FOREIGN POLICY OF KENYA DURING JOMO KENYATTA'S PERIOD

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that the dissertation entitled, "FOREIGN POLICY OF KENYA DURING JOMO KENYATTA'S PERIOD" Submitted by HRUDANANDA MOHANTY in partial fulfilment of the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil.) in Jawaharlal Nehru University, is a product of the student's own work, carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

It is hereby certified that this work has not been presented for the award of any other degree or diploma by any university in or outside India and may be forwarded to the examiners for evaluation.

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PREFACE

The formulation of independent foreign policy has become an indispensible part of the governing elites of the post-colonial states. It is indispensable, because due to their colonially inherited underdeveloped economy and more particularly to safeguard their hard owned independence they attempt to maintain good relations with the neighbours as well as the former colonial rulers.

The objective of the present study is to examine Kenya's foreign policy during President Jomo Kenyatta's period. The study is based on a discussion of the foreign policy of Kenya in a wider context. In historical perspective, attempts have been made to discuss the evolution of Kenya's foreign policy and its determinants. Kenya's foreign policy options as regards the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces within Africa. Efforts also have been made to examine its bilateral and multi-lateral relations and policy of non-alignment and various antecedent factors to such a policy orientation.

The study has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the evolution of Kenya's foreign policy, where historical, domestic and external

conditions as well as the role of Jomo Kenyatta are seen as important factor in shaping the foreign policy of Kenya.

In the second chapter, emphasis on Kenya's policy towards African Unity, relations with Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the liberation movements in Africa have been analysed.

In the third chapter, a critical analysis of Kenya's policy towards and relations with her neighbours has been made.

The fourth chapter deals with Kenya's policy of non-alignment and its policy towards and role in the United Nations Organisation (UNO). Here efforts have been made to discuss Kenya's non-aligned policy in detail and its policy stand on various issues at the United Nations.

In the fifth chapter, Kenya's relations with both the Western and the Eastern powers has been made. At the sametime, its role within the Commonwealth Organisation has also been examined.

In the sixth and the last chapter, an overall concluding derivation of all the chapters has been made.

During the course of my research work, I received guidance from my Supervisor, Professor Anirudha Gupta who encouraged and helped me in completing my dissertation. I owe a deep sense of gratitude to him.

I am indebted to the staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Delhi University Library, Indian Council of World Affairs Library and the Embassy of Republic of Kenya (New Delhi) who provided adequate research materials for my work.

I owe a great deal to my elder brothers and sister-in-laws, without whose support and encouragement, I would not have been able to undertake this work.

I am extremely thankful to my seniors particularlyBijayabhai for his encouragement throughout my work. I am also thankful to my friends Ramesh, Jagat, Manoranjan, Pradeep for their good wishes and cooperations.

Finally, I express my thanks to Mrs. Renu and Mrs. Usha for neatly typing my dissertation.

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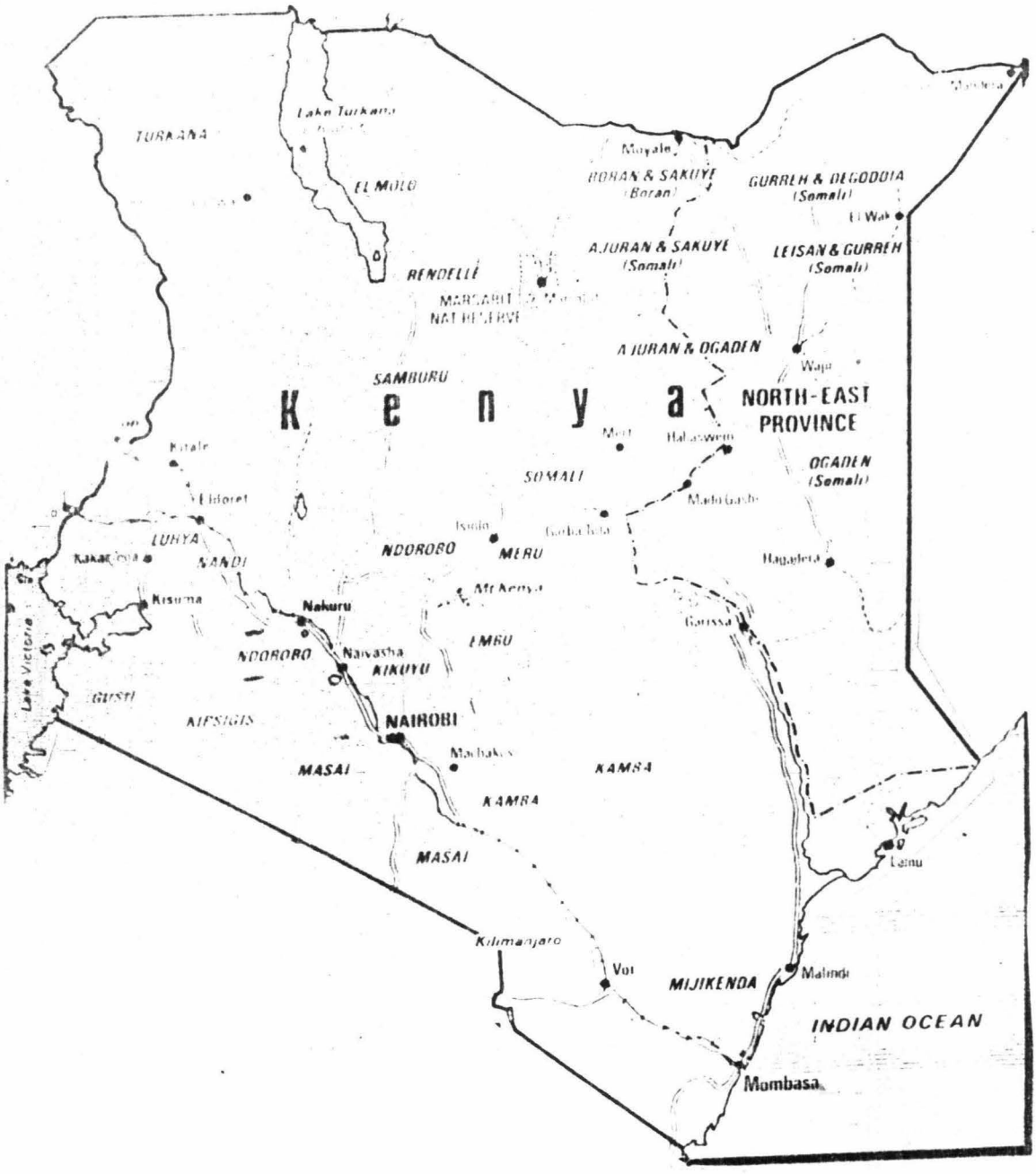

TURKANA
Lake Turkana
EL MOLO
Moyale
BORAN & SAKUYE
(Boran)
GURREH & DEGODDIA
(Somali)
El Wak
AJURAN & SAKUYE
(Somali)
LEISAN & GURREH
(Somali)
RENDELLE
MARSABIT
NAT RESERVE
AJURAN & OGADEN
Wajir
SAMBURU
Kenya
NORTH-EAST
PROVINCE
Kitale
Eldoret
SOMALI
OGADEN
(Somali)
LUHYA
NANDI
NDOROBO
MERU
Hagadera
Kisumu
Nakuru
Mt Kenya
Garissa
EMBU
NDOROBO
Naivasha
KIKUYU
Lake Victoria
GUSII
KIPSIGIS
NAIROBI
MASAI
KAMBA
KAMBA
MASAI
Lamu
Kilimanjaro
Voi
MIJIKENDA
Malindi
INDIAN OCEAN
Mombasa

Abbreviations used in this dissertation

A D B - African Development Bank

C H O G M - Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

E A C - East African Community

I C J - International Court of Justice

K A U - Kenya African Union

K A N U - Kenya African National Union

K A D U - Kenya African Democratic Union

K C A - Kikuyu Central Association

K P U - Kenya Peoples Union

K R A - Kikuyu Rural Association

M N Cs - Multinational Corporations

N A M - Non-Aligned Movement

N A T O - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

O AU - Organisation of African Unity

U A R - United Arab Republic

U D I - Unilateral Declaration of Independence

U N E P - United Nations Environment Programme

U N O - United Nations Organisation

U S S R - Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

Y K A - Young Kikuyu Association

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION : EVOLUTION OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The necessity of having a foreign policy lies in the principles, interests and objectives which a state pursues in conducting its relations with other states of the world. Principles provide a sound basis on which agreed and stable policies can be formulated. A principle such as non-interference in domestic affairs or free trade is proclaimed and advocated when a state finds advantage in doing so.

The interest of the nation refers to what is best for a national society. Objectives are the aims to be attained through foreign policy operation. The aim of a foreign policy is to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with other nations.

The task of formulating foreign policy is very complex. First, because of the absence of any means of controlling the behaviour of other countries. Secondly, because of the changing national and international environment. Accepting these assumptions one can say that the foreign policy of Kenya has also been shaped by its internal and external environment, mainly by two important domestic factors - 1) personality of Jomo Kenyatt

and 2) the legacy of colonial rule.

Historical Background of Kenya -

Kenya was a part of the East African protectorate[1] established by Britain in 1895 during the scramble for Africa. Britain declared it as a colony in 1920. During this period many changes took place within Kenya. Missionaries established Schools, Clinics and Churches and a community of African Christians. Over 3000 settlers brought European techniques that Africans began to follow. Asian and European traders set up business which affected the traditional African practices.

The establishment of colonial rule had a profound impact on the African population. The alienation of land by European dislocated African's land became the bone of contention between the Europeans and the Kikuyu of Kenya who claimed that their lands were being occupied by the settlers. Subsequently development of

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1. Other countries came under the protectorate were Zanzibar, Uganda and portion of Southern Somalia.

European plantations and farms created a demand for a large numbersof wage labours.[2] Due to unavailability of large number of labour force, the colonial government adopted certain financial and political measures to create the required labour supply. The colonial government imposed taxes, created reserves, disrupted local economies and denied Africans to grow major commercial crops.[3]

The organised African protest began in 1920. in Kiambu a coffee growing district near Nairobi. Here, a Kikuyu Rural Association to formally protested the alienation of district land. This group included government appointed headmen and chiefs who sought redress at the risk of losing their jobs. They wrote petition and letters of grievances. When these techniques proved ineffective, a more militant group called the Young Kikuyu Association was organised in 1921. It protested against compulsory hut taxes, labour laws etc. But it could not succeed in fulfil ing its demands.

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2 R.Sandbrook and R.Cohen eds., The Development of an African working class. (London, 1975), p. 15.

3 Tabitha Konago, Squatters and Roots of mau mau - 1905-1963 (London, 1987), P.1.

In 1925, a newly named Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) emerged as an Organisation to carry African initiatives. The issues revolved around land rights and alienation but taxes, unemployment and education of African children. Three years after its formation Jomo Kenyatta became its General Secretary. By 1939, the KCA emerged as the Organisation of African protest. It was banned in 1940 because the colonial power felt that KCA's widespread mass base might affect it adversely.

The Kenya African Union (KAU), a composite body drawn from different tribes was formed in October 1, 1944. After the formation of KAU the nationalist movement called for change in the systems of government in the colony. The majority of KAU leaders were in favour of using constitutional methods in their efforts to achieve majority rule. This approach to Kenya's anti-imperialist struggle was firmly opposed by a number of KAU militants and the leaders of the working class movement. Because they lost their faith in constitutional methods of fighting for independence. They also felt that the British Government would never give in Kenya without a struggle. For them, the only road to national independence was through armed struggle. The divisions and

contradictions within the nationalist movement brought about the birth of the Mau Mau movement in the 1950s.[4]

On 20th October 1952, the British declared war on the Mau Mau movement. It arrested all key leaders including Jomo Kenyatta of KAU. Later, Jomo Kenyatta was brought to trial for his complicity in Mau Mau. He was found guilty and sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

Beginning in 1959, political events began to move rapidly. The colonial government lifted the ban on political Organisations imposed since the Mau Mau movement. In 1960, two political parties were emerged.[5] The Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by Mboy and Odinga in the name of Kenyatta was made up ethnically of Kikuyu, Luo and the old guard of the banned KAU. The second party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) led by Ronald Ngala, Daniel Arap Noi and others was a party of some Kamba and several ethnic minorities - Kalenjin, Maasai, coastal Mijikenda, Somali and other pastoralise peoples.

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4 Maina Wo Kinyatti ed., Kenya's Freedom Struggle (London, 1987), P.2.

5 Norman N.Miller, Kenya: The Quest for prosperity (London, 1984), P.28.

Kenyatta became the President of KANU in October 1961. In April 1962, a temporary coalition government of KANU and KADU was formed. The date for national election was fixed. In the pre-election campaign KANU's candidates had embraced national unity, Centralism in the government, African Socialism and a non-aligned approach to foreign affairs. KADU advocated a regional form of government, greater conservatives in finance and welfare, greater latitude for ethnic loyalties in politics and closer ties to Britain.

In the National election, the KANU emerged as the single largest party and Kenya attained its internal self government. Jomo Kenyatta, President of KANU, became the Prime-minister and convened Kenya's first Cabinet which symbolically was multi-racial.

In September 1963, final agreement was reached in London on the independence constitution. On December 12, 1963, Kenya got her independence.

<u>Role of Jomo Kenyatta in Shaping of an Independent Foreign Policy of Kenya</u> -

Kenya got her independence under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta. During the struggle for independence Kenyatta emerged as an undisputed leader. His long

association with the nationalist struggle made him a popular leader. He was elected as the General Secretary of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1928. He became the President of Kenya African Union (KAU) in 1947. Under his leadership it became a mass party and it increased its membership all over Kenya. He served as the President of Kenya African National Union (KANU) since 1961. He also served as the first Prime-minister of independent Kenya in 1963 and subsequently as President from 1964 till 1978. The Kenyan foreign policy is quite reflective of Kenyatta's personality as the national leader. His personality dominated Kenya's internal and external policy formation.

