



National Defence College KENYA

**National Policy Papers
Yearbook 2018/19**

Vol. 2



National Policy Papers Yearbook 2018/19

Vol 2

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DISCLAIMER

The information contained in this paper is the result of academic research carried out by the Participants concerned. The views and/or observations are of the members and do not reflect and/or represent the official position of the Ministry of Defence or the National Defence College, Kenya.

Abbreviations

ADC	Agricultural Development Corporation
AFC	Agricultural Finance Corporation
ARD	Agriculture, Research and Development
ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
CCP	China Communist Party
CICUNC	Commander in Chief of United Nations Command
C-in-C	Commander in Chief
COMESA	Common Markets for Eastern and Southern Africa
DPRK	Democratic Republic of Korea
EAC	East African Community
ERSWEC	Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoK	Government of Kenya
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JKIA	Jomo Kenyatta International Airport
KALRO	Kenya Agricultural and Livestock Research Organization
KCC	Kenya Cooperative Creameries
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
LAPSSET	Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNC	Multi National Corporation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCPB	National Cereals and Produce Board
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSC	National Security Council
NYS	National Youth Service
PEV	Post-Election Violence
RES	Resolution
ROK	Republic of Korea

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SCAP	Supreme Commander for the Allied Power
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Strategic Grain Reserve
SRA	Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture
UN	United Nations
UNCOM	United Nations Command
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSCR	United Nation Security Council Resolution
USA	United State of America
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWII	World War Two

Editorial Note

The creation of *The National Policy Papers Yearbook* series of the National Defence College (Kenya) is an idea whose time has come. The series collects the research done by the participants during their one year course at the College. This research is normally presented in the form of a phase paper collectively by the participants. The phase papers are presented to the Commandant of the College, and to a panel of experts on the subject matter. Critical comments on the presentation are then made by the experts, following which the participants revise the paper, and submit it formally to the College as a College document. Therefore all the papers have gone through this review process, by which quality is maintained.

The content of the inaugural *Yearbook* (2018/19) is diverse. This diversity is held together by the theme of national security. Thus all the papers address specific aspects of national security. The aspects of national security are national, regional and international. Vol.1 of the *Yearbook* contains policy papers on: Land Use and National Food Security in Kenya; Overcoming the Crises Facing the African State; and Conflict and Civil War in the Great Lakes Region. Vol. 2 of the *Yearbook* contains policy papers on: Issues in Kenya's Agriculture and Food Security; Poverty Alleviation in Kenya; and The Korean War: Decision Making, Policies and Strategies.

The creation of the *National Policy Papers Yearbook* series is important in various respects. It provides practitioners and scholars with a comparative account of the development of the issues that form the subject matter of the *Yearbook*. It also gives a pointer about areas and concerns of national security that have featured in the national security agenda over the years. Most importantly, the policy papers contain recommendations about how the problems analyzed can be addressed. The *Yearbook* series is therefore a useful reference for decision makers in Kenya.

The National Policy Papers Yearbook series is also important because it is relevant to the national security issues of the year. It contains a contemporary commentary on these national security issues, and suggestions about how they should be addressed. In this way the *Yearbooks* will provide a running commentary about various persisting national security issues. These commentaries will be useful for policy and decision makers, practitioners generally, and to researchers in the national security field.



Prof. Makumi Mwagiru
Editor

Foreword by the Commandant

The National Defence College was established by the authority of the Defence Council of Kenya in 1994 to prepare selected senior military officials and equivalent civil servants of the Republic of Kenya and their counterparts from selected friendly countries for higher responsibilities in the strategic direction and management of national security and other related areas of public policy.

It therefore gives me pleasure to give a foreword to this second edition that provides a forum to consolidate and widely share topical research issues oriented towards National security and public policy.

This publication is the diligent work of course 21-2018/2019 which will provide readers with stimulating and insightful materials that will generate and provoke further discussion, analysis and critique. The focus of the research is on topical issues covering Security studies, Regional and International Relations.

The yearbook is a reflection of the level of participants the College produces according to its mission statement. It is also a reflection of the interactive and analytical engagement by the participants in the ever evolving and shifting global security environment.

In conclusion, I wish to congratulate members of course 21-2018/19 for their contribution to the successful production of this second edition of the yearbook. Moreover, I express my deepest appreciation to the Editorial Board, Faculty and Administrative staff for the diligent work and support towards the production of the second edition of the National Defence College Yearbook.

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Deputy Commandant (Military)**

Issues in Kenya's Agriculture and Food Security

Executive Summary

Over the years, the Government of Kenya has strived to achieve national, household and individual food security throughout the country. The success in this effort has been mixed. The Economic Review of Agriculture 2007 indicates that 51% of the Kenyan population lack access to adequate food. This inaccessibility to food is closely linked to poverty which stands at 46%. The agricultural sector plays a central role in the economy, and the Government is finalizing the development of the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS). The aim of the strategy is to make the agricultural sector a key driver for achieving the 10 % annual economic growth rate expected under the Vision 2030 which was launched in 2008 as the new long-term development blueprint. The Vision aims at transforming Kenya into “a newly industrializing, middle income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment.” It is anchored on the economic, social, and political pillars. The achievement of national food security is a key objective of the agricultural sector. In recent years, and especially starting from 2008, the country has been facing severe food insecurity. This is depicted by a high proportion of the Kenyan population having no access to food in the right amounts and quality. Estimates indicate that over 10 million people are food insecure with the majority of them living on food relief. Households are also incurring huge food bills due to high food prices. Maize, a staple food in Kenya, is in short supply and most households have limited choices of other food stuffs.

The current food insecurity problems are attributed to several factors, including frequent droughts, high costs of domestic food production, displacement of a large number of farmers in the high potential agricultural areas, high global food prices and low purchasing power for large proportion of the population. The Government aims at transforming the agricultural sector into a profitable economic activity capable of attracting private investment and providing gainful employment for the people. The ASDS strategy for achieving food security has mainly been a combination of long term action to enhance productive potential and incomes, with programmes and policies that respond to the immediate needs of the poor and food insecure. The Government support efforts to increase agricultural productivity by revamping the development and application of improved technologies and reviving extension services. It also supports purchase and storage of Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR) and intervening in stabilizing the price of cereals. While these strategies have been established to attain national food availability, deficits continue to recur especially in years of prolonged drought and floods. The transportation of foodstuff produced to the food deficit areas poses a major challenge because of poor infrastructure in some parts of the country. People in the food deficit areas lack purchasing power, and hence rely on famine relief. The government imports grain and offers duty waiver for private sector as an incentive during drought. The policy aim is for the country to have stable and long term food security especially at the national level. In an effort to address national food security, the Government has formulated short and long term strategies to provide the needed thrust in the Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) sector. These include policies and strategies that focus on production, diversification, value addition, marketing and availability.

Introduction

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) warns that despite notable economic progress, Africa remains the world's most food insecure continent. It has proposed that all member states focus investments and support efforts on small-scale/holder farmers including youth and women. During the 28th Regional Conference of Africa in Tunis, Tunisia in March 2014, the UN applauded the continents continuous growth since 1999. It called for the provision of an enabling environment to end hunger in the region by 2025.

Kenya's economy still depends heavily on the agricultural sector which is also its economic mainstay. The sector directly contributes 24% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and 27% of the GDP indirectly through linkages with manufacturing, distribution and other service related activities. Approximately 45% of government revenue is derived from agriculture. The sector contributes over 75% of industrial raw materials and more than 50% of the export earnings. It is also the largest employer in the economy, accounting for 60% of the total employment. Over 80% of the population - especially those living in rural areas - derive their livelihoods mainly from agriculture-related activities. For these reasons, the Government of Kenya gives agriculture a high priority as an important tool for promoting national development.¹

National food security is a key objective of the agricultural sector. Food security in this case is defined as "a situation in which all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life."² Since 2008, the country has faced severe food security problems. These are indicated by a high proportion of the population having no access to food in the right amount and quality. Official estimates indicate that over ten million people are food insecure, with the majority of them living on food relief. Since maize is the staple diet, food preferences are

in short supply and most households have limited choices of other types of food.³

At the macro level, food security means the availability of adequate supplies of food through domestic production, or from imports to meet the national consumption needs. At the micro level, food security depends on a number of factors. These are related to various forms of entitlements to income and food producing assets, and the links between domestic and external markets.

Food security is a function of production, supply and income. This is the basis of its relation to poverty. There are four dimensions of food security that determine the level at which a community is vulnerable to hunger: food availability, food accessibility, stability and nutrition.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to analyse Kenya's agriculture and food security, and to make recommendations.

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Delineate the positive and negative aspects of Kenya's agricultural sector;
2. Examine the historical development of these aspects and their impact on the agricultural sector;
3. Identify key actors and their roles in the agricultural sector;
4. Examine the effectiveness of the current policies and strategies in the agricultural sector in Kenya;
5. Propose alternative policies and strategies for a stable and sustainable agricultural sector in Kenya.

¹ <https://www.usaid.gov/kenya/agriculture-and-food-security> accessed on 8th November 2016.

² Kenya Food Security Steering Group, 2008.

³ http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3C5886BE345E8FF149257644000899D2-Full_Report.pdf accessed on 8 November 2016.

Statement of the Study Problem

The agricultural sector is the backbone of Kenya's economy. It is also the largest employer in the economy. It is estimated that over 10 million Kenyans are food insecure with the majority of them living on relief food. While the government has formulated policies and strategies to mitigate food insecurity, the country is still food insecure. This is because the policies and strategies are never implemented, while those charged with their implementation fail to follow through. This has created a gap. The result is that Kenya is food insecure 54 years after independence. It is imperative for the government to come up with a new paradigm to improve the agricultural sector to ensure national food security.

Research Methodology

The study is based on secondary sources. These include books, journals, periodicals, government of Kenya records, conference papers, policy reports and online sources.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is the alternative development theory. This redefines the goals of development, and introduces alternative development practices, namely participatory and people-centered ones.⁴ It moves away from preoccupation with growth to a people-centered definition of human development. The theory postulates a meaningful alternative development profile that does not necessarily require a paradigmatic alternative development base. This reflects the realization that the base of mainstream development has shifted with time, and hence is no longer what it used to be. Indeed most mainstream development policies have largely failed; this requires a shift in the overall thinking of its efficacy.

Alternative development theory is more concerned with whether growth and production should take into account the people-centered development approach; or whether it should also

consider extraneous factors. Hence the theory questions the structural adjustment programmes followed by international financial institutions.

Alternative development introduces alternative practices and redefines the goals of development. This allows the community to participate and share in development efforts. Hence it champions a movement away from government, and the entry of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), allowing market forces to determine and redefine development goals. In this perspective, development is not only about the growth in GDP; it is also about human growth in general. It also absorbs alternative development methodologies into the mainstream development paradigm.

Alternative development theory posits alternative development proposals and methodologies for development - in this case for agricultural development - as an alternative development paradigm. These policies and methodologies are in essence concerned with alternative practices that are part of a global alternative. The theory emphasizes agency: the peoples' capacity to effect social change as opposed to structural and normative approaches to development that emphasize structural macro-economic change as advanced by dependency and global Keynesian reformism theories.⁵

Alternative development theory further postulates an alternative way of achieving development. In this alternative, the mode of development shares the same goals as mainstream development; but it applies different methods for reaching the same results. It advances a participatory and people-centered approach. It operates on three spheres that emphasize the agent, methods applied and the values or objectives of development. It represents what has come to be called the "third system" that alleviates the failed efforts of government which is the "first system" and economic power which is the "second system".⁶ Alternative development is equivalent to development from below, emphasizing the role of the community and NGOs. This is different from mainstream development that proceeds from above. Forms of alternative development are now institutionalized as mainstream development, and are considered to constitute mainstream

⁴ Pieterse, 2000.

⁵ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development*, p345.

⁶ Ibid.

alternative development.

Major Issues in Kenya's Agricultural Sector

Declining Agricultural Performance

A major concern for policy makers and those interested in the agricultural sector is its declining performance in terms of growth. The performance of agriculture slackened dramatically over the post-independence years from an average of 4.7% in the first decade to below 2% in the 1990s. This decline led to a negative growth rate of -2.4% in 2000. Since the sector engages about 75% of the country's labour force, the decline implies lower levels of employment, incomes and a threat to food security for the majority of poor Kenyans.⁷ This has been as a result of various factors largely revolving around insufficient budgetary allocations, and failure of the implementation of agricultural sector policies. The insufficient allocation of resources has reduced the availability of manpower and service delivery by government institutions.

To strengthen services in the agricultural sector, the government has rationalized the regulatory bodies to achieve economies of scale, improve efficiency, quality and synergies while minimizing overlaps and duplication. Laws that relate to delivery of plant protection services have been reviewed, and their enforcement enhanced. Kenya is a signatory to the Maputo Declaration of 2003 in which African states pledged to allocate 10% of their annual budgets to the agricultural sector. Kenya has not yet achieved this target. In 2008, the sector was receiving 4.5 % of the national budget.⁸

Land Use and Over-Reliance on Rain-Fed Agriculture

Only about 17% of Kenya consists of high and medium potential agricultural land that supports intensive crop and dairy production. The remaining 83% contains arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) that cannot support rain-fed agriculture. The performance of rain-fed agriculture varies due to diverse agro-climatic zones. Therefore increased agricultural production would have to come from intensification of land use in the high and medium potential lands.

