrontation with Ethiopia, Sudan and Yemen. In an attempt to ward off regional threats and to bolster its national security interests, the regime of Isaias Afwerki has sought unsuccessfully to foster a closer security relationship with the United States. Müller argues that such an approach is in any case ill-founded; any credible, long-term solution to Eritrea's security dilemmas can only be achieved by multilateral initiatives in the region. Toward this end, she argues
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that Eritrea was one of the countries in the region that played an important part in transforming the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) into a conflict resolution-oriented body (IGAD).

Medhane Tadesse (Chapter 3) analyzes Ethiopian foreign policy under the EPRDF. Tadesse argues that the EPRDF demonstrated considerable diplomatic skills and pragmatism at the global level from its arrival in power in 1991 to the outbreak of the Ethiopian-Eritrean war in 1998. Yet its conduct of foreign relations in the sub-region during the same period exposed its weakness and inexperience, and was largely dysfunctional. The war with Eritrean not only impacted the conduct of foreign policy, but had significant repercussions for the decision-making process in general. A collective decision-making tradition was replaced by a dominant role for Meles Zenawi, who exerts an overwhelming influence on Ethiopian foreign policy.

In Chapter 4, Korwa G. Adar identifies the internal and external factors that affect Kenya’s foreign policy. Influenced largely by its economic and political interests and national security concerns, Kenya’s foreign policy-makers have consistently invoked the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and peaceful co-existence vis-à-vis their neighbors. It is because of these concerns that President Jomo Kenyatta and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie signed a defense agreement in 1964, which was renewed by Presidents Moi and Mengistu in 1979. Adar links Kenya’s interests and concerns in the Eastern African region to a number of factors: Kenya’s economic interests, chronic regional instability (most notably civil wars in Somalia and Sudan), the pursuit of pan-Somalism (a Greater Somalia) by the leaders of Somalia since the 1960s, and the influx of refugees and illegal arms into Kenya. Adar also provides a comparative analysis of the foreign policy-making process under the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki administrations, with a special focus on the degree of personal rule that characterizes each administration.

John Young in Chapter 5 provides insights into the central determinants and evolution of Sudanese foreign policy. He argues that Sudanese leaders have pursued Arabization and Islamization as the main tools for political and economic mobilization. For example, they played the Muslim card to drum up support in the Muslim and Arab worlds for their war efforts against the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). Young nonetheless argues that Sudanese foreign policy underwent an important shift in the 1990s due to a variety of factors, including the Cold War’s end, the military involvement of the Kampala-Asmara-Addis Ababa axis in Sudan’s domestic conflicts, and the importance of international pressures for change. Especially as concerns the latter point and the ongoing crisis in Sudan’s Darfur region, Young argues that two points are clear: the U.S. and its Western allies have replaced the region in leading peace processes and probably determining the fate of the National Islamic Front (NIF) government; and while proving remarkably adept in using foreign policy as a
valued instrument for its survival, the NIF now faces conditions so dire that it cannot long maintain a monopoly on power.

In Chapter 6, Katabaro Miti offers a comparative analysis of Tanzanian foreign policy under President Julius Nyerere (1961-85) and the subsequent Mwinyi (1985-95), Mkapa (1995-2005), and Kikwete (2005-present) administrations. During the early independence decades, Tanzania’s foreign policy was dominated by Nyerere’s stature as head of state and chairman of the sole ruling party. He became one of Africa’s leading proponents of anti-colonialism and decolonization. However, a variety of trends, including the end of the Cold War and the movement toward black majority rule throughout Southern Africa, contributed to a decline in Tanzania’s once-important diplomatic roles in continental and global affairs. Miti concludes that Tanzania’s liberalization of the economy has severely weakened the country’s foreign policy position. Foreign actors, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and bilateral donors, have gained undue influence in Tanzania’s foreign policy decision-making.

In the final country case study, P. Godfrey Okoth (Chapter 7) provides a detailed analysis of Uganda’s foreign policy-making since Yoweri Museveni emerged as president in 1986. Okoth observes that the Presidency has overshadowed the other branches of government in Uganda. This is attributed to a number of factors, including Museveni’s micro-management style, the “no-party” political system, underdeveloped institutions of governance, and Museveni’s dominance over the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which came to power through armed insurrection. Okoth notes that the Presidency remains the central government organ responsible for foreign policy decision-making.