For fifteen years (1963-1978), the fortunes of Kenya were identified with the leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta. During a time when many other African states experienced interruptions in leadership, political violence and economic stagnations Kenya under Kenyatta enjoyed an extended period of peace and prosperity.[6] It is not that all Kenyans shared equally in the nation's good prosperity and nor all were politically satisfied, but there was little organised opposition. It is because the population generally

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6. "Kenyatta and Kenya", series of Articles, Africa Today, (Colorado, USA), vol. 26, no 33, 1979, pp. 5-58.

supported the government and because opposition groups were broken up by official harassment before they could become a threat. Kenya was essentially stable. This stability seems to be based however not on a strong party organisation or on established tradition of popular participation in the political system, but on the leadership of one aging statesman Jomo Kenyatta.[7] Describing him correctly, Henry Bienen said, "This period as one who has ruled above party by manipulating factions, working through a relatively strong civil service, operating in a rather narrow sphere of concerns, utilising his ethnic base but at the sametime appealing to all Kenyans with the force of his historical position as he who suffered for the Kenya nation as the spokesman for Kenya nationalism as the mzee of elder of the nation.[8] Overall political stability was Kenyatta's main achievement. This achievement was accomplished by carrying out some land reform in the higher lands by controlling the provincial administration, by neutralising opposition, by attracting economic aid from abroad, by keeping the support of the middle-economic

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7. Ibid, pp. 5-58.

8. Henry Bienien, Kenya - The Politics of participation and Control (Princeton, 1974), p.74.

class through appeals to their vested interests and by keeping the politically restive Kikuyu loyal to him and working for the regime.[9] He effectively curtailed the military by keeping the army small and by penetrating the ranks with informats.

The stability in Kenya's foreign policy could be viewed in terms of its commitment to anti-racialism, anti-colonialism and to self-reliance. Kenyatta was trying to keep the momentum of the economic development on the capitalist ways, despite the ideological conflict between the West and the East in the cold war situation. Because he believed that the road to real independence and self-reliance lies in economic development and free-enterprise, not in military might.[10] He was determined to make foreign interests free at home in independent Kenya. He obliged the international capitalists by frequently emphasizing his aversion to nationalisation and his respect for private property free-enterprise and foreign investment.[11]

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9 M.Temarkin, The Roots of Political Stability in Kenya, Africa Affairs (UK), vol. 77, no. 308 (July 1976), P.308.

10 Indian Express (Delhi), 9, October 1977.

11 Independent Kenya, Zed Press, 57, Coledonian Road, London, NI 9 DN, 1982, P. 98.

In order to neutralise the opposition particularly the left wing of his own party Kenyatta introduced a sessional paper on African Socialism and its application to planning Kenya. This paper gives the details of the Kenya's independent foreign policy orientation. Speaking at a Press Conference in Nairobi on 27th April 1965 he asserted that, "In this we declared that our country would develop on the basis of the philosophy of democratic African Socialism. We rejected both Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism and chose for ourselves the policy of positive non-alignment. Our entire approach has been dominated by a desire to ensure Africanisation of the economy and the public service. Our tasks remain to try and achieve those two goals without doing harm to the economic itself and within the declared aim of our society.[12] Explaining the African socialism he further said that, Kenya must have an economic and political system that was positively African. It must not be imported from any country or be a blue print of any foreign ideology. It must draw on the best of African tradition. It must be adoptable to new

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12 Africa Research Bulletin, Political, Social and Cultural Series (England), vol. 2, no.5., May 1965, P.269.

and rapidly changing circumstances and it must not wait for its success on a satellite relationship with any country or group of countries.[13]

Kenyatta as a statesman was realistic and progmatist in his attitude towards foreign policy goals and objectives. This was quite evident from his statement when he said, "What we want is Kenya's nationalism which helped us to win the struggle against imperialism. We do not want somebody else's nationalism. It is a sad mistake to think that you can get more food, more hospitals or schools by crying communism.[14] This statement of Kenyatta explains his realistic approach to life issues and problems.

Colonial Legacy -

Kenya was the victim of colonial exploitation during the British rule. Thus the obvious outcome was the economic stagnation of Kenya. The word 'dependency in fact describes the situation. At independence, the economies of Kenya dominated by non-Africans, European farmers, Asian traders, foreign companies and local European businessmen. The heart of economy is agriculture, which is well diversified behind the leading commodities of coffee and tea. Foreign investment has

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13 Ibid, P. 296.

14 C.J.Gertzel and others (ed.), Government and Politic in Kenya, (Nairobi, 1969), P. 574.

continued and foreign aid still provides a major portion of development spending.[15] In addition the external economy of Kenya was closely intertwinedwith the former colonial power - Great Britain. Similarly Kenya's trade pattern long ingrained during colonial rule was dominated by Britain and her western partners. Kenyatta believed that Kenya could not be able to make economic progress unless it would get the foreign aid and assistance. Therefore, in order to make the foreign investment more secure he brought out the foreign investment protection Act of 1964.[16] Even Kenya's dependency is more manifested with the foreign assistance for both budgetary support and important specific projects such as Kenya's land transfer programme to settle African farmers on the former white High lands.

External factor -

The external environment has also a positive role to play in moulding the foreign policy of Kenya. After independence, the immediate need for Kenya was to explore the means whereby its limits of power could be ascertained in the international sphere where the role of the super powers and the influence of former

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15 Norman N.Miller, Kenya - the Quest for prosperity, (London, [illegible] 1984), P.110.

16 Ibid, P. 124.

colonial powers were on existing reality. Therefore, it found United Nations (UN) as a proper international forum in which it could be able to make her voice heard on international issues and that is only through the implementation of the principles upon which it is based on. This is clearly manifested in its stand on matters like apartheid in South Africa and the independence movement in Namibia where it has consistently been opposing the western powers in the international fora. At the sametime, it used the Commonwealth as an instrument by which it not only pressurised Britain for getting liberated Southern Rhodesia but also interacted with other developing and developed countries for its economic benefits.

Kenya's external relations as well as its foreign policy is to some extent conditioned by the events in the neighbouring countries. The geographical continguity of Kenya to South Africa and the continuing racism in Southern Africa and its effort to eliminate it justified its commitment to anti-racialism and anti-colonialism. This awareness confronting the situation in South Africa was a logical factor in influencing the foreign policy of Kenya.

The above internal and external factors had profound impact on the evolution of Kenya's foreign

policy. So Kenya's efforts for political unity, stability and economic development domestically and politics of non-alignment externally is the hallmark of its foreign policy. The policy of non-alignment was the ultimate choice for Kenya when the world was divided into two blocs the West and the East. In addition, the choice of non-alignment was also for several other reasons. Kenya's total dependence on the West could only be reduced by following an independent foreign policy which could best be possible by adhering to the principle of non-alignment, since non-alignment was considered as a mechanism to reduce the impact of neo-colonialism. Kenyatta was quite explicit about the ideological and economic basis of non-alignment in his statement. On the ideological line there was no exclusive adherence to the socio-economic system of either bloc. As he said, "In the world power politics, the East has as much design upon us as the West and would like us to serve their own interests." This is why we reject communism. It is in fact the reason why we have choice for ourselves the policy of non-alignment and African socialism. To us, Communism is as bad as imperialism."[17] At the economic

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17 C.J.Gertzel, n.14, P. 579.

level highest priority was given on the independence of policy stand. This independent policy signifies acceptance of foreign aid and assistance without any political compulsion attached to it. This independent stand has been reflected in Kenyatta's statement where he said, It is natural that we should detest western colonialism and associate the word imperialism with the West. But if we are truly non-aligned we must not avoid making friends with those western countries who extend an honest field of cooperation and trade.[18] It was through non-alignment that Kenya was trying to give meaning and content to its political independence.

Kenya's policies may also be examined in the context of its commitment to anti-racialism. On the achievement of independence the Kenya government banned all trade to and from South Africa and Portugal. Though the government faced the trade loss but it was considered a necessary sacrifice in the fight against apartheid. Kenya has taken consistent stand on apartheid in all international conferences such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Commonwealth, United Nations specialised Agencies Conferences and the 1964 London International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa.

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18 Ibid.

Kenya has all-through been against the involvement in the cold war. Its basic stance is based on the basic tenets as non-alignment, support for the UN, promotion of African Unity, racial equality, independence and cooperation and the need for disarmament..

CHAPTER II

KENYA AND ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The aims and objectives outlined in the Charter of the OAU clearly reflect the desire of the African states for African Unity, to safeguard independence, to improve living standard and to ensure end of colonialism in Africa. It was in the context of these aims and objectives of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) that it is quite essential to examine Kenya's relationship with OAU in order to give a definite picture of its foreign policy stand on different issues of considerable importance.

Kenya became the member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in January 1964. Welcoming the ideal of Unity manifested in the Charter of OAU. President Kenyatta said, "It was the first concrete step taken by the free states of Africa in the welcome direction of building up African Unity on a permanent basis. Preservation of OAU as an instrument for serving African interest is, therefore, of paramount importance."[1] Expressing his own faith and Kenya's commitment to preserve the Charter of OAU, Kenyatta said, "Enshrined in the OAU Charter are cherished principles which all African countries areendeavouring to apply in their

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1 East AfricanStandard (Nairobi), 26th May, 1965.

sovereign lines. Among these are the non-interference in the internal affairs of states, peaceful settlement of disputes and positive non-alignment as a foreign policy. We subscribed to these principles because they form a sound basis on which African Unity, solidarity and cooperation can evolve most rapidly and genuinely.[2]

So far as the African Unity is concerned, Kenya had made some contributions in this regard. Apart from its efforts in East Africa, it has taken some steps for African Unity. These steps are being clearly manifested in its stand to refer to the proposed African Development Bank (ADB), the teaching of English in French speaking states and the opening of regular air services between East and West Africa. In East Africa, Kenya has enlarged its direct telephone services. It has direct telephone links with Tanganyika, Uganda, Malawi and Northern Rhodesia. It has also taken steps to improve the telephone connections which already exists between Kenya and Ethiopia. In the field of education, it has introduced French as a subject in the secondary Schools.[3]

Kenya did in fact play a positive role at various OAU Summit Conferences. This positive role can

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2. Ibid.

3. Africa Research Bulletin, (Political, social and cultural series), vol. 1, No. 7, July 1964, P. 1-123.

be seen in the context of Congo crisis, Rhodesian independence problem, Arms supply to South Africa. The need to discuss these issues out of the basic fact that Kenya's stand on these issues has got a direct relationship with its foreign policy orientation. Thus the citation of these issues is essential in order to give a comprehensive study as to the operational aspect of Kenya's foreign policy.

The CongoleseCrisis -

The first crisis that OAU had to confront immediately after it was formed was the Congo crisis.[4] Many African states demanded that the good offices of the OAU be used to bring about a negotiated settlement. Thus the setting up of the Congo Conciliation Commission under the Chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta came about for two reasons. First, as a newly independent state, Kenya (which had been independent for approximately 9 months when she was selected to chair the Commission) had not been involved in the old quarrels and ideological divisions in the OAU between the radical pan-Africanist headed by the late President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and

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4 Immediately after her independence on June 30, 1960, Congo faced the problem of disintegration.on July 11, Moise Tshombe the President of Katanga announced Katangese session.

and the gradualists led by the late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria.[5] Both Nigeria and Ghana had been directly involved in earlier military operations in Congo. Kenya, therefore, presented a neutral factor despite the fact that she had had no prior diplomatic experience. Second, Kenyatta, one of the fathers of the pan-African movement was thought capable of bringing the quarreling sides together in the hope of establishing long term peace and stability. Thus Kenyatta's towering image was a more important factor than Kenya's actual capability.

The Commission was doomed to failure from the start, for in November of the same year. USA-Belgian parachutists were dropped into rebel-field Stanleyville to remove the hostages against a barrage of opposition from African states.[6] Mr. Joseph Murumbi then Kenya's minister of state for Foreign Affairs, said in the Security Council shortly after words -

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5 From its inception, the OAU members split into two loosely defined ideological camps militated by a series of difficult questions regarding - a) how quickly and in what form a pan-African Union should be established and b) whether an African High Command should be set up. Thus African states grouped themselves as either radical-pan-Africanists led by Nkrumah or as gradualist Pan-Africanist led by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa with president Nyerere of Tanzania supporting regional integration as a first step.

6 John Howell, 'An Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy' Journal of Modern African Studies, (London), vol.1, no.1, 1968, P.30.

It was this support from the United States - Belgian governments which encouraged Mr. Tshombe to ignore the resolutions of the OAU and the work of the adhoc commission. As a consequence of this, fighting become all the more intensified. It is in this context that the tragedy of Stanleyville was born.[7]

The fact of the matter is that the term of reference for the Commission were relatively extensive. For apart from reconciliation within the Congo itself, the Commission was to look into ways and means of normalising the Congo's relations with her neighbours. Once this was affected, the basis for an adequate good-neighbours policy would be firmly laid.[8]

After its first meeting in Nairobi the Commission approved resolutions asking all white mercenaries and foreign troops to be withdrawn forthwith from the Congo. Another resolution was passed at the same meeting calling upon particular foreign powers to cease their intervention in Congo immediately. The Commission then sent a delegation to the Government of the USA to explain the decision of the Commission. Meanwhile, the Commission

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7 John Okamu, Kenya's Foreign Policy, in Olajide Aluko(ed.), The Foreign Policies of African States, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977) P.145.

8. Ibid, P. 145

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attempted desperately to ... implement the decisions of the adhoc Commission through the use of negotiations and good offices ... but this task was made impossible by the intensified military intervention of the United States and Belgium, with the actual connivance of the United Kingdom government, which gave facilities for mounting the military intervention. This intervention solicited under heavy pressure, in circumstances amounting to breach of faith and in callous disregard of the efforts of the OAU adhoc Commission, unfolded yet another chapter in the loss of thousands of innocent lives including those of some of the hostages.[9]

Thus, the adhoc Commission was not allowed time or space in which to manoeuvre to complete negotiations with the authorities in Stanleyville for the release of the hostages. One interpretation is that the United States was more concerned with the fall of Stanleyville, a Communist stronghold in American eyes than with the lives of the hostages. This was particularly plausible because of the former become a top military priority for the United States.[10] In Kenya's view, -

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9 Ibid, P.146.