Secure land tenure, sustainable land-use planning and equitable distribution of land contribute to food security and social-economic development of a country. However, Kenya lacks a clearly articulated land policy. This means that issues like land use, management, tenure reforms and environmental protection are inadequately addressed through the existing systems. Land is an important resource in agriculture; and lack of access to or ownership of land is considered a major cause of poverty.⁹

Failure of the existing land conservation policy, and the need for laws to generate environmentally sound land-use habits for sustainable development is a core concern for agriculture. So far the protection of property rights has been over emphasized, while there is an inadequate provision for the regulation of the rights in the interests of land-use and soil conservation.¹⁰

The national average rainfall is 400mm, and therefore the agricultural sector will need to conceptualize and develop irrigation schemes, soil and water conservation programmes, reclaim dry-lands and protect forests and river banks through harvesting and storage of adequate water for agriculture and other uses. Groundwater resources that can be exploited for agriculture need to be assessed and quantified. More land can be reclaimed for crop cultivation by developing irrigation infrastructure in the ASALs.

⁷ Patrick O. Alila and Rosemary Atieno, *Agricultural Policy in Kenya: Issues and Processes*, University of Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, 2006.

⁸ Republic of Kenya, *Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020*, 2010, p32.

⁹ United Nations Development Programme, 2002.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.10.

Limited Diversification of Agricultural Production

The narrow base of agricultural products, especially exports lead to high vulnerability of incomes to the international market trends. The sector is characterized by weak vertical integration, made worse by weak institutions and support services for agricultural exports.

Productivity levels for many crops are below potential. Some agricultural produce yield and value over a 5-year period have either remained constant or are declining. Similarly, the production level for most fish and livestock products is below potential. Forest cover and tree productivity have also declined, while population growth has led to increased human-wildlife conflict.

To enhance sustainable and competitive crop productivity, the sector needs to adopt the agricultural product value chain approach to address identified challenges. Emphasis should be placed on accessing productive resources, implementing relevant policies and promoting flagship projects. This should include promoting appropriate technology, participatory extension and research, strengthening stakeholder partnerships, commercializing crop enterprises and complying with food safety and quality regulations.¹¹

Markets and Agribusiness

Market access is vital to agricultural development. Related to this, issues along the entire value chain to enhance agricultural productivity should be addressed. Over the years, cooperatives have played a key role in marketing coffee, dairy products, pyrethrum, livestock, fish, handicrafts and honey. Out of 12,000 registered cooperatives, 49 % are in agribusiness, with over 4 million members. Similarly, the marketing of agricultural produce and products is done by the private sector either as formal marketing companies or as brokers. The export markets mainly deal with raw commodities. They have become stringent on issues of traceability, safety, sanitary and phyto-sanitary standards and maximum residue limits.

Vision 2030 requires proactive efforts to maintain existing markets and create new ones. This would increase Kenya's bargaining power in global agricultural markets. Kenya is a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). This multilateral trade system aims to expand markets through liberalizing global trade. The agriculture sector will be a key actor in multilateral and bilateral trade negotiations in order to expand and diversify agricultural products and markets. Regional markets, especially the COMESA block, are now the major destination for Kenya's exports.¹²

Value Addition

Value addition includes processing, branding, quality certification, accreditation, and farm-level quality improvements valued by the market. Major agricultural exports include industrial crops like tea, coffee and pyrethrum, and horticultural produce dominated by fruits, vegetables and flowers. These products have been exported in their raw form with little or no value added. This has caused their reduced competitiveness in the global market. In agriculture, value addition determines the competitiveness of the country's produce in world markets. However, Kenyan farmers export semi-processed, low-value produce, which accounts for 91% of total agriculture-related exports. The limited ability to add value to agricultural produce and high production costs make exports less competitive.

Some of the measures taken include provision of appropriate incentives for establishing agro-industries in rural areas; focused research on value addition regarding processing, storage and packing of agricultural produce; promotion of partnerships between smallholders and agribusiness; improvement of supportive infrastructure, e.g., rural access roads, rural electrification, water and telecommunications; and undertaking training for farmers and farmer institutions in value addition among others.

¹¹ Republic of Kenya, *Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020*, 2010.

¹² Ibid, 32.

Limited Development and Exploitation of the Livestock Sector

Despite its long-recognized potential, the livestock sector remains largely unexploited. Kenya's livestock sector contributes 10% to the GDP and about 42% of total agricultural output.¹³ It supplies the domestic requirements of meat, milk, dairy products and other livestock products, and accounts for about 30% of all marketed agricultural output.

Animals are a source of food, more specifically protein for human diets, income, employment and foreign exchange. Livestock also provide draught power, organic fertilizer for crop production and is a means of transportation. Livestock productivity is constrained by a number of factors including breeding, feeding and nutrition, and inadequate extension services. To improve livestock productivity, strategies should be developed and implemented to improve livestock breeds, improve feeds regulation, develop pastures and forage, and enhance research and extension services.

The livestock industry has a high degree of vertical links with upstream and down-stream industries. It is a significant user of products from feeds, drugs, vaccines and equipment manufacturing industries. It is also a major provider of raw materials for agro-processing industries. Therefore, any shock in the industry will affect its supply chain.¹⁴

Fisheries

Kenya has both natural fisheries resources in the Indian Ocean, the fresh inland water bodies and aquaculture. The national fish production stands at 170,000 metric tonnes valued at over Kshs 40 billion as follows:

- a. Inland waters at 70% valued at Kshs 20 billion.
- b. Marine waters at 6% valued at Kshs 2 billion.
- c. Aquaculture at 24% valued at Kshs 18 billion.

Kenya has not exploited its potential for some time. This is because of the inability to effectively monitor and effect compliance with

the rules governing off-shore territorial waters. The main challenge has been lack of equipment to undertake deep sea fishing, and the availability of more lucrative alternative sources of livelihood in inland fishing.

Currently, Kenya is addressing food security through value chains under the fisheries department in the following areas:

- a. Investment and promotion of aquaculture.
- b. Investment in deep sea fisheries development

Poor and Inadequate Rural Infrastructure

Poor infrastructure including poor rural roads, markets and transport systems that result in high transactions costs for farmers and inaccessibility to input and output markets are among the main concerns for the sector. The performance of the sector is affected right from production to domestic and international marketing. The productivity is constrained by inefficiencies in the supply chain resulting from limited storage capacity, lack of post-harvest services and poor access to input markets.

Agricultural Sector Financing and Related Activities

The lack of finance for agriculture limits increasing production and investment in its value addition activities. Inaccessibility to credit especially for small scale farmers and especially women has limited the range of activities, type of technology used and the scale of operations that farmers can adopt. Agricultural credit available to farmers has tended to diminish since independence.

After independence, the government set up the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC). Its mandate was to provide long-term credit to individuals and groups to purchase farms and to finance farm improvement, and seasonal credit for production. This and other organizations have been mismanaged and run down; they are no longer important sources of finance for agriculture. Indeed, a large number almost collapsed. Farmers currently get credit mainly

¹³ Republic of Kenya, *Agricultural Sector Policy*, 2002.

¹⁴ Republic of Kenya, *Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020*, 2010.

from cooperatives, NGOs and community-based lending institutions.

To broaden the lending base, the sector is advocating appropriate legislation to encourage commercial and microfinance institutions to extend credit to small-scale agricultural producers. In collaboration with other stakeholders, the subsector will also support mobilization of financial resources through SACCOs and other community based lending organizations to accelerate agricultural development.¹⁵ The high cost of agricultural inputs is being addressed through formulating and implementing farmer-friendly policies, promoting a rationalized input distribution system, competing within the supply chain, and providing information on the availability and cost of inputs.

Inadequate and Declining Research in Agriculture

Inadequate demand driven research, and ineffective extension and delivery systems of research findings has been another concern. The decline in government allocation to the sector has contributed to this continuing trend. The results include decline in other agricultural services like artificial insemination services, lack of good quality seed and planting materials for farmers.

The genesis of the problem is historical. During the first decade of independence, agricultural research emphasized major food and cash crops that led to major break-throughs in these commodities. These largely contributed to increased agricultural production. Similarly, agricultural research systems are comprised of public and private agricultural research institutions established under different legal and institutional frameworks.

Information generation and dissemination in all aspects of agriculture are necessary for the development of the industry. Essential aspects of information for agriculture should embrace the totality of the value chain from the farm to the market. Data and information on production systems and on the production resource base, on distribution systems and marketing channels, and on opportunities and constraints to accessing regional and global markets are essential to

the sustained development of a competitive agricultural industry.¹⁶

Post-Harvest Management and Reduction of Post-Harvest Losses

Kenya suffers from perennial post-harvest losses. These are caused by lack of pesticides, herbicides and chemicals to preserve harvested stocks, poor access to ready markets and access infrastructure in the rural areas. Lack of proper storage facilities with cooling systems further contributes to the losses. The lack of electricity in the rural areas contributes to the absence of food processing and value chain facilities. Fruits, vegetables, milk and other perishable farm products get spoiled before reaching the markets. Certain cultures do not allow eating of specific foodstuffs at particular periods in life.

Climate Change

Kenya periodically experiences prolonged droughts. In 2018, the country received very little rain during the short rains period. This resulted in crop failure in many areas affecting food security. Drought management agencies should respond in a timely way to ensure food distribution in the affected areas and assist farmers in recouping losses through the provision of farm inputs and restocking.

Cultural and Social Factors

In the traditional Kenyan homesteads, culture and social factors play an important role in the ability of individuals, households and communities to produce and access food. Commodities produced for local consumption or for commercial use may be influenced by cultural and social practices such as gender roles. Livestock-rustling is also a common cultural practice in the ASAL areas. These activities affect food security in the pastoral counties. The most affected counties are West Pokot, Turkana, Baringo, Samburu, Isiolo, Marsabit, Garissa, Wajir and Mandera and other frontier counties.

¹⁵ Ibid, p.33.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Gender

Women are considered to be the most vulnerable and food insecure. Gender disparities systematically disadvantage women in economic status and access to basic services.

Poverty

In Kenya, where 46% live below the poverty level and are vulnerable to food insecurity due to their very low purchasing power.

Dependency Syndrome/ Reliance on Food Handouts

Many Kenyans have greatly relied on foreign food aid. This includes school feeding programmes in regions, food for work, maternal and child care and supplementary feeding programmes especially during drought periods. This creates a tendency towards laziness and reduction in labour supply.

Agricultural Extension Officers

During their implementation the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) required the government to reduce the number of agricultural extension officers. The few officers devolved in the counties do not have sufficient resources to be able to assist farmers. This has impacted on food security since most of the farmers cannot access the services of these officers.

Principal Actors in Agriculture Farmers' Associations and Organizations

Farmers' unions and associations have emerged as principal actors. This is because they represent their members on the economic and political fronts, and are active in policy advocacy, capacity building programmes, and the dissemination of production and marketing information. Two of the four farmers' associations identified represent the two broad categories of farmers in Kenya: commercial and smallholder farmers. The other

two are based on a strategic alliance and specific farmer interests.

National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB)

The National Cereals and Produce Board is the custodian of the strategic grain reserve. It also provides subsidized farms inputs like seeds and fertilizers among others, and regulates and stabilizes the grain market and prices in the country.

Public Community Development and Agricultural Extension Service Providers

This category includes all conventional public agricultural and other rural development extension providers.

Public Research Organizations

This category comprises public agricultural research institutes/establishments e.g. KARLO which is the premier institution. These establishments are directly or indirectly involved in agricultural extension as a result of their mandates, the nature of their work at the grassroots level, and the conduct, transformation and evolution of research and extension models on crop and livestock production. They promote sound agricultural research, technology generation and dissemination to ensure food security through improved productivity and environmental conservation.

Donor-Supported Rural Development Programmes

Unlike many government-instituted rural development programmes, donor-initiated and supported rural development programmes have been highlighted as actors in agricultural and rural development processes. Stakeholders say that this is because such initiatives are usually well-defined vehicles of agricultural extension and other rural development information.

International and Private Research Centres

International and local private research centres are active players in the local agricultural extension system. As is the case with local public research establishments, these institutions are directly or indirectly involved in agricultural extension work; they need to achieve their objective, which is a wider adoption of developed technologies, owing to the nature of their work at the grassroots level and the transformation and evolution of research and extension approaches.

NGOs and Bilateral Donors

NGOs are also actors in rural development, and are known for being relatively well endowed with financial resources for their programmes, and for their great mobility and drive for bottom-up approaches. In some sectors, NGOs are associated with great strides in rural development. On the other hand, they have also been accused of promoting donor-dependency, and their rural development programmes have been criticized for lack of sustainability.

Private Agrochemical Input Suppliers

For virtually all of the private companies that supply agrochemical inputs, direct or indirect involvement in agricultural extension is part of a marketing strategy to increase farmers' awareness of products, achieve a competitive edge and increase market share. Sub-categories of these actors include seed houses, fertilizer manufacturers, pesticide and herbicide companies and credit institutions.

Commodity Processors and Exporters

This group of actors is on the periphery of agricultural extension providers, mainly because they are only partially involved in such efforts. Their involvement normally stems from the need to provide information about specific technical production aspects to the groups of farmers who produce on a contract basis. The same groups of farmers, commodity processors and exporters

have also been known to disseminate information on quality and other standards that make either processing easier or exports acceptable.