**Regional and Global Case Studies**

The second half of the book includes chapters on the foreign policies of two regional intergovernmental organizations and three countries outside of the Eastern African region. Dorothy Akoth Nyakwaka in Chapter 8 analyzes the colonial origins and evolution of the East African Community (EAC) from its first attempt (1967-77) to its most recent revival (2001-present). She is optimistic about the EAC’s prospects for several reasons. First, there has been a decline in ideological differences between the three member states during the post-Cold War era. Tanzania abandoned a socialist brand of development known as ujamaa (literally “brotherhood”) after the policy failed, adopting a more pro-Western stance similar to that of Kenya and Uganda. This development has fostered greater harmony in the region, accompanied by enhanced levels of mutual understanding. The 1990s have also been characterized by democratic transitions and the resurgence of multiparty politics in the region. These transitions have fostered political and economic liberalization in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, setting the stage for closer cooperation. Finally, all three member states
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are restructuring their economies to give market mechanisms a larger role in the
allocation of resources.

In Chapter 9, Britt De Klerk focuses on the role of IGAD in promoting con-
flict resolution in the Horn of Africa, with a special focus on IGAD's role in
solving the southern Sudanese conflict. According to De Klerk, the signing in
2002 of the IGAD-sponsored Machakos Protocol—which ultimately led to the
signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005—signaled IGAD's
coming of age as a regional organization that could contribute to conflict resolu-
tion. She argues that this is the first time in Africa in which member states of a
regional organization who are themselves involved in low-intensity and high-
intensity conflicts have collectively succeeded in resolving conflict within the
spirit of "African solutions to African problems." She concludes by arguing that
it is paramount for regional security that IGAD focuses its attention on other
conflicts in the Horn of Africa; regional cooperation and commitment are re-
quired to bring peace and stability to the region.

Ian Roper and Geoffrey Wood in Chapter 10 provide a broad analysis of
Great Britain's interests in Eastern Africa. British foreign policy toward Eastern
Africa reflects not so much the management of decline, but the fact that the re-
region has little, economically or geopolitically, to offer Britain as the formerly
dominant colonial power. At the commercial level, Britain's historic place in
Eastern Africa gradually has been supplanted by new trading partners in Europe
and the Far East. British cultural activities remain relatively under funded, espe-
cially when compared to their French counterparts and the increasingly perva-
sive influence of U.S. popular culture. British political concerns with the quality
and nature of governance in the former colonies have been subordinated to more
pressing global strategic interests, most notably the Bush administration's global
war on terrorism. Roper and Wood conclude that the "ethical" foreign policy
approach of the Blair government constitutes at best the pronouncements of un-
evenly applied rhetoric and at worst a chimera for short-term commercial expe-
diency and the pursuit of strategic imperatives of perceived greater importance.

In Chapter 11, Vladimir Shubin traces the evolution of Russia's relations with
Eastern Africa. He examines the key factors that fostered growing Soviet in-
volveinent in Eastern Africa during the Cold War period, subsequently assessing
the retrenchment of Russian foreign policy during the post-Cold War era. Offi-
cial Russian rhetoric notwithstanding, Shubin questions whether Russia is on the
verge of "coming back" to Eastern Africa. He notes that the Putin administration
seemingly desires a reassertion of Russian influence in various regions of the
developing world, including Eastern Africa. Yet the degree of concrete Russian
involvement beyond mere rhetoric remains unclear, and in any case the actual
impact of such policies remains murky still.

The U.S. relationship with Eastern Africa is analyzed in Chapter 12 by Yazini
April. She argues that U.S. foreign policy toward the region largely has been
influenced by Washington's drive for a stable international security environ-
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ment, defined within the historical context of “manifest destiny”; a perceived God-given right to expand and dominate international affairs. This worldview is premised on the belief that the U.S. is a chosen land, and therefore has the global right and duty to maintain international security, through military means if necessary. According to April, the Bush administration’s twin policies of ensuring America’s global military dominance and adopting a unilateralist posture in international affairs were an outgrowth of manifest destiny and subsequently reinforced by the terrorist attacks of 9/11. She further argues that the war on terrorism is overshadowing other elements of U.S. Africa policies, most notably the principles enshrined in AGOA.

In Chapter 13, Peter J. Schraeder also explores the evolving nature of U.S. ties with Eastern Africa in light of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. He explores how the war on terrorism has prompted the Bush administration to divide Africa into two spheres of variable foreign policy interest: those regions (North and Eastern Africa, which includes the Horn of Africa) destined to receive increasing levels of U.S. attention due to their geographic, religious (Islamic) and cultural (Arab) proximity to the Middle East (the perceived epicenter of global terrorist networks); and the remainder of Africa which, except for some notable exceptions (e.g., the oil-producing countries of the Gulf of Guinea and regional powers, such as Nigeria and South Africa), is destined to remain marginalized in the U.S. foreign policy hierarchy. Schraeder explores the evolving nature of U.S. intervention in Africa in the post-9/11 era through an examination of three regionally-based security programs: the East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI), the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), and the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI). A final chapter offers some basic conclusions.

References