10 Ibid, P.146.

"This is all the more emphasised by the fact that the United States was warned that their planned military objectives would jeopardise the chances of success of the talks and also place the lines of the hostages in grave danger. This warning went unheeded; negotiations were broken off in Nairobi by the United States Ambassador on instructions from Washington and the military operation was mounted."[11]

Therefore, the failure of adhoc Commission headed by Kenya for resolving the Congo crisis not only humiliated her but also made her to realise the importance of good neighbour policy which is vital for peaceful coexistance in Africa.

The Rhodesian Crisis -

In Southern Rhodesia the minority white regime headed by Iam Smith declared independence unilaterally on the 11th November 1965. It was against the wish of the black majority people. This unilateral declaration of independence not only evoked reaction against the action from the black people of the country but also from the other countries of the African Continent. Expressing its concern over the situation in Rhodesia the Kenyan government has already declared

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11 Ibid, P.146.

that "It would not recognise any government in Rhodesia unilaterally declared by Mr. Smith but this stand is not enough. We further declare that we would not recognise any independent government in Rhodesia as a result of unilateral declaration or recognition between Mr. Smith and the British government; if such government is not based on democratic one-man,one-vote majority rule.[12]

Kenya believed that the OAU would be able to solve the problem of Rhodesia. Expressing the faith on OAU, President Kenyatta said, "The Government of Kenya has from time to time expressed itself strongly on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. We are totally committed to cooperation with other African states through the OAU to secure the total liberation of Africa.[13] Kenya was the member of the OAU Committee of five which was charged by the OAU Heads of State Conference in Accra to advise on whatline of action to take should Ian Smith seize independence. The Committee consists of representatives from Nigeria, Tanzania, UAR, Kenya and Zambia. This Committee of five is also known as the OAU Defence Committee.[14]

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12 Africa Research Bulletin (Political Science and Cultural Series), vol.2, May 1965, P. 299.

13 Ibid,

14 Africa Research Bulletin, (Political, Social and Cultural series) vol. 2, No.11, Nov. 1965, P.395.

The OAU Resolution of the Accra Conference said that if the British Government should grant independence to the minority government of Rhodesia, then all member states of the OAU should reconsider their political, diplomatic and financial relations with Britain. They should then use all means at their disposal including force if necessary, to secure and protect the rights of Africans in Rhodesia.[15]

The Committee met in Dar-es-Salaam on November 19, 1965. Opening the meeting, the Chairman of the OAU African Liberation Committee Mr. Kambona urged the Committee to recommend to member states of the OAU a 'Catalogue of concrete pressures' which they should apply to Britain in order to awaken her to her responsibilities and to quell the rebellion and establish the majority rule in Rhodesia. Mr. Kambona added that the Committee should recommend the way to implement the resolution of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.[16]

The Sixth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU met in Addis Ababa on 3rd December 1965 to discuss the Rhodesian situation.

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15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

The Council entrusted the Committee of five with the Coordination of African military aid to freedom fighters in Rhodesia. So far as the future relations between member states and the United Kingdom was concerned, a Conference spokesman confirmed that all OAU member states would break diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom of Britain failed to crush the illegal regime by December 15th and bring about majority rule in the colony.[17] However, Kenya exercised her reservation on this action. Addressing Parliament on December 10th, President Kenyatta said, "We feel that unilateral action by any African states would not meet the situation." He further said that "Since the OAU resolution had been announced, there had been conflicting reactions by various African states. Therefore, the President stressed that division among African states could have serious repercussions not the least of which would be the threat to the OAU itself.[18]

In an OAU Summit Conference, the President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the Prime-Minister of Uganda Dr. Obote met

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17 Africa Research Bulletin, (Political, Social and Cultural series), vol.2, no.12, December 1966, P. 423.

18 Ibid, 1965, P.423.

in Nairobi on December 19, 1965, to discuss the Rhodesian situation.

In a communique issued afterwards, the three leaders stressed their concern about the Rhodesian situation and the need for effective measures to assist brothers in Rhodesia to achieve majority rule.[19] They also requested the Secretary General of OAU Mr. Diallo Telli to convene another meeting of the Heads of State and Government in order to help solve the Rhodesian problem.

The ministerial Council meeting of the OAU was held in Addis Ababa on March 1970 brought out the final resolution on Rhodesia issues. The resolution was drawn up by a sub-committee comprising Algeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia and Mauritania. The resolution called on the United Nations Security Council to put pressure on Britain to oblige it to use force against the Smith regime. If Britain refused to do this, the resolution urged the Security Council to invoke article 7 of the UN Charter, which provides for the collective use of forces if economic sanctions fail and if the Security Council consider that international security is threatened. It also calls on all countries

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19 Ibid, P.424.

which still have relations with Rhodesia to break them.[20]

Therefore, Kenya is always in favour of the collective action through the OAU against the British government, in order to solve the Rhodesian problem. At the sametime, it felt that it would be better to pressurise Britain by maintaining the diplomatic relations rather than by breaking it.

Arms Supply to South Africa -

Kenya has been protesting against the racist policy of South Africa since her independence. It has been protesting not only to stop the racist problem rather to eliminate it from the continent individually and collectively through various international Organisations. This is clearly manifested in its resolution introduced in the OAU in August 1970. This resolution was supported by about 30 delegations. The draft resolution requested the African Heads of State and Government to send a delegation of three ministers to discuss with the countries concerned in arms sales to South Africa, and to show why they should cease. The resolution also asks the summit meeting commencing on September 1 , to write jointly to the Heads of the State and

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20 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural series), vol. 7, No. 3, March 1970, P. 1692.

Government of countries supplying or intending to supply arms strongly deploring their actions.[21]

Introducing the resolution, the Kenya foreign minister Dr. Mungai said that the Anglo-French policy towards South Africa is bound to unleash racial hatreds and violence which will be uncontrollable. They would have disastrous effects on race relations not only in Africa but the world over. Britain, France and any other country cannot escape moral culpability for tragedy and oppression inflicted upon the majority population by the supremist regime in South Africa.[22]

Reiterating its earlier stand for eliminating the racist regime from the African continent, the foreign minister of Kenya, Dr. Waiyaki in the ninth Extraordinary Ministerial Council meeting of OAU in 1975 has called for South Africa's total isolation in all fields until there are black majority governments in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.[23]

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21 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.7, No.8, Aug. 1970, P. 1833.

22 Ibid.

23 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.12, No.4, April 1975, P. 3583.

Besides all the above problems, Kenya also expressed her concern over the refugee problems in Africa. Therefore, in order to tackle this problems Kenya submitted a proposal to set up a permanentfund to help refugees. This proposal was agreed by the OAU Council of Ministers meeting held in Libreville in 1977.[24]

Kenya and Liberation Movements in Africa -

Historically speaking, Kenya's relationship with the liberation movement in Africa can be explained in terms of the practical experience of the country itself. Kenya's anti-colonial struggle could be traced back to the last part of the 19th century when its people put up resistance against British colonialism culminated in the famous Mau - Mau rebellion involving an armed struggle during 1950-52. British rule did not last long. Kenya got its independence under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta.

Delivering his speech at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, in Cairo, July 1964, Kenyatta said, "Kenya's success has proved that there

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24 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.14, no. 6, June 1977, P. 4456.

is no colonial problem in Africa that cannot be solved. It has shown that there are no special problems requiring special solutions. Independence - complete and - unconditional- is the answer to the remaining colonial issues in Africa.[25]

Praising the contributions of other African states during the colonial struggle in Kenya, Kenyatta said, Kenya's victory was African military. The contribution in various form we received from our friends was crucial in our struggle. I, therefore, wish to take this opportunity to thank all our African brothers who assisted us positively during our days of struggle.[26]

Expressing his own country's commitment to the liberation movement in colonial countries of Africa, Kenyatta said, "It is in recognition of this spirit of solidarity - that my country pledges itself to join with the other independent states of Africa in the struggle for the total liberation of the whole Africa. We cannot be truely free when Southern Rhodesia, Angola,

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25 C.J.Gertzel and others ed., Government and Politics in Kenya, (Nairobi: 1969), P.577.

26 Ibid.

Mozambique, South West Africa and the protectorates continue to be under foreign rule and Ethiopian domination. Respect for the African states and the impact which Africa needs to make an international affairs, including the contribution that we must make will not be fully achieved as long as any part of Africa remains under colonial rule. Our efforts to free the remaining parts of Africa is, therefore, part of our mission to give final meaning to our own freedom and to the greatness of Africa. This remaining struggle will require even greater sacrifices but it cannot fail. With our help the freedom fighters in these areas will be able to draw fresh encouragement for the final confrontation.[27]

Kenya was one of the members of the Committee of seven set up by OAU in September 1969.[28] The function of the Committee is to investigate the working of the Organisation of the Africa Unity Liberation Committee.

Kenya was also one of the up to date member of OAU, who consistently paying financially to the Liberation Fund of the OAU.[29]

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27 Ibid.

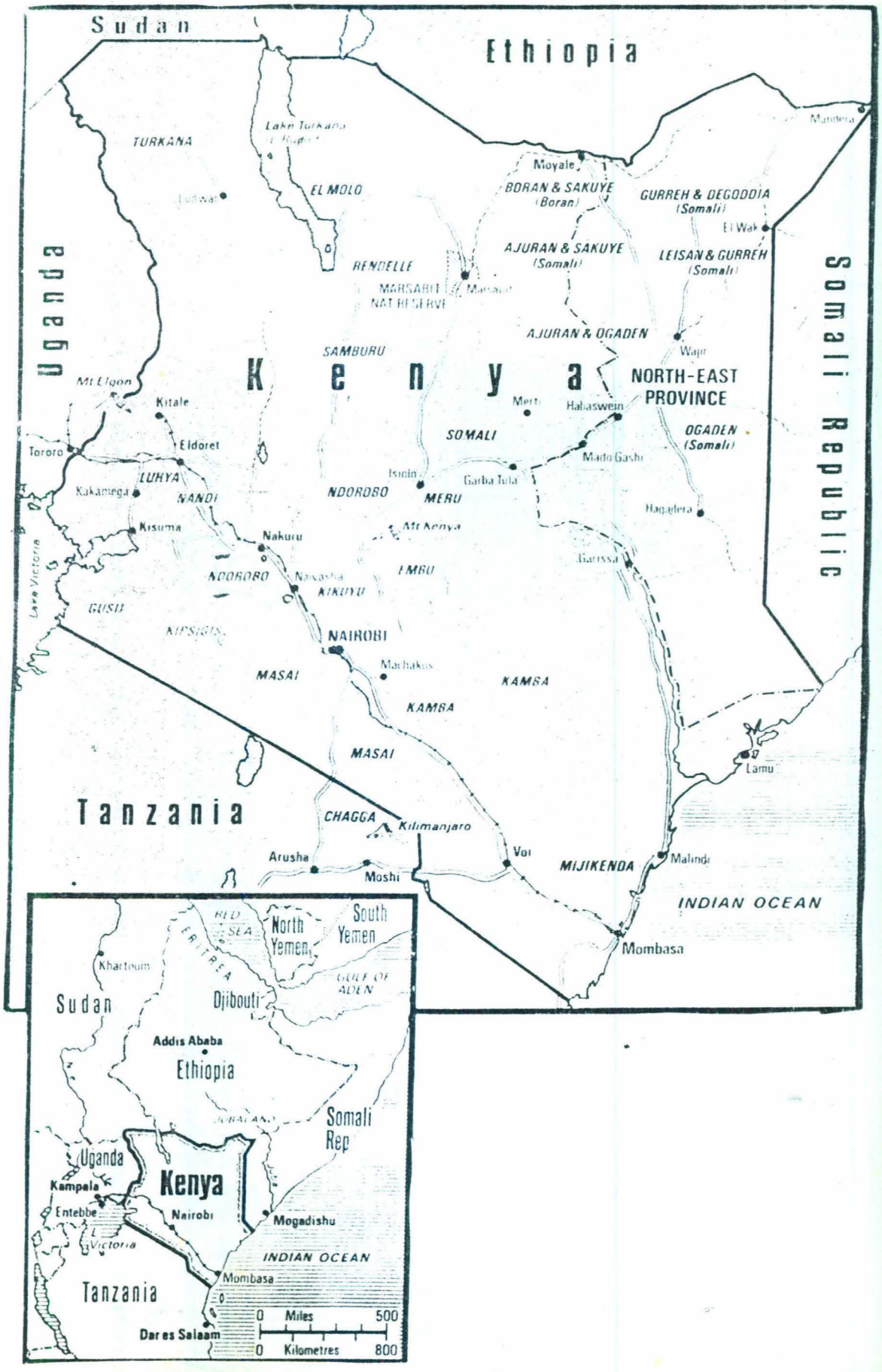
28 The Committee of seven consists of delegates from Algeria, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Kenya, Morocco, Senegal and Siera Leone.

29 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.12, no.5, June 1975, P.3618.

Therefore, it can be said that through the OAU, Kenya is committed not merely by words but by deeds to the promotion of African unity, cooperation at all levels and the total liberation of African territories held forcibly by the racist regimes in Southern Africa. It has been viewed by Kenya as the principal instrument for regional integration and ultimately for African unity.