Ministries and Associated Training Institutions

The Agriculture Sector Department Strategy is being implemented through the ministry up to the grass root level in the counties. It has developed medium term programmes which are funded by the government. The Government of Kenya through the ministries deal with policies. The ministries that play an active role in food security include the following:

- a. Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development; the National Land Commission in the ministry manages all public land on behalf of the government and recommends land policies and issues land titles;
- b. Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries has a Dairy Training School in Naivasha;
- c. Ministry of Finance provides for budgetary and expenditure management of government finances;
- d. Ministry of Devolution and Planning is responsible for strategic and national policies and coordination of devolved affairs in the counties;
- e. Ministry of Water and Irrigation;
- f. Ministry of Health supports informed policy and research decisions through timely, accurate and comprehensive reporting;
- g. Ministry of Environment;
- h. Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing and Urban Development is in charge of strategic and national policies on infrastructure development and management.
- i. Ministry of Industry, Trade and Cooperatives.

Policies and Strategies in the Agricultural Sector

Agriculture is the backbone of the Kenyan economy. It is the single most important sector in the economy, contributing approximately

25% of the GDP, and employing 75% of the national labour force. Given its importance, the performance of the sector is therefore reflected in the performance of the whole economy. The development of agriculture is also important for poverty reduction since most of the vulnerable groups like pastoralists, the landless, and subsistence farmers, also depend on agriculture as their main source of livelihood. Growth in the sector is therefore expected to have a greater impact on a larger section of the population than any other sector.

Key Policy Issues

Agricultural policy in Kenya revolves around the main goals of increasing productivity and income growth, especially for smallholders; enhanced food security and equity, emphasis on irrigation to introduce stability in agricultural output, commercialization and intensification of production especially among small scale farmers, and appropriate and participatory policy formulation and environmental sustainability. The key policy concerns include:

Increasing Agricultural Productivity and Incomes for Small-Scale Farmers

Agricultural sector productivity has declined over the last two decades. This has far-reaching implications for employment, income inequality and food security. Low productivity, reflected in low yields per hectare of land, is a major cause of high unit production costs in Kenya's agriculture. One reason for such low productivity levels is that many farmers cannot afford readily available, modern farming technologies. Poor institutions, marketing and storage facilities reduce incentives to produce. High transport costs arising from dilapidated roads, and improper handling and wastage of crops also contribute to the malaise.

Enhancing Food Security and Achievement of SDGs

Agricultural production in Kenya is largely rain-fed and vulnerable to weather-related fluctuations. Droughts and floods have increased

in frequency and intensity in the past three decades, leading to high crop failure and livestock deaths. Over-reliance on rain-fed agriculture is one of the major causes of food insecurity. Less than 7% of Kenya's cropped land is irrigated, while as much as 83% of land is arid or semi-arid and classified as 'low potential'. Increasing the irrigated area could stabilize agricultural output and reduce dependence on rain-fed systems.¹⁷

Commercialization and Intensification of Production of Small Scale Farmers

Kenya's narrow base of agricultural products and exports makes incomes increasingly vulnerable to international market trends. Limited diversification and low value-added in agricultural exports are the main culprits. The sector is weakly vertically integrated, made worse by ineffectual institutions and support services for agricultural exports. A handful of commodities (coffee, tea, dairy, maize, wheat, beef, and horticulture) provide livelihoods for over 85% of the population, while coffee and tea alone provide 45% of wage employment in agriculture.

Diversification into Non-Traditional Agricultural Commodities

This could increase and stabilize agricultural output, productivity and incomes, check famine and improve food security. Kenya's agriculture would also benefit from exploiting the potential in agro-processing, regional markets and encouraging private-sector-led development of the sector. But constraints to commercialization, diversification and investment in agriculture need to be addressed. These include: inadequate and declining research in agriculture; ineffective extension and delivery systems for research and lack of finance to the agricultural sector and related activities. Lack of access to credit, especially for small-scale farmers and women, limits the range of activities, types of technology and scale of operations that farmers can adopt.

¹⁷ Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, *Strategic Plan 2013 - 2017* (Revised 2015).

Appropriate and Participatory Policy Formulation and Environmental Sustainability

Pressures on land and increasing rural poverty have led increasingly to agricultural practices that conflict with the environment. They have also led to constraints to women's resource access including limited access to improved inputs, extension, marketing facilities and financial services. These limit their productivity. There is also inequality, increased disparities in opportunities and incomes between agriculture and rural areas on the one hand and non-agricultural urban areas on the other.

Emphasis on Irrigation to Reduce Reliance on Rain-Fed Agriculture

Kenya is classified as one of the water-deficient countries in the world. Water resources are unevenly distributed in space and time: about 56 % of all the country's water resources are in the Lake Victoria basin. Even in the basins, with the exception of the highlands, water availability is scarce. Consequently, the country's irrigation-based farming is still limited. Irrigation agriculture in Kenya is carried out mainly in irrigation schemes and in large-scale irrigation of crops such as rice and coffee. Individual farmers have developed their own systems of irrigation especially for export crops such as coffee and horticulture. Large commercial farms account for 40% of irrigated land, smallholder farmers 42% and government-managed schemes 18%.

Recent Strategies and Policies

Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation

On assuming power in 2003, the NARC government made reviving the economy its top priority. Since the previous government had been in power for 24 years, the new one had

overwhelming public and international support. It expeditiously developed a new strategy and policies that abandoned the policy on poverty reduction and adopted economic recovery. The ERS, the blueprint for setting the country back on the growth path, was launched in 2003. It emphasized economic growth, and the creation of wealth and employment as means of eradicating poverty and achieving food security. This was a major shift from the previous focus on poverty reduction and food security. The strategy identified agriculture as the leading productive sector for economic recovery. In addition, it recognized that the revival of agricultural institutions and investment in agricultural research and extension were critical and essential for sustainable economic growth. Thus, the ERS was the launching pad for revitalizing the agricultural sector.

Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA)

The Government developed and launched the SRA in March 2004 as a response to the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS). The strategy set out the vision of the government as being to transform Kenya's agriculture into a profitable, commercially-oriented and internationally and regionally competitive economic activity, providing high-quality, gainful-employment for Kenyans. This was to be achieved within the framework of improved agricultural productivity and farm incomes, while conserving the land resource base and the environment. The government's vision pointed to a paradigm shift from subsistence agriculture to agriculture as a business that is profitable and commercially oriented.

The SRA also gave policy direction and actions that needed to be taken in each agricultural subsector to achieve its vision. It also set out to increase the real output of the agricultural sector growth at an average of 3.1% during 2003-2007, to 5% by 2007.¹⁸ The development of the sector was considered to be a top priority for reducing poverty because it is the most important economic activity that the poor in the rural areas rely on for livelihood. The SRA was therefore required to contribute significantly to the ERS targets by

¹⁸ *Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020.*

reducing the proportion of the population below the basic poverty line from 56% in 2000 to 26% by 2010 and the number of people who are food-cum-poverty stricken from 48.4% to 23.5% in 2008 and below 10% in 2015. These targets are broad and require more than the agricultural sector to be achieved. Within the sector, the SRA identified the following six interventions to be fast tracked:

- a. Review and harmonize the legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks;
- b. Restructure and privatize core functions of parastatals and sector ministries;
- c. Improve the delivery of research, extension and advisory services;
- d. Improve access to quality inputs and financial services;
- e. Improve access to both domestic and external markets; and
- f. Formulate food security policies and programmes.

The following milestones were achieved while implementing the SRA:

a. Establishing the Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit (ASCU)

Although the establishment of ASCU was well articulated in the SRA, it took time to be implemented and accepted by the sector ministries. It was not until 2006 that the unit was fully established and staffed. Recruitment of key staff, which comprised seconded staff, went on until 2008. The unit is now well established and playing a key role in coordinating issues that cut across ministries. It also serves as a one-stop shop for the entire agricultural sector.

b. Reviving Agricultural Institutions.

One of the pledges of the government was to revive all public institutions that provide services to citizens. Within the agricultural sector, this has been a success story. Institutions that were on the verge of collapse and have since been revived are the Kenya Meat Commission (KMC), the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC), the Kenya Seed Company, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), and the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC). Institutions that were considered moribund and dysfunctional, such

as research and extension services with their sub-centres, training centres and tractor hire are now vibrant and providing services to farmers. Institutions that were running on losses like sugar factories have been revived and are registering profits.

c. Increasing Agricultural Productivity

Despite the vagaries of the weather, the impact of climate change and external factors such as the high cost of inputs, crop yields on smallholder farms have increased significantly over the last 5 years. For example, the average yield of maize has increased from 1.5 to 3 tonnes per hectare. This is attributed to better technology transfer and extension services. Furthermore, the yield for medium and large-scale farmers has increased by a higher margin due to use of high-yielding varieties and better agronomic practices.

d. Developing Policies and Legislation

Developing policies and drawing up legislation has been hampered by lack of capacity and a protracted process. In the last 5 years, over 15 policies and 6 pieces of legislation have been developed and are being implemented. Among these are the Seed Policy, the Food Security and Nutrition Policy, National Dairy Development Policy, the National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy, the Cotton Act 2006, and the Cooperatives Policy. This success is attributed to restructuring ministries by creating directorates and units that coordinate policy development thus increasing agricultural growth. The SRA set the target for agricultural growth at an average of 3.1% by 2003, to reach 5% by 2007. This target was achieved where the growth reached an average of 5.2% in 2007 with the highest being 6.2% in 2006. This growth path was interrupted in 2008 by external factors. However, the sector has great potential to return to its previous growth path.

e. Reducing Food Insecurity and Poverty

The ERS had set a target of reducing food insecurity by 23.5 % by 2008 and poverty by 26% by 2010. By 2007 food insecurity had been reduced by 12 % from 48.5 to 36.5 %, while poverty had been reduced by 10% from 56 to 46%. However, this reduction was interrupted by

external factors in 2008. Nevertheless, indications are that the food insecurity and poverty reduction trends will be resumed. Over the last 5 years and in the course of implementing the SRA, several lessons were learned that will be useful in implementing the ASDS. One of the key lessons learned is the importance of sector coordination and a sector-wide approach to planning and implementation. Since the agricultural sector has been split into several ministries, the only way to avoid duplicating efforts and to create synergy among government ministries is through better coordination. The establishment of ASCU is an endeavour towards achieving these objectives.

Another important lesson learned during this period is the role of the private sector in the agricultural sector. While more support and investment are required from the public sector for it to grow, much of the work-production, processing, marketing, value addition and financing is done by the private sector. Subsectors where the government has little involvement such as horticulture are resilient to external shocks and are growing rapidly. Likewise, subsectors that are liberalized perform better generally than those that are not. However, when liberalization is carried out where there is no critical mass and enough capacity for the private sector to grow, producers are exploited and these subsectors run the risk of collapsing. In promoting agriculture as a commercial business, it has emerged that marketing and associated infrastructure is critical. Cooperative societies that deal with marketing of farmers produce need to be revived and made efficient and effective. Other marketing infrastructure, like wholesale and retail markets, need to be established across the country.

Kenya Vision 2030

The ERS was a 5-year plan that was to expire in the financial year 2007/08. In early 2007 the government started developing a new strategy to take over from the ERS. In June 2008, Kenya Vision 2030 was launched as the new long-term development blueprint for the country. The vision of this strategy is a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030. It aims to transform Kenya into 'a newly industrializing, middle-income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens

in a clean and secure environment'. The vision is anchored on the following three pillars:

- a. **Economic pillar** aims to achieve an economic growth rate of 10 % per annum and sustain the same till 2030 to generate more resources to address the SDGs. This pillar includes flagship projects;
- b. **Social pillar** aims to create just, cohesive and equitable social development in a clean and secure environment;
- c. **Political pillar** aims to realize an issues-based, people-centered, results-oriented and accountable democratic system.

Vision 2030 identifies agriculture as one of the key sectors to deliver the 10% annual economic growth rate envisaged under the economic pillar. To achieve this growth, transforming smallholder agriculture from subsistence to an innovative, commercially oriented and modern agricultural sector is critical. This transformation will be accomplished through:

- a. Transforming key institutions in agriculture, livestock, forestry and wildlife to promote agricultural growth;
- b. Increasing productivity of crops, livestock and tree cover;
- c. Introducing land-use policies for better use of high- and medium-potential lands;
- d. Developing more irrigable areas in arid and semi-arid lands for both crops and livestock;
- e. Improving market access for smallholders through better supply chain management; and
- f. Adding value to farm, livestock and forestry products before they reach local, regional and international markets.

Challenges of the Agricultural Sector

Vision 2030 identifies four major challenges that continue to face the agricultural sector as follows:

a. Productivity

Productivity levels for many crops are below potential and for some agricultural produce yield and value over a 5-year period have either remained constant or are on the decline. Similarly, the production level for most fish and livestock products is below potential. Forest cover and tree productivity have been on the decline while population growth has led to increased human-wildlife conflict;

b. Land Use

Land in the high- and medium-potential areas and in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) remains under-exploited for agricultural production. Much of the available cropland remains under-used with smallholders using only 60% of their land for agricultural production.

c. Markets

The productivity of the agricultural sector is constrained by inefficiencies in the supply chain resulting from limited storage capacity, lack of post-harvest services and poor access to input markets. Vision 2030 calls for proactive efforts to maintain existing markets and create new ones to increase Kenya's bargaining power in global agricultural markets.

d. Value Addition

In agriculture, value addition determines the competitiveness of the country's produce in world markets. However, Kenyan farmers export semi-processed, low-value produce, which accounts for 91% of total agriculture-related exports. The limited ability to add value to agricultural produce coupled with high production costs make exports less competitive.

Lessons Learnt

Agriculture has a big potential to reduce poverty. While the policies which have been adopted since independence recognize the importance of agriculture in national development, they have tended to focus on high potential areas while neglecting ASALs. In particular, the harnessing of agricultural potential in these areas has been lacking and water harvesting has tended to focus on providing water mainly for domestic and livestock uses. In addition, there has been a tendency not to implement the policies and strategies in agriculture as contained in Sessional Papers and Development Plans. This has led to the country moving from food sufficiency to being a net importer of food. Furthermore, the reduction in the provision of extension services has led to reduction in productivity as livestock keepers and farmers are left to their own devices.

The reliance on rain-fed agriculture has also exposed farmers to the vagaries of weather which has led to losses every time there are droughts and floods. Furthermore, the country has tended to rely on exports of raw agricultural products, which are subject to variability in international prices. In this regard, value addition in agriculture has the potential of increasing revenue by increasing the value of products and reducing post-harvest losses. Irrigation can also increase the amount of land available for agriculture given that the high potential areas are overstretched.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Kenya's economy remains heavily dependent on the agriculture sector which is its mainstay. The sector accounts for 60% of total employment, with majority who live in rural areas deriving their livelihood from agricultural related activities. Due to this, the government has continued to give agriculture a high priority as an important tool for promoting national development. The achievement of national food security is a key objective of the agriculture sector. Food security ensures that all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food, which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Official estimates indicate that about

10 million people are food insecure with the majority of them relying on food relief. Food security is therefore not just a supply issue but also a function of income and purchasing power.

One of the major concerns facing policy makers and those with interests in the agricultural sector is the declining performance of the sector in terms of growth. The performance has slackened dramatically since post-independence years and this decline implies lower levels of employment, incomes and a threat to food security for a vast majority of poor Kenyans. This has been a result of various factors most of which revolve around insufficient budgetary allocation and lack of implementation of agricultural sector policies.

To strengthen services in the agricultural sector, government has rationalized the regulatory bodies to achieve economies of scale, improve efficiency, quality and synergies while minimizing overlaps and duplication. Laws that relate to delivery of plant protection services have been reviewed and their enforcement enhanced. The government needs to consider other means of production as opposed to relying on rain-fed agriculture to produce the desired food crops as most of the farming is done in semi-arid areas whose rainfall is never adequate.

The government will also address the issue of land, which is an important resource in Kenya. Lack of access or ownership is considered as one of the major causes of poverty. The genesis is the failure by the existing land conservation policy and the need to have attendant laws, to generate environmentally sound land use habits for sustainable development is a relevant concern for agriculture.

To enhance sustainable and competitive crop productivity, the sector will adopt the agricultural product value chain approach to address identified challenges. Emphasis will be placed on accessing productive resources, implementing relevant policies and promoting flagship projects. This will include promoting appropriate technology, participatory extension and research, strengthening stakeholders' partnership, commercializing crop enterprises and complying with food safety and quality regulations. The agriculture sector will be key player in multilateral and bilateral trade negotiations with the objectives of expanding and diversifying agricultural products and markets.

Food security is basic to the survival of a nation and should be given top priority since no meaningful development in economic, social or cultural spheres is possible without food security. In order to ensure food security and sustainable agriculture, the following recommendations are made:

a. Increase Funding Allocations to the Agricultural Sector

The government should allocate sufficient resources to the agricultural sector to fund research, farmers' credit, subsidies to farm inputs among others. This will ensure that national food security is achieved through production of basic commodities and the generation of foreign exchange. It is recommended that agriculture should be allocated 10% of GDP as per the Maputo Declaration.

b. Land Reforms

The National Land Commission should undertake land reforms and ensure optimum land use. This could be done through taxation of idle land and limiting the maximum land holding per individual.

c. Address Land Fragmentation

The government should limit land fragmentation to uneconomic agricultural units through enforcement of the Land Control Act and anchoring the minimum size of land into law.

d. Increase Water Harvesting for Irrigation

Counties should enhance water harvesting by construction of dams/pans for storage in arid and semi-arid regions. The abstraction of underground water sources can also be exploited and used for irrigation. There is also need to adopt modern irrigation methods for efficient water utilization.

e. Increase Productivity by Enhancing Yield per Unit of Input

Research on drought resistant crops should be enhanced including matching of crops to ecological and soil conditions. There is also need for mechanization of agriculture and effective application of fertilizers and other inputs to reduce costs in production.

f. Reduce Storage and Post-Harvest Handling Losses

There is a need to reduce post-harvest losses through advice to farmers and investment in storage facilities at farm and household levels. There is also a need for value addition to increase shelf life of produce.

g. Provide Accurate Weather Prediction and Rainfall Patterns

There is a need to provide farmers with timely and accurate data on the rainfall patterns to enable them plant the right crops at the right time at the right place.

h. Encourage Value Addition of Agricultural Products

Value addition should be enhanced along the food chain to increase revenues generated from the products and to negotiate favourable agreements at international level on finished products.

i. Reduce Wastage

The government should eliminate corruption and reduce wastage in government support programmes in the agricultural sector. Feasibility studies and research should be undertaken before programmes are implemented to ensure proper targeting and avoidance of wastage.

j. Fisheries

The government needs to invest in the underutilized 200 nautical mile EEZ by empowering fisheries communities with better equipment and boats, empower inland fish farming through extension of financial facilities and improve research for fast growing and disease

resistant breeds for aquaculture.

k. Improve Food Accessibility and Availability

There is a need to improve food accessibility and availability through efficient distribution networks (good infrastructure) so as to match areas with surplus with those with deficits. This will ensure price stability and avoid unnecessary imports which in most cases distort prices.

l. Expand National Strategic Food Reserves

There is a need to expand the range of staple food products stored under the strategic food reserves (maize, beans, wheat) by including food items that are normally utilized by the communities that are vulnerable to droughts. This should include milk, fish and beef products.

m. Improve Livestock Management and Marketing

Livestock keepers especially in ASALs should be encouraged to adopt a business model in livestock management and do away with traditional models (sell their animals when they are at their best). The national and county governments should collaborate and create disease free-zones and also open abattoirs in ASALs.

n. Improvement of Extension Services

There is a need to improve crop and animal husbandry through research and improved extension services. More extension officers should be employed and resourced to extent coverage and increase reach to farmers.

o. Reduce Food Aid Dependency

In the long term, the government should put in place measures to reduce food aid dependency. The affected communities should be facilitated and empowered to engage in economic activities to be self-sufficient in food.

p. Young Farmers

The government should develop incentives to attract the youth into agricultural activities. The youth can be encouraged to be involved in the various stages of the agricultural value-chain.

q. Decentralization of industries

The Government should decentralize agro-industries to all regions of the country. This will facilitate the industries to process the raw materials produced in those regions.

r. Address Corruption

Many government enterprises have been mismanaged due to corrupt practices leading to closure of some of the factories and Cooperative Unions thus demoralizing the farmers. Most prevalent corrupt practices include the sale of uncertified seeds and fertilizers.

s. Agricultural Financing

The government should facilitate access to affordable credit facilities to needy farmers by transforming AFC into a bank so as to provide loans to farmers.

t. Insurance for Crops, Livestock and Fish Farming

This will cater for the risks involved due to diseases, weather changes, disasters among others.

u. Mechanization

The government should encourage small scale farmers to mechanize thus reduce costs of production and increase food productivity.

v. Introduction of Fast-Maturing Crops

Fast maturing varieties of crops like yellow maize that require little rain and mature early should be introduced to farmers.

Poverty Alleviation in Kenya: Suggested Solutions

Executive Summary

Poverty in Africa is caused by a number of factors. The leading causes of poverty are poor governance, corruption, limited employment opportunities, poor infrastructure, poor resource usage, wars and conflicts. Forty six percent of Kenya's population lives below the poverty line. Access to basic services such as healthcare, basic education, clean water and sanitation is often a luxury. Large segments of the population, including the urban poor, are highly vulnerable to climatic, economic and social problems. As such, progress on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially in regards to social security, is mixed. The government has identified remedial actions, policies, programmes and projects to deliver accelerated and inclusive economic growth, higher living standards, education, health care, increased job creation especially for youth, commercialized agriculture providing higher rural incomes and affordable food, improved manufacturing sector and more diversified exports. All this is necessary in order to address the acute challenges of poverty.

“Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. It is the protection of a fundamental human right, the right to dignity and a decent life. While poverty persists, there is no true freedom.”

Nelson Mandela
Former President, Republic of South Africa

Introduction

Poverty in its general sense is the lack of basic necessities. In this sense it remains a problem in Kenya today. The Kenya government defines poverty as the inability to meet basic needs and rights, and lack of access to productive assets, social infrastructure and markets. It is associated with features like unemployment, lack of housing and land, inability to feed oneself, poor health and the inability to educate children and pay medical bills.¹ In 2006, the poor in Kenya constituted 46% of the total population which means that at least one in every two Kenyans was poor.²

Efforts to address poverty in Kenya can be traced from independence. Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965 detailed the government's commitment to alleviate poverty, ignorance and disease. This policy has been propagated through strategic plans, sessional papers, development plans and other policy documents. The early efforts on poverty reduction included land resettlement programmes, the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy and the social dimensions of development programmes.

While poverty remains a major national

¹ Republic of Kenya, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for the Period 2001-2004*, Nairobi, Ministry of Finance and Planning.

² Republic of Kenya, *Vision 2030*. p4.

problem, initiatives to alleviate it have been unsuccessful. More and more Kenyans, the majority of them in the rural areas, live below the poverty line. In September 2000, the United Nations (UN) adopted eight Millennium Development Goals which included the reduction of extreme poverty by 2015 through a series of time-bound targets. The goals required member states to tackle poverty, hunger, HIV/AIDS, and to improve maternal and child health, education, gender equality, institutional partnership and environmental sustainability.³

Poverty profiling in Kenya can be traced to 1992, where the number of poor people in Kenya was estimated at 11.3 million (44.8% of the total population). It rose to 13.4 million (52.3%) in 1997 and further to 17 million (56%) in 2000 before declining slightly to 46% in 2005/6. Poverty levels have remained high to date. In 2001, out of 17.2% poor Kenyans, 14 million (82%) lived in the rural areas while 3 million (18 %) lived in urban slums.⁴

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to highlight poverty alleviation in Kenya and suggest solutions. Its objectives are to understand the causes of poverty in Kenya, examine the causes of slow-down or stagnation of its economic growth, identify remedial actions for both, and to propose a poverty alleviation strategy for the country.

The study will identify the factors contributing to and worsening the poverty situation in Kenya, inspect governance and policy implementation to date, analyse the socio-political and security dimension of poverty, the conditions for development and poverty alleviation. The study will ultimately assess current and proposed policies on poverty alleviation, and offer some recommendations for alleviating poverty in Kenya.

Statement of the Study Problem

Poverty levels remain high in Kenya. The most recent data suggests that roughly 46% of the population live on less than US \$1.25 a day and more than 65% on less than US \$2.⁵ The country did not meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of reducing extreme poverty by half by 2015. Poverty is manifested by hunger, illiteracy, lack of shelter and failure to access essential social services like health, education, water and sanitation. Despite the government's initiatives to alleviate poverty, it remains a major challenge. This is because the strategies proposed have not been implemented by the relevant stakeholders.

At independence in 1963, disease, ignorance and poverty were identified as the greatest problems facing the country. The government formulated various initiatives to alleviate the problem of poverty. These included Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of 2000, Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSWEC) of 2003 and Vision 2030. This study will investigate why, with these initiatives formulated, the problem of poverty still persists in the country.

Research Methodology

The study relies on both primary and secondary data. The primary data includes government records, policies and strategies. The secondary data includes books, journals, periodicals, and conference papers.

Theoretical Framework

The human development theory postulated by Amartya Sen broadened the understanding of poverty and development. The theory emphasizes poverty reduction. It challenges the commodity based approach to poverty that champions human capital and the concept of human needs. It also discards the idea of measurement of poverty based on income levels. Sen's theory combines philosophy and economics and is the

³ United nations General Assembly Resolution, 55/2 of 8 September 2000.

⁴ *Report of the Poverty Eradication Commission*, November 2009, p3.

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/datablog/2013/dec/12/kenya-how-changed-independence-data> accessed on 25 October 2016.

principal alternative to earlier economics based frameworks.⁶

In the human development theory, poverty is broadly understood to mean the deprivation of the capacity to achieve minimum social functioning, and to live an individually valued life. The theory revolves around the United Nations Human Development Index. It was conceived specifically for developing countries. It argues that those directly affected by poverty should be part of the development process, and directly participate in poverty alleviating activities and approaches, rather than being mere beneficiaries.

Sen addresses the limited scope and shortcomings of earlier economic interpretations of poverty by incorporating other elements instead of simply relying on consumption levels and average incomes. In his view strategies like the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) pursued by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) in the 1980s did not address poverty since they were mainly based on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These policies devastated the very people they were intended to help. They also led to widening inequalities and eventually weakened social fabrics. This in turn led to increases in crime and other problems in society.

Other scholars also questioned the monetarist conception of poverty. However Sen's interdisciplinary approach was the first people-centered theoretical framework used by the UNDP to enhance the contextual understanding of poverty from a human freedom perspective. *UN Human Development Reports*, suggest that this perspective has broadened understanding of development. It does not measure poverty only on the basis of income. It includes other factors like life expectancy, literacy and command over resources to enjoy a life that the individual values, and other dimensions of human choices.⁷

While the theory takes on board earlier poverty measurements of income and consumption, it introduces other aspects like capability deprivation. This gives the understanding of poverty more depth and width. The capabilities

framework also creates a multi dimensional approach to study and understanding of poverty. Its premise that gaining material needs can best be achieved through addressing social, political and economic considerations permits a multifaceted evaluation of poverty. It takes into account handicaps like age and social exclusion that impede a person from realizing functional capabilities.

Besides this, the human development framework supports a participatory approach where the poor offer their own perspectives to poverty and the interpretation of their well being. Thus policy makers should include their input in generating information that reflects the individuals' capabilities, and the values they ascribe to them. Hence, the formulation of poverty reduction policies and strategies is underpinned by the involvement of target populations in shaping the development strategies that affect them. Ultimately academics and policy makers use the human development theory in evaluating, understanding and measuring poverty in the development sector. This approach has highlighted the cost of poverty in the international development agenda; and it now informs universal policies on poverty reduction.

Factors Contributing to Poverty in Kenya

There are various factors responsible for causing poverty in Kenya. Moderate economic growth is one such. It arises because of the declining productivity in key sectors like agriculture. Kenya's growth is projected to rise to 5.9% in 2016 and 6.1% in 2017.⁸ Also the rapid population growth rate of 2.64% as at 2014 contributed to competition over scarce resources.⁹

Weak land policies have led to poor land use that has resulted in less productivity. In some instances, land is subdivided into economically unviable parcels negatively affecting agricultural production. Unequal distribution of land has resulted in many Kenyans living as squatters under very poor conditions.¹⁰

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_development_theory accessed on 24 October 2016.

⁷ William H Draper, *Human Development Report for UNDP*, (1990), Oxford University Press.

⁸ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/kenya/overview> accessed on 3 November 2016.

⁹ World Bank Estimates for 2014.

¹⁰ P M Syanga, 'Land Ownership and Use in Kenya: Policy Prescriptions from an Inequality Perspective' Volume I, Society for Regional development Office for Eastern Africa, (2006) p 291.

Political instability in Kenya has also led to poverty. The country has generally maintained political stability since independence. However the Post-Election Violence (PEV) of 2007-2008 arising from disputed presidential elections led to the displacement of productive population and disrupted the country's social fabric.

Corruption in Kenya has permeated all sectors of the economy. Its effect has been to deprive the country of opportunities for growth. Many Kenyans cannot escape poverty when public money is misappropriated.

Climate change has had a negative impact on agriculture which relies on rain-fed production. Unpredictable weather patterns, insufficient or total failure of rains cause severe losses of investment to both peasant and large scale farmers.

The state of insecurity in the country has also contributed to poverty. In particular, terrorism has negatively affected foreign income earnings from tourism. Travel advisories by major tourist countries to their citizens against travel to the country due to terrorism have had negative effects on the economy.

Alcohol and drug abuse has also been a factor. People resort to drug abuse and alcoholism because of frustrations and lack of employment opportunities. This reduces productivity and contributes to poverty.

Causes of Unsustainable Growth

Like most developing economies in Africa, Kenya suffers from the persistent lack of economic growth. There are various explanations for this. Firstly persistent domestic borrowing to fund the ever-increasing list of priority investments has a crowding effect on domestic businesses and investments. Secondly, unreliable and expensive sources of power lead to losses in investments and reduce confidence in the business community. This always leads to less new domestic and foreign direct investments and sometimes to the relocation of existing ones to other countries.

There is further the problem of infrastructure. There is especially poor infrastructure from

production centres to consumption and export points. This leads to high costs; and ultimately goods become less attractive to consumers because of their high prices. At the same time, corruption leads to inefficiency, high cost of doing business and lack of capacity to attract domestic foreign investments.

There are also endemic problems associated with tax collection. Inefficiencies in tax collection and tax evasion deny the government much-needed revenue. Internationally, unfavorable international trade practices continue to reverse gains by developing countries, including Kenya. Also the high cost of land in Kenya increases the cost of developing infrastructure for setting up business. Finally there are the continuing problems of the lack of proper prioritization and inconsistencies in policy implementation.

Governance and Policy Implementation

Governance entails the process of decision-making and the methods by which decisions are, or fail to be implemented.¹¹ Bad governance is regarded as one of the root causes of poverty in society. Major donors and international financial institutions have increasingly insisted on preconditions of good governance for availing their aid and accessing loans.

The human development framework suggests an alternative approach. It champions a participatory approach that allows the poor to suggest their own approaches to poverty, and to the interpretation of their well being. The views of minorities are hence taken into account; and the voices of the most vulnerable in society are considered in decision-making. The framework is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.¹²

According to United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), good governance has eight (8) major characteristics. Participation by all is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. Representative democracy does not necessarily

¹¹ United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). *What is Good Governance?* <http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf>. Accessed on 21 October 2016.

¹² Ibid.

mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society are taken into consideration in decision-making. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other.

The rule of law is a major component of good governance. Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also calls for the full protection of human rights of minorities. The requirement of transparency also promotes good governance. Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement follow rules and regulations. At the same time, information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement.

Responsiveness is another major characteristic of good governance. Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.

Figure 1: Characteristics of good governance



Source: UNESCAP

Good governance further requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad social consensus about what is in the best interest of the whole community and how it can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. A society's well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This goes to the heart of equity and inclusiveness. It requires that all groups particularly the most vulnerable, have

opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

Efficiency and effectiveness are another pillar of good governance. This means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of available resources. Finally, accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Governmental institutions and also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. In general, an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions.

Clearly good governance is an aspiration that is difficult to achieve. Very few countries and societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable human development, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal, and aspire to make it a reality.

Kenya adopted a new Constitution in 2010. With this Constitution came an expansive Bill of Rights addressing inequalities encountered by different groups specifically the minorities and those previously marginalized.¹³ Many Kenyans have pinned their hopes on devolution to realize the dreams that were over the decades frustrated by the skewed appropriation of resources.

Fiscal Management of Kenya's Economy and Budget Deficits

Fiscal management is the process of keeping the organization running efficiently within its allocated budget. Its goal is to improve the way government operates through proper planning, recording and performing procedures related to the budget.¹⁴ The government budget is an itemized accounting of the payments received by government (taxes and other fees) and the payments made by government (purchases and transfer payments).

A budget deficit occurs when a government's expenditure is more than the revenue generated. Kenya runs a deficit national budget. It therefore has to rely on donor aid and domestic borrowing to finance the budget and balance of payments

¹³ Peter M. Wanyama. *The Status of Devolution in Kenya*. 14 November, 2014. <https://bigambo.wordpress.com/2014/11/14/the-status-of-devolution-in-kenya-2014/> accessed on 24 October 2016.

¹⁴ <http://www.wisegeek.org> accessed on 24 October 2016.

deficit. This has implications for its poverty alleviation efforts. It recorded a budget deficit of 8.1 % of the country's GDP in 2015. The government nevertheless commenced huge projects such as the modern standard gauge railway (SGR), new roads and electricity plants that increased the budget deficit.

During the 2016-17 budget statement, Kenya set a budget deficit equivalent to 9.3 % of its GDP for the fiscal year starting in July. However, the actual level is likely to be lower due to slower spending. Typically, Kenya forecasts a high deficit but fails to spend as much as predicted. According to the Treasury, the actual budget deficit would likely be 6.9%. The original forecast deficit for fiscal year 2015/16 was 8.7 % of GDP but it was expected to be at 7.9 %. Kenya funds a considerable part of its national budget from export earnings and taxation. However, the realization of Kenya's budgetary goals is further hampered by inefficiencies in tax revenue collection.¹⁵

Generally, government debt as a percentage of GDP is used by investors to measure a country's ability to make future payments on its debt. This affects the country's borrowing costs and government bond yield. A low debt-to-GDP ratio indicates that an economy is producing a large number of goods and services that bring in enough profit to pay back debts. Kenya's debt spiral began in 2013, when parliament raised the debt ceiling from KShs. 800 billion to KShs. 1.2 trillion and a year later pushed it to KShs. 2.5 trillion. This set the current trend that analysts consider unsustainable. The perception of current and potential investors on this is quite critical because it has a direct bearing on current and future Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Kenya.

Kenya requires at least KShs. 6 trillion to fund its mega projects, including the KShs 327 billion standard gauge railway,¹⁶ the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport (LAPSET) project, the generation of 5,000 MW of power, the Galana Irrigation Scheme, the crude oil pipeline from Turkana to Lamu, modernization of the port of Mombasa to serve efficiently the landlocked east

and central African region, expansion of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport to serve as a regional air transport hub, and the construction of the Ethiopian power interconnectivity line among others.

Apart from the direct productive activities and the need for these social overheads, the country needs to protect its citizens and their economic activities from the ever-increasing threats of terrorism. The country is required to increase spending on security after the spate of terrorist attacks that had a negative effect on tourism, one of Kenya's leading earner of foreign exchange. This means the country's debt levels may remain high for some time.

Excluding expenditures related to the SGR, the deficit declined from 6.3 % of GDP in 2015/16 to 4.1 % of GDP over the medium term. The SGR project was launched in late 2013 and is expected to be completed by 2020. It will stretch from Kenya's main port city of Mombasa through Nairobi to the landlocked Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia and South Sudan. It is aimed at boosting integration across East Africa by reducing transport costs, bringing down the cost of doing business and improving living standards.¹⁷

One of the fiscal measures of the treasury is to ensure that state borrowing does not crowd out private business. The government would rely heavily on external concessional financing that would tap international markets more as it did with its 2014 Eurobond which was oversubscribed. Focus will also be inclusive of export credit agencies and syndicated loans. The National Assembly passed the Banking (Amendment) Bill, 2015 capping interest rates charges. All the Commercial Banks in Kenya announced a reduction in loan interest rates to the 14.5 % specified by the Banking (Amendment) Act.¹⁸

¹⁵ <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000200644/kenya-sets-2016-17-budget-deficit-at-9-3-percent> accessed on 27 October 2016.

¹⁶ National Treasury, *Transformation for Shared Economic Growth*, Issue No 009, (Feb-Apr 2015).

¹⁷ <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-debt-burden-worrying-says-IMF/1056-3216272-hguqs6z/index.html> accessed on 30 October 2016.

¹⁸ <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business> <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business> accessed on 20 October 2016.

Inefficiency in Revenue Collection

Revenue collection is crucial for the country. The mandate of the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) is to enforce the tax laws in a balanced manner, such that all the taxes are collected across the range of tax-payers. For example, with regard to the untaxed informal sector which form 81.1%, the KRA tax collection framework should involve members of this group to come up with a framework that collectively makes it part of the tax revenue bracket. Corruption by KRA officials leads to enormous losses either through non-payments or illegal waivers by officials. In certain situations, some individuals fail to disclose their earnings particularly from rents and family businesses.

The other challenge is the informal sector in Kenya that is not in the tax net and yet it contributes to raising the government's revenue. There is also the of or poor awareness of the tax laws, transfer by multi-national corporations, e-commerce taxation, non-compliance with value added tax (VAT) payments, and poor performance in collecting import and other taxes.¹⁹

Donor Aid Dependency

Aid dependency means over reliance on aid from development partners and institutions like the IMF, WB, UNDP and others to offer basic services. Dependency relates not only to commodities but also technical expertise and skills which donors often bring to specific aid schemes and projects.²⁰

What is more worrying about aid dependency is the conviction it instills in the minds of the recipients that they cannot survive any future economic upheavals without the support of western countries. Such a skewed mind-set did not come about by accident. Indeed it has become a powerful tool that some western governments use to keep Africa a begging continent.²¹

In economic terms, the justification for giving aid is basically to help push up the GDP of the recipient countries. In most cases, beneficiaries are poor countries usually grappling with the challenges of low domestic savings and weak foreign exchange revenues. Such a deficit means the countries can barely meet their economic growth goals since they have to seek capital resources in the form of donor aid and FDI to help prop up economic expansion.²²

Donor Aid Conditionality

Donor countries give aid primarily because it is in their interest to do so. Some development assistance may be motivated by moral and humanitarian desires to assist the less fortunate (for example emergency food relief programmes). However, this is minimal, occasional, and is at the whim of the donor.

Political rather than economic motivation to provide aid has been by far the most important factor especially for major donor countries for example the United States of America. The USA gives aid as a reward to countries adopting the capitalist ideology. Foreign aid has also been used by some countries as a political lever to underpin friendly regimes in the developing countries. Most of the past and present aid conditions are politically oriented and centred around issues of good governance, namely on matters of public law and order, and human rights.

The other aid conditions imposed on the country are mainly focused on financial accounting of donor funds. Donors have long held the view that the government's financial management and reporting systems are weak, and that its accounting systems do not conform to international standards.

¹⁹ Joyce Ngotho & Francis Kerongo. (2014), 'Determinants of Revenue Collection in Developing Countries: Kenya's Tax Collection Perspective' *Journal of Management and Business Administration*, Vol. 1, No. 1.

²⁰ Thomas A, Viciani L and Tench J et al (2011) *Ending Aid Dependency*, Action Aid; London.

²¹ Eriswiss.com. *Foreign Aid Dependency and its Negative Consequences*. 27 January, 2013. <http://www.eriswiss.com/foreign-aid-dependency-and-its-negative-consequences/>. Accessed on 24 October, 2016.

²² Edward Njenga, *The Impact of Foreign Aid and Economic Growth in Kenya*. (UoN, 21 February, 2016). <http://economics.uonbi.ac.ke/node/2110>. Accessed on 24 October, 2016.

Inequality in Distribution of National Wealth

Economic inequality is the difference of economic well-being among individuals in a group, among groups in a population, or among countries. Economic inequality is sometimes called income inequality, wealth inequality, or the wealth gap. Economists generally focus on economic disparity in three areas: wealth, income, and consumption.²³

In Kenya, inequality is manifested in various dimensions. These include unequal access to basic social amenities, income levels and gender bias. There are many consequences of inequality, including that it affects growth drivers. Higher inequality lowers growth by depriving the ability of lower-income households to stay healthy and accumulate physical and human capital.²⁴ For instance, it can lead to under-investment in education since children from poor households end up in low quality schools.

Inequality dampens investment and growth by fueling economic, financial and political instability. Studies have argued that a prolonged period of higher inequality was associated with the global financial crisis by intensifying leverage, overextension of credit, a relaxation in mortgage-underwriting standards and allowing lobbyists to push for financial deregulation.²⁵ Similarly, large global imbalances can be challenging for macroeconomic and/or financial stability and thus growth. Also, extreme inequality may damage trust and social cohesion; hence it is also associated with conflicts, which discourage investment.

Inequality has significant implications for growth and macroeconomic stability. It concentrates political and decision making power in the hands of a few, leads to sub-optimal use of human resources, causes investment-reducing political and economic instability, and raises crisis risk.²⁶

Social-Political and Security Dimensions of Poverty

The high level of poverty in Kenya poses a threat to national security. Insecurity in Kenya is not unique to the country, and is virtually replicated in the region. There are various causes of insecurity in Kenya. The first are the rising levels of crime. Another is the break-up of the social fabric. In the quest of modernity by the youth, there has been a tendency to undermine societal norms and values that have served society for a long time.

Corruption is also a cause of insecurity. It disrupts the state's efforts to achieve fair wealth and welfare distribution. This implicitly reserves wealth and welfare to the well-heeled. It ultimately denies the majority their rightful share of resources for education and health among others.

Ethnic rivalries are another national cause of insecurity. Some communities feel marginalized by the government. There are as a result few of them that support or are part of government as beneficiaries of the national cake. This has heightened tensions amongst communities in some cases affecting development activities.

In Kenya, the politicization of poverty is a major cause of insecurity. There is a conviction that the political class has failed to address poverty from a rational and objective perspective. In some cases, underdevelopment levels are portrayed in certain regions, and blamed on direct neglect by the government in apportioning development funds to them. Insecurity in Kenya has also contributed to a poor environment for doing business. It has also negatively impacted on tourism, discouraged the flow of foreign direct investment into the country and hampered general growth in GDP.

To address some of these emerging security threats, the government needs to enshrine certain policies. The first is strengthening good governance. This would improve the efficiency

²³ Fletcher, Michael A. (March 10, 2013). "Research ties economic inequality to gap in life expectancy", *Washington Post*. Retrieved March 23, 2013.

²⁴ Galor, O., and O. Moav. 2004. "From Physical to Human Capital Accumulation: Inequality and the Process of Development." *Review of Economic Studies* 71 (4): 1001–26.

²⁵ Acemoglu, D. 1998. "Why Do New Technologies Complement Skills? Directed Technical Change and Wage Inequality." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 113 (4): 1055–89.

²⁶ Era Dabla-Norris, KalpanaKochhar, NujinSuphaphiphat, Frantisek Ricka, EvridikiTsounta, *Causes and Consequences of Income Inequality: A Global Perspective*, International Monetary Fund, June 2015.

of institutions, transparency, accountability, inclusion and participation. From the same perspective, democratization needs to be enhanced. Democratization ensures freedom, respect for human rights, dignity, creativity, mutual trust and respect.

The living conditions of citizens should also be improved. This ensures the general security of people and their assets, creating jobs, improving infrastructure and promoting business environment that will ensure personal and family security. Similarly all-inclusive economic development should be ensured. This would assure individuals and regions that none of them would be left behind.

There should also be capacity building of the national security services. These should be well equipped to protect and respond to all forms of security threats to ensure economic and social development. It would also ensure sustainable training and improvement of new security approaches and strategies. Besides, there should be a constant review of the security services' missions and strategies. This entails adopting the best strategies and approaches in order to respond to emerging threats to peace and stability of the state. In particular there should be a reinforcement of intelligence services. This would ensure monitoring, detection, follow up and gathering of information and coordination of intelligence agencies which is paramount.

Public awareness and education on national security is crucial. It would send a clear message that the fight against insecurity is not limited to government and security agencies; and that citizens should join efforts with security services and participate in peaceful conflict resolution and vigilance in communities for example through *Nyumba Kumi*. It would also ensure the creation of structures for constant dialogue, cooperation and mutual trust between the security services and the citizens.

Finally, collaboration with other countries and international organizations on security matters should be enhanced. The reason for this is that current crimes do not often distinguish countries or targets, and all countries are open to crime and terrorism threats. Therefore, dialogue mechanisms, collaboration and information sharing are needed to coordinate actions to ensure better results. In a globalized world, countries

are unable to single-handedly ensure their own security regardless of their preparedness and capabilities. It is indeed agreed that security is highly inter-dependent. Coordinated capacity building and exchange of knowledge and information is therefore a necessity.

The Cost of Poverty Alleviation in Kenya

Poverty alleviation has been the focus of the government since independence. Despite efforts to address poverty through a number of sessional papers and plans, the level of poverty still remains high. The result has been the channeling of resources to social welfare programmes like free primary education, free medical services, relief food, funds for the youth and cash for the elderly. Thus, from the onset the cost of poverty alleviation to the economy has been enormous both financially and in terms of forgone opportunities to invest in other critical sectors of the society.

Some of the programmes that have tried to address poverty have created structural problems in society. For example, in a bid to address rural poverty in arid and semi-arid regions, the government has spent massive resources in the provision of relief food. This has led to unintended consequences like the misuse of the food stuffs, nurturing of the dependency syndrome - where people wait for the government to provide relief food - and reliance on donors for food aid thereby distorting the prices of staple foods.

Due to these consumption programmes, very few resources are left for investment in productive sectors to generate wealth. There are also tendencies to implement populist food aid programmes, which sometimes conflict with existing plans and policies. Further, given that some of the programmes are normally unbudgeted, the government is forced to borrow funds locally and internationally leading to debt accumulation. In addition, implementation of the welfare programme is done hurriedly resulting in wastage through poor execution and corruption.

These factors contribute to a poverty cycle where lack of adequate livelihoods leads to no savings; and consequently lack of savings leads to no investments. And thus the poverty cycle continues depleting scarce national resources.

Clearly, the cost of poverty alleviation cannot be quantified in monetary terms alone. It also has political, social and economic dimensions and consequences.

Preconditions for Development and Poverty Alleviation

As noted earlier in this study, the human development framework advocates for a participatory approach. This allows the poor or those targeted to offer approaches of their own about poverty and the interpretation of their well-being. The measures and preconditions for poverty alleviation include good governance. This concerns political will, addressing the unending political contestations and strengthening government institutions.

The elimination of corruption is a core precondition for poverty alleviation. Corruption disrupts the state's efforts to secure its citizens. Strong legal institutions and political good will are prerequisites to fighting corruption as a means to address poverty.

In Kenya where agriculture is a mainstay for the economy and peoples' livelihood, the agricultural sector needs to be modernized. Such modernization would take into account and enhance methods of agriculture and its management. This would be part of enhanced environmental conservation to mitigate the effects of climate change. These should go hand in hand with strengthening devolution as a means of improving governance, resource distribution and opening up of marginal areas. At the same time, there needs to be improvement of infrastructure to enhance development and ease business.

The provision of affordable and reliable energy is a cross-cutting issue in poverty alleviation. The other cross-cutting issue is the improvement of security to create a conducive environment for conducting business and implementation of poverty alleviation initiatives. Finally, skill development is a core cross-cutting issue. This involves more investment in education geared towards industrialization.

Current and Future Government Policies on Poverty Alleviation

From a human development approach, the formulation of poverty reduction policies and strategies should involve the target populations. There are currently several poverty alleviation initiatives in Kenya. The Kenya Constitution (2010) has established an Equalization Fund equivalent to 0.5% of all the revenue collected by the national government annually. This initiative is intended to provide basic services such as water, roads, health facilities and electricity to marginalized areas to the level of the rest of the country.

Vision 2030 is the country's development programme. It is aimed at transforming Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle income country, providing a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment. The Second Medium Plan of Vision 2030 identified priority areas to address poverty. The first is devolution. This entails the development of the capacity of all county governments, improving policy coordination and implementation to achieve the full benefits of devolution. The second is security which ensures a conducive environment and safety of Kenyans and investors.

The third is food security. This calls for increased investment in irrigation to reduce the country's dependence on rain fed agriculture, farm mechanization, revival farmers' unions and subsidizing farm inputs. Kenyan farmers are being given hybrid seeds and fertilizer subsidies for better food production. Fourth is the provision of universal health care. The government has established a referral hospital in each county coupled with the First Lady's 'Beyond Zero Campaign' which aims at improving maternal and child healthcare.

The fifth is education. This entails matching education and training programmes with the skills required in the workplace. Free primary and day secondary education and issuance of laptops/tablets to primary schools have so far been facilitated. Sixth is industrialization. This would facilitate the growth of the manufacturing sector, make agriculture competitive and diversify the economy for employment creation. Seventh are

land reforms. These aim at aligning land with the constitution, adjudicating and issuing land title deeds, and promoting secure land ownership and more investment.

Eighth relate to art, sports and culture. This involves investing in creative art, cultural heritage and sports as major sources of employment. Ninth is gender mainstreaming. The government has facilitated 30% of all county and national government procurement contracts as a preserve for women and youth. And finally are issues of e-government. This uses digital tools and systems to provide better public services to citizens and businesses. Effective e-government has provided a wide variety of benefits including more efficiency and savings for governments and businesses, increased transparency, and greater participation of citizens in political life.

Analysis of Poverty Levels in Kenya

At independence, the government set out to improve conditions of living for the citizens. It set out these objectives in various Sessional Papers. The first was Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965 whose main objective was to address poverty, disease and ignorance. This was followed by various policies including those aimed at industrialization and economic growth.

So far poverty alleviation policies have not been successful; and poverty levels have continued to increase in the country. This has led to negative effects on economic growth and development. As a result, poverty levels among the low-income earners have risen with crime and insecurity discouraging investments. In some situations, this has provided an ample recruitment platform for radicalization, extremism and criminal groups in the country.

Poor governance, corruption and misappropriation of funds meant for poverty alleviation have contributed to the collapse of government policies aimed at addressing the plight of the poor. This has resulted in part from lack of political will to address these issues.

There has been a lack of proper prioritization and inconsistencies in policy implementation. There has been a disconnection between the policies and the strategies aimed at implementing them. And finally, most of the country's training

institutions and universities produce graduates whose skills do not fit in the current job market.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The primary strategic goal for Kenya is to achieve a broad-based, sustainable improvement in the lives and standards of living of all the Kenyans. Development is therefore people-centered. People are both the key actors and principal beneficiaries of development. It will require a concerted effort by all led by the government to tackle poverty that is affecting 46% of Kenyans who currently live below the poverty line. Poverty is also about people. Poverty reduction will only happen when the people become fully involved. Statistics will remain at the core of the development process. Only by this means can it be known whether the country is on track in its development process.

The Kenya Constitution (2010) recognizes the regional inequalities in the country and establishes an Equalization Fund worth 0.5% of all government revenue to provide basic services such as water, roads, health services and electricity to uplift the marginalized and disadvantaged areas.

The following are this study's recommendations for poverty alleviation in Kenya:

- Poverty can only be addressed through strong institutions and equitable distribution of resources. Deliberate steps to improve governance and address cases of corruption involving both the public and private sectors.
- Introduction of higher taxes on unutilized land to encourage economic utilization as a means of production.
- Address issues related to historical injustices through affirmative action.
- Infrastructure is a major enabler in increasing the rate of development and easing business. This requires improving interconnectivity by prioritizing those areas with poor infrastructure.
- Expand public health services to improve the well-being of the citizens.
- Safeguard and utilize its resources

- prudently to spur economic growth.
- Security and the rule of law should be enhanced to create a conducive environment for investment.
- Invest more in education that is tied to industrialization.
- The national industrialization policy identifies a number of measures which if implemented could spur economic growth and place the country on the path of sustainable growth.
- Exploit and develop cheap, reliable sources of energy.

The Korean War, 1950-53: Decision Making, Policies and Strategies

Executive Summary

The Korea War broke out in June 1950 when the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea attacked the Republic of Korea. The war stemmed from ideological differences emerging between the USA and USSR after their victory in the Second World War. This was further exacerbated by the failure of the USA and USSR to apportion spheres of influence in the region to each other. The strands of realism that come into play in this study are offensive realism and defensive realism. Those who believe in offensive realism argue that the international system is full of conflict and aggression while defensive realists believe that conflict is not necessarily a product of the international system. From the analysis in this study, it is clear that ideological differences played a major part in heightening the conflict. The USA was not prepared for the war, while the USSR was not ready to engage the USA, and only provided logistical support to the DPRK. Policy differences amongst top USA officials played a role in the inertia exhibited by the country during the crisis. Overall, the war was not concluded by a treaty but through an armistice which explains why the region is still volatile.

Introduction

Korea is located in Asia on the Korean Peninsula, bordered by China to the North West and Russia to the North East. It is separated from Japan to the East by the Korea Strait and the Sea of Japan. It occupies 220,911 square kms or 84,500 square miles.

During the Second World War, the USA and USSR were allies against the Axis Forces which were a common enemy. After the defeat of the Axis Forces and subsequent end of the war, failure to apportion their spheres of influence and their ideological differences started emerging. The defeat of Japan in the Second World War created a vacuum in the areas it occupied in Asia. This led to the emergence of communism in China and

the division of Korea into two countries along the 38th parallel. North Korea was under Kim Il Sung while the South Korea was under Syngman Rhee.

North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950. This was declared an aggression by the United Nations (UN). Kim Il Sung was supported by the USSR to ensure that USA influence did not flow north. The USA supported Syngman Rhee to propagate western democratic ideology in Korea. The invasion was supported by Koreans who had fled to China and USSR. The UN passed several resolutions to mitigate the conflict including the formation of a UN force under USA command to resolve the conflict.



Figure 2: Map of Korea

The Cold War and the Korean War

Japan destroyed the influence of China over Korea in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95.¹ It made Korea its colony in 1905, and annexed it in 1910. During the colonization of Korea the Japanese stifled the nationalist aspirations of the Korean people.² The fight for freedom and

liberty in 1919 was brutally suppressed by the Japanese. This led to prominent leaders of the nationalist movement fleeing the country. One of the leaders, Syngman Rhee fled to Shanghai to form a government in exile.³ Kim Il-Sung, a guerrilla leader who operated in Manchuria established the Communist Party in 1925. In 1937 the colonial Governor-General, General Jiro of Japan, attempted to assimilate Korea's 23.5 million people. He banned the use of Korean

¹ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow & Co.1988) pp4-5.

² O'Ballance Edgar, *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger ,1969) pp15-29.

³ Ibid pp18.

culture, language and literature, and replaced it with the mandatory use of Japanese culture.⁴ This Japanese high-handedness led to some Korean leaders agitating for freedom, and some Koreans fled to Russia, Manchuria and China.

The “Scramble for Korea” begun after Japan’s defeat in World War 2. All the major powers - America, Britain, Russia and China - scrambled to control Korea.⁵ In same period, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. This was as the result of an agreement with the USA. It liberated Korea North of the 38th parallel. The USA forces subsequently moved into the South.⁶ As a product of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the USA, in 1948 Korea was split into two separate governments. 38th Parallel became a barrier between them. It also reinforced Cold War ideological differences.⁷

The Republic of Korea (ROK) in the south was headed by Syngman Rhee who was backed by the USA. The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north was headed by Kim Il-Sung with the support of the Soviet Union. Both Syngman Rhee and Kim Il-Sung aimed to reunify Korea under their own political systems. While Rhee called for a democratic government, Kim wanted to establish a communist government for the reunified Korea. Such competing interests created tensions and mutual enmity between the South and the North. Persecutions of groups and individuals who exhibited affiliation to the opposing political system in each half of the peninsula further polarized Korea.⁸

The USA government tried to establish a moderate coalition to provide itself with a broad base of political support under the leadership of Syngman Rhee.⁹ The assassination of a prominent leftist in the coalition in July 1947 and the decision of a coalition moderate to enter into unification talks with the North led to the collapse of the coalition efforts. Guerrilla fighting in the South and clashes between Southern and Northern forces along the 38th parallel intensified during 1948-50. The USA had initially occupied

the Southern part of Korea after the defeat of the Japanese when they realized that the USSR was moving its troops into the Korean peninsula. Although it continued to provide modest military aid to the South, the USA withdrew its occupation forces. It left behind a 500-man Military Advisory Group by June 1949.¹⁰

Having obtained a massive amount of weapons and training from the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, North Korea launched guerrilla and other subversive operations against the South, aimed at uniting the peninsula. The communists built a formidable political and military structure in North Korea under Soviet command.¹¹ At the beginning of 1950, North Korean troops were deployed in areas along the 38th parallel. They attacked when it became clear that the insurgents would not triumph easily. South Korean forces were ill-equipped, and lacked tanks, heavy artillery, and combat airplanes.¹²

Despite the heightening of Cold War tensions, the Truman administration drastically downsized American forces from 1945-50, since it did not expect a major military conflict. Military planners assumed that the next war would be similar to the Second World War apart from the fact that nuclear weapons could be used. The North Koreans were encouraged by USA action which left Korea outside its “defence line” in Asia. The USA was to re-enter Korea as the commanding nation of the UN coalition forces after North Korea attacked South Korea. The Korean War of 1950-1953 was an international war fought in the Korean Peninsula. Its historical roots lay in the Japanese colonial experience and legacy.

Objectives of the Study

This study analyzes the decision making, policies and strategies adopted by different actors in resolving the Korean War. It inspects the background of the Cold War leading to the Korean War, the policy options of the main

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Stokesbury L James op.cit pp.23-24.

⁶ MacDonald A. Callum, *Korea: The War before Vietnam*, (New York, The Free Press, 1986) pp. 3-4.

⁷ Edgar, O’Ballance *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger ,1969) pp.11-12.

⁸ Ibid pp pp.21-22.

⁹ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow &Co.1988) pp.26-27.

¹⁰ Ibid p.39.

¹¹ Ibid pp 26-27.

¹² Edgar, O’balance *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger, 1969) pp.28-29.

belligerents before, during and after the war, the role of other countries and the UN in the war, the Truman-MacArthur controversy over the Korean War, and the role of Senior Policy and Strategy advisors.

The objectives of the study are to:

- i. identify the policies and strategies at play by different actors and how they evolved during the crisis;
- ii. appreciate the essence of decision making in crisis situations;
- iii. examine the ways and means by which war could have been avoided; and
- iv. extract lessons learnt.

Statement of the Study Problem

In a Realist world of power politics, states are required to pursue their political and other interests through diplomacy. Sometimes however, diplomacy fails, and states end up going to war with each other. Although there arise international and regional interventions, it is expected that policy and strategy officials manage political interests at stake through diplomacy. The Korean War is a good case study for examining such interventions, and the role that diplomacy plays. This study examines the actions of policy and strategy advisors in their attempts to bring international peace. It also contains useful lessons learnt.

Theoretical Framework

This study is informed by the Realist theory in international relations. Realism interprets international relations as an element of power politics between states. One of proponents of the theory, Hans Morgenthau, maintains that states are the only rational actors in the international

system, and argues that national interests are defined by power.¹³ Realism is an old theory; it emerged during the Sun Tzu era and in the Peloponnesian war. It is based on “self-interested stakes for power and position in an anarchical world with each country pursuing its national interest.”¹⁴ To the Realists, the most important source of power is military capability. Hence states ensure their security by the use of their national instruments of power. Military power is also used to mitigate threats globally.

There are two strands of Realism that can help in the analysis of the Korean War. These are offensive realism and defensive realism. Supporters of offensive realism argue that the international system is full of conflict and aggression. Defensive realists on the other hand believe that conflict is not necessarily a product of the international system.¹⁵ While Realism postulates that states are the only rational actors in the international system, others argue that this is not the case. There are times when states use non-state actors to realize their national interest.

USA and USSR Policy Options in the Korean War

USA Policy in the War

USA policy before the Korean War was against communism, which it regarded it as a monolithic evil. Under the Truman doctrine of containment, America did not want the USSR to spread the communist system to any other country.¹⁶ According to its National Security Council (NSC-68) directive, a communist attack anywhere would be viewed as an attack everywhere.¹⁷ The Truman Doctrine of containment was seen mainly as an instrument for cultural, economic and military imperialism. It was therefore not welcome in the Far East. The USA thus used its military power to enforce the doctrine. This was met with challenges.

¹³ Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, (ed), (New York, MacGraw Hill, 1993,) pp 3-8.

¹⁴ Charles Kegley & Eugene Wittkoph, *World Politics : Trend and Transformation*, (New York, St. Martins Press, 1997 7th ed. 2006) p. 31.

¹⁵ Rudloff Peter, ‘Offensive Realism, Defensive Realism and the Role of Constraints,’ *The Midsouth Political Science Review*, Volume 14, December 2013, pp 45-77. <http://uca.edu/politicalscience/midsouth-political-science-review-mprs/> accessed on 21 July 2016.

¹⁶ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow & Co. 1988) pp..26-27.

¹⁷ United States Department of State Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/Koreanwar>, Accessed on 11 July 2016.

The other policy options of the USA were isolation, war or continued diplomatic efforts to negotiate with USSR.¹⁸ It could have isolated the USSR from the rest of the free world in order to stem communism and weaken it. The need for negotiations was to be informed by the apparent military weakness in Asia. The other major policy option was to involve the United Nations. The USA used a non-state actor – the UN – to advance its national interests in the Far East. This gave the USA legitimacy to go to war, and was thus a justification to pursue its ends.

Realism maintains that states try to secure their security by military power and seeking allies. While this was true in the Korean War, it did not prevent the conflict from becoming dysfunctional.

During the war the USA maintained its containment policy, by not recognizing Kim Il-Sung, a North Korean guerrilla from the 1930s, who emerged as the leader of the pro-Soviet KPR in North Korea. USA policy throughout the war was consistent with the Truman Doctrine of Containment.

Negotiations to hasten the end the Korean War was another option. This would have minimized the cost of the war in terms of casualties and materiel losses. It was however thought that this would have diminished the USA's prestige. The third option was for Gen. MacArthur to extend the war to China against the wishes of the political powers in Washington. Extension of the war to China may have required the use of nuclear weapons. According to the Realist theory the USA acted in its own interest and avoided negotiation which would have reduced casualties and materiel losses.

After the war USA policy underwent major changes. Its' international military strategy was based on the expansion of its military capabilities, and the pursuit of military supremacy over China and the Soviet Union.¹⁹ The policy was also to ensure the continued existence of the South Korean government. It still retains containment as a policy.

As far as South Korea was concerned, the USA policy option was to strengthen South Korea's

military capability. This would ensure its' self-defence and thus act as a deterrence against North Korea. According to the realist theory, states are the main actors in the world system. Thus the USA and South Korea had to upgrade their holistic capabilities to engage in the power games that were sure to play out after the war. Only alliances of strong states would prevail in future conflicts.

The USSR Policy Options

USSR policy before the Korean War was to spread communism to all parts of the world.²⁰ After the Second World War, the Soviet Union wanted to expand its influence within the Korean Peninsula and set up provincial advisory councils to run the territory.²¹ The USSR boycotted UN General Assembly (UNGA) voting for a resolution that would have made Korea independent because it did not recognize Syngman Rhee as the first President of the Republic of Korea.²² The boycotting of the UNGA voting by the USSR was exploited by the USA to pass the UNSC resolutions 82, 83, 84 and 85. Attending the UNGA would have given the USSR the option of using its veto power to stop the formation of the United Nations Force.

Another policy option for the USSR was to avoid the conflict by denying support to the government of Kim Il Sung. It also had the option of not leaving the situation to Mao Tze Tung to make a decision whether to enter the war or not. If that support was denied the war might have been avoided. According to the realist theory, the USSR boycotted the UNSC as a rational actor in the international arena since it felt that its interests were threatened. This is further reinforced by the view that the USSR acted on defensive realism to secure its interests.

The USSR policy during the war was to support North Korea and deny further advancement of USA influence to the north close to the USSR border. Without this support the UN Forces would have easily taken control of Northern Korea. The behaviour of USSR exemplifies Realist theory which emphasizes that countries

¹⁸ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/NSC68> Accessed on 18 Jul 16

¹⁹ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/NSC68> Accessed on 18 Jul 16.

²⁰ Edgar, O'Ballance *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger, 1969) p..28.

²¹ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow & Co. 1988) p..25.

²² Ibid, p 27.

form alliances for their security. Another USSR policy option was negotiation. It had the option of negotiating to end the war early and at lesser cost. It was felt however that this would have diminished USSR prestige.

After the war, the USSR policy option was to support North Korea in order to contain USA influence over South Korea. It also continued to promote communism as an ideological policy option for internal unity in East Asia. The USSR's strategy was to involve the USA as deeply as possible in Asia. This was intended to restrict or drain off USA aid to Europe which was bolstering up countries like Greece and Turkey.²³ This had the effect of thwarting USA ambitions in that part of the world, which the USSR did not want.

Role of Other Actors in the War

A total of twenty eight (28) countries took part in the Korean War. These were divided into their support for either of the two major ideologies of capitalism (USA) and communism (USSR) respectively.²⁴ Under the UN Command were the USA, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Philippines, India, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey and Union of South Africa. In support of North Korea, were China, the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. The experience of the Second World War and the fear of the spread of communism seemed to have influenced many countries to support American ideology in this crisis.

On 25 June 1950, the North Korean forces crossed the 38th Parallel which divided the two Koreas. In response to this aggression, USA's ambassador to the UN called for an emergency Security Council meeting to deliberate on the matter.²⁵ The USSR boycotted the UN Security Council because it objected to Formosa (Taiwan) being admitted as a member of the UN. The

Security Council nevertheless passed UNSCR 82. The UN termed the North Korean action as a breach of peace. However, North Korea did not honour this resolution. It did not withdraw back to the 38th parallel.²⁶ During that period, the USA was the only major power in the Security Council. It manipulated the United Nations Security Council Resolution in the absence of the USSR. On 27 June 1950, the UNSC met and passed UNSCR 83 which called on the members of the UN to offer the necessary assistance to the Republic of Korea to repel the armed aggression and restore international peace in the area.²⁷ Of the fifty three (53) states that endorsed the UN decision to take action in Korea against the communist aggressors, only sixteen (16) provided combat elements; the other five (5) provided medical units. South Korea was not by then a member of the UN.

The other side of the conflict involved North Korea, China and the USSR. The USSR's contribution was minimal. It included medical units from its allies Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. China intervened in the war when it became apparent that UN forces had crossed the 38th Parallel and were threatening its security by advancement to River Yalu.²⁸

Role of China

China's decision to intervene in the Korean War on behalf of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) had historical roots. Control of the Korea peninsula had changed hands between China and Japan up to the end of the Second World War.²⁹ During the last Japanese occupation of Korea, a number of Koreans fled to China and were influenced by the emerging Communist party under Mao Tse Tung. While in China these Koreans were indoctrinated into communism against the Japanese imperialists. With the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, and the liberation of Korea by the USA and USSR, China did not want the Korean peninsula

²³ O'balance, op.cit. p. 161.

²⁴ Ibid pp. 161-162.

²⁵ Jewell, K. A, *Overview of Korean War*, http://www.Koreanwar.org/html/overview_of_the_war.html, Accessed on 15 Jul 16

²⁶ UNSCR 82 (1950) of 25 June 1950.

²⁷ Ibid, pp.27.

²⁸ O'Ballance Edgar, *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger, 1969) pp.161-162.

²⁹ HaoYufan and ZhaiZhihai, *China's Decision to Enter the Korean War: History Revisited*, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 94-115.

to fall under American influence.³⁰ Mao Tse Tung instigated an anti-imperialist campaign against the USA. It supported Chiang Kai-Shek on the Formosa (Taiwan) Island and thus supported North Korea's invasion into South Korea.

China also mobilized its forces to attack the UN forces who advanced beyond North of 38th parallel towards Pyongyang and River Yalu.³¹ The Chinese intervention on the attack of the UN forces led to USSR offering more support to the Koreans and also providing air support in Korea using jet fighters. China's action in the Korean War typifies a state actor's interest to protect itself.

Role of the UN

After the end of the Second World War the United Nations was created to maintain international peace and security. During the Korea war the United Nations played a pivotal role by passing the following resolutions to mitigate the war in Korea:

- i. UNSCR 82: Adopted on 25 June 1950; the UNSC called on North Korea to end its invasion of South Korea.
- ii. UNSCR 83: Adopted on 27 June 1950; the UNSC determined that the attack on ROK by forces of North Korea constituted a breach of the peace. The SC called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and for North Korea to withdraw their armed forces to the 38th parallel
- iii. UNSCR 84: Adopted on 07 July 1950; the UNSC called on the members of the UN to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as maybe necessary to repel the attack and restore peace and security to the area.
- iv. UNSCR 85: Adopted on 31 July 1950; the UNSC authorized the UN command under General Douglas MacArthur to support the Korean civilian population and requested specialized agencies, subsidiary bodies of UN and appropriate NGO to support the UN command in doing so.

³⁰ Ibid pp. 94-115.

³¹ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow & Co. 1988) pp. 79-93.

³² Jewell, K. A, *Overview of Korean War*, http://www.Koreanwar.org/html/overview_of_the_war.html, Accessed on 15 July 2016.

³³ Stokesbury L James, *A Short History of the Korean War*, (New York, William Morrow & Co. 1988) pp. 29-30..

³⁴ O'Ballance Edgar, *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger, 1969).

By then the UN had only sixty (60) members. It used these resolutions to justify its actions. The UN may have been honest in its action as a non-state actor in international politics. However, the USA took advantage of the situation as a state actor to "legitimize its decision to invade Korea."³²

Role of Policy and Strategic Advisors

Truman-MacArthur Controversy over the Korean War

Harry Truman was the Vice President during President Roosevelt's fourth term in office. He succeeded the presidency – after about three months - on Roosevelt's death in office in 1945. He was the President of the USA during the Korean War. At this time, USA policy was shaped by a "policy of containment" which involved keeping communist advancement and expansion at bay.³³

Gen. MacArthur was the commander of USA forces in the Far East during the end of the Second World War. Due to his proximity to the theatre he was appointed the commander of the UN forces during the Korean War. The controversy between President Harry Truman and Gen. MacArthur over the conduct of the Korean War demonstrates the differences among senior policy and strategy advisors within the government of the United States of America. This situation highlighted the constitutional roles of senior officers within government. It also put on the spot the diplomatic role and functions of the American President.

The USA administration including the Pentagon did not see the need to support the Republic of Korea since this could have weakened the American attitude towards Russia. From the perspective of offensive realism, the USA never wanted to fight a third world war. Beyond this it was a matter of responding to crises as they arose.³⁴

To Gen. MacArthur, the strategic objective of the UN Security Council Resolution was clear. With this resolution, it was obvious to MacArthur that the USA would go to war. He was however, surprised when the politicians in Washington refused to approve the materiel and troop support that he estimated were necessary to achieve his objective. Gen. MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief United Nations Command (CICUNC), devised a plan to end the war quickly. He advised the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) to use all possible means to bring the war to a victorious end. This plan formed the difference between President Truman, his administration and the General because the USA wanted the war to remain 'limited'. The controversial features in Gen. MacArthur's plan were the proposed use of atomic weapons, the extension of the war into China and the use of Chinese Nationalist troops located in Formosa (Taiwan).

Gen. MacArthur's plan was opposed by the USA administration since "the use of atomic bombs might have brought the Soviet Union into the conflict; the bombing of Manchuria could have brought China openly into the war in Korea against UN troops, and the use of the Chinese Nationalist troops would have reopened the Chinese civil war."³⁵ Gen. MacArthur was given specific caveats to use only South Korean forces in the provinces that edged the borders of Manchuria and the Soviet Union; and not to cross into the Manchurian or the Soviet borders in any circumstance without first receiving authority from Washington, and to engage the communist Chinese forces in Korea only if it would have offered 'reasonable chances of success.'³⁶

Gen. MacArthur was blamed for the ensuing crisis when China joined the war thus stopping any further territorial gains by the UN forces.³⁷ Against the spirit of the UNSC and permission of the Joint Chiefs in Washington, Gen. MacArthur decided to cross the 38th parallel to pursue communists' troops to Pyongyang.³⁸ On crossing the Yalu River, he caused the Chinese to join the war on 14 October 1950. This was the game-changer in the Korean War. Gen. MacArthur

also openly disagreed with Gen O. Bradley, the chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and was accused of making several public statements that contradicted official policy. He also corresponded with Sen. Joseph W. Martin. In a letter dated 20 March 1951 he advocated 'meeting force with maximum counter-force, as there is no substitute for victory'.³⁹

Gen. MacArthur's actions undermined confidence in USA policy which the administration was trying to build with the UN and in its international relations. He was accused by President Truman of politicizing their differences. In essence this meant that Gen. MacArthur had decided to fight civilian control of the military. The feeling in Washington was that Gen. MacArthur was neither sympathetic with, nor understood the evolution of USA national policy towards the rest of the world. He typified some level of superiority and this was what the controversy was actually all about: the dilemma of the impossibility of drawing a clear line between what was military and what was political in the modern world; and what kind of advice, loyalty, acquiescence, obedience, or opposition, the soldier owes to his political master. General Douglas MacArthur, the CICUNC was relieved of his command on 11 April 1951 for his desire to expand the Korean War contrary to American's foreign policy.

Syngman Rhee and Kim Il Sung

Syngman Rhee, a US trained scholar had fled to the USA during the Japanese occupation of Korea. After the defeat of Japan, he was appointed by the USA as the president of the Korea Provisional Government in exile. On 15 August 1948 he became the first president of the Republic of Korea which the UN recognized thereafter. Kim Il Sung led guerrilla forces against Japan and fled to Manchuria where he was socialized into communist ideology.⁴⁰

Syngman Rhee and Kim Il Sung had ideological differences. The former leaned towards capitalism

³⁵ O'Ballance, op.cit., pp. 54.

³⁶ O'Ballance Edgar, *Korea War: 1950-1953*, (Florida, Robert E Krieger, 1969) pp.48-56.

³⁷ Stokesbury Op.cit., pp 97 – 111.

³⁸ Callum A MacDonald, op.cit pp. 54.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 96.

⁴⁰ Stokesbury, op.cit., pp.24-27.

while the latter leaned towards communism. Their point of convergence was the will to unify Korea under their ideologies. The two personalities did not have the means to achieve their stated objectives. They therefore turned to the USA and USSR for support.

Analysis of the Korean War

The Korean War of 1950-53 was a civil war. It became internationalized when the USA, USSR, China and the UN coalition joined the war. The war emerged as an ideological conflict of the two major powers, USA and USSR, after their victory in the Second World War.

There were different strategies and policies used by the state actors to ensure that their interests in the Far East were maintained. This witnessed a clash of different personalities and policies before, during and after the conflict. Once the USA committed itself to the war, its intention was to use its military power to contain the spread of communism in the Korean peninsula.

The Korean War teaches the historical lesson that “false peace” and “desired peace” are both dangerous. Just as Kim Il- Sung’s false peace offensive was one of the steps leading to his invasion of the South, North Korea’s peace offensive more than half a century later cannot be taken at face value. Hence there is a clear need to be able to see through fabrications. At the same time, desired peace not backed by military capabilities is just as incapable of maintaining or building peace.⁴¹

Policy and Strategic Lessons Learnt from the Korean War

The war on the Korean peninsula had several policy and strategic decision making lessons. First it contained lessons on alliances. According to the realist theory, states are the only actors in the international arena with power as the central concept. In that arena weak states “bandwagon” or are manipulated by stronger ones. Alliances are therefore an important component of the balance

of power. Realists emphasize that alliances are based on national interests, and can shift as national interests change.

Secondly there were lessons about intelligence. The UN forces lacked adequate intelligence on Chinese and USSR capabilities. Intelligence is a key factor in any policy making at all levels. For policy and strategy officials to make timely and correct decisions, they require accurate and timely intelligence which the UN forces lacked during the Korean War.

Thirdly there are lessons to be learned about nuclear deterrence. The possession of nuclear weapons by states acts as a deterrence to war. Nuclear war is a zero-sum game that virtually assures mutual destruction of the parties using it. Fourthly the case study contains lessons about arm twisting in diplomacy. According to Thucydides, the strong do what they have the power to do; and the weak ones have to accept what they have to accept.⁴² Therefore, the emergence of the USA as a formidable military power showed that weaker states can be arm-twisted to join coalitions.

There are also lessons to be learnt about arms races. With the realization that amassing war arsenals enhances self-defence and propagation of one’s ideologies, countries began an arms race to assure this. Fifth, there are lessons about the status of the UN in aspects international peace and security. The Korean War enhanced the United Nations organization which took military action against an aggressive country, in that case North Korea. The legal basis for actions and strategies taken in the war was provided by UN Security Council resolutions. The UN Command in South Korea is still currently functional.

Finally there are important lessons to be learnt about civil-military relations. In civil-military relations, the military is subordinate to the civilian authority. Where military commanders have different opinions from the civilian authorities, it is incumbent upon them to seek clarification. In that war Gen. MacArthur’s failure to demonstrate willing loyalty to his appointing authority - President Harry S. Truman - led to his dismissal.

⁴¹ Paul Lashmar, *New Statesman & Society*; 2/2/96, Vol.9 Issue 388, p24, 2p, 1bw

⁴² Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (New Delhi, Baba BarkhaNath 2006).

Conclusions

This case study has analyzed the Korean War through the perspective of the Realist theory of international relations. It has argued that the states in the conflict acted as rational actors in articulating their different national interests. They were all able to do so, and also to pursue those national interests in the course of the war. There were different patterns of doing this, depending on their real and relative power. The war ended in a stalemate with no side claiming victory. The most critical lessons that can be drawn from this war are concerned with the operation of civil- military relations during armed conflict; ideological differences and the role that they play in policy formulation, and their importance for proper strategic analysis.

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