Foreign Policy Predispositions of Kenya and Tanzania Influencing Econo-Political Integration Process in the East African Community

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Abstract

Foreign policy is the enabler of regionalism and it has been used globally to construct regional integration projects. The EU and NAFTA are examples in the West and in Africa there is SADC and EAC. Basing on their connectivity, the study interrogated foreign policy pillars of Kenya and Tanzania in regard to EAC econo-political integration process. Two-Good theory, Neoclassical Realism and Neo-functionalism theories guided the study. Historical, cross cultural and descriptive research designs were used. The study area was Kenya and Tanzania and the population was citizens of the two states with the target population being cross border business community, government officials in Ministries of EAC and Foreign Affairs, and EAC organs- the Secretariat and Legislative Assembly on which purposive sampling was used. A sample size of 384 respondents was achieved from the total population using the Gomm formula.The study utilised both primary and secondary data. Instruments of data collection were; questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions guides. Findings revealed that Kenya's and Tanzania's foreign policy pillars are similar and interspersed. There is reticence and inability on the part of the foreign policies of the two states to have a commanding positive influence on the EAC integration process due to lack of precise policy focus on regionalism, hence their foreign policies are informed by nationalistic interests that are not supportive of the the overall regional integration agenda, making formulation of foreign policy pillars without the regional focus and citizen participation. The study recommends that Kenya and Tanzania should mainstream the process of stakeholder consultation on key policy issues of the state and harmonise their foreign policies to avoid misunderstandings and open rivalry that can thrust the region into political and economic paralysis.

Keywords: Econo-political Integration, Foreign Policy Predispositions, Geopolitics

1. Introduction

The word "foreign" belies the theory. It derives from 'foras' "out-of-doors" or "outside", what is distinct from the hearth and away from home. "Foreign is a term without "content", meaning only "that which is not domestic" (McWilliams, 1969). The question regarding the extent to which foreign policy influences regionalism is subject to debate. This issue is still emotive, fluid, speculative and anchored on conjecture. The academic discourse in this area is unfortunately scanty. Ogunnubi (2018), for example, focuses on foreign policy of Nigeria as a regional hegemonic power, while Kanat (2010) examines Turkey's foreign policy and its relations with the European Union (EU). On the other hand, Liao (2012) focuses his paper on China's use of regional multilateralism as a distinctive element in its regional security diplomacy. Regionalism is now an acknowledged phenomenon ensconced in international politics and encapsulated in international legal instruments. Regional integration can be defined as a grouping of states bonded together by a common set of objectives based on geographical, social, cultural, economic, and political ties and possessing a formal structure provided for in formal intergovernmental agreements (Mols, 1996).

States around the globe, therefore, are coalescing into regional blocs dictated by domestic national and foreign interests. The degree and intensity of integration vary according to defined interests and scope. The regional integration projects thereof, vary in functional scope, institutional set up, size of membership and impact (Laursen, 2010). The success of regional integration relies on a reasonable amount of certainty that favourable, stable conditions will continue in the future (Genna and Hiroi, 2015). Global integration is conceived as a process of coalescing the economic and political potential of the countries of the world (Chattopadhyay, 2008).

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The significance of regional groupings and organizations to foster relations and enhance trade and economic cooperation between countries is increasingly on the rise in the present day world (Rahman, 2012).

The fervour for regionalism is etched in the minds of the political class globally. Some advocate for continental integration while others call for regional groupings that consist of few states whose defining criterion is territorial contiguity. The success story of European regionalisation experiment has been cited as a factor that has inspired the recent wave of regionalism (Masinde and Omolo, 2017). The European Union (EU) is considered as the centerpiece of resurgent regionalism. Today, neither economics nor peace serves as the main buttress for justifying further integration. These justifications have given way to the idea that the EU is necessary by virtue of its contribution to international politics (Bickerton; Egan; Nugent; and Peterson, 2015). In Africa, during the past years, the need to provide solutions to Africa's numerous political and economic problems has led to the initiation of various regional integration programmes (Fagbayibo, 2012). The dazzling verve constructed around Pan-Africanism mantra by independent era African leaders attests to this argument. After independence, foreign policymakers sought to resolve the choice (and oftentimes trade-offs) between national and continental identity, sovereignty and supranationalism, and differentiation and integration (Khadiagala and Lyons, 2001).

As states march on into labyrinths of regional projects, the role of foreign policy and diplomacy tends to be regrettably an afterthought. There is scanty if not limited research in this area. It has to be reaffirmed that at the heart of states' interaction in regional and global settings, foreign policy occupies a significant position. Okoth (2010) defines foreign policy as the sum total of the principles, interests and objectives which a given state formulates in conducting its relations with other states. Foreign policy is thus understood as 'a set of goals, directives or intentions', formulated by persons in official or authoritative positions, directed at some actor or condition in the environment beyond the sovereign nation-state, for the purpose of affecting the target in the manner desired by the policymakers' (Cohen and Harris, 1975). Foreign policy is the content of foreign relations, comprising the aspirations and aims, which a country wants to achieve in its relations with other states and inter-governmental organizations (Kleiner, 2009). Smith (1986) traces the genesis of foreign policy by analysing the argument advanced by Morgenthau of realism as to why states act as they do. In his classification (Morgenthau in Smith, 1986), he places foreign policies into categories of status quo, imperialist and prestige, he essentially imposes onto foreign policy behaviour a systemic rationale. This study sought to confirm through intellectual acuity that there exists a direct material relationship between foreign policy and regionalism.

While other regions have successfully used their integration mechanisms to improve their economic welfare, Africa lags behind with respect to GDP growth, per capita income, capital inflows, and general living standards (Qobo, 2007). The challenges and complexities of promoting effective regional cooperation and integration are not unique to Africa however (Mathieson, 2016). EAC II has existed for 20 years. The deadlines to implement certain provisions of the Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and Political Federation have largely been missed and even the implementation of the Customs Union and the Common Market is facing challenges of monunmental proportions. The Cutoms Union was established in 2005 and Common Market in 2010 while the Monetary Union and Political Federation remain open in the sense that despite long talks and negotiatopns, they are still unfinished (Cichecka, 2018). It is also characteristic that the EAC does not speak with one voice and the relationship between Partner States may be described as asymmetric (Cichecka, 2018). Among member states of EAC, free mobility of skilled labour has not been effectively sustained (Eke and Ani, 2017).

The EAC Partner States are almost unable to control the pace of integration. The Customs Union has achieved some level of implementation including institutionalisation of the common external tariff regime and single customs territory among others. Similarly, as alluded to by Cichecka (2018), certain aspects of the Common Market have been implemented with mixed results. Whereas the Common Market has led to increased intra-EAC trade, however, specific provisions of it in regard to enhancement of regional integration have not been implemented or are facing severe bottlenecks. Critical steps including cross border movement of capital, free movement of labour, the rights of establishment and residence are yet to be realised in full. According to the Schedule on the Removal of Restrictions on the Free Movement of capital, Partner States committed to fully liberalise the free movement of capital in the EAC by 31 December 2015. However, the reality on the ground suggests otherwise. In fact, a World Bank Report published in 2014 (in Binda, 2017), highlighted that, not only had the Partner States not removed barriers to the free movement of capital existing prior to the entry into force of the Common Market Protocol, new restrictions had actually been introduced (Binda, 2017). To this end, Partner States have decided to dilute it and opted for a lesser and non-sovereignty threatening model, the EAC Confederation. All these provide a compelling case that all is not well with EAC econo-political integration process.

The questions that ought to be investigated are, why is it that EAC Partner States have consistently failed to implement their commitments in regard to certain aspects of EAC integration? Could all these be as a result of national policies and interests? Could the EAC econo-political journey be the victim of hostile, immutable and insular foreign policies of Partner States? It is against this background that the resolve to undertake this study crystallized.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya and Tanzania are founder members of EAC with preponderant power and clout. EAC is constructed on four pillars, namely Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and Political Federation with deep econo-political integration being its peremptory goal (EAC, 2009). Econo-political integration that transcends national territory is difficult to attain. It, therefore, behooves members to possess the necessary dazzling honesty to integrate regional interests in their policy portfolios. One of the policy areas that demonstrates a state's gravitas toward a regional cause is its foreign policy. However, foreign policy choices of some EAC member states call into question their fidelity to regionalism. Additionally, there is concern about the nature of multiple memberships by EAC states to a number of other regional blocs.This situation has contributed to divergent positions on crucial global issues (Okuthe-Oyugi, 2012). During the cold war era, Kenya's and Tanzania's foreign policies were antagonistic on many fronts. Given that Tanzania adopted capitalist mode of production in tandem with Kenya's milieu, to what extent do their foreign policy predispositions complement and reinforce regional integration and identity? It is in this regard that this study was envisaged.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The objective of the study was to interrogate foreign policy pillars of Kenya and Tanzania in regard to EAC econo-political integration process.

1.4 Research Question

What are Kenya's and Tanzania's foreign policy pillars and how do they influence the EAC Econo-Political Integration?

1.5 Justification of the Study
1.5.1 Academic Justification

This study sought to demonstrate the importance of foreign policy in structuring regional integration economic and political arrangement. This is what had not gained unambiguous academic discourse. A mature foreign policy that embraces the regional ethos can be the agentive foundation upon which other integration endeavours can be realized. The study, therefore, sought to underscore the importance of foreign policy in enhancing regional economics and politics. The findings will be useful in informing an academic discourse on the vitality of foreign policy in creating or deconstructing the narrative that has been around for awhile that developing countries though possess the penchant to integrate are inherently incapable of developing a common foreign policy platform to grant them political wherewithal in multilateral settings. This dimension is what had not been exhaustively studied. The findings of this study, therefore, will be useful in providing lessons to scholars of international relations on the importance of foreign policy as a leverage in coalescing regional groupings and conferring on such states the necessary international political legitimacy.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

Policymakers will benefit from the findings of this research as it will serve as a point of reference in strengthening regional economic and political integration process and commitment to a mature unified foreign policy platform ensconced in a structure that is predictable, certain and intelligent. This study will serve as an important source of knowledge undertaken to examine the influence of member states' foreign policy behaviour on a regional grouping and its proclivity in coalescing states to collectively pursue mundane national interests in the external environment. Policymakers will draw lessons on the most suitable and appropriate framework that can be beneficial in pursuing a coordinated regional foreign policy platform that comprehensively carries with it national interests of participating states that has longevity and elasticity.

1.5.3 Philosophical Justification

Regional integration and foreign policy are products of social interactions and are constructed and formulated iteratively based on subterranean impulses that define their foundational tenets. Foreign policy is conceptualized, influenced and shaped by society. Foreign policy is a product of conceptualisation by the ruling class to effect desired philosophical thrust in the external environment. Therefore, to understand the principles that characterise conceptualisation of political choices by actors, it becomes imperative to investigate their worldview to sensationally appreciate the logical basis that inform subtle maneuvers that lie at the core of decision making processes.

2. Foreign Policy Pillars

Rubio (2015) an American politician who contested for the presidential ticket of the Republican Party in 2016. He assessed the conduct of American foreign policy around the world. Rubio laments that the United States is retreating from the world. He argues that in order to restore the American prestige and power, it must re-engage with the world. His first pillar is the renewal of the American strength. He submits that this is an idea based on a simple truth: that the world is at its safest when America is at its strongest. This pillar entails deployment of strong military and diplomatic assets. He argues that the deployment of American assets is informed by the fact that any weakness in American resolve only encourages her adversaries.

The second foreign policy pillar as proposed by Rubio (2015) is the protection of an open international economy in an increasingly globalised world. Under this pillar Rubio argues that millions of the best jobs depend on international trade and that this is possible only when global sea-lanes are open and sovereign nations are protected from the aggression of larger neighbours. Rubio castigates American leadership for its lackluster performance on the international stage for failing to reign in Russia when it invaded and annexed Crimea under the nose of President Obama. He advocates for an emboldened response to what he refers to as Russian aggression against sovereign Ukraine.

The third pillar proposed by Rubio is defending freedom around the world. He submits that this pillar seeks to entrench moral clarity regarding America's core values. Rubio asserts that human rights issues and liberal democratic principles are key since they are the fabric of America since its founding and the beacon of hope for the oppressed around the globe. He asserts that this pillar is also a strategic imperative that requires pragmatism and idealism in equal measure.

Stevenson's (1992) explores the strategies and objectives of the US foreign policy in Southeast Asia since the turn of 1900. He argues that the United States' regional strategy before and after World War II was based upon a concrete definition of its overarching objectives. These objectives, he asserts, were trade and access to markets that after the war were tied to a general security policy of opposing socialist systems. Stevenson submits that between 1945 and 1990, United States strategy in Southeast Asia was containment. This strategy was designed to encourage prosperity in the sphere of influence and discourage prosperity in socialist bloc. Stevenson claims that all policies conformed to the greater concern of confronting socialist expansion while achieving American objectives: stability, trade and access, technology and international good. The overriding foreign policy pillar of the United States during this epoch from Stevenson's submission was the war against expansion of communism. He observes that in the 1960s and 1970s, the US State Department, unwavering in its opposition to the Soviet bloc and China, viewed political stability anywhere as synonymous with 'communist expansion'. He observes that in the course of conducting her foreign policy in Southeast Asia at times the United States conducted herself arrogantly something that caused her loss of prestige.

Arising from Babarinde's (2003) postulation, assessing foreign policy coordination in Africa, one cannot fail to discern that it is still nascent and held hostage by rivalry, pettiness, idiosyncrasy, instability, suspicion and betrayal. The siblings' rivalry in the ECOWAS pitting Anglophone and Francophone states is a case in point. In this regard it is almost unthinkable for ECOWAS states to coordinate conduct of their external relations by navigating vested interests of the former colonial masters; France and Britain. The same fate besets the AU. Whereas AU was founded on the philosophical base that underpins Pan-Africanism mantra of liberation, good governance and the rule of law, self-reliance, south-south cooperation, economic emancipation and non-aligned politics; it has not lived up to those tenets. The continent is beset with existential challenges that have to a large extent extinguished its desire to act as a united force on the international stage. The ideological differences among leaders, coupled with internal and interstate wars; some instigated by military coups and identity questions have constrained the momentum towards Africa's united posture in the international system.

Mandela's (1993) work provides a glimpse of foreign policy priorities for new South Africa. He observes that at the end of the apartheid regime, South Africa need to re-engage with the world by forging a new foreign policy that will give it the necessary leverage in world affairs. Mandela submits that the African National Congress (ANC) should chart a new foreign policy for South Africa as an element of a peaceful and prosperous country. He sets out the pillars upon which South Africa foreign policy will rest. Mandela submits that human rights are central to international relations and an understanding that they extend beyond the political, embracing the economic, social and environmental issues. This is a crucial pillar that Mandela hoped will reintegrate South Africa in the international family of nations. He prioritised promotion of democracy worldwide as the kingpin of South Africa's foreign policy orientation. Mandela constructed his foreign policy around the international law. He asserts that consideration for justice and respect for international law is essential for South Africa. Additionally, Mandela envisions South Africa that embraces regional integration and international economic cooperation. These are foreign policy pillars of the new South Africa as envisioned and cherished by Mandela.

3. Conceptual Framework

According to Wasike and Odhiambo (2016)

"everyone uses theories, whether they know it or not. One cannot analyze data without resorting to causal explanations. But theories often lack the specificity needed to make and implement decisions. As a result, policymakers are often dismissive of the value of theories. No single theory captures the complexity of contemporary world politics. Theories of international relations seek to explain what states try to achieve in the external realm and when they try to achieve it. Theories have several components. They diagnose, predict, prescribe and evaluate. Nevertheless, Smith (1996) believes that not all theories predict nor simply explain. They tell us what possibilities exist for human action and intervention. They define not merely our   explanatory possibilities but also our ethical and practical horizons. For example the theory of international relations maintains that war was partly the result of international anarchy and partly the result of misunderstandings, miscalculations and recklessness on the part of politicians who had lost control of event".

3.1 Two-Good Theory

The Two-Good theory of foreign policy as propounded by Glenn Palmer and Clifton Morgan (2006), seeks to explain the intrinsic reasons that motivate states to pursue specific foreign policy goals. It provides a general approach of foreign policy that can offer an integrated explanation for all of the events and show that the decisions leading to them are interconnected. This theory assumes that states essentially pursue two things namely change and maintenance through their international behaviour and that they allocate foreign policy resources as efficiently as possible to maximise their utility. According to Palmer and Morgan (2006), the basic elements of the theory are that the political universe, can be viewed as consisting of issues that at least one state cares about. The world can be modeled as a multidimensional issue space. The status quo at a particular time is the existing outcome of all those issues. States will be happy with some of the outcomes and unhappy with others in the political universe. All states want to protect aspects of the world they like that serves their core national interests.

2.5.2 Neoclassical Realism Theory

Realism is one enduring school of thought with multiple variants pledging allegiance to specific strands of arguments and logic. But all schools of thought draw their philosophical foundation from one source. However, their interpretation of the motives and underlying factors that shape world political events is where they take divergent views and arguments. Realism theory is not per se embellished in foreign policy analysis rather it seeks to offer predictable explanations of international politics from state-centric standpoint. Realism is based on three core assumptions about how the world works: groupism; egoism and power-centrism (Wolforth, 2012).
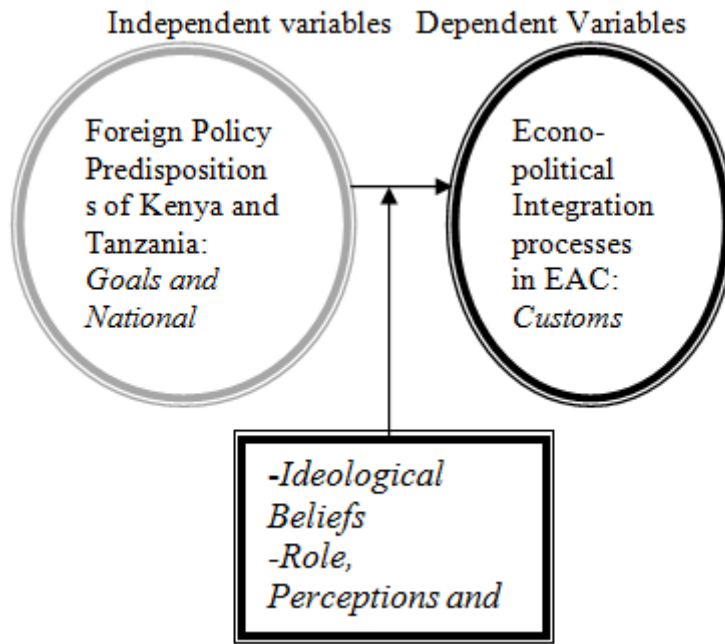
Neoclassical realism is one of the schools of thought within the wider realism family of scholars. Its central argument is that relative material power establishes the basic parameters of a country's foreign policy. It avers that "the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must" (Thucydides in Rose 1998). The proponents share a common assumption that foreign policy is best understood as the product of a country's internal dynamics. To understand why a particular country is behaving in a particular way, therefore, one should peer inside the black box and examine the preferences and configurations of key domestic actors (Rose, 1998). The argument here is that foreign policy is influenced by domestic politics and vice-versa.

3.3 Neo-functionalism Theory

O'neill (1996) contents that Neo-functionalists regard regional integration as a more complex multivariate and protracted process. Key assumptions of Neo-functionalism are embedded in their perception of the role of the nation-state. Their contention differs from that of pure functionalism. They discounted the nation-state as an irrelevance rather than disparaging it as evil something propagated by Functionalists. According to O'neill, the Neo-functionalists theorised that as they were currently constituted, nation-states were principally concerned to perpetuate social and ideological divisions along existing faultiness they themselves had been responsibility for creating social order. States were also too culturally insular, as such, incapable of meeting the more expansive functional or welfare needs of modern citizens. In this regard these needs could only be met by international cooperation.

The Neo-functionalists saw regional integration as an intrinsically political process involving, the need to reconcile social diversities and to balance the conflicting interest that exist in all societies, within a community framework. The introduction of a tone of politics by Neo-functionalists firmed up this school of thought and served to strengthen the argument that integration is a political process. Chazan et al., (1999) submit that Neo-functionalists believe that all political action is purposively linked with individual or group perception of interest, and thus cooperation among groups can only be the result of convergence of separate perceptions of interests.

Figure 1 Showing Conceptual Model Framework

Independent variables   Dependent Variables

Foreign Policy Predispositions of Kenya and Tanzania: *Goals and National*

Econo-political Integration processes in EAC: *Customs*

-*Ideological Beliefs* -*Role, Perceptions and*

Intervening variables
Figure 1: Conceptual Model Framework Showing Interaction of Variables
Source: Researcher, 2020

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

Cross-cultural design was used in the study to compare and contrast foreign policy pillars of the two states and evaluate how they have influence EAC econo-politcal integration process.This study sought to discover the underlying factors that influence both the independent and dependent variables hence the exploratory design was chosen as ideal in attaining this goal.Kumar (2014) further reinforces the value of adopting qualitative designs by opining that the main focus in qualitative research is to understand, explain, discover and clarify situations, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people.

4.2 Sampling Strategy

The study adopted a purposive sampling strategy due to the nature of interpretive paradigm denoting the necessity of seeking respondents' opinions and corroborating them to examine insights and issues that are critical and pertinent to the study's objective. The justification for purposive sampling is aptly captured by Patton (2002) who argues that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth.

4.3 Sample Size

The study population as already noted was citizens of Kenya and Tanzania. Given the massive combined population of the two states which is approximately 103 million, it was not possible to practically cover every one. In this regard, the researcher adopted the recommendation provided by Gomm (2008). Gomm (2008) prescribes a formula of determining appropriate sample sizes. He proposes that for a population of 50,000 individuals, the required sample size is 381 items. He goes on to propose that a population of size of 1,000,000 or more, the ideal sample size is 384. The same recommendation is made by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). It was established that persons and entities that have direct stakes in the EAC integration process and who could be valuable to the study are government officials working in Mintries of Foreign and East African Community affairs, officials in the EAC Organs – the Secretariat and East African Legislative Assembly and cross border business community who operate at the borders and in Partner States. In this regard, the study purposefully covered cross border business community at major points of entry between Kenya and Tanzania; government officials in the two states which perform diplomatic and administrative duties in Ministries responsible for EAC and Foreign Affairs; and EAC Secretariat and the Legislative Assembly.

4.4 Data Collection methods

Questionnaires, interviews and observations, government documents, video, tapes, newspapers, letters, and books were used (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Data was collected from two sources in the two countries. Primary data which was instrumental in answering the objectives of the study was obtained from the respondents in Kenya and Tanzania including key informants in government ministries and EAC organs. Secondary data formed an integral part of the study. Secondary data were obtained from sources in Kenya and Tanzania including the EAC Secretariat's Library, books, newspapers, government documents, journals, articles and archival materials.

5. Data Analysis and Presentation

Qualitative data were first processed, summarised and categorised into appropriate themes. Content analysis was used to determine which themes occur most frequently, in what contexts and how they are related to each other (Patton, 2002). Data collected through questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions were triangulated to ascertain their efficacy. On the other hand, quantitative data which are numeric in nature were analysed through descriptive analysis which comprises statistics describing, aggregating and presenting the constructs of interest. Inferential statistics arising from the findings was interpreted to reach conclusions about associations among variables. Charts, graphs, tables were used to project and compare scenarios and any other piece of information that can be best presented quantitatively.

6. Results

The general spirit embedded in the foreign policy pillars is positive in regard to regional integration. The argument advanced by 31.5 per cent of the respondents that Kenya's foreign policy pillars promote political and economic nationalism rather than regional solidarity, has some merit in it. A section of the respondents (37.5 per cent) were of the opinion that Kenya's foreign policy pillars encourage Partner States to compete against each other. This is true to some extent. Kenya's foreign policy pillars are scored in percentages based on the findings as shown in table 1. The percentages of the foreign policy pillars were calculated and are presented in figure 1.

Table 1: Percentage Scores from Findings on Kenya's Forein Policy Pillars

Peace diplomacy	**75%**
Economic diplomacy	87.5%
Diaspora diplomacy	87.5%
Environmental diplomacy	75%
Cultural diplomacy.	68.8%

Source: Field Data, 2020

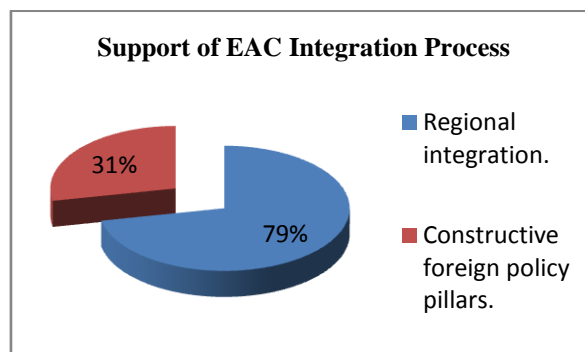Figure 1: Kenya' Foreign Policy Pillars in Percentage
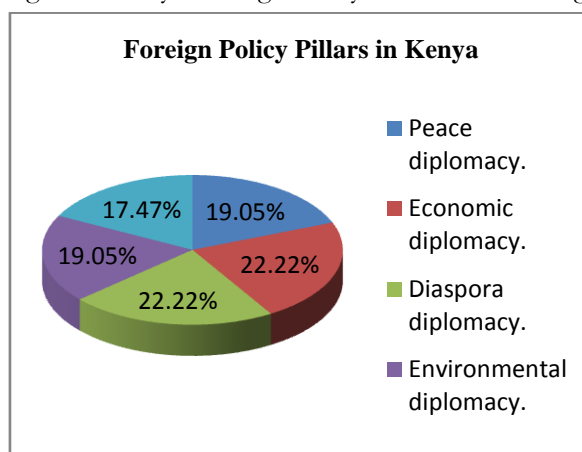
Source: Field Data, 2020

The two pillars that were ranked highly and considered as pinnacles of Kenya's foreign policy are economic diplomacy and diaspora diplomacy each at 87.5 per cent. However, as argued earlier, diaspora diplomacy is not practiced in a manner that makes it conspicuous on the international stage. The importance of economic diplomacy was reiterated by majority of the respondents. They affirmed that Kenya has recalibrated its foreign policy to focus in a more direct way on economic diplomacy and that forms of diplomacy like South-South cooperation are not given serious consideration. Environmental diplomacy was also ranked highly although as earlier discussed, the country is still grappling with environmental challenges that are considered to be serious and are likely to endure for a long time if the necessary policy and administrative measures are not taken to reverse the trend.

This finding is in contrast with the recommendation of Odhiambo *et al* (2013) in their article, The Reprisal Attacks by Al-Shabaab against Kenya that "combat success alone will not provide a sustainable peace. Recognize the importance of inclusivity in trying to achieve a stable Somalia. The confl ict in Somalia has sociopolitical, economic and humanitarian dimensions to it that the Government of Kenya needs to recognize and take into consideration. Greater inclusion of the Somali government as well as regional and international stakeholders is important for efforts to stabilize Somalia".

The respondents gave their opinion as to whether Kenya's foreign policy pillars promote regional integration or not. The verdict was that 79 per cent submitted that the pillars support EAC integration process. While 31 per cent of the respondents were of the contratry opinion observing that the pillars do not support EAC integration. The analsysis of the comparison is presented in figure 2.

Figure 2: Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy Pillars Support of EAC Integration

Source: Field Data, 2020

Figure 2 provides a summary of the respondents opinion in regard to Kenya's foreign policy pillars. As shown, 79 per cent of the respondents concurred that the pillars are well designed and that they support the EAC eco-political integration process. However, a significant number of 31 per cent were not in agreement. They felt the pillars are not supportive of the EAC econo-political integration.

5.2 Tanzania's Foreign Policy Pillars

Table 2: Tanzania's Foreign Policy Pillars as Rated by the Respondents (percentage scores)

| Forging partnerships.	64.5%
Prioritizing economic diplomacy.	89%
Redefining bilateral diplomacy.	46.3%
Strengthening multilateral diplomacy.	88%
Good neighbourliness diplomacy	46%
Enhancing regional peace and security.	96%
Strengthening regional economic integration.	38%
Promoting south-south cooperation.	92%
Reaffirming non-aligned movement.	79%

Source: *Field Data, 2020*
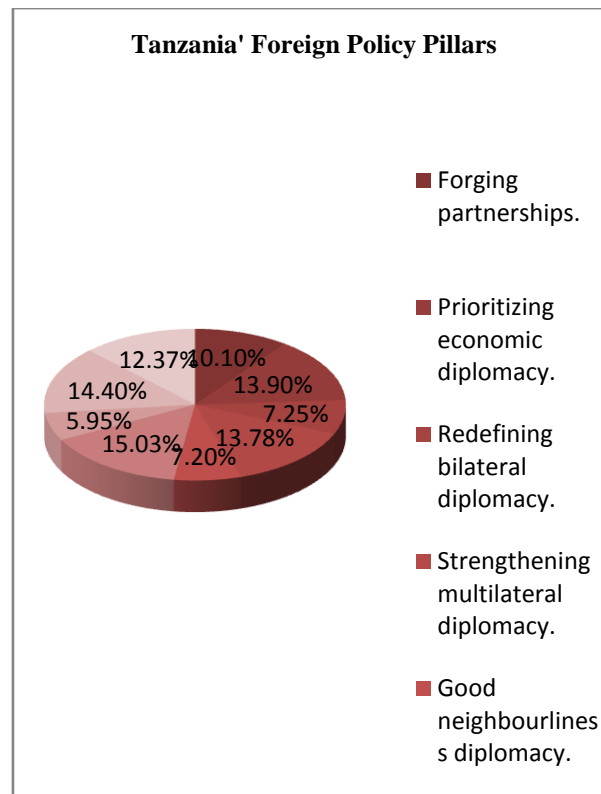
Figure 3: Tanzania' Foreign Policy Pillars
Source: *Field Data, 2020*

Figure 3 summarises the foreign pillars of Tanzania by ranking according to the perception of the respondent. Prioritising economic diplomacy; strengthening multilateral diplomacy; enhancing regional peace and security and promoting South-South cooperation; were ranked highly. The respondents assessed Tanzania's diplomacy pillars and agreed that it has advanced some of these pillars in the external environment. The pillars on economic diplomacy South-South cooperation were regarded as satisfactorily performed by Tanzania.

5.3 Comparative Analysis of Kenya's and Tanzania's Foreign Policy Pillars

Kenya's foreign policy pillars are broad and summarised into only five thematic areas while Tanzania's foreign policy pillars are specific and descriptive. The issue of priority in the two sets of foreign policy pillars is stark and obvious. Kenya's foreign policy priority is peace and security. This is a fundamental priority for a state's survival.

Every state has significant direct interest in upholding peace and security within her borders and in the international system. This is one of the most important foreign policy goals for all states. States that have challenges related to peace and security; are not only insecure but they risk their existence being compromised. Therefore, by making peace and security as her first foreign policy pillar, Kenya is simply being concious of her survival as a state and seeks to guarantee her survival partially through her foreign policy predisposition.

Tanzania on the other hand, takes an axiomatic view and sees international partnerships as the prime foreign policy pillar in her endeavour to interact in the international system. The essence of this pillar is to strengthen partnerships with governments, IGOs and international orgnisations. The object here is to promote economic development through internationalised partnerships. On peace and security, Tanzania relegates it to number six on her list of priorities, but then sees consolidation of peace and security from a universal and regional perspective. It views peace and security as an important aspect of statecraft, but one that must be coordinated at regional level through a family of regional states.

Kenya's foreign policy pillar on peace only provides for her troops' participation in peacekeeping missions abroad. Kenya's foreign policy pillar on peace diplomacy is not explicit regarding the extent of her participation in peacekeeping operations (Buo, 2001). Nevertheless, the two Partner States' foreign policies have strong positions on aspects of peacekeeping.

This is contratry to Kenya and Somalia relationship in the context of A Al-Shabaab's terror attack in Kenya where Odhiambo *et al* (2013) in their article, Al-Shabaab Terrorists Propaganda and the Kenya government Response,states that "Any analysis into the strategy used to diffuse Al-Shabaab's ideological content must arise from the fact that the propaganda is multidirectional. Al-Shabaab's future depends not only on its aptitude to support an operative nucleus capable of realizing ostentatious assaults, and its ability to obtain funding and secure recruits. Eroding and neutralizing this image of a mighty fortress must be the ultimate goal of any action designed to offset AlShabaab's propaganda campaign"

The two Partner States value the primacy of economics as the most important pillar in the contemporary world. To this end, their foreign policies are designed to advance the role of commerce in international relations. As per Kenya's New Foreign Policy document (2014), its economic diplomacy pillar seeks to increase capital flows not only to Kenya but also to other EAC Partner States. Under the same pillar, Tanzania's New Foreign Policy document (2015) seeks to enhance contacts and engagements with other states and international organisations in pursuit of economic cooperation. However, the pillar does not primarily widen the scope to include the whole of EAC. This means that Tanzania's foreign policy economic diplomacy pillar is designed to benefit her whereas the Kenyan one seeks to benefit the entire EAC region.

The critical assessment of foreign policy pillars of Kenya and Tanzania lies in their utility gain. The Tanzanian foreign policy pillars are attuned to her traditional interstate relations which draws its inspirations from the founding father Julius K. Nyerere. He observed:

The basic of our actions, internal and external, will be an attempt, an honest attempt to honour the dignity of man... We believe that it is evil for any people to ill-treat others on the grounds of race... We shall try to use the universal Declaration of Human Rights as a basis for both our external and internal policies... We are all concerned, first and foremost, with the establishment of world peace... We believe that...ultimately the problem of world peace depends upon the achievement of a state in the world where you have been a world government... We believe that the importance of the UN can and will grow depending only upon the determination of all of us to make it work. We can only say that for our own part, we will do what little we can to enhance the status of this organisation and assist in the execution of its policies. We believe that because action through it avoids any fear of domination by another state, it can do much to contribute to the peace that we all desire. Tanganyika would look at every one of its policy decisions in the light of its recognition of the fundamental importance of the UN (Nyerere Speech at the UN in 1961).

The foreign policy pillars discussed in this chapter evinced the strategic national interests of the two states and are fundamentally identical as far as economic interests are concerned. However, on the political lane, the pillars are to a large extent asymmetrical in their outlook and strategic depth. The most important lesson to draw from these pillars is that the two states strongly support economic diplomacy and regional integration. With this in mind, the EAC econo-political integration should benefit from increased interest despite nuanced approaches in style and management.

7. Summary and Conclusion

Kenya's and Tanzania's foreign policy pillars are similar and interspersed. There is reticence and inability on the part of the foreign policies of the two states to have a commanding positive influence on the EAC integration process due to lack of precise policy focus on regionalism, hence their foreign policies are informed by nationalistic interests that are not supportive of the the overall regional integration agenda, making formulation of foreign policy pillars without the regional focus and citizen participation.

8. Recommendation

The study recommends that Kenya and Tanzania should mainstream the process of stakeholder consultation on key policy issues of the state and harmonise their foreign policies to avoid misunderstandings and open rivalry that can thrust the region into political and economic paralysis.

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