CHAPTER - III

KENYA AND HER NEIGHBOURS


Sudan
Ethiopia
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Somali Republic
Kenya
Tanzania
TURKANA
Lake Turkana
EL MOLO
Ludwar
RENDELLE
MARSABIT NAT RESERVE
Marsabit
Moyale
BORAN & SAKUYE (Boran)
GURREH & DEGODDIA (Somali)
El Wak
AJURAN & SAKUYE (Somali)
LEISAN & GURREH (Somali)
AJURAN & OGADEN
Wajir
SAMBURU
NORTH-EAST PROVINCE
Mt Elgon
Kitale
Eldoret
Tororo
LUHYA
Kakamega
NANDI
Kisumu
Nakuru
NDOROBO
Naivasha
KIKUYU
GUSII
KIPSIGIS
NAIROBI
Machakos
MASAI
KAMBA
Lake Victoria
Merti
Habaswein
SOMALI
Mado Gashi
OGADEN (Somali)
Isiolo
Garba Tula
MERU
Hagadera
Mt Kenya
EMBU
Garissa
Lamu
CHAGGA
Kilimanjaro
Arusha
Moshi
Voi
MIJIKENDA
Malindi
INDIAN OCEAN
Mombasa
RED SEA
North Yemen
South Yemen
ERITREA
Khartoum
GULF OF ADEN
Djibouti
Addis Ababa
JUBALAND
Somali Rep
Uganda
Kampala
Entebbe
Kenya
Nairobi
Mogadishu
L. Victoria
INDIAN OCEAN
Mombasa
Tanzania
Dar es Salaam
0 Miles 500
0 Kilometres 800

After independence, African leaders were very much concerned about their unity, integrity, stability, independence and economic development at home. Their geographical proximity, economic under-development and their intra-state conflict compelled them to create proper atmosphere so that they can be able to maintain good relations with their neighbours. They think that through the good neighbouring foreign policy, they will not only be able to solve their own problem rather problems arising out of their own continent. It is true in case of Kenya. Since her independence, Kenya has been trying to maintain its good and stable relation with her neighbours. It believes in peaceful coexistence with her neighbours. It stands for the economic development and integration with her neighbours. That was reflected in the formation of East African Community (EAC) containing Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Regional issues have dominated Kenya's foreign policy agenda. Within Kenya's regional diplomacy, themes of national consolidation, territorial security, economic development and integration have predominated.[1]

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1 David F.Gordan, 'Foreign Relations: Dilemmas of Independence and Development', in Joel D.Barkan (ed. Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania, (New York: 1984), PP.311-12.

Kenya has attempted to maintain friendly relations with all of its neighbours. But due to certain problems, it has had a difficult time to do so. First, the threat of secession in Kenya's coastal and North-Eastern province alerted her to the primary need to consolidate her boundaries. This implied among other things. Settling boundary disputes and consolidating the legal boundaries between her and her neighbours. Second, Kenya realised that a good neighbour policy based on mutual understanding between her and her neighbours was a logical step for the security of both her people and her territory. Third, a policy of rigorous economic development at home and economic cooperation and cultural exchange with her neighbours would strengthen her position in Africa. In fact, over the years, Kenya became increasingly isolated in the region due to ideological trends, political upheavals and conflict of interest with neighbouring countries.[2] Therefore, it is imperative to analyse the relationship of Kenya with her neighbours with these background.

Kenya and Somalia -

The Kenya-Somalia border dispute was a major threat to Kenya's security. It involved the attempts

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2 Ibid, P.312.

by the inhabitants of Kenya's North-Eastern province to secede at the behest of the Government of Somalia. The North-Eastern portion of Kenya, called North-Eastern province, is populated by the ethnic Somalis. It has been claimed by Somalia ever since the end of her colonial rule. It is perhaps the only sub-Saharan country where cultural homogeneity amongst its inhabitants creates a distinct feeling of oneness and consciousness of nationhood accentuated by common culture and language.[3] Historically, politicians in Somalia have always sought to unite all those Somalis now living in French Somali land, the Ogaden and other Somali inhabited areas of Ethiopia and in the Northern Frontier Territories of Kenya now known as the North-Eastern province.[4]

Somalis constitute the majority of the population of Kenya's North-Eastern province. Somalia's claim to this territory is based on the fact that since bulkanisation of Africa was brought about by European nations during their scramble for Africa, every attempt should be made by African leaders to repair the damage

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3 Leonard W.Doob,(ed.), Resolving Conflict in Africa, (New Haven: 1970), P.3.

4 Ibid.

where conditions are favourable.[5] As a matter of fact Somalia's claim to the North-Eastern province made Kenya immediately aware of the significance of her territoriality and sovereignty. Kenya felt that secession of this territory would have enabled the Massai for the same cause. The massai tribes divided between Kenya and Tanzania would have claimed for secession for precisely the same reason connected with cultural homogeneity and feeling of fraternity.

Somalia demanded to British to hold referendum in that area. Because it felt that such a referendum in Kenya, before its independence would strengthen its bargaining position. Accordingly, the British Government agreed to an imperial Commonwealth Commission to investigate the nature of the problem in 1962.[6] The Commission's findings showed that the inhabitants of five out of the six districts in the province wished to become an integral part of Somalia, Encouraged by these developments the government of Somalia increased her support to the secessionist movement of Somalis

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5 John Okumu, Kenya's Foreign Policy, in Olajioe Aluka (ed.), Foreign Policies of African States (London, Hodder and Sloughton, 1977), P.139.

6 Leonard W.Dood, ed., n.3, PP. 57-84.

in Kenya. Kenya termed this help as direct aggression and as a threat to her territorial integrity. It, therefore, thought of immediate ways and means of resolving the dispute without having a war. This failed due to fighting broke out in the area and continued till 1967.

The Somalis wanted the findings of the Commission to be promulgated before Kenya's independence. But the British and the Kenyan nationalists insisted that the findings be made public following effective transfer of power to Kenya. At last, the British government took the view that any negotiation over the issue which involved Kenya and Somalia be carried out between the government of an independent Kenya and that of Somalia.

Somalis demanded secession because they feared the political domination by a government led by dominant Kikuyu and Luo tribes. At the sametime they were exploiting the ethnic tensions. The small tribes with the support of the foreign minorities demanded for the establishment of a Majimbo (quasi-regional) constitution as a protection of minority rights and property.[7] The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)

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7 John Okumu, n.5, p.140.

the main proponent of the Majimbo constitution hoped that the regional autonomy would help the Somalis in the North-East. Hoping so, it supported the secessionist movement led by United Somalia Association in strengthening their case for a regional constitution. But, when it became clear that the Somalis nationalist movement were not asking for regional autonomy within Kenya, but for a right to secede and to become an integral part of Republic of Somalia, it abandoned its relationship from them for fear of encouraging the dismemberment of Kenya.[8]

The Kenya African National Union (KANU) the ruling party and the KADU failed to compete favourably with the Republic of Somalia for the loyalty of the inhabitants of the territory which had been very much neglected during the colonial period. Perhaps, the early promulgation of a massive and effective development programme for the area would have minimized the desire for secession. The point is that Kenyan leaders were interested in and preoccupied with immediate arrangements for the transfer of power. They should in part bear the blame for not having acted at the right time. Thus, the Somali population boycotted the 1961 elections as the major parties failed to find willing candidates

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8 Leonard W.Dood, ed., No.3, P.57-84.

to stand for seats in Kenya's legislature.

With the announcement on 8th December, 1963 that Kenya had been divided into seven autonomous region on the basis of Majimbo constitution and that the Somali inhabited portion of the North-Frontier District would become one of the region. The Republic of Somalia strongly protested against the heading over of Kenya intact to its African government without meeting the Somali demand for secession. Guerrilla warfare in this region, that is called, Shifta War.[9] The Somali government helped them in their Organisation and training and represented this as Somali freedom fighters. It also established training camps and base. From 1964 onwards a little publicised but at times series of guerrilla campaign was waged. With the local support the movement tried to weaken Kenya's hold on the North-Eastern province and to bring it back to the Conference table ready to accede to Somalia's wishes. But the disciplined training of the African soldier for bush warfare proved too much for the

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9 Shifta was a general word meaning bundit and before the application to the guerrilla campaign in North-East Kenya it was more generally used to describe lowless elements in Southern Ethiopia. After 2nd World War there were outbreak of Shifta activity at irregular interval across Kenya's border with Somalia and Ethiopia.

Shifta.[10] In the initial stages, invaluable assistance was given by the Royal Air Force in moving troops quickly to the areas of operation. The Shifta was ended in 1962. Peace finally came in the same year through the good offices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The two governments signed an agreement at Arusha in Tanzania. Since then diplomatic relations were restored and trade relations re-established. However, in 1969 the ending of a form of parliamentary democracy in Somalia when the army commander General had Barre seized power once more raised the possibility of aggression against the North East.

Kenya and Ethiopia -

Relations between Kenya and Ethiopia have been cordial because they store a common enemy, Somalia. While Haile Selessie ruled in Ethiopia, Jomo Kenyatta was confident that Somali ambitions against Kenya would be held in chalk. He saw the relatively strong in African Times, Ethiopian armed forces as a valuable counterweight against those of Somalia. The two leaders developed a close personal relationship based on their good knowledge of African affairs. Soon after Kenya's

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10 Rowland Mans, "Kenyatta's Middle Road in Changing Africa", Conflict Studies (UK), no.85, 1977-78, P.12.

independence the two states signed a defence treaty specifying that if one were attacked by Somalia, the other would go to her aid. This agreement was signed when Somalia stepped up her military activities in Somali inhabited areas of Kenya and Ethiopia.[11]

Kenya attempted to move closer economically with Ethiopia. A major road between Addis Ababa and Nairobi was completed only to fall into disuse for lack of trade goods.

In 1970, a treaty was signed between the two countries delineating the Kenya-Ethiopia border. This ended any residual territorial dispute between the two countries.

With the fall of Haile Selessie regime in 1974, there was a brief uncertainty in their relations. Kenya voiced disapproval of the palace coup, but true to his real politik image, Kenyatta quickly normalised relations with the new regime of Colonel Mengistu. Kenyatta felt that the disappearance of the ally in the North and his replacement by a military coup regime could well tempt Said Barre of Somalia to make an aggressive move.

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11 John Okumu, h .5, P. 144.

From Kenyatta's point of view the outlook in Ethiopia is not encouraging. The recent expulsion of the British Defence attache from Addis Ababa and the restrictions placed on the United States mission would indicate that a Soviet and Cuban pressure them is now validated.[12] This is likely to tend to the Mengistu regime taking a hostile attitude to Kenya in the light of the leaning towards Western political and economic philosophies. With the Ethiopian-Somalia war of 1977-78 and arrival of Cuban-Soviet forces in Ethiopia, Kenya has now to face a new ideology of its Northern neighbour. It posed a serious policy dilemma for Kenya: Somalia had turned to the Soviet Union in the late 1960s to balance strong USA support for Ethiopia and to a far lesser extent to Kenya. During the mid-1970s a military coup overthrown the imperial feudal Oligarchy in Ethiopia and turned towards Moscow and Marxism. Somalia expelled the Russians and adopted a pro-Western stance. In 1977, this war between Somalia and Ethiopia in Ogaden created nationalist fervour inside Somalia and the conflict spread into Kenya's Northern province. Kenya strengthened relations with the Ethiopian government, despite the presence of Soviet advisers and thousands of Cuban troops. The increased

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12 Rowland Man, n. 10, P.13.

tension with Somalia also prompted Kenya to expand its hitherto very small military budget and led to the first important agreement with United States to supply military hardware to Kenya. Kenya decided to increase its own ties with Washington in hopes of gaining American leverage against any Somali efforts to threat in Kenya

Kenya's relations with Ethiopia while not as close as in the 1970s, remain cordial.

Kenya and Uganda -

Economic ties have always been important between Kenya and Uganda. Uganda is land-locked and her major lifeline to the sea is through Kenya. Except for occasional problems, such as the transport of weapons, Kenya has abided by international conventions for land-locked countries.[13] In turn, Kenya uses eletrical power from Uganda's Owen Falls Dam on the Nile and is anxious to improve trade relations as it exists.

The key factor in the decline of relations with Uganda was the distribution of Uganda's economy under Idi Amin. Kenya's international business, particularly the tourist industry suffered badly because of the

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13 Norman N.Miller, Kenya: The Quest for Prosperty, (Gower, 1984), P.131.

ongoing brutality and violence in Uganda under the military regime.

Idi's had another dream often heard in Nairobi. Such is the total unpredictability of Uganda's despotic ruler that even his sleeping fantacies cannot always be dismissed as mere gossip. There is the ever-present thought that his megalomanical nature might tempt him to translate dream into a catastrophic reality.[14] In 1974 Amin proclaimed that he had dreamt that he was the King of Nainasha (a small town of 50 miles North West of Nairobi) and was coming down the railway to claim his regal inheritance.[15]

The relations between the two countries were again deteriorated when Amin claimed a large areas of Kenya. President Amin told to the Defence Council that British colonial rulers had transferred vast parts of Uganda to Sudan and Kenya.[16] He claimed that over three-quarters of the most fertile land in Kenya stretching from the border upto about 20 miles outside

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14 Rowland Evans, n.10, P.13.

15 Ibid, P.13.

16 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.13, No.2, Feb. 1976, P. 3920.

Nairobi, the Kenya capital and across to the Kenya. Tanzania border was Ugandan land, transfered to Kenya in 1926. President Amin named over 30 Kenyan tribal areas which he said were rightfully part of Uganda.[17]

Speaking on the subject, President Amin pledged to protect the interests of Ugandan living in parts of Uganda that were transfered to Kenya and Sudan by the British colonialists and to prevent their being exploited by foreigners who are not the rightful owners of those parts.[18]

President Amin's territorial claims provoked an outcry in Kenya. This was followed by most demonstratio throughout Kenya at one of which President Kenyatta lashed out fiercely at President Amin and warned that Kenya would defend her borders at all costs. He further said that,"we are an independent country and I wish to make it categorically clear that Kenya belongs to Kenyans. We shed blood to rest our independence from colonialists ... we know how far over borders extent and we shall teach who ever has doubts as to where our borders one".[19] This warning followed a total

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17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

boycott of all goods posing through the part of Mombassa for Uganda was imposed and President Amin was given a 48 hour ultimatum to apologise to President Kenyatta for his claims to parts of Kenya. Mombasa is land-locked Uganda's principal outlet to the sea for its imports and exports.[20]

In April, 1976, the relations became more tense when Idi Amin renewed his attack on Kenya. He told to the representatives of Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) that a number of Uganda bound Palestenians were still missing after being detained in Kenya on their way to Uganda. In June, in the same year, Kenyan assistance at Embakasi airport to the Israel raid on Entabbe further exacerbated relations with Amin.[21]

Accusationsand counter-accusations of atrocities continue to be made by both sides. Meanwhile, road-transport to and from Uganda had been stopped in Western Kenya causing serious inconvenience to Uganda as it halted deliveries of petrol, milk and other essential supplies which usually come daily from Kenya. In order

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20 Ibid.

21 Rowland Mans, n.10, P.13.

to solve these problems President Amin made plea for the early return of normal relations with Kenya. In the meantime, Kenya set out seven conditions for a restoration of normal relations between the two countries, as follows[22]-

1) remove its troops from the Kenyan border.
2) stop laying claim to Kenyan territory.
3) stop killing Kenyans in Uganda and guarantee their safety there.
4) Cease threatening the use of force against Kenya.
5) stop the 'hate or smear campaign' against Kenya.
6) pay for goods and services received from Kenya.
7) stop confiscating goods passing through Uganda on their way to the neighbouring states of Buruadi, Rwanda, Sudan and Zaire.

Peace was restored in August 1976 when Uganda promised to end aggression against Kenyan nationals along the border and to pay compensation for lose of life and property. In spite of that Kenya Government continued to keep a keen eye on the activities of the Amin regime. It felt that he might not hesitate to take advantage of any international disruption which would befall them.

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22 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.13, no.8, August 1976, P. 4107.

Kenya and Tanzania -

The demonstration of socialist tendency in Tanzania's post-independence general election in 1965 had a great impact on Kenya. Tanzania's socialist programme became a reality with the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration and TANU's (Tanganyika African National Union) policy on socialism and self-reliance.[23] Kenya felt it might affect her capitalist path of development. Despite that Kenya's relations with Tanzania had been normal for over a decade.

The first factor which had a major impact on Kenya-Tanzania's relations was due to Uganda. In 1971, when Idi Amin seized powers in Uganda, Tanzania's President Nyerere gave sanctuary to the deposed Ugandan President Milton Obote and within a short time refused to meet with Amin. The fracture of Tanzania-Uganda relations had affected Kenya. Although Kenyatta tried to ameliorate the difference and keep the East African Community together, it proved an impossible task.[24]

Tanzania had shown signs of resenting Kenya's dominant position in the trade community and this alone

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23 John Okumu, n.5, P.144.

24 Norman N.Miller, n.13, P.131.

probably would have led to three way fracture of relations.[25] It was, however, the fact that, Kenya allowed areas to be trans shiped to land locked Uganda and initially kept normal relations with Amin, that angered Tanzania. In 1977, due to specifically a series of mis-understanding over debts with their common airline, Tanzania broke economic relations with Kenya and closed the Kenya-Tanzania borders.

Earlier the border incident occurred between the two countries arising from cattle rustling among rival tribesmen who have long grazed their herds in the region with little regard for National Boundaries. Relations between Kenya and Tanzania continued to worsen with accusation and counter-accusation of mass expulsions.[26] In May 1975, the relations between the two countries were further strained following an incident when two Kenyan officials returning from an East African Community meeting in Arusha were stripped naked and subjected to harassment and humiliation by officers of the Tanzanian police.[27] This strained relationship culminated with the first break in the

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26 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol. 12, no.8, August 1975, P. 3723.

27 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol.12, no.5, May 1975, P.3620.

East African Community with the collapse of East African Airways and grounded in mountains of debt, most of which is owed to the Kenyan government. Despite last minute attempts to solve the Airways cash crisis the airline ground to a halt with no money to pay for fuel or landing fees and Kenya formally ended its association with East African Aitways and announced the formation of its own independent Kenya Air ways.[28]

The apparent retaliation for the collapse of East African Airways left Tanzania without an airline. Tanzania closed its borders with Kenya and impounded series of Kenyan registered vehicles and aircrafts including those of touring companies. Kenyan drivers were arrested and hundreds of overseas tourists were left stranded.

In order to normalise relations with Tanzania, Kenya released details of a nine point accord on 16th December 1977.[29] These points are as follows,-

1) Tanzania would release the Kenyan light aircraft, road vehicles and other property trapped there when border was closed.

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28 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series) vol.14, no.2, Feb. 1977, P. 4312.

29 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series) vol.14, no.12, December 1977, P. 4662.

2) To balance this move, Kenya would free three Lake-victoria sleamers. The passanger vessel victoria , the train ferry umoja and the oil tanker Nyagumi from Kisumi where they have been laid up for two years.

3) A Committee of permanent secretaries responsible for commerce be set up to organise trade relations between the two countries.

4) Transit trade be resumed as soon as possible along lines to be established by a Committee of officials from ministries responsible for trade.

5) Tanzania allows overflying of Kenya registered aircraft through its air space and the ministeries responsible for communications be directed to meet and agree on the implementation of this recommendations.

6) Bilateral air service agreements be concluded as soon as possible through the appropriate aviation authorities of the two countries.

7) Both countries should cease hostile propaganda against each other.

8) The border Committee should continue to meet regularly to solve border problems and both countries should station police to maintain law and order along the border, and

9) When all these recommendations have been accepted and implemented the border should be reopened.

Kenya and Sudan -

The relations between Kenya and Sudan had been cordial since Kenya got her independence. This normal relations clearly manifested in the talks in Nairobi between the prime minister of Sudan Mr. Mahgoub and the President of Kenya Mr. Kenyatta where they pledged their support for the African liberation movement and urged the respect for the territorial integrity of all African states as a step towards African unity.[30] Both countries also expressed their commitment to depart any refugees engaged in active politics or subversive activities. They agreed to disallow the passage of arms through any country to persons in neighbouring territories. Kenya has never interfered in the internal affairs of any country nor attempted to do so. This is quite clear on her stand on Sudan problem where the split is made within the country between the Northern Sudan dominated by Arab speaking and the Southern Sudan dominated by the Bantu people of African origin. Kenya is not in favour of the split of Sudan, rather it sees Sudan as one country. It also has expressed her view that the matter can be solved by peaceful negotiations.

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30 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series) vol.2, no.8, August 1965, P.348.

Kenya expressed her displeasure when it saw the new military regime in Sudan resolved to move that country to the left albeit with caution in 1969. In the early 1970's a communist aided attempt to subvert the government in Sudan failed. That led to the Sudanese regime to crack down on its left wing and turned to the right. Starting in 1976, when Kenya became clear that the East African community could not survive, it made serious efforts to intensify her trade relations with Sudan and Ethiopia, her North neighbours. As a step towards that goal Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan established a tripartite ministerial committee which has been meeting regularly to review progress towards the improvement of communications and common links among the three neighbours.[31]

Therefore, Kenya's ideological compalibility with Sudan and the collapse of East African community helped it to intensify her relations with Sudan.

Kenya and East African Community-

Kenya has been very conscious of her vital role as the main beneficiary in the East African inter-territorial trade. Kenya's relations with her two principal neighbours - Tanzania and Uganda - have been

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31 Africa Research Bulletin (Economic and Financial Technical) no.4, April 1981, pp. 5893-94.

marked by a combination of cooperation and suspecion since the early days of colonial rule. Under colonial rule, fiscal arrangements and infrastructural services were provided in common and there were some moves to common market style arrangements. Even during colonialism, the Tanzanian and Ugandan governments distrusted settler dominated Kenya and argued that international arrangements did not equally distributes the benefits of cooperation. At independence, both Uganda and especially Tanzania insisted that a new basis of cooperation be found that could better serve the interests of all of the newly independent East African states. As a result, the East African Common Services Organisation was established in 1961 by modifying the parent organisation, the East African High Commission established in 1948 to serve the new needs. The primary function was to coordinate common services such as transportation, financial and social services as well as economic relations.[32]

The performance of the East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO) did not satisfy its members especially with regard to the distribution of benefits from the common arrangements. This was partly because

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32 John Okumu, The foreign policy of Kenya in Aluko Olajida (ed.), The Foreign Policies of African States (London, Hodder and Stought, 1977), P. 146.

there was as specific machinery for ensuring proper management of equitable distribution of benefits. Besides, the concentration of most of the common services in Nairobi meant that more benefits gave to her than to her partner states. Therefore, EACSO came under severe strains in the early 1960's. This brought about the Kampala Agreement signed in 1964 as an attempt to redress some of the problems confronting the less developed partners, especially Tanzania. The agreement was to reallocate,"... certain strategic industries which had an inter-territorial significance so as to balance industrialization and reduce deficits in Tanzania and Uganda in relation to Kenya. The arrangements were short-lived, however, largely because the industries that were allocated to some of the countries (e.g. electric light bulbs and radios to Tanzania) became of interest to all of them and no country could actually be prevented from setting up an industry already allocated to her partners. Furthermore, there was no formal mechanism for implementing the agreements."[33]

To overcome these difficulties, a further stage in East African Cooperation was reached with the signing of the treaty for East African Cooperation in

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33 Ibid, P.147.

June 1967, which created the East African Community. This came into force in December 1967 and sought to strengthen and regulate the industrial commercial and other relations of the member states in order that there must be accelerated and sustained expansion of economic activities within East Africa, the benefit of which shall be equally distributed.[34]

The treaty made effective provision for a decentralising system in the structure of the community. The head quarters of many of the statutory cooperation were moved out of Nairobi. Harbours went to Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania ports and Telecommunications to Kampala, Uganda and the head quarters of the community itself was moved to Arusha, Tanzania. The East African Development Bank was set up in Kampala with a constitution providing for 40% of its annual loans to be allocated to both Uganda and Tanzania with Kenya getting the remaining 20 percent.[35] A system of 'transfer tax' was also established whereby for a limited period, Uganda and Tanzania could protect themselves against imports from Kenya of particular products in which they themselves had industries at an infertile stage.[36]

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34 Ibid,

35 Ibid, P. 147.

36 P.Robson and D.A.Lury eds., The Economies of Africa (Evenston, 1966) PP. 352-3.

According to the Kampala Agreement, countries experiencing a deficit in inter-territorial trade were allowed to impose quota restrictions on imports from surplus countries in the common market. Tanzania in particular made immediate use of this provision to impose restrictions on a wide range of imports from Kenya.[37] This slowed down the expansion of inter-territorial trade, especially in 1966. Although, Uganda used this provision to a lesser extent, she was nevertheless conscious of Kenya's dominant position in the common market arrangement. Kenya's position is further strengthened by a series of factors. Her industrial structure shows more development and diversification, especially in manufacturing mining and construction play an insignificant role but this sector is more developed in Kenya than in Uganda or Tanzania[38]. Comparatively industry to Uganda's or Tanzania's, van Arkadi and Ghai state.

"What is most striking, however, is the variation in the degree of agriculture and services. Kenya has a highly developed service sector and for a country in which the most majority of the population

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37 Survey of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1971, Part 1 (New York, United Nations, 1972), P.198.

38 Robson and Lury, The Economies of Africa, op.cit, P.329.

is still rural, a surprisingly low dependence on agriculture. The contrast with Uganda is sharp. Half of monetary domestic product in Uganda originates in agriculture, while less than 2/5 is desired from services whereas in Kenya nearly 3/5 of the total monetary product is derived from services and little more than 1/5 from agriculture. Tanzania lies somewhere in between."[39]

Owing to physical relationship between Kenya and Uganda and to the development of Nairobi as the main commercial Centre for East Africa. The economies of Kenya and Uganda are closely interrelated. Uganda is a major buyer of Kenya's services. Between 1951 and 1958, Uganda showed a negative net invisible balance with the rest of East Africa of £ 6-7 million, while Kenya had a corresponding favourable balance of £ 7 million.[40] Services consumed by Uganda are those mainly concerned with the transportation of her exports and imports via Mombasa. They are made up of wholesale profits of Kenya importers distributing to Uganda markets and commercial and other services supplied to Uganda residents.[41] Apart from all these, Uganda's

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39 Ibid.

40 Ibid, P.330.

41 Ibid.

landlocked position gives her an unfavourable competitive stance in certain areas of her economic activity, especially in services.

Although cooperation in the East African Community (EAC) was encouraging in the initial years, relations between the member countries began to deteriorate by the early 1970s. Despite the elements of the treaty favourable to Uganda and Tanzania, Kenya continued to dominate inter-territorial trade. Kenya's percent of total regional exports increased to over 80% by the final years of the EAC's existence, while much of that increase was a result of the collapse of Uganda's economy under Idi Amin, the ratio of Tanzania's exports to Kenya also worsened. This continuing Kenyan domination led the other two partners to take steps to protect their own perceived national interests.[42]

In 1972, exchange controls and imports restrictions were imposed, diminishing the effectiveness of the common market and dissolving the common monetary area. Restrictions were also imposed by member states on intra-state transfer of funds which were necessary for the efficient functioning of the service corporations.

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42 David, F.Gordon, n.1, P.316.

The demise of East African Corporation was given for their impetus by Idi Amin's coup against Uganda's President Obote in 1971. The East African Community rested on three bilateral relationships. Two of these - Kenya/Uganda and Kenya/Tanzania - were economic ones in which Kenya predominated. The third - Uganda/Tanzania - was political and served as a counter balance to the economic side.[43] The Uganda coup broke this delicate balance, President Nyerere detested Idi Amin and refused to meet with him. Thus, the EAC's highest body, the East African Authority consisting of the three Presidents did not meet after 1971. This precluded any high level negotiations to rectify problems in the community.

While the Amin coup was the decisive event in explaining the overall downfall of the EAC, the immediate cause of its break up in 1977 was due to strained relations developed between Kenya and Tanzania. In 1976, the common service corporations faced overwhelmingly difficulties due to the cumulative impact of inter-state financial restrictions and

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43 Reginald Green, The East African Community in Africa, Contemporary Record, 1977, Colin Leguns, ed., (London, 1978) PP. 132-33.

political conflicts among member states. The Sub-division o f Corporations, located in each o f the partner states were transforming themselves into independent national concerns. Staff recruited by each sub-division were increasingly limited to citizens o f the country in which it was located, while staffs who were citizens from partner states were transferred home. Revenues collected by sub-divisions were frequently not remitted to corporation headquarters to their remittance was delayed i f the headquarters were located in a partner state. Conversely disbursements from headquarters to sub-division located in another state were often delayed. By the end of 1976, only East African Airways (EAA) remained potential as a community venture. In January 1977, EAA was grounded and the Kenyans, not expecting Tanzania's retaliation immediately set out to form their own national airways using EAA equipment to make up its core. Tanzania, by looking at the unilateralism and lack of goodwill by Kenya, immediately retaliated by closing its border with Kenya. Therefore, bilateral relations sharply deteriorated leading to the demise of the EAC in June 1977.

The demise of the Community cost none to Kenya. Kenya's export to Tanzania dried up and the border closure made trade with Tanzania which was significant importer of Kenyan goods. Theblock of a more secure regional market had also been one factor behind Kenya's failure to sustain foreign private investment. The border closure also encouraged smuggling, increased prices and limited employment opportunities. The death of EAC also led Kenya to improve political ties and expanding economic links to both Ethiopia and Sudan. It also led to a search for new markets in the outside East.

Therefore, it can be said that, Kenya has always been in favour of maintaining good relations with her neighbours. Despite ideological incompatibility and political instability in her neighbours, it has been continuing her relations with its neighbours very cautiously, because it felt it necessary, not only for her unity and integrity but also for economic development.

CHAPTER-IV

KENYA, NON - ALIGNMENT AND UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

For African countries, non-alignment was seen as an important instrument to protect their independence. In order to protect their freedom these African countries considered unity with other newly independent countries as essential for a unified attack on colonialism, racialism and neo-colonialism. Thus, it was quite imperative for them to join NAM - as it was genuinely opposed racialism and colonialism.

Historically speaking, Kenya's policy of non-alignment can be traced back to its nationalist struggle. During the Kenyan nationalist struggle one major focus of attention of the leadership was the creation of general awareness of the people against colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. This they could do through the slogans of anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. This fact persisted even after independence of Kenya because of the fear of imperialist re-entry into the country and many of the African countries were not free from the colonial bondage. Therefore, the bitter experience of colonialism and the fear of the re-entry of imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism compelled Kenya to join in the non-aligned movement.

At the time of independence the immediate objective of Kenya was to develop economically and survive politically. Its political survival could be viewed in the context of anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. During the colonial rule in Kenya, Europeans were treated as superior to Africans. Such an experience compelled Kenyan leadership not to give way to any such colonial or neo-colonial force further exploitation and discrimination of their fellow countrymen. The basic implication of such an attitude was the desire to be recognised as equal. This factor also led Kenya for opting non-aligned policy.

Kenya has also been quite vocal as to the preservation of its national independence. Kenya was not prepared to sacrifice it at any cost. As it was well expressed in President Kenyatta's statement, when he said, "I shall fight with all my strength against anyone, any group or any country that may be tempted to undermine our independence".[1] In this context the Kenyan leadership found the policy of non-alignment as an essential pre-condition to pursue an independent foreign policy in the international sphere.

After attaining independence Kenya had never thought of joining either of the power blocs of the divided

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1 C.J. Gertzel and others, ed., Government and Politics in Kenya, (Nairobi: 1961). p. 579.

world. What Kenya felt is that, if it joined either of the power blocs that would be a threat to its own independent foreign policy and after all to its hard gained independence. Kenya is committed to preserve and protect its independence. It is quite clear from Kenyatta's statement, when he said, "In world power politics the East has much design on us as the west and would like us to serve their interests.... To us communist is as bad as imperialism. What we want is the Kenya nationalism which helped us to win the struggle against imperialism. We do not want somebody else's nationalism".[2]

Kenya made it clear that it would not come under the influence of any power blocs and it would choose its own path by judging each issue on its merits. It is clearly manifested in Kenyatta's statement, as he said, "We can not stand aside when issues confront Africa or the world we have definite views on Rhodesia, Angola, South Africa, Vietnam, Malaysia and disarmament. We do not hesitate to express these views when the situation demands. But let me say it quite plainly today that Kenya shall not exchange one master for a new master. We intend to remain our own master forever. Let every nation in the East or West take heed of this warning today".[3]

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2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

After getting independence, Kenya did not hesitate to continue its relationship with the imperialist West. At the sametime, it warned that its under-development should not be underestimated. It should not be made as a plea for further imperialist exploitation and domination. As Kenyatta said, "We welcome genuine friendship but we detest flattery. We welcome cooperation and assistance but we shall not be bought or blackmailed We may be underdeveloped and our people may walk barefoot but we are a proud people - proud of our heritage, our traditions and ancestry. What is more; we will not betray our children".[4]

As a member of the NAM, Kenya is more vigorous politically on its policy towards colonialism and racialism. But it is the economic aspect which makes Kenyan non-alignment policy distinctly pro-Western and anti-communist oriented. It is clearly manifested in Kenyatta's attitude towards the West, when he said, "It is natural that we should detest western colonialism and associate the word imperialism with the West. But if we are truely non-aligned we must not avoid making friends with those western countries who extend an honest field of cooperation and trade".[5]

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4 Ibid , p. 579.

5 Ibid , p. 579.

Since independence, Kenya has been pursuing the capitalist path of development. This aspect helped Kenya to become more lean towards the West than the East. On the otherhand, the Western countries, which were trying to check the expansion of the sphere of influence of the communist ideas got a good ally in the Eastern Africa to do so. In the 1960s the spread of socialist ideas in the neighbouring countries made Kenya more vulnerable. Therefore, in order to face this challenge from within as well as from the outside the border, Kenya became more dependent on the Western countries.

Theoretically, non-alignment has been the guiding principle of Kenya's foreign policy. It has been preserving the rights and ability to judge world issues on their own merit without being influenced by the external powers. But the pattern of her trade and aid suggests the existence of relatively strong economic and military ties with the West. Although she maintains smooth diplomatic relations with Eastern Europe and China, she has consistently been reluctant to receive substantial economic or technical assistance from these countries. It is because of Kenya's governing elites

pursuance of capitalist path of development. The inflow of private as well as public capitals from the West prevents Kenya to accept major assistance from the East European countries. Its position seems to be economically aligned with the West, but ideologically non-committed on cold war issues. In the international sphere, her sovereignty entitles her to make independent judgement on world issues in accordance with her own aspirations, needs and circumstances.

Kenya and U.N.O:-

On the United Nations, Kenya by her membership of the UN, is irrevocably committed to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.[6] Kenya sees the UN as a potential forum for international peace and understanding. It also finds it as a framework for multilateral economic interaction between the industrialised countries and the poor states. Kenya found it as a proper forum through which it could internationalise the African issues pertaining the world peace. Being a third world, non-aligned country, Kenya feels it can make her voice heard on international issues mainly through the UN.

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6 East African Standard, 24 April 1971.

So, it is imperative to evaluate the role of Kenya on both African issues and the world issues in the world forum.

African Issues:-

Kenya's role in UN is worthmentioning. The position of Kenya can be explained on three important issues - confronted not only whole Africa but also the world as well. These issues are, Rhodesia problem, Namibia (South-West Africa) and apartheid policy of South Africa.

i) The Rhodesia Issues:-

Kenya has consistently been opposing Britain and USA in UN on the Rhodesian issues. These two countries supported the unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority regime headed by Ian Smith, which was totally against the wishes of the black majority. Expressing its concern over the fate of the black people Kenyatta said, "Independence for Rhodesia should be ruled out until majority African rule had been established".[7] It further said, "African languishing in the prisons must be allowed to participate in the destiny of their country and discriminatory legislation designed to suppress the Africans and to destroy their culture, tradition and institutionalised identity must

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7 Ibid.

be repealed".[8] In Kenya's view if no peaceful settlement on the basis of above point is possible, then resort to force is not only fully justified but is the only answer left.

ii) Namibia (South-West Africa) Issue:-

Kenya's anti-colonialism and anti-racialism policy made her possible to support the liberation movement in the African continent. That is clearly manifested in its support to the people of Namibia for their liberation from the clutches of the racist South Africa. At the sametime, it has been urged other African countries for their support to the Namibian people for their immediate cause. It also approached to the world body for its help to the Namibian Liberation movement. But it has expressed its concern over the failure of International Court of Justice and the UN which did not come to the expectation of the people of Namibia. Therefore, Kenya took hard decisions against South-Africa which advocated violence for liberation cause. When it saw the inability of the International court of justice for ruling against the misrule of South-Africa, it felt the peaceful transition of power is no more possible to the majority people of Namibia. It is quite clear

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8 Ibid.

from the statement of the ruling party of Kenya KANU's headquarter, which said, "The failure of the international court of justice to rule against the South African Government for its misrule in Sout-West Africa does not mean the end of the struggle for democracy. In fact, it is a clear indication that the time has come for a more militant and violent struggle. Those who thought that entrenched racialism could be fought and beaten by gentlemanly debates in the court and in the United Nations will now know that freedom cannot be won through these methods. Legalistic arguments and wordy exchange achieve little where peoples are suffering under racialist oppression and injustice. Whether the territory is a colony, a mandate, a trusteeship or anything else is irrelevant to the fact that the people of South-West Africa have the right to be free and have the right to use all possible means to fight for their freedom. It is clear that the International Court and the UN lack the will to help them. There is no point in wasting further time in sterile argument. The African states are pledged to help freedom fighters to secure independence of the whole continent. This pledge must now be redeemed".[9]

Kenya has made the Western powers responsible for the continuation of colonial rule in southern Africa.

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9 Ibid , p. 599.

It also condemned them because, in Kenya's view the Western powers who were regarded them as high-votaries of democracy have failed to practice it in Africa. Therefore, in order to meet these challenge in South-West Africa Kenya suggested both moral and material support to the freedom fighters in this country. It felt that the round-table conference and negotiations would not help for getting independence. Therefore, it advocated the armed struggle against the colonial rule. It is quite clear from the statement expressed by the Kenya's ruling party KANU's head-quarter which said, "Unless the African people still under white-minority and colonial rule are ready to shed their blood, they can talk and talk but they will achieve nothing. It must be clear now to all Africans that the Western powers who constantly preach democracy to the world have failed to practise it in Africa. They must stand condemned in the eyes of all Africa. There is no need for diplomatic language have to hide the disgraceful behaviour of these powers".[10]

iii) Apartheid in South-Africa:-

Kenya has been totally opposed to the racial discrimination and denial of human rights on racial

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10 Ibid , p. 599.

ground. This is quite reflective in its firm stand on apartheid in all international conferences and meetings in general and UN in particular.

On the achievement of independence the government of Kenya by Legal Notice No. 73 and Legal Notice No. 74 dated 10 December banned all trade to and from South-Africa and Portugal. This actions resulted in a trade loss of some two million pounds a year and made it difficult for the government to find new markets. The loss was however, considered a necessary sacrifice in the fight against apartheid.[11] The Kenya government also advised all Kenya merchants immediately to dispose of South-African and Portuguese goods in their possession as early as possible. It also warned them to cease from furtherdealings with South Africa and Portugal. The government also from time to time carried out a series of inspection of Kenya's leading stores and shops checking on the spot if any South African or Portugese goods were stocked. It also declared to bring out the legislation in order to make it illegal to import or export goods from or to Republic of South Africa and Portugal.[12]

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11 Ibid , p. 578.

12 Ibid , p. 578.

Following independence and in conformity with the United Nations, the Kenya Government ordered the South African Consulate in Nairobi closed immediately. The South-African Consulate General was subsequently expelled from the country. The government also withdrew landing and flying rights previously enjoyed by South-African Air Ways in the Kenyan territory and air space.[13]

Therefore, in order to bring peace and majority rule in the continent in one hand and to end colonialism and apartheid on the otherhand, Kenya has been taken a firm stands in and outside of the UN.

World Issues:-

One of the fundamental reasons, as Kenya believes for the existence of the UN is the maintenance of international peace and security. Kenya has been supporting all measures aimed at strengthening the organisation's responsibility in the field of peace-keeping.[14]

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13 Ibid , p. 579.

14 Ibid , p. 598.

Kenya favours the amendment of the UN Charter to make the authorisation of operation, the composition of forces and their control and the financing of all future peace keeping operation a collective responsibility of all member states of the UN under the General Assembly besides being the primary responsibility of the Security Council.[15]

Kenya supports the idea of establishing a UN peace-keeping fund by annual contributions assessed in accordance with national incomes supplemented by further voluntary contributions by member nations in accordance with their capacity to do so. It firmly believes that the establishment of the UN Peace-keeping Fund is the only realistic solution to the problem of financing peace-keeping operations.

One of the objectives of Kenyan diplomacy at the UN has been strengthening of African representation in the principal organs, particularly Security Council and other specialised agencies. This was continued in the context of a meaningful and effective participation of African countries in shaping the world order. Kenya

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15 Ibid , p. 598

has persistently been stressing the need for the amendment of the Charter. Speaking on the occassion of the Santa Cruz United Nations Association during the world body's anniversary in America Kenya's ambassador to America Mr. Burudi Nabwera explained the intention of the Afro-Asian states for their demand to amend the UN Charter. He said, "When this is done we shall then have equitable representation on the various UN organs".[16] Expressing his faith that the existing structure of the UN can be changed in the future he further said, "This arrangement of 1945 can no longer be valid. Africa and Asia account for more than half of the members of the UN and this numerical strength must be reflected in the various organs of the UN. This is why Afro-Asian and other states asked for the amendment to the Charter.[17]

Kenya expressed his dissatisfaction over the collection of money required to pay for peace keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The Afro-Asian Committee of Twelve in which Kenya was a member came to the conclusion that the only way out was a kind of reserve fund to which all

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16 Ibid , p. 596.

17 Ibid.

member states would contribute. The Committee further recommended that a Committee be set up by the General Assembly to examine the whole question of peace-keeping and the Committee of Thirty-Three was established under the Chairmanship of the President of General Assembly Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey.[18]

Keeping in view the increasing threat from the nuclear arms build up, Kenya has been extending its support to all the disarmament efforts by the UN. Such a gesture can be observed from its support to the resolution asking the General Assembly to consider the question of convening a world conference on Disarmament. It urges the UN to declare Africa as a de-nuclearized zone. Kenya embraced the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Non-proliferation Treaty as important in keeping the Indian ocean free of East-West tension.[19] The "zone of peace" proposal of India and Srilanka, which opposed Western and Soviet bases in the Indian Ocean were also vigorously embraced.

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18 Ibid.

19 Ibid , p. 580

Kenya supported the admission of China as a member of UN. When Kenya was admitted to the UN in December 1963, it declared its support of the seating of representative of the people's Republic of China rather than the representative of Taiwan government. Since then Kenya delegation has been supported all resolutions to this effect Kenya has no official relations with the Taiwan regime. It was a puppet regime of USA which always opposing the admission of China as a member of UN.

Kenya supported the recommendation of the conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned countries held at Cairo in October 1964 which asked the UN member states to restore all rights to the People's Republic of China and recognised the representative of its government as the only lawful representative of China to the UN.

Kenya's delegation to the 21st session of UN, therefore supported the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

In other area of UN activity, Kenya is the headquarters of two UN agencies - the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat).[20]

Kenya as a member of NAM at UN deplored the role of Western press and Radio. The Western press and Radio gave the impression that the role of the non-aligned countries was inimical to Western interests and helpful to the Eastern bloc. Expressing its satisfaction on the role of NAM group in UN, the ambassador of Kenya to USA said, "Our role is to try and narrow the gap of the view points held by the two power blocs. We try and produce the kind of resolutions which can be accepted by both sides. We act in a manner which we feel is in the interest of mankind as a whole. We vary our vote on the merits of each case.[21]

Kenya has expressed her concern over the division of the world on the basis of ideology. In her opinion most of the difficulties in UN and most of troubles in the world today are emanating from ideological conflict. Giving the evidence of Vietnam war, civil strife in Dominica and the Congo crisis, Kenya made a

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20 Norman, N. Miller, Kenya : The Quest for Prosperity (London : 1984), p. 139.

21 East African Standard, 14 July 1965.

plea to the world forum to take necessary measures in order to check the ideological conflict. It felt that the 3rd world war might be caused due to the ideological conflict.

Thus, it can be concluded that from the above explanation, Kenya's policy towards UN has remained consistent over the years. It has viewed the UN as an instrument of her foreign policy. It was in fact, through UN that, Kenya could project herself as an international actor, as the spokesman of Africa and the Third world countries.

From the overall analysis of the policies and issues it can be derived that Kenya's foreign policy is an extension of the policies of non-alignment. In otherwords Kenya has opted for the principles of non-alignment as its foreign policy option. The choice of non-alignment was quite natural because of the circumstances started from colonial experience to the present day exploitative world order. In non-aligned movement Kenya found a forum of unity for the newly liberated countries who did not wish to remain with their former colonial powers and

were interested in preserving their independence and asserting their right to self-reliance.

Its due faith on the UN reflects another policy facets of non-alignment. Kenya being an under-developed nation, thus, had to take itself to the course of non-alignment rather than taking itself to the worse by gaining the contending power blocs led by USA and USSR.

CHAPTER - V

KENYA AND THE WORLD

Kenya's foreign policy has from the beginning been professedly non-aligned. The architect of the policy president Jomo Kenyatta has always taught to base Kenya's attitude towards the external world on the paradigm of autonomous decision-making. Nairobi has pursued a policy which by Kenyatta's own conviction is the appropriate policy for a weak, underdeveloped third-world country like Kenya. Kenya has never really compromised her genuine pursuit of an independent minded foreign policy based on the tenents of non-alignment. But the pattern of her trade and aid suggested the existence of strong economic and military ties with the West. Although she maintains smooth diplomatic relations with the Eastern Europe and the Peoples' Republic of China, she has consistently been very reluctant to receive substantial economic and technical assistance from these countries. It is because of three reasons - i) Kenya's governing elites acceptance of the capitalist path of development, ii) The pressure from the Western countries particularly from Britain which felt that her interest could be threatened by the presence of Soviet Union and her allies, iii) the spread of socialist ideas in her neighbouring countries made her more closer to the USA.

1. Kenya and Britain:-

Kenya's colonially inherited underdeveloped economy made it quite vulnerable for its overall development after independence. Though it got the formal political independence but economically it was quite unable to fulfil the aims and aspirations of its people. It also faced difficulties to manage its state of affair not only because of its poor economy but also because of its administrative incapability and military weakness. Because, it inherited the ideas and institutions of the former colonial power. Therefore, all these factors compelled Kenya to depend on the former colonial power for her overall development. This is quite reflective in Britain's generous assistance to Kenya.

Kenya continues to cultivate Britain as her major source of economic and technical assistance. Between 1963 and 1972 Britain aided Kenya to the tune of £250 million. There were 3,609 technical assistance personnel from abroad in September 1971 of which 2,130 or 50% were supplied by Britain.

Dependence on Britain for the bulk of economic and technical assistance has been defended on the following grounds[1] - First, diversification of aid by country of origin increases the number of 'turn key' projects and creates problems of management and marketing for the products once the projects have been taken over by the government. Secondly, the presence in Kenya of a vast number of machines from diverse industrial states creates difficulty in maintenance and serving especially when spare parts are not readily available.

It is said that this is why Kenya turned down a £ 16,000,000 Russian loan in February, 1966 despite the fact that she had signed an agreement in respect of that loan. This development came as a result of tremendous pressure from Britain. Britain felt that, potential Russian influence was a threat to the entrenched British farming. Commercial and industrial interests which control the country's economy and determine the direction of its development especially in the private sector.

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1 Jacob Oser, Promoting Economic Development (Evansion, 1967), p. 168

The urge, the desire to protect British interests in Kenya is stated to be an integral part of the "golden handshake" a set of agreements that constituted the price of independence.[2] The period from 1963-70 was dominated by two major aid programmes that were a part of the transition to independence: the land transfer programme, wherein European settlers were paid for their farms and second, the land reform programme that redistributed farmland through registration, adjudication and the transfer of ownership. British aid funded the Kenya government to carry out the programme a total of £56 million was spent in the period 1962-1970. In 1964, 80 percent of all aid to Kenya was from Britain. By 1972 British aid had dropped to 25 percent and by 1979 to 13 percent. In addition to the ownership of the biggest farms, richest hotels and the most lucrative business, Europeans specifically Britishers continue to hold key-posts in the security and civil services in Kenya. This continuity is an integral part of Kenyatta's policy of non-retaliation against Europeans. These close relationswith Britain are further reinforced by mutual trade interests,

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2. Prof. John Okumu, Kenya's Foreign Policy, in Aluko Olajide, ed , Foreign Policies of African States, (London, Hadder and Stoughton, 1977), p. 157

the continuation of similar outlook in the administrative apparatus and the similar outlook of armed forces of the two countries which has also been instrumental in preventing Kenya from diversifying its sources of armed forces aid. Therefore, there are no major distracting clashes of interest in the partnership between Kenya's governing elite and Britain.

Tensions between the two country's relations occurred when Kenya clashed officially with Britain over the unilateral Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia, althouth not going as far as to break off diplomatic relations.

British arm sales to South Africa have also been a bone of contention between the two states as levies and taxes are paid in Kenya by the British farms. Since the U.K. is the major source of oversea investment there are constant negotiations on what the oversea farms will and can do in Kenya.

Kenya and the Commonwealth:-

Kenya found the Commonwealth as the best instrument through which it could be able to maintain its relations not only with its former colonial power rather with other developed and developing countries for her economic

benefits. It has used the Commonwealth for fostering economic cooperation with other Commonwealth Nations such as Nigeria, India, Britain, Canada, Australia and others. Economic development, moneys and military equipment and training funds are occassionally funded through Commonwealth sources to Kenya from Britain and Canada. Grants from the Commonwealth Development Fund for coffee and tea development as well as major undertakings in land and settlement projects which Kenya got as a part of the Commonwealth benefits.

Kenya also found the Commonwealth as a best instrument through which it could pressurize Britain in order to get liberated colonial countries in Africa. That is quite reflective in her stand on Rhodesian issues and South African issues in various summit conference of Commonwealth.

Kenya has been opposing the colonialism and racialism in Africa since her independence that has been exhibited by Kenya not only within the country, but also by her stand on the issues in different world institutions. It has also taken the same stand on the vexed issues in the Commonwealth. That is quite clear from the statement

of Kenyatta, while he was speaking in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London, on July 1964, "That the Commonwealth family should be the greatest example of democracy and multi-racial cooperation among the free-nations. He warned that if the Commonwealth failed to resolve the problems and conflicts of race it would be ineffective".[3]

Expressing his concern over the Rhodesian issue just before the 1964 Commonwealth Conference in London in a television interview Prime Minister Kenyatta said, "We can not afford to stand by and see our brothers in Rhodesia remaining under colonial and imperialist domination".[4] Though Kenya always has expressed her sympathy and support to the people of Rhodesia but it did not take any effective step in this regard. It did not come under the pressure of Zambia which was mobilizing other African member states of Commonwealth to break their diplomatic relations with Britain. Kenya, on the otherhand, neither broke her diplomatic relations with Britain nor came out

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3 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol. 1, no. 7, July 1964, p. 115

4 Ibid.

of the Commonwealth rather it sent large delegation to the Commonwealth Conference. By sending her delegation, it renewed a strong plea to Britain to bring down Ian Smith regime and went to the extent of calling for the use of force. It is because, Kenya has high regard for the benefits of Commonwealth relations which are vital for her developing economy.[5]

The Commonwealth faced difficulties on the Rhodesian issues and the arm sales to South-Africa. There was a great optimism that Kenyan leaders might be able to devise a formula at Singapore which would be acceptable to 'all concerned' and this would save the Commonwealth. In Singapore the Kenya delegation struck a note for reconciliation on the issue. Kenya's Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi said that: A solution might be worked out by neutralising the Indian Ocean which might alter Britain's insistence that it sells naval weapons to South-Africa. He reiterated that Kenya remained very strong and uncompromising in its opposition to any arm sale. It also wanted the Indian Ocean to be a nuclear free-zone.[6]

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5 Dawn (Karachi), 28 July 1966.

6 The Hindu (Madras), 14 January 1971.

Kenya's stand of no dialogue with South-Africa and majority rule in Rhodesia was fully supported by the 17th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting which ended in Malaysia.[7] Describing the meeting as a major success, Kenya's Health Minister Mr. Okero said, "Kenya took the stand that there could be no meaningful dialogue with South-Africa which was not based on human equality and dignity as envisaged in the Lusaka manifesto".[8] Kenya also re-emphasized her stand by saying that Britain had constitutional and moral responsibility to bringdown the Smith regime in Rhodesia. Besides that it put forth certain conditions before bringing about any settlement in Rhodesia,[9] as follows -

i) There should be no independence before majority rule.

ii) Africans should have the right to participate in any full time settlement without restrictions.

iii) All discriminatory laws should be replaced.

Kenya reiterated that NATO countries had the obligation to refuse Portugal arms which might be used against the freedom fighters in her colonies.

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7 East African Standard (Nairobi), 20 September 1971.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

Kenya has again re-emphasized her stand on majority rule, racial harmony, stability and territorial integrity in Southern Africa, in the 20th Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government held in Kingston (Jamaica) in April 1975, spelling out Kenya's stand on Southern Africa in a speech to the Conference Kenya's Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi said, "The struggle in Southern Africa is one which we in the Commonwealth understand well because it is inspired by the very principle to which we subscribe. Human dignity, social justice and the right to decide the form of government desired by a given country are concepts which should not in reality be negotiable. They constitute people's inalienable rights. But taken in the context of Southern Africa, we see that they have been devalued and subordinated to racial and economic considerations. Apartheid and its various manifestations which affront human conscience would not appear so formidable had it not received external aid and comfort over the years".[10]

Kenya has warned the outside power not to indulge in the anti-people policy in that region for their economic benefits. Expressing Kenya's concern over

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10 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series), vol. 12, no. 5, May 1975, p. 361-5.

apartheid, the Vice-President further said that, "We wish, therefore, to remind those outside powers who reinforce the evil philosophy of apartheid by pursuing economic objectives that in long run their own interests will be in jeopardy unless they are prepared to change their attitude and promote political liberation, racial harmony and stability in that region".[11]

Emphasizing majority rule in South Africa, Mr. Moi said, "South-Africa's salvation does not lie in the concept of Bantustans or in unjust laws or in a policy that emphasizes Christianity and Western civilisation or in other outdated beliefs that can only breed friction, tensions and even a racial war. The salvation lies in the people of South Africa themselves".[12]

Therefore, Kenya's consistent stands on Southern African issues in various summit conferences of Commonwealth exhibit her policy towards anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. Kenya has been opposing Britain through the Commonwealth not only on the African issues but also the issues of the world too. That was

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11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

reflected by Kenya, when it rejected the idea of having British Prime Minister Mr. Wilson as the leader of the Commonwealth Peace Mission on Vietnam. In Kenya's view his leadership was certain to prejudice chances of success by the mission because, Mr. Wilson had declared British support for Americans in Vietnam. Therefore, it suggested that the peace mission should have been completely non-aligned.

In conclusion, it can be said that, Kenya's political stand on various issues did not affect her economic relation with Britain. Because, Kenya did not take any hard step which could have embarrassed Britain. Kenya was always concerned about her economic development in which Britain had a major role to play. It felt that her individual action could not be able to change the British action on the Souther African issues. Therefore it found the Commonwealth as best forum to exert pressure on Britain to carry out action, which it could not hope to achieve alone. It sought to influence other members to participate in exerting pressures and bringing about changes in South Africa, in Rhodesia, in securing better terms of trade and to contribute towards their development effort. Rather than modifying her own behaviour, by participating in Commonwealth, Kenya have sought to modify the behaviour of others, particularly Britain.

Kenya and the USA:-

Relations between Kenya and the United States are traced diplomatically to 1833 when a US consulate was established on Zanzibar to oversee African trade.[13] After the first world war, US missionaries began to work in Kenya and beginning in the mid-1950s US labour organizations privately began to help Kenyan nationalists. In the same period, 1955, the American pathfinder fund started family-planning work in Kenya. Shortly, therefore, US private aid helped organise airlifts for Kenyan students to come to the USA, reaching a peak in 1965 of 1300 students.

After independence stress in Kenya-USA relations surfaced over US intervention in the Congo, an event that led to a major anti-American demonstration in Nairobi. It is because of the failure of the Congo conciliation commission headed by Jomo Kenyatta. Later, criticism was voiced against USA over Vietnam and South-Africa. Kenya also opposed the development of military installation on the island of Diago-Garcia

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13 Norman N. Miller, Kenya : The Quest for Prosperity (London: 1984), p. 135.

by the USA for two major reasons,[14] i) Kenya felt it would be subjected to a nuclear fall-out which it did not want. ii) Kenya would also risk being hit directly by a missile or even by missiles from those nation whose war head carriers have not been perfected. Kenya always stood for the declaration of Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace".

Relations between Kenya and theUSA improved in the 1970s. US aid and private investment increased US teachers, missionaries, and peace corps volunteers came in greater numbers to live in Kenya and the tourist flow increased to nearly 40,000 a year. Kenya for her part received greater military cooperation from the United States - which has sent one frigate to Mombasa and at least one reconnaisance air craft on loan which six seventh fleet ships headed by an air craft carrier have been ordered into the Indian Ocean. Kenya also secured agreement in principle from the USA to supply it with F-5 jet fighters to match Mig-21 flown by neighbouring Somalia and Uganda.

Therefore, Kenya in order to protect her unity, integrity and security in one hand and to counter the Soviet supplied military equipments of her neighbours, it became more dependent on USA.

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14 Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural Series) vol. 12, June 1975, p. 3675.

Kenya and the East:-

Kenya's relationship with both the West and the East started during the nationalist struggle in 1950s. While some nationalists were established friendships in the United States and Britain, a small group of Kenyans led by Ogiga Odinga sought assistance from the Soviet Union and later China. Historians suggest, Odinga was driven to the communist states partly by his rivalry with fellow Luo Tom Mboy, who had rapidly become a close friend of the United States.[15]

By independence in 1963, Odinga was the key advocate of close relations with Moscow and Peking. It is because of his leaning towards the ideas of the socialism. In 1964, he led a mission to both capitals of Soviet Union and China and without cabinet knowledge signed agreements for interest free loans, technical assistance and weaponry. The agreement became a cause celebre when Soviet arms finally arrived in Kenya, they led to back fire in Kenya-Soviet relations, partly because the weapons were reported to be of World War-I vintage, an insult to Kenya. The pro-Western Kenyatta did not accept the arms and sent it

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15 Norman N. Miller, Kenya : The Quest for Prosperity, (London, 1984), p. 136.

back to the Soviet Union, because the Soviet arms were also flown to Somalia, which was then hostile to Kenya. During this period 1964-65 Chinese leader Zhou Enlai who was touring Africa preached armed revolution, which was seen as anathema to Kenyatta's moderation policies.

Despite all these problems, diplomatic relationships were maintained with China and the Soviet Union and Kenya continued to receive aid from both, including a major Soviet built hospital in Odinga's home area. The key problems with the Soviets from Kenyatta's view point, aside from ideology, was the USSR's continued support of Somalia. By the time the Soviet-Somalia relationship ended in 1977, both the USSR and China had low profile in Kenya.

Economic Dimension:-

One of the primary functions of the capitalist state in the economic sphere is to create conditions conducive to capital accumulation.[16] The group of nationalists who took over formal state power when the British granted the colony self-government in 1963

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16 Nicola Swainson, "State and Economy in Post-Colonial Kenya : 1963-78", Canadian Journal of African Studies, Winter, 1978, p. 365

were firmly committed to the maintenance of private property and free enterprise. The newly independent government, in its sessional paper No. 10 on "African Socialism in Kenya" had declared its support for both the development of African capitalism while at the same time inviting foreign investors into the country. Foreign companies that already had interests in Kenya were assured that there was to be no nationalisation, an issue which was to become the focus for attack by the radicals within the Kenyan Peoples Union (KPU).

The nationalist movement under the leadership of the Kenyan African Union (KAU) from the 1940s onwards had involved a broad alliance between all those indigenous classes which were oppressed by colonial capitalism : peasants, workers, landless labourers, capitalist farmers and the urban salariat. The broad alliance was a temporary expedient to wrest political power from the settlerstate. There had indeed been serious contradictions within the nationalist movement during 1950s which had been fought out during the violent revolt.

The group which finally dominated the nationalist movement and formed the core of the independent government was moderate and firmly committed to the extension of indigenous capitalism.

For Jomo Kenyatta, who headed the new government after independence; the road to real independence and self-reliance lies in economic development and free enterprise, not in military might. In his economic policy statement of 1963, Kenyatta went out his way to show his disdain for militant nationalism and the wishes of the majority of Kenyans. He was determined to make foreign interests feel at home in independent Kenya and use them to enrich himself and his trusted political allies. Kenyatta obliged the international capitalist by frequently emphasizing his aversion to nationalism and his respect for private property, free enterprise and foreign investment. Jomo Kenyatta took pains to retain foreign capital and to assume new investors they would be protected. After, independence the Foreign Investment Protection Act 1964 provided guarantees that capital and profits could be rapatriated. The combination of these conditions, with the advantages of Nairobi's communications and climate has attracted a flow of foreign investment mainly through multi-national corporations (MNCs).

Nowhere was Kenyatta's support of capitalism more apparent than in the favoured treatment given to foreign investors and MNCs. Even before independence, Kenyatta had reassured investors that the independent Kenya government would not be a 'gangster government' or deprive people of their rights and properties but rather we will encourage investors to come to Kenya ... to bring prosperity to this country.[17] The inducements included financial encouragement, loans, equity participation, arrangements, joint state-private undertakings and other forms of subsidies.

The value of Foreign Corporate investment in the late 1970s included $ 500 million from Britain, $ 200 million from USA, $ 60 million from West Germany, and another $ 100 million from Southern land, France, India, Italy and Japan. Nearly 56% of the industrial sector is under foreign ownership, the remainder controlled by government parastatal bodies, by Kenyan Asian.. and by a few African and European businessmen.

The scope of multinational activity in Kenyatta's time included plantation ownership, agricultural processing, mineral extraction, petrol distribution

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17 Arthur Hazlewood, Economy of Kenya : The Kenyatta Era, (London, Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 13

road transport, advertising, banking and commerce and subsidiary manufacturing.[18] In manufacturing firms with more than fifty workers, MNCs dominated such industry as leather, footwear, cigarettes, softdrinks, petroleum refining, chemicals, paint, soap, vehicle assembly, cement and metal products. By 1972, the MNCs investment in Kenya was estimated at approximately $ 364 million over 20% of the nation's Gross National Product.[19] Overall, the important point about the MNCs was that they were very much a part of the business elite's quest for prosperity during the early Kenyatta years. A growing number of businessmen, largely from Kikuya land formed the alliances with foreign investors and in many cases Kenyattaactually constructed the machinery through which to control foreign capital in the interests of indigenous accumulation.

Aside from encouraging investment by MNCs Kenyatta sought to increase the inflow of foreign aid and to entice UN agencies to locate in Kenya. The aid picture changed

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18 Steven W Longdon, Multinational Corporations in the Political Economy of Kenya (London, 1981), p p. 31-32.

19 Ibid , p. 34.

from that of a largely British-Kenya relationship to an expanding inflow of money from bilateral and multilateral sources, over 90% of it from the West or the World Bank. By 1976 the World Bank alone had provided $ 333 million in loans and $ 146 million in soft credit, at that point ranking Kenya as the leading recipient of World Bank money on the African continent.[20] In 1972, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) established its headquarter in Kenya. In 1978, Habitat, the UN Centre for Human Settlement followed suit. Tourism increased significantly, by 1972, accounting for more than 40,000 jobs compared to 90,000 jobs provided by all manufacturing activities.

Therefore, Kenya's pro-West attitude is clearly manifested not only because of its capitalist path of development but also because of her acceptance and dependence on the Western aid, trade and financial assistance. In addition, the presence of Western countries, companies and their multinational corporations prevent Kenya to receive substantial assistance from the East though it has been maintaining the diplomatic relations with them.

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20 Guy Arnold, Modern Kenya (London, 1981), p. 117.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Kenyan's foreign policy gives a policy orientation which is quite characteristics of many decolonised third world countries. The quest for principles which characterises Kenya's foreign policy has emphasized through an examination of her commitment to independence, African unity, racial equality and non-alignment.

One aspect of Kenya's foreign policy is its policy of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. Kenya considers it as an important one in support of African Unity. Even before independence Kenya realised during her nationalist struggle that the cooperation with other African countries was essential as a strategy to defeat colonialism and imperialism in Africa. Thus, in post-independence era Kenya's policy was oriented in such a spirit to achieve the African unity.

Another principle of her foreign policy is its policy against racial discrimination. Kenya's bitter experience of racial discrimination during colonial rule has been reflected in her crusade against racialism in post-independence era. It

believed that achievement of internal liberation would only bring to the people of a state the dignity, freedom and justice. Therefore, in order to liberate the people of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau from the bondage of racist regime, it not only broke the diplomatic relations from them but also took firm stand in the international forum such as OAU, Commonwealth and UNO on the racist issues.

The implication of Kenya's fight against colonialism is quite manifest in various speeches of Kenyatta. For Kenyatta, Kenya's success has proved that there is no colonial problems in Africa that can not be solved. Independence - complete and unconditional - is the answer to the remaining colonial issues in Africa. He felt that the freedom fighters in the colonised country would be able to draw fresh encouragement for the final confrontation with the help of the independent states. Once they are free, they have to remain free for ever.

Through OAU, Kenya was committed not merely by words but by deeds to the promotion of African Unity. It believes in cooperation at all levels and the total

liberation of African territories led by racist minority regimes in Southern Africa and elsewhere. Its policy for African unity is manifested in its support for the East African community. Through OAU, she seeks to play the role of an honest broker in inter-African politics and cooperation. This derives partly from her strong economy and partly from Jomo Kenyatta's historical role and continuing personal prestige as one of the founding fathers of Pan-African Movement.

Another facet of her quest for principles has been the drive for normalisation of relations with her neighbours. It realised that it would be able to provide security to her people and her country only by a good neighbouring policy based on mutual understanding. It would enable her to solve the vexed bilateral issues peacefully and to strengthen her economic position in Africa.

Kenya was very much concerned about her economic development since her independence. It is because of her underdeveloped economy and Kenyatta's personal attitude towards capitalist path of development. Kenya's political elite's acceptance of the philosophy

of capitalist oriented development and the retention of coloniallydeveloped economic structure made Kenya more pro-West than the pro-East. Kenya was maintaining its diplomatic relations with the Eastern powers, but was very reluctant to receive substantial amount of aid and assistance both financially and materially from the socialist countries. It is because of the presence of Western powers large scale investment and their assistance in the field of technology and military, prevented Kenya from leaning towards the East. Thus, it is the economic aspect which identified Kenya with the Western powers in the cold war situation.

The foundation of Kenyan foreign policy remains non-alignment internationally and peaceful co-existance with neighbouring countries. However, the Nairobi government's non-alignment is qualified by distinctly pro-Western and anti-communist sympathies. Kenya seems to be economically aligned but ideologically non-committed on cold war issues.

Through non-alignment Kenya has consistently asserted the significance of the principle of self determination upon which one nation refrains from overt interference in the internal affairs of another, a principle upheld by both the UNO and OAU.

Kenya has been persistent in pursuing a definitive foreign policy. One of the main thrust of Kenyan foreign relations has the need to change for a new economic order, a kind of progress based on equality, independence and self-determination. She has althrough been conscious of the very fact of imperialist move of the west as well as the ideological imposition of the East. She never tried to adopt exclusively the socio-economic system of either bloc rather it tried to develop on these lines which were suitable to the regional conditions of the country itself. For Kenyatta, the constitution, a document on African socialism and a party manifesto must be a guide to the new society.

Thus Kenyatta laid the foundation of an independent foreign policy based on the tenets of non-alignment.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX - I

Foreign Policy of Kenya

Excerpts from Kenyatta's Statement

(1) Kenyatta's view on the Liberation of Africa :

Addressing to the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Cairo, July 1964, Kenyatta said,

Kenya's success has proved that there is no colonial problem in Africa that cannot be solved. It has shown that there are no special colonial problems requiring special solutions. Independence complete and unconditional - is the answer to the remaining colonial issues in Africa.

Kenya's victory was African victory. The contribution in various form we received from our friends was crucial in our struggle. I therefore wish to take this opportunity to thank all our African brothers who assisted us positively during our days of struggle.

It is in recognition of this spirit of solidarity that my country pledgesitself to join with the other independent states of Africa in the struggle for the total liberation of the whole of Africa. We can not be truely free when southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South-West Africa and the protectorates continue to be under foreign rule and European domination. Respect for the African states and the impact which Africa needs to make on international affairs, intending the contribution that we must make, will not be fully achieved

as long as any part of Africa remains under colonial rule. Our effort to free the remaining parts of Africa is therefore part of our mission to give final meaning to our own freedom and to the greatness of Africa. This remaining struggle will require even greater sacrifices but it can not fail. With our help the freedom fighters in these areas will be able to draw fresh encouragement for the final confrontation.

Africa's progress towards complete liberation is irreversible. Malawi's accession to independence, to be followed latter by Zambia's, is a clear demonstration of this progress. There is need to redouble our efforts to remove the remaining vestiges of colonialism from our continent. The present southern Rhodesia's government must face this fact. Southern Rhodesia is an African country, and this fact, plus the right of the African people to govern the territory, has been successfully made by the African leaders at the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. We stand firm in our demand for the release of the nationalists now detained by the arbitrary laws of this unhappy land. It is entitled to independence based on the majority will of the people. The same formula applies to the Portuguese dominated areas of Africa. After nearly 500 years in Africa, the Portuguese have clearly demonstrated that they are incapable of ruling and of cultivating racial harmony. The present political climate in this continent demands that each and every one of the 250 million Africans must be made free. Once they are free, they have to remain free for ever".

(2) Kenyatta's views on Non-Alignment :

On the Madaraka Day, President Kenyatta said that, It is in this knowledge that I am able to say to you and to the world that Kenya shall remain firm and resolute in her declared stand of positive non-alignment. We shall remain firm in pursuing our goals to bring our people food, education, medicine and a better standard of life.

I have referred to positive non-alignment and feel that, today I should speak more bluntly on this subject. We donot want this to become a slogan. We must make it a practical and working policy. Otherwise, it could be exploited or used as a cover those who do not care for non-alignment.

In the party manifesto we made it quite clear that non-alