

An Examination of the Kenyan Objectives Related to the Government's Management of Boundary Disputes with Somalia on the Maritime Boundary

Okoth Rockeen Ochieng'
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
United States International University-Africa

Abstract

Kenyan foreign policy on the maritime boundary dispute with Somalia is an integral part of regional peace, security and development in East Africa region. Kenya and Somalia have had a history of boundary disputes right from 1963 where Somalia government pursued the irredentist interest in the region specifically in Ogaden region in Ethiopia and in the Northern Frontier District in Kenya. The Memorandum of understanding between Kenya and Somalia over the maritime dispute was signed in 2009. Having sidelined the MoU and Somalia taking Kenya to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2014 gives this research more ground to demystify the main reasons or objectives why Kenya seems to be so much interested in resolving this dispute in the disputed region in the Indian Ocean in an out of court arrangement. Using available literature on how Kenya is going about on the dispute it is embroiled in with Somalia over the maritime boundary, the study seeks to measure the objectives of Kenya in relation to the government's management of boundary disputes with Somalia on the maritime boundary. This study used qualitative method of data collection and made use of secondary methods of data collection. This data was retrieved from journal article, books on the dispute, magazines discussing about the ongoing dispute, government websites, recorded interviews of important persons handling the dispute and from United Nations documents. The findings indicate that Kenya is trying to protect her national interests in the ongoing territorial interests. In light of the findings, the research recommends a strong utilization of public diplomacy between the two states which will lessen the tension using the citizens of the two states. This can be through appealing to each other cultures and offering a win-win deal in the contested areas.

Keywords: Kenyan Objectives, Management, Maritime Boundary

DOI: 10.7176/IAGS/101-03

Publication date: March 31st 2024

1.1 Introduction

The world has been experiencing countless cases of border or territorial disputes ever since the Westphalian system was introduced. Colonialism in Africa and other parts of Asia and Latin America is to blame for the border disputes experienced today. The European curse of artificial borders has caused untold suffering in post-colonial Africa (Adebajo, 2005). Adebajo further posited rather succinctly that Africa soon suffered from dozens of conflicts after attaining independence. To him, the curse of Berlin has been playing a role in border disputes between

Burkina Faso and Mali; Somalia and Ethiopia; Libya and Chad; Ghana and Togo; Morocco and Algeria; and Nigeria and Cameroon (p.83). Various states have either gone to war or face imminent war due to strained relations because of this very issue of border disputes and irredentism by extension. Foreign Policy on the other side are strategies used by governments to guide their actions in the International arena (Golstein & Pevehouse, 2016). The two further contend that foreign policies outline the objectives which the leaders decide to pursue in a certain relationship or situation together with the means with which they intend to pursue those objectives. Border disputes are a case for states trying to exercise their foreign policies in relations to their neighbors.

Regionally, the African continent is not new to the problem of border disputes. The continent was introduced to the Westphalian system when it was partitioned and colonized. The post-colonial Africa has seen numerous border disputes between states either owing to irredentist views like the question of Greater Somalia which has been central to Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia discourses since the onset of their independence or island and land disputes like the Kenya-Uganda Migingo island dispute (Berh, 2108, p.2). Those who still have the courage to confront colonialism like

(Adebajo, 2005) posited that the earlier Bismarkian curse of the past remains to haunt Africa's future: a bloody brother's war was fought over the colonial border of Ethiopia and Eritrea and between Cameroon and Nigeria are still squabbling about the Bakassi peninsula – a legacy of

German and British colonialism – which according to Adebajo has been decided largely in favor of Cameroon by the International Court of Justice. This stance was echoed by Olaosebika and Oluwafemi (2018),

who claimed that the boundaries of modern African States were the creation of European diplomats who partitioned Africa among themselves with little regards to knowledge of the socio-cultural characteristics of the continent.

Kenya has also had boundary disputes with Somalia and so has Ethiopia. All these conflicts can equally be traced back to the colonial legacy of these states. The main focus of this study will be the strategy Kenya is employing other than litigation in the International court of justice and the objectives of managing the border disputes. The greater Somalia question has pitted Kenya and Somalia far apart ever since the two countries gained independence in the 1960s. The Somalia people wanted the reunification of their people back to Somalia after independence hence straining relations with Kenya over the formerly Northern Frontier District currently North Eastern part of Kenya and straining their relations even more with the Ethiopia over Ogaden region. These irredentist views of the Somali government were intent on further integrating the Ogaden province in Ethiopia, the Northern Frontier District in Kenya, and French Somaliland. But diplomacy, guerrilla war, propaganda, and outright battles have led them only to failure (Laitin 1976).

