

China –United States Hegemonic Politics and Capacity Dilemma of East African States: The Case of Kenya

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Abstract: Using secondary sources of data including credible governmental reports, international policy groups data and newspaper analysis, this study explores the outcome of hegemonic competition between the western powers led by the United States of America on the one hand and China on the other hand - on the capacity of Kenya. It particularly focuses on the outcome of interactions of the two powers – US and China on Kenya. The study addresses two questions: i) To what extent has Kenya taken full charge of human development by providing an environment through which their citizens' access to welfare needs are not undermined, in the wake of increased China-Africa infrastructure development? ii) How have responses by the U.S in war against terrorism and other security threats affected the capacity of Kenya to deal with security challenges in the nation? State capacity is defined as the ability of a respective state to responsibly fulfill security functions and provide an amicable environment through which their nationalities can meet their welfare needs reliably, and in a sustainable manner. High capacity states are able to provide public goods including human security, health care and the social and physical infrastructure that promote human development. Low capacity states are limited in their ability to provide these goods leading to low development levels and even state failure. The article concludes that competition of the foreign powers in the east African nations have undermined the implementation of their national plans. Notwithstanding the aid and developmental infrastructure that china is engaged in within Kenya, there are other enterprises that continue to overshadow the Kenyan based middle level income opportunities and the government needs to conform to reality for the survival of the people within the country, who are abandoned - which means that the government is no-longer properly in charge of key responsibilities of security and human development since entry of China in Africa.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

When elephants fight, the grass gets trampled. African Proverb.

Over the past two decades, the activities by major powers in the continent of Africa have increased dramatically. Numerous forms of political, economic, security and diplomatic relations that exist between the external forces and nations in Africa reveal the outstanding interests embedded in diverse forms of globalization¹ spearheaded by the West and

China (Fels 2017, Roy 2013). Two great powers have their footprints in the region, and a bipolar system may be in the offing. (e.g. Copeland 2012, Christensen 2011). In this interconnected world, the relations have largely expanded geopolitical competition and business linkages whereby China's presence has continuously spread and changed political and economic environment where other states and non-state actors operate within the African continent and in the globe. The global powers create and readjust Africa using the forces of globalism² and globalization but the development as observed by proponents of globalization hand china calculative benefits in respective areas of engagement.

This development where China operates smoothly in new terrains in Africa has not gone down well with the West who has historically claimed Africa as being under their control. Leaders from the West have described China as cunning and engaged in arm-twisting African nations to get Africa on their side. This is demonstrated by the remarks made by former presidents of the United States, going back to Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama—and supported by the leaders from the UK and France, who echo the respective US administration pessimistic stands on the consequences of the growing Chinese interactions with Africa and Africa's future (Christensen 2011). They cast dark shadow on China's shrewdness in Africa and dismiss this relation as not premised on true friendship. Their main accusation on China is that China offers predatory lending to trap the poor countries with huge loans that Africa struggles to offset.

On the other hand, Chinese administrations, going back to Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping, have fended off the west's stand by maintaining that in Africa, China find a true friend and seek to maintain a mutual affair with their friend – an affair in which both sides benefit in equal measures (Brautigam 2009, Cheru and Obi 2010). China points out that Africa understands them and they reciprocate this generosity by doing what Africa wants. They disregard the western model of relations as only meant to further the interests of the west while overburdening the disadvantaged continent.

multiple forms occur across the globe. The thickness of globalism. (see Nye and Donahue (ed. 2009).

² Globalism on the other hand is the network of connections in terms of multiple relationships. Globalism is different from interdependence which is joint action between two nations on a particular arena. (Ibid)

1.1 Analysis of Past Foreign Interests And Engagements In Africa

A proper analysis of history of rivalries between the East and the West cannot be properly understood without going back to colonial periods, the era of the cold war politics, post-cold war periods as well as post independent periods. Five body of literature give a proper grounding of foreign interests and engagement in Africa, which is useful in building the historical background that benefits this study. The first body of literature depicts how Europe underdeveloped Africa through colonial rule – as rightly captured in the work by Rodney (1973). In the scramble for Africa which climaxed with the colonialists drawing boundaries and apportioning themselves territories in Africa, in a conference that took place in Berlin in 1889, the rulers managed to advance their interests in an organized manner till the 1960's (Tordoff 1997 Young 1997). The outcome of colonial rule is well documented. Africa's resources and labor were used to build European nations and for their industrialization. Whereas the rulers got all they wanted economically, politically and socially, the African nations were left weakened and divided both within the state and across (Crowder 1964, Richens 2009). The structures imposed by the Europeans ensured that property ownership such as land and other resources were patronized by elites, following independence and extending to recent periods. Ultimately, at the end of colonial rule, the elite who inherited power advanced the personal rules that extended the exploitative state of affairs, mimicking the past colonial regimes (Tordoff 1997, Mamdani 2017).

A second body of literature looks into security problems that Africa has been subjected into following the superpower ideological conflicts. Cliffe (1999), Woodward (2006), Schmidt, (2013) among other studies on effects of cold war politics in Africa, point out that super-powers, in seeking to maintain their dominance across the world devised a wide range of strategic responses in locations where they sought to install capitalism – led by the US and communists ideological leanings, as led by the USSR. In the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa, Eastern and Central Africa, the geostrategic competition between the US and the USSR resulted into untold sufferings by people in Africa, portrayed by poverty, violence, governance incompetence and increased rebel movements that threatened stability and security (Makinda 1982, Bereketeab 2013).

The third body of Literature focuses on activities by the superpower following end of WWII and in post-colonial periods in Africa. Like the rest of European powers who were hegemon, the US has dominated the world following its rise as a hegemon in the unipolar system, where the former powers were weakened by adversaries of World War II. Ruling the world after creating neo-liberal institution in the wake of the end of global systemic changes since the end of the British hegemony, the US undertook political and economic leadership under the new world order. The initial direct link between the US and Africa is traceable with establishment of

Anglo-Liberian Oligarchy rule that dispensed over the former African slaves in Liberia between 1817 and 1878. Akpan (1973) notes that, the former slaves who were repatriated to Liberia from America became colonial masters over the native Liberians. From post-cold war periods to the early 2000, the US continued to enforce its global system unchallenged by using the imperial institutions created in post-world war II era – the UN, IMF and the World Bank as well as MNCs from the west (Rothchild et.al 2006, Ohaegbulam 1992, Yohannes 2002, Mahmood et.al. 2003). These institutions together with the influences of donor governments have been responsible for creating neoliberal states in Africa (Thomas 2006, Davis 2014) in firming up a unipolar world mainly used the neoliberal institutions to continue perpetuating its rules and economic self-interests. The World Bank and IMF policies were used to create political reforms and campaigns for pluralism in Africa. These institutions, while promoting the interests of their owners subjected the African nations into harsh political and economic repercussions. In his work titled impoverishing a continent: the World Bank and IMF in Africa, Asad Ismi (2004), alludes to the fact that the structural adjustment programs undermined the growth of the public sectors, being the major engines for economic growth and employment creation of these economies, Africa continued to lose out its own foundations to conform towards the policy changes that they were coerced to follow by their foreign masters. These neoliberal institutions were involved in politics in African nations, thereby directly affecting human security of Africans.

The fourth body of literature focuses on links between Africa's resources, resource curse and activities of Multinational Cooperation. Resource rich countries paradoxically have remained poorer and civil war prone as a result of what scholars call 'separatist claims' (Ross 2004, Collier and Hoeffler 1998 and 2002). And the fifth body of literature examines effect of Foreign Aid in Africa's development, which has painted the use of financial aid by the western European nations as the use of soft power – a diplomatic tool that generates ambivalent outcome and dependency syndrome in the continent. Critics blame the west for making Africa dependent on foreign powers for financial aid (Moyo 2009, Brautigam 2009) whereby this use of foreign aid paints a enforces a gloomy future and shows that aid indeed opens up these nations into more debt and vulnerabilities.

The hegemonic roles of the US were heightened during the superpower confrontation. The US and the USSR were the two powers in the world between the ends of the Second World War until the collapse of the USSR in the early 1990's. They extended their competition for alliance and ideological competition in Africa through sponsoring proxy wars and provision of aid and arm supplies in various parts of the African continent. Security problems thrived from recruitment of client regimes that represented the interests of the two powers. Instability as a result of rebel groups taking

up arms against the sitting government ensued. Because of superpower shifting support from one neighboring regime to the other, the well-known dictatorial regimes entrenched their rules (Sandbrook 1985, Schmidt, 2013). Support to dictators sustained governance problems in terms of corruption, poverty, lack of access to basic needs by the civilians and increased insecurity.

In the wake of Chinese involvement with Africa, there are sources that address the role of China in infrastructure development in Africa. (e.g Carmody 2007), yet others addresses comparative study between China and US in their hegemonic politics. literature point out that China has had significant goodwill in the hegemonic competition with the West in Africa. Chinese gesture to side with Africa was symbolic and sent a positive signal that they were sympathetic to the plight of Africa, going back to colonial periods. The works by Carmody (2007) point out that the goodwill that China has in Africa dates back to the anti-apartheid struggle. When the Rhodesian government declared independence from Britain in 1965, the Chinese took on high profile project of building the TanZam railway joining Tanzania and Zambia. Today, their activities have increased in Zambia. However, such gestures have been blamed for propping up authoritarianism on the part of African leaders who are seen as rushing to get protection from China and escape being held responsible for economic and human rights violations. African leaders, for example have not condemned violations that China itself commit.

II. PROBLEMATISING EFFECTS OF CHINA-WEST POLITICS ON EAST AFRICAN STATE CAPACITIES

Africa developed Europe, the US benefitted from Africa, and now Africa is developing China (e.g Burgis 2015, Mhango 2018). On account of this statement, a problematisation of the effect of US-China hegemonic politics is evident, drawing on the cases of nations in East Africa. Whereas the west have an interest in security establishment and spend resources in spearheading what George Bush referred to as ‘global war on terror’ (e.g Webel and Arnaldi 2011), which infiltrated the world, and in Africa, China is interested in trade relation and cuts a niche of working with states, more-so in infrastructure development fronts. The statement that China may be a new colonial power, extracting resources and selling manufacturing goods, including using African labor cheaply is a statement that commentators agree and disagree with in equal measures. China knows this, and the west too is aware. This study seeks to delve into explaining the present state capacity system in Africa by considering the influence of activities by China and counter-actions by the West, while focusing on East African states as a case study. A critical assessment on effects of such hegemonic politics in the East Africa region of the continent is not properly put into context of the study and has been glossed over in writings in addressing the question on effects of states’ capacity in Africa.

2.1 Definition and framework of analysis

The framework of analysis incorporates the meaning of state capacity and what hegemonic politics and competition portends. I use the understanding of state capacity in an analytical manner weaving the interpretation by the proponents of this concept, who observe that high capacity states are able to provide public goods such as human security, medical and health care and the social and physical infrastructure that promote human development. (Rotberg 2003). Low capacity states are limited in their ability to provide these goods leading to low social trust (Rothstein and Stolle 2008), low development levels, regime or even state failure (Skocpol 1979).

Explaining the competition between the two powers- China and US in Africa and in Kenya which consequently impact on capacity of the weaker states is based on interpreting the assumptions of the hegemonic theorists. proponents of this theory including Keohane (1984), Gilpin (2001) and Krasner (1983) agree that_Whereas there is a world leader in the unipolar system who greatly gain from existing economic and political opportunities, a competitor who closely challenges the dominance of the hegemon exists. It is observed today that US hegemony is on the decline and China, as a competitor continue to accrue benefits created by the US unipolarity, and now that the hegemon is unable to sustain the status quo, the competing power who has capability to become a leader is filling the gaps across the globe to benefit from the stability of the international system at the expense of weaker nations.

_Chinese state appears to look at Africa as a strategic economic space. Hence this geopolitical code reflects the challenges of economic transformation for China, versus international system maintenance for the US. There are mixed results of closing up of the interests of the two biggest powers on Africa especially considering how African states capacities are affected. A discussion which is provided in section 3 of the paper.

III. EFFECTS OF HEGEMONIC POLITICS ON STATES CAPACITY IN EAST AFRICA: THE CASE OF KENYA.

Whereas the US continued maintaining ties with Kenya through their established imperial organizations, by providing foreign aid, enhancing trade through AGOA and advancing security arrangements, as I discuss in section 3.1, China has cut a niche by mainly using a trade model meant to roll out infrastructure development in Kenya, as it has done and continue to invest in the rest of Africa.. This is demonstrated by their construction projects of new road networks, rails, ports and buildings such as education complexes and government quarters spread across the continent. The interests of the powers in their quest to work with leaders in these nations, is met through their foreign policy goals which are strategic plans for maximizing their gains while interacting with countries in Africa. As I argue here, while these two powers continue relating with Kenya, Kenya has dramatically been impacted on and appears to continue loosing while

relating with the two world powers. Seen in light of evidence regarding infrastructure, financial, technical, equipment and security ventures from the external actors, it can be argued that Kenya has grown over-dependent on China and the West for her survival. This dependency syndrome, although not a new feature, raises several questions on capacities of African countries in the twenty first century.

This begs two questions relevant to this study: i) To what extent has Kenya taken full charge of human development by providing an environment through which their citizens' access to welfare needs are not undermined, in the wake of increased China-Africa infrastructure development? ii) How have responses by the U.S in war against terrorism and other security threats affected the capacity of Kenya to deal with security challenges in the nation? The next section addresses the capacity dilemma that Kenya is faced with while China operates in various development sectors in the country, which in essence as observed has constrained the expansion of Kenyan based economic opportunities and inhibited growth.

3.1 Capacity Dilemma On Human Development requirements And Chinese Involvement In Kenya

Kenyan's livelihoods and modes of production, consumption and survival have over the years been impacted on given the presence of Chinese in critical sectors of the Kenyan economy. (E.g. All Africa report, 2017). Imports by China continue to threaten Kenya's regional economic dominance where the country's competitiveness has remained highest over time. According to the World Bank (2019), Kenya's manufacturing exports to Africa which accounted for 35.5% of its merchandise export in 2018 have contracted to an average of 3.6% decline per year. This is in part due to the intensified competition in these markets. In this section, I will provide an assessment of how the presence of Chinese firms and their operations within the country continue to directly hamper capacity of the local Kenyan based entrepreneurs instead of promoting a win-win formula - which has been a belief behind welcoming China into Africa. The Kenyan government's vision 2030 and the big four agenda are the long-term official development roadmaps meant to turn around the economy and bring prosperity where citizens are the target in development and the drivers of economic growth in Kenya (G.O.K 2005 vision 2030; G.O.K 2018 Big four Agenda). The focus of Kenyan government development blue prints are hinged on strengthening the state capacity by way of inspiring local investments in order to embark on job creation and to harness collaborations with development partners for the sake of improving the Kenyan manufacturing sector, enhancing food security, increasing affordable housing and improving access to universal health care. To this end, the government requires capital to fund its economic agenda and with realization of budgetary constraints, China which has been present in Kenya for the past one and a half decades was invited to support the Kenyan government in rolling out these projects and to realize this vision. Kenya wants to transform

its economy a step further into a middle income nation by the year 2030.

Although the intention by the Kenyan government is to partner with China to support local manufacturing industries to thrive and to promote small scale business interests including the informal sector where large numbers of artisans are involved in production, the opposite has become the case – local businesses are regressed. Chinese businesses have remained dominant and exploitative while they operate in the same sectors within the Kenyan market. Currently, there is a large balance of trade between China and Kenya where Kenya export to China was valued at US\$ 139.01 in the year 2020, according to data from COMTRADE based on international trade statistics. The exports included Tea, Leather, Sisal Fiber and Scrap metal. Chinese traders over the same period imported all commodities of electronics, plastic products, motorcycle, motor vehicle spare parts, furniture, and clothes among others. Kenya has increasingly become a market for Chinese products as indicated in this study. This has evidently brought imbalance on trade and a capacity dilemma where Chinese entrepreneurs have extended their operations into small scale and middle-income sectors that are domain undertaken by low- and middle-income Kenyan business interests forcing Kenyans to compete with Chinese businesses within Kenyan markets.

In recent periods, Chinese middle level business interests have thrived through duplication. Kenyan based textile industries choke under Chinese duplication onslaughts where Chinese cheap merchandise flood local market rendering locally manufactured textile products to lose out in trade. Example is fabrics known as Kitenge which have been targeted for duplication, where Chinese take designs and manufacture large quantities of the product to sell in the Kenyan market. In second hand clothing business, Chinese investors have over the years dominated the sector by way of importing large quantities of clothing that have negatively affected local investors trading on same products (BBC news 2019) . Other examples have been businesses trading on sportswear of Kenyan local football clubs, which opened businesses as part of financing local clubs to sell their respective branded wear and donate a fraction of the profit to support activities of the Kenyan clubs. Chinese enterprises on the other hand manufacture duplicates of the wears and sell the same cheaply, thereby killing the idea behind the local sports firms and their chain of enterprises. Unlike Chinese manufacturers, Kenyan middle level and small level business people do not have capital or machinery to produce cheaper goods at similar pricing.

The same accounts are witnessed in the *Jua-Kali sector* (the artisanal crafts in the informal sector) is also affected by the duplication of products from China. Artisans are normally creative and come up with products that are unique to attract clients as part of their market strategies. But of late, such creativities have been affected by duplications of more or less similar art which have been created out of copying the

artisanal ideas, where Chinese manufacture a copy of these items and sell the cheaper copy next to the Kenyan 'jua-kali' produces such as chairs, tables, doors, windows, utensils, garden tools and all metal products for local use, which face competition from Chinese duplications and finished products (Xinhua 2020). Such enterprises are then pushed out of market instead of thriving.

Reports by the World Bank state that Chinese firms tend to rely on their low cost labor when undertaking infrastructure work in Kenya, just as it does whenever operating in other parts of the continent. This has a hindrance on job creation and especially on granting employment to the right group of Kenyans educated as engineers, architectures and other construction workers. Thus, the Kenyan educated students who have graduated with engineering and relevant areas of construction works, who could use their work experience and expertise, end up losing out in opportunities where their relevance count, and thus remain jobless. China in this case unreasonably undermines capacities of the Kenyans who have education and ability to serve in these areas. At the same time, Chinese construction firms are able to maintain high profit margins through cutting down on labor costs ultimately the benefits of this relation go to Chinese firms and their government. Further there are evidences compiled by various policy and human rights reports showing that Chinese companies discriminate against local workforce by violating their rights to predictable employment since dismissal of workers without notice is a tendency in construction sites where they operate (Guardian 2015, Standard newspaper 2018). Kenyan employees in Chinese firms are normally fired under unclear circumstances undermining their rights to plan for their present and future on welfare access and their personal security. Labour laws and policies as well as employment acts protecting workers' rights are violated at free will by the Chinese employers. This is also seen in the manner that the workers are exposed into health hazards given the poor health safety measures under which they operate within the construction or labour intensive duties.

The human development capacity dilemma is also viewed considering recent problems that have extended to the Agribusiness sectors where the food sector that employ a large chunk of farmers and traders who indulge in food businesses face retardation because of Chinese investments in this sector. A number of studies have shown that food products from China that reach the Kenyan local markets contribute in constraining local growth of Agribusiness since they are cheap and duplicate of Kenyan original products. Food prices of Kenyan based special species which consumers find tasty have given way to Chinese products which have penetrated local markets. Gikomba and Wakulima markets in downtown Nairobi receive supplies from China including fish³ that compete with those from Lake Victoria which is normally the major source of fresh water lake and where for decades

supplied Kenyan markets with fish. Kenya, like other states, is expected to set food safety control systems.⁴ (Same, some statistics of import to validate author's point)

Over the years, Kenya's small and middle level cash crop farmers of Maize, Sugarcane, Coffee and Tea have been largely displaced from agribusinesses as a result of uncontrolled continental and international trade, and the entry of China in food markets is an extension of constraining and marginalization of Kenyans' who make their livelihood from food markets. Traditionally, these sectors have been the main economic drivers of communal human development. Recently, media reports painted gloomy picture on sustainability of these agricultural sectors. Tea and coffee farmers have engaged in an en masse uprooting of these crops from their farms for failure to get any returns that can sustain their lives and want to try other alternative crops, whose markets are yet to be established. This already paints a bleak future on Agricultural projects. Protests by maize farmers who blame government authorities of insensitivity by which the farmers are treated have risen. The farmers complain that payments released through the ministry of Agriculture do not reach the real farmers, but maize entrepreneurs, who import maize from other destinations. This interferes with local capacity for generating affordable food for population. Similarly, even though part of Kenyan government big four agenda focuses on manufacturing, the outcomes regarding problems in sugar sector which has become perennial, paints a gloomy picture on how its dwindling prospects has reached a dead end.

Capacity dilemma has also been extended as a result of Chinese operations in large scale infrastructure projects which have been constructed and financed by Chinese government in Kenya but have registered ambivalent outcomes in present periods. An example is the Chinese project known as the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), which is a train linking Nairobi, to the coastal city of Mombasa and transports people and goods between these two cities. The project was sourced by Kibaki's government (in his second term in office but initiated by his successor Uhuru Kenyatta in December 2014), having procured resources from China and through Chinese support the project was completed in 2017 and since then it has been under operation (Railway technology 2021;). This Standard Gauge Railway project is meant to spur economic growth through transport of cargo and travelers. But there are Immediate backlash on these developments which has already created constant protests by truck drivers, and bus companies operating between Nairobi and Mombasa. Kenyans employed in transport industries to transport cargo by road from port Mombasa to destinations within the country and in the neighboring capitals of Kampala and Kigali argue that they are forced out because the government, through transport ministry seeks to protect the SGR, giving it monopoly

³ Source. Business Daily. How Cheap food Imports eat into Kenya's Agri-business sector. February 21, 2019.

⁴ Source. Business Daily. Flaws in China-Kenya food, Agriculture trade. November 19, 2018.

arrangement as a major sector for cargo transport (Reuters 2019).

Under the current regimes plans of stretching the same railway network, a construction work of a dry port – known as the Naivasha industrial park has been initiated. Currently, this industrial park has meant that activities that used to occur in port Mombasa by middle-level entrepreneurs as well as small scale business opportunities would henceforth be affected. The Naivasha industrial park, yet to be set up, already has several political-economic dimensions at its inception. This is seen in recent diplomatic overtures where the Kenyan president agreed to lease land to Ugandan President to initiate trade activities there once established. China already promised to extend support in the construction work of the Naivasha industrial park in order to help the government fulfill its plan under the ‘manufacturing agenda of big four agendas’.

China wants to increase its investment in other small and middle level economic sectors. This is suggested by the new enterprises specializing in provision of building materials, such as Tiles manufacturing. Twyford ceramics, Chinese based tiles manufacturing is based in Kajiado and controls this sector within Nairobi.⁵ Under the arrangement where Chinese companies directly win the contracts for construction, capitalistic tendencies which thrive continue perpetuating imbalance that disfavor Kenya’s human development prospects. It is expected that in the implementation of the affordable housing agenda in Kenya under the stewardship of Kenyatta’s regime, Chinese middle level companies and their Kenyan affiliate are likely to dominate the activities, going by the recent claims that local constructions firms have raised.⁶ The local firms are unable to thrive under such competition. This has negative repercussions towards sustainable job creation and economic independence. Construction works of the intended affordable housing projects have been taken over by foreign firms, a situation that raises concern how local construction workers will continue losing out in this arrangement. Kenya’s inability to give basic construction firms competitive edge enough to inject employment in home grown construction work is doubtful, given the experiences where Chinese companies use their own labor and only marginally incorporating Kenyan labor in contracts undertaken by China.

3.2 The Effects Of Involvement Of U.S In Addressing Security Threats In Kenya

As pointed out in section 3.1, unlike china whose relations with African nations is explained by their engagements in the area of infrastructure development and other middle level business interests that have impacted on human development in Kenya - the US is increasingly focusing on security engagement across the continent, in the quest to succeed in

what president Bush had begun in line with the war on Terror where their major foreign policy interest is anchored. However, this does not mean to argue that the US and the West are not involved in development related projects in Kenya. Past studies show that collaborations between the US and Kenya are extensive and include support that Kenya gets from the US in terms of Healthcare projects (Omolo et.al. 2016), and more so trade linkages under the AGOA – a trade agreement where selected Kenyan products are allowed to reach the US market duty free.

Given the upward trends in security threats as a result of terror attacks, and the limitations that the nations in Africa experience in containing this source of instability, Africa find it necessary to advance their traditional ties with the West and the US in particular. The constraints faced by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, on taking charge of their security has much to do with historical ties that they have maintained with the west where protection from external threats have followed a pattern of partnership which has been led by the U.S. This has been compounded by other reinforcing internal and external factors and powerful networks. Over the years, Kenya (and Uganda) has faced terrorists attack (Tanzania was only attacked in 1998, when terrorists targeted the US embassy in Tanzania). Kenya has become a victim of security threats from external actors within its territories. To protect themselves, increased budget on security agencies are required. Evidence shows that in the war against terror, these nations are subjected to relying on western powers, on equipment, training and strategic planning. Seen as a major ally of the West in East Africa, Kenya has suffered more terror attacks even before the September 2001 US Washington attacks.

In 1998, the attacks targeting the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania ended up destroying properties and loss of lives of innocent Kenyans and Tanzanians who suffered the consequence of war, which were not of their making. And since the September 2001, Kenya has been a victim of terror attack in the continent of Africa. In the wake of the security threats, the instabilities as a result of terror threats from the Somali bound Alshabaab group has grown, since the invasion by the KDF in Somalia in 2010. The capacity constrain to protect its territory has led Kenya to maintain ties with the west who promise support inform of equipment, trainings provided under conditions which undermine the independence of their security agencies. In 2018, British Prime Minister, Theresa May while visiting Kenya announced that security cooperation between Kenya and the UK would be reaffirmed. Britain has their camps in Laikipia, which they use as a strategic training ground for military collaborations with their Kenyan counterparts. Similarly, the US has over the years increased security support. In 2018, while visiting the US, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta agreed with Donald Trump that the Kenyan security requires strategy of cooperation with the US to crush Alshabaab in Somalia. But at the same time, the US has led in issuance of Travel advisories to their

⁵ Source. New China. Experts Urge Kenya to Forge Partnership with China to benefit from BRIC. April 14, 2019.

⁶ Source: Xinhua. China to Support Kenya’s Development Agenda. Envoy. 06 June, 2019.

citizens, painting Kenya as insecure nations thereby signifying the nation as incapable of preempting or lacking intelligence information thereby unable to properly deal with terrorists' attacks.

The militarization and securitization of government agencies has thrived over the years. The government's authoritarianism in Uganda increases with Chinese military support. Opposition groups that criticize the regime have been met with force to repulse political criticism associated with poor leadership and lack of provision of welfare to the citizens. Security engagements and traps of defense aid undermine stability. In Uganda, there has been weaponization of state and politics where the regime deliberately use excessive force to.

The constant issuance of travel advisories by the west, whereby the western governments advise their citizens against traveling to Kenya due to what they refer to as deteriorating security in Kenya only imply that the west view countries in East Africa as security risks. Media in US and UK have portrayed East African nations as hotbed of insecurity. Material support from the US on war on terror in Kenya have led to mixed feelings within the political class and across the region, pushing efforts by IGAD and East African Community aside. Coming against the background of several cooperation arrangements set up under the West's stewardship, the US leadership up scaled its engagement through AGOA, to allow African goods to access the US trade market. There are security pacts such as AFRICOM and other anti-terror networks spurning the West Africa, East Africa and Central African regions. At the same time, traditional colonial powers in Africa; - the UK and France have maintained their presence using imperialistic arrangements which have not diminished in their former colonies. Through bilateralism and multinational corporations, and new security pacts and trade agreements, Britain maintains its interests as indicated by the recent trip made by Prime Minister Teresa May in 2018, in their pivotal states of West and East Africa. Generally, by maintaining the colonial ties, by using international organizations of western origins, and by exploiting their past cultural diplomatic techniques, the West has managed to cultivate their existence in the face of China's onslaught in the continent.

Undoubtedly, China's investments and trade relations as well as its presence in the continent has tilted the hegemonic equation. This Asian power has made strides by creating new arrangements of gigantic proportions with African states, mainly through the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and presently the China Belt and Road initiatives (e.g World Bank 2018 on belt and road initiative). Huge infrastructure construction works of road highways, railways, pipelines, ports- both air and sea and buildings such as education complexes have been completed, while other are ongoing, all courtesy of their renewed actions. But analysts see in China a move meant to firm up its grip by capturing new spaces and flexing its muscles. This bothers the US and other western powers.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

China and US seek to continue controlling the world and likelihoods that their political, economic and security activities are concentrated in nations that have potentials for promoting their hegemonic interests cannot be understated. However, while they stretch their competition globally and meet their interests according to their foreign policy goals, smaller nations continue to fall underneath in terms of capacities to deal with their security and human development needs. The case of Kenya, discussed in this study addresses these concerns.

China hampers sustainability solutions for growth of Kenyan development sectors which can guarantee a thriving capacity of the Kenyan state. Sustainability plans should not be dictated by Chinese capital which are tampering with state capacity and human capacity - but by local needs, where the investments spearheaded by the government can promote human development by way of involving the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manpower, but ensuring that Kenyan based agribusiness sector is fully claimed and led by Kenyans. Firm produces that are meant for Kenyan consumer markets should be protected by all means by the government to give a deliberate and marketing strategies that emphasize on 'sell Kenyan - buy Kenyan' advertised. This is not to mean that isolationism policies are adopted, but under free trade a paradigm shift that allow local investment to thrive conform to the spirit of free market policies and liberalism. Chinese engagement can still be left at the level of state infrastructure project, such as building of airports, inter-county roads, railway in a manner that is well moderated. If such projects are moderated in line with the national plans, accommodated by the priorities spelt out by the Kenyan government big four agenda and vision 2030, a win-win situation of collaboration is likely to be promoted in the relations. Kenya needs China, just as china needs Kenya. Deepening of relations should bring value and increased human development. A percentage need to be worked out when Chinese firm is contracted whereby Kenyan based skilled labour force is tapped into the particular projects rolled out within the nation. A lot of Kenyan's remain jobless, yet these are the opportunities where they can get recruited into for the sake of improvement of their livelihood and contribute to the country's GDP growth. The Kenyan government in their agenda of manufacturing sector promises job creation which lead into minimizing joblessness through job creation, but this is unattainable under the circumstances where operations by Chinese are to be encouraged by way of violating labor relations and avoiding modes of recruitment where Kenyans' who have education can take part in these projects that are within the nation.

At the same time, over dependence on the state on United States in security is a weakness in the face where the state should control priority areas of dealing with internal insecurity threats than even threats feared to emerge from terror groups. In the past decade security of the nation is highly intertwined by the lack of government efforts to deal

with sources of marginalization, which manifests itself in forms of streets protests, arm gangs, criminal groups and militias. These are highly volatile actors within a state and questions are raised on whether a state can continue to claim monopoly over violence when such actors operate while the government shifts attention to focus more on what the U.S has constructed as the global war on terror.

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