Kenya has so far tried to use diplomacy to manage her border disputes with Somalia from 2010 to 2019. All these have been in the general concern of achieving national interests. As one (Maluki) claimed, at often times diplomacy has been described as a complex and challenging practice of fostering relationships around the world in order to resolve issues and advance interests. The second idea is probably the fundamental change of circumstances that was adopted after the March 4, 2013 elections. This doctrine argues that in the previous year, Kenyatta and Ruto were individual suspects but now are president and Deputy President of a sovereign nation and therefore symbols of national unity. Lastly, there was the ICC on trial theses, indicating the Kenyan cases could break or build the ICC credibility (Kagwanja, 2015). That was a direct attack on Kenyan sovereignty and thus whereas it didn't directly involve border disputes, the fact that Kenya engaged regional countries especially through the African Union to protect her sovereignty makes the ICC case on Kenyan leaders a case to consider in this study in addition to the disputes with Somalia.

From the above cases of border disputes right from the global level, it is clear that none talks about why Kenya insists on using an alternative dispute resolution mechanism to resolve the current dispute bedeviling her and Somalia when conventional knowledge favors the International court of Justice. Based on the time span for attaining an interest, national interest can be divided into constant interests and variable interests (Maluki, 2015). Very limited literature exists on alternative dispute resolution mechanism and why Kenya insists on solving the Kenya Somalia dispute out of the courts. The research filled a literature gap that is basically about understanding Kenya why Kenya seeks an alternative dispute resolution and the strategies she is using to achieve her interest.

1.2 Problem Statement

Historically, Kenya has had border disputes with Uganda, Somalia and Sudan. But the territorial disputes between Kenya with Somalia and the case that the International criminal court (ICC) led Kenya to apply diplomatic strategies in order to protect her national interest of territorial integrity, economic development, national independence and state sovereignty. The current dispute with Somalia over maritime border between the two states, a case that is before the International court of Justice (ICJ) proves how serious Kenyan disputes over territory are. According to (Walker, 2015), African maritime boundary disputes, unless resolved in a concerted and timely manner, will imperil both the short and long-term implementation of maritime policies and strategies. It is with this backdrop that this study sought to find out how the Kenyan foreign policy and strategies manages both the maritime and border disputes with her neighbors to her advantage in a region which has of late proved to be applying Machiavellian international politics and interests.

1.3 Research Objective

To examine the Kenyan objectives related to the government's management of boundary disputes with Somalia on the maritime boundary.

1.4 Research Question

What are the Kenyan objectives related to its management of boundary disputes with Somalia on the maritime boundary?

1.5 Review of related Literature

1.5.1 Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Strategies of States

At present, according to Konings (2005, p. 276), African states are involved in numerous boundary disputes, such as those between Ethiopia and its neighbors in the Horn of Africa, between Nigeria and its neighbors, and between the DRC and its neighbors. This confirms what Adebajo claimed in his academic work how colonialism is to blame for the conflicts. Konings (2005, p. 289) states that there was no boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon during the British Rule in the region. In the 1990s, conflicts between Nigeria and Cameroon over

territorial sovereignty ensued in the Bakassi peninsula and it suddenly became hot news in the international media (Konings 2005, p.

289). He continued to argue that the Joint Cameroon-Nigeria Border Commission tried to amicably resolve the Bakassi conflict and other boundary disputes, but very little was achieved however. This bitterness can be traced to colonial days especially during the 1961 referendum in the British Cameroons created deep rooted bitterness in relations with Nigerians. The failures to resolve the conflict led Nigeria to resolve use of military action in the 1990s in the Bakassi peninsula (Konings, 2005).

Some of the efforts to end the conflicts involve to deescalate the conflicts and bringing both parties to the negotiating table involved: pressure from France motivated by its determination to safeguard its various interests of the two states, The 68 mediation by Togolese President Eyadéma, and finally the adoption of resolutions by the United Nations and the its counterpart Organization of African Unity, apparently with little success .However, in September 2002, Internationa Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled in favor of Cameroon leaving Nigerian with no choice but to obey.

Maritim(2011) claims that foreign policy like domestic policy is formulated within the state, but unlike domestic policy, foreign policy is directed at and must be implemented in the environment external to that state, hence it can simply refer to external relations of a state. Needless to say, foreign policy consists of decisions and actions that basically involves to some appreciable extent relation between one state and other (Frankel, 1963). Maritim succinctly claimed that different states maintain different foreign policy bureaucracies but share some common elements in their foreign policies. Indeed, it's common knowledge that almost all states maintain a diplomatic corps, or foreign service, of diplomats working in embassies in foreign capitals of other countries (and in consulates located other states) as well as diplomats who remain at home to coordinate policy. In 1961 the UN Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities adopted the Vienna rules of relations between states to replace the 19th-century rules of Vienna and Aix that hitherto had guided the practice of diplomacy and foreign policy. This convention forms the conduct of modern-day diplomacy and foreign policy, stipulating diplomatic agents, tasks, rights and privileges (Maluki, 2015). There is a very thin line between domestic and foreign policy because in most cases, they are interpreted as one and the same thing.

It is very important to mention that all foreign policies are aimed at achieving interests of states. As Maritim (2015) puts it, a country has certain aims and interests in the form of foreign policy that need to be protected at all times if the country needs to be a meaningful one. However, according to him, security is a major factor in the course of formulating that policy. Security is such a major concern that any country considers paramount before engaging themselves (Maritim, 2011). Maluki (2015) described diplomacy as a complex and often challenging practice of fostering relationships around the world in order to resolve issues and advance interests of states. Maluki postulates that objectives sought to be attained by a country are of different types and categories, but there are certain amongst them which are uniformly pursued by all states and they include but are not limited to: Political independence and territorial integrity, economic well-being and, prestige and status of a nation or any country.

1.5.2 Public Diplomacy and Soft Power

When discussing about foreign policy and interest, it almost becomes apparent to talk about power because it's out of power that both hard and soft power as clearly categorized by Joseph Nye together with their practices and techniques that makes foreign policy possible. According to Nye, power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want. He went further to say that one can affect others' behavior in three main ways that include: threats of coercion also referred to as ("sticks"), inducements and payments also called ("carrots"), and attraction that make others want what you basically want. The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (Nye,2008). This translates to public diplomacy selling a country's image using foreign policy, culture and values.

The dispute between Kenya and Uganda is based on the colonial borders between the two states. If one reads the Kenyan and Ugandan papers and or monitor their media, one understandably concludes that the two countries are about to lapse into war over a disputed island that is about the size of half of a standard football field (Raheem,2009). However, Kenya has employed a wait and see approach towards Migingo. Kenya has tried to use public diplomacy and soft power of dialogue and negotiations despite Uganda's aggressive force. According to Raheem, Kenya's decision to use public diplomacy and negotiations was civil while Uganda's base was military from the onset. On 4 of March 2009, a resolution was passed by the EALA compelling the two states to solve the disputes amicably.

Arquila and Ronfeldt claimed that Politics has become a contest of competitive credibility. That the world of traditional power politics was about whose military or economy wins unlike the politics in an information age that may be about whose story wins in any engagement (Arquila and Ronfeldt, 1999). The many border disputes are as well about public diplomacy. "Cricket diplomacy" has been particularly prominent in Indo-Pakistani relations since the mid-1980s, this has been possible with Test matches between the two countries being

arranged by one or the other to signal a readiness to negotiate or to provide a means of lowering tensions between them (Hall,2012).This suggests a deliberate effort by the countries to use public diplomacy and sport to protect their interests of security and sovereignty despites the tensions related to religion and territory dispute over Kashmir. This indicates a policy strategy that this study seeks to untangle.

Amina claimed that public diplomacy is essential to actively promote Kenya's image, values and culture abroad. She added Kenyan foreign policy approach embraces use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on the country's Foreign Policy. This adds up to the need to interrogate the position of public diplomacy in foreign policy.

1.5.3 Objectives Related to Management of Border Disputes.

The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria border has been a regular source of conflict between the Cameroonian and Nigerian states since reunification (Koning,2005).Koning further contends that that border like many other colonial borders has been neither entirely unambiguously defined nor satisfactorily demarcated. As Koning said, apart from the fact that Bakassi region was inhabited by Nigerian fishermen the peninsula also used to be a haven for informal cross-border trade. This could be the main reason for the conflicts in the region. Uganda and Kenya are also on record fighting for economic gain on Misingo Island especially over fish.

According to Roskin, States, being artificial creations, have no souls; they have life only in this world. If the state is crushed or destroyed, it has no heavenly afterlife. States may take harsh measures to protect themselves and ensure their survival (Roskin, 1994,P.2).From Roskin's view, it is succinct about all states ought to struggle to protect their sovereignty and security which are part of the objectives of all states in the world. Sagala in his article asks questions about national interest. He starts by saying that the lexicon national interest is commonly bandied around in Kenyan media, journals, government documents, and all manner of places in the country. He asked what it meant by national interests (Sagala, 2016, P.2). For instance, Article 203 of the Constitution of Kenya stipulates that the national interest shall serve as one of the key criteria in the allocation and equitable sharing of nationally raised revenues. According to him, the concept of national interest is either not well understood or is not well explained in public documents. Michael Roskin in his work started off by talking about a student of international relations. He said that the student new to international relations is more often than not at first intoxicated by the recurrent concept of national interest. His definition as well as Sagala's definition of National interest is what's good for the nation as a whole in international affairs. National interest at the minimum may also refer to the conditions necessary for the survival of any nation-state and its core values (Sagala, 2016).In addition to that, Stephen Krasner has labeled national interest as the goals sought by the state. National interest lies at the center of the military and diplomatic professions and leads to the formulation of a national strategy and of the calculation of the power necessary to support that national strategy (Roskin, 1994). However according to Donald (1976), national interest can be categorized into: survival (core) interests; vital interests, important interests, and finally peripheral interest. The core and vital interests if unmet could lead to immediate consequences of survival for Kenya if not met urgently. This could include issues to do with the borders and territory that are of concern to this study. The peripheral or (secondary) if unmet or unfulfilled on the other side will result in damage that is highly unlikely to affect critical survival of the state.

1.6 Research Methodology

The research utilized a descriptive case study research design by analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data. A case study is a research strategy that shed light on a phenomenon by studying in-depth a single case example of the particular phenomenon

Units of analysis refers to the units of observation (Babbie, 2011).Units of analysis include the phenomenon, people, entities, departments or countries that one researches on. In this study, the units of analysis are the Kenya Defence forces which are responsible for guarding the borders against external aggression, The Ministry of Immigration and the ministry of foreign affairs.

This study utilized purposive sampling method which was applied in retrieving the required content. This was through carefully and purposefully selecting the specific documents, websites, recorded interviews of people and that address the problem of this study.

This study utilized secondary sources of data. Secondary data was from the official government websites, journal articles, magazines and reports relating to the border disputes

The study systematically reviewed and analyzed literature and data collected in the field based on the thematic areas of the study. This went along way to help to dichotomize literature based on the thematic areas. In addition to that, the study interrogated various literature on Kenyan regional foreign policy and its management of border disputes and then analyzed from various recorded interviews of key senior government official of Kenya and Somalia who were interviewed by Kenyan media houses.

In this study, thematic analysis was of great help and utilized to show the relationship between Kenya's regional foreign policy and its management of border disputes.

1.7 Research Finding

This study made the following findings in regard to the main goals and objectives that Kenya seeks to achieve in the course of managing her boundary dispute with Somalia:

1.7.1 Protection of State sovereignty.

Maluki (2015) in defining the concept sovereignty states that it is the principle that establishes the nation state as an independent actor in the international system. Maluki (2015, P.1) claims that the modern sovereign state was as a result of the signing the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 which ended the worst thirty years of war in Europe hence establishing the national self-determination that grounded the formation of the state. Maluki further adds that the Montevideo treaty of 1933 gives a clear position on the rights and duties of states. To hit the final nail, "Sovereignty in the largest sense means supreme, absolute, uncontrollable power, the absolute right to govern" Maluki claimed.

Sagala (2016, p.2) adds his voice on the debate of national interests by saying that given the anarchic nature of International relations, a state is by all means driven by its own survival and the defense of its national interest in relationship to other states. Needless to say, in addition to what Sagala said, Roskin (1994, p.2) said that given the artificial nature of states and due to the fact that they have no soul, they only have life in this world. Hence, Roskin claimed, "if the state is crushed or destroyed, it has no heavenly afterlife. Accordingly, states may take harsh measures to protect themselves and ensure their survival."

Article 1 of the Kenyan Constitution states: "All sovereign power is vested in the people of Kenya and shall be exercised in accordance with this Constitution," the power of the people of Kenya in determining the national interest is apparent hence the study found out the compelling reason why Kenya is respecting the case at the International Court of Justice but still is requesting the court to let the case be solved outside the court in accordance with the wishes of the sovereign people of the republic of Kenya.

This study found out that Kenya in line with the protection of sovereignty as one of her vital national interests seeks to demonstrate that there is no other supreme body that can control her other than herself hence the request to the International court of justice to have another dispute resolution mechanism away from the court. Kenya as has been widely demonstrated in this study is interested in having an alternative dispute resolution mechanism and has demonstrated that she wants an amicable and solution with her sister country Somalia which to the officials of Nairobi, it can be achieved through alternative means other than the courts. Therefore with this in mind, the study found out that Kenya is protecting her sovereignty and the idea that, as Maluki (2015, p.1) calls, the absolute and supreme position of the state in the international affairs. The main reason for such decision is to communicate that the state is beyond any other organization and it can resolve its own conflicts on its own without being controlled by any forces outside the state despite the fact that Kenya is a signatory to the UN charter and the law of the seas (UNCLOS).

1.7.2 Protection of Kenyan territorial integrity

Article 5 of the Kenyan constitutions states, "Kenya consists of the territory and territorial waters comprising Kenya on the effective date, and any additional territory and territorial waters as defined by an Act of Parliament. In this spirit of the Kenyan constitution, Kenya had to recall its ambassador from Somalia after accusing Somalia of auctioning four oil blocks in an area off their coastlines claimed by both nations (Herbling, 2019). Kenyan Foreign Minister Monica Juma said,

"Kenya understands our historic boundaries and we believe that Somalia too understands the same, Kenya will never cede an inch of her territory" following the auctioning of the oil blocks. She also added that Somalia must withdraw illegal maps presented to prospective investors at a certain conference in London earlier in February 2019. (Herbling 2019)

This statement came after the said auctioning of the oil blocks and subsequently Kenyan ambassador was recalled from Somalia. Reporting to media over the same, the Kenyan Foreign affairs principal secretary said that the recall was a result "of a most regretful and egregious decision by the government of Somalia to auction off oil and gas blocks in Kenya's maritime territorial area that borders Somalia". In addition to that the permanent secretary described the alleged land grab as an act of aggression against the people of the republic of Kenya and their resources Sputnik International news (2019). In his statement, he added that "It is, therefore, most regretful that the Government of Kenya has now arrived at the conclusion that its protest and demands that Kenya sovereignty and territorial integrity be respected, have been ignored". The statement featured a very clear policy that the government of Kenya is unwilling to bend their policy of safeguarding the Kenyan national interest of territorial integrity.

According to the Defence white paper (2017, p.2), the Kenyan political independence, the integrity of her national territory and the security and socioeconomic well-being of the Kenyan people comprise Kenyan basic national interests. This research found out that the Defence white paper in respect to the Kenyan constitution gives priority to Kenyan territorial integrity as seen on page two of the paper which lists Kenyan interests as: Sovereignty and territorial integrity, National

Security, Economic prosperity and well-being of Kenyans and National prestige. Ambassador Omamo, the

defence cabinet Secretary stressed that it is necessary that Kenyan Defence Forces (KDF) is configured “to seamlessly support the civil authorities and ultimately defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kenya in the event of external aggression.” This research found out that Kenyan territorial integrity is one of the basic national interests that Kenya defends at all costs .It was very clear that the maritime conflict between Kenya and Somalia had an implication on Kenya’s territorial integrity and therefore Kenya was interested to resolve the dispute amicably and in a sustainable manner. However, it is predictive that should Somalia not respect Kenya’s territory or should the court declare what Kenya refers to as her territory Somalia’s, then military action would be one of the suitable for Kenya given the statements from the cabinet secretaries of Defence, Foreign affairs and even Mr. Kenyatta himself although Kenya is so diplomatic and strategic in policy which might prompt it to resort to a more friendly resolution in the fullness of time.

1.7.3 Guarding National economic interests

According to Collier (1999, p.2), all conflicts are more likely to be caused by economic opportunities than by grievance or hatred. According to Collier, Most primary commodity exports are likely to be a good substitutes for the availability of lootable resources in any region and therefore economic agendas and interests ignite and sustain these conflicts or wars (p.2). The research found out that the Kenyan Somalia dispute is premised on a region which is rich in oil, gas and fish and Colliers theory cannot be further from the truth.

According to Herbling(2019, par.6), the disputed area between Kenya and Somalia contains oil and gas deposits beneath waters rich in tuna and other fish, all of which have the potential to generate funds. The research found out that is lagging behind in terms of infrastructure and unstable institutions hence the Somalia government needs to rebuild its economy after decades of civil war since 1991 ouster of Barre Lewis (1994). Kenya on the other side, has been seeking new revenue streams to help achieve President Uhuru Kenyatta’s ambitious plan especially the big four Agenda to develop transport linkages and reduce a housing deficit in Kenya Herbling(2019,par.6). According to the official website of Sputnik International news (2019), the statements of the foreign Affairs permanent secretary on Somalia were made following an announcement made two days ago by the Somali government which would award exploration licenses to foreign oil companies despite the Somalia opposition calling on the government to wait until laws and regulations governing the oil sector were active and functional. The decision to give licenses enlisted a lot of reactions from Kenya which could be construed as a diplomatic effort to cut ties between the two countries until the dispute is resolved. However, there are oil blocks that are the subject of confrontation. Pappa (2017, p.403) claimed that regardless of a series of rounds of negotiation, the boundary difference remained unresolved. This study found out that the dispute aggravated in the year 2012, when Kenya granted a number of permits (production sharing contracts or PSCs) for the exploration of the western Indian Ocean of the disputed area. Somalia challenged the validity of its neighbor’s exploratory permits for oil blocks L-21, L-22, L-23and L24 Pappa (p.403).

The research found out that Depending on the outcome of the judgement in the International Court of Justice, Kenya’s claim on the blocks from L-21 TO L-23 may either continue or cease permanently. Suppose the International Court of Justice accepts the Kenyan claim, the entire disputed area will remain under Kenyan jurisdiction hence the permits granted for oil blocks L-21, L-22, L-23, L-24 will continue to authorize the activities of the Kenya’s Pappa (2017, P.405). The prediction by Pappa (p.405) is that the judgment will favor Somalia either entirely or partly because.

The study found out that the greatest force behind the dispute based on the literature written and analyzed above is the economic benefits which are likely to come out of the disputed region in the Indian Ocean to the two sister States and even at the individual level or private entities interested in benefitting from the oil, gas and fish in that region. This is Kenya’s one of the vital goals driving the agenda of Kenya in this particular disputed region.

1.7.4 Ensuring Sustainable National Security

Chapter 14 of the Kenyan Constitution on National Security, article 238 (1) defines National security as, “the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity, and other national interests.”(Kenyan Constitution 2010, art.238)

According to the defence white paper (2017, p.4) the main objectives of Kenya’s National Security are aimed at safeguarding the country’s independence and promoting the security and welfare of all citizens. The attainment of this, according to the defence paper, is based on a credible national defence, democratic civil institutions, a consistent foreign policy as well as active participation in regional and international peace and security activities. Therefore, National security plays a very substantive role in the national economy of Kenya by creating an enabling environment upon which all economic activities of the country happen. This security is a requirement for restoring stability, economic growth, poverty reduction and equity Defence white paper (2017, p.4).

Terrorism has been the greatest challenge to Kenya’s national security. According to Thompson (2015, p.183) Kenya in defence of its territory against Al-Shabaab began to take a more interventionist tactic in the year

2011. Kenyan forces hitherto began by pursuing kidnappers across the Kenya Somalia border, but soon became involved in the African Union Mission in Somalia, and supported aspirations for an autonomous Jubaland a breakaway state in state in southern Somalia Thompson (2015, p.183). This research found out that all these efforts by the Kenyan government were aimed at safeguarding the national interest of sustainable national security.

Mr. Kenyatta in his address to the opening of the 17th Biennial ambassadors/High Commissioners conference said that, "I believe that corruption is a standing threat to our national security. The bribe accepted by an official can lead to successful terrorist attacks that kill Kenyans. It can let a criminal off the hook for them to return to crime and harming Kenyans.

1.8 Conclusions

In light of the findings of the study, a conclusion is made that the main goals and objectives that Kenya seeks to achieve in the course of managing her boundary disputes include: Protection of State sovereignty, Protection of territorial integrity, guarding National economic interests and ensuring sustainable national security. This is what International relations calls national interest which much be protected at all costs.

1.9 Recommendations

Based on the research findings, it is recommended that the two governments should conduct extensive public participation to gather the views of the people and experts in maps and delimitation first before dragging each other on the international stage when there is a lot to be shared between the two states other than the benefits that might arise from the disputes area. There is so much that unites Kenya and Somalia than what is separating them.

References

- Adar, K. G. (2011). *The Democratization of International Organizations*. EAC Centre for Study on Federalism. First International Democracy Report.
- Adebajo, A. (2005). *The Curse of Berlin: Africa's Security Dilemmas*: Columbia University Press 83-98.
- Amutabi, M, M. (2010). Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa. *Kenya studies* Anderson, David M. "Remembering Wagalla: State Violence in Northern Kenya, 1962–1991," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 4 (2014): 658-676. *review volume*: 20-36.
- Arusha Agreement on Ending of Kenya-Somalia Border Hostilities. - Somali-Ethiopian Agreement of 1967. Arusha
- Assowe, O, M (2011) *Understanding the Emergency of Al-Shabaab in Somalia*. Fort Leavenworth Kansas: pp 1-80
- Babbie, E. (2011). *The Basics of Social Research*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press
- East African Legislative Assembly. (2009). Resolution of the Assembly on Migingo island. Arusha
- Ghidey, Z. (1999). *The Ideological and Political Causes of Ethio-Eritrean War: An invaders view*. A paper for the International conference on the Ethiopia-Eritrean crisis, Amsterdam.
- Herbling, D (2019) Kenya Vows to Defend Its Territory in Oil Row with Somalia .<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-22/kenya-vows-to-defend-its-territory-inoil-dispute-with-somalia>
- Hoseason, A (2010) "The Role of Borders as Sites and Progenitors of Conflict: A Critical Analysis." *Global Discourse* 1, no. 2: 166-178.
- Ian, H. (2012). *India's New Public Diplomacy*. California: University of California Press. Asian Survey. 1089-1110.
- Jones, R.(2012). *Border Walls: Security And The War on Terror In The United States, India And Israel*. London: Zed Books.
- Joshua, S.G& Jon C, P. (2016). *International Relations. Pearson international edition. 7th edition*.
- House. Kandie, P. J. (2015) Draft regional Integration policy for Kenya. Nairobi
- Kenneth, N. W. (1993) The Emerging Structure of International Politics. *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 44-79.
- Kothari, C. (2014). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers
- Krasner, S, D. (1978) *Defending the National Interests: Raw material investments and US foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press.
- Munene, M. (2015) "Conflicts and Postcolonial Identities in East/the Horn of Africa." In *The Crises of Postcoloniality in Africa*, edited by Kenneth Omeje, 123-137. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Maluki, P. (2015). *Diplomacy, Foreign Policy and Protection of National Interests. Kenya's Engagement with*

- ICC.
- Mburu, N. (2014). Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa. *African Studies Quarterly*. 15-37
- Maluki, P.(2015). Diplomacy, Foreign Policy and Protection of National Interest: Kenya's Engagement with the ICC.
- Mohammed, A. (2014).*Kenya Foreign Policy Draft*. Nairobi: 1-34.
- Nandini, J. (2016).South China Sea and India's Geopolitical Interests. *Journal of Asian Affairs*.Vol.29,1/20:85-100.
- Nye, J.(2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *Sage publications. American academy of political and Social Science*. Vol 616.94-109
- Ogila,J. (2009).Inside The Kenya Somalia Dispute Over The Maritime Territory. Nairobi.
- Olaosebika, J. A. &Oluwafemi, L.B (2018) African Boundary Politics: A case of Ethiopia- Eritrean Boundary Discord. *International Multi-disciplinary Journal*. Pp 120-131.
- Pape, R.A.(2003),The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. *American political Science Review: The University of Chicago*: 342-361
- Speech by H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta during the Official Opening of the 17th Biennial Ambassadors'/High Commissioners' Conference Available at. <http://www.president.go.ke/category/speeches/>
- Thompson, V.B.(2015).*The Kenya Somalia border problem 1941-2014*.Lanham,MD:University press of America:405.
- Viotti, P, &Kauppi, M. (2012).International Relations Theory. *Glenview*: Pearson.
- Walker, T.(2015).Why Africa must Resolve its Boundary Disputes. Pretoria: Policy Brief 80, *Institute for Security Studies*: 2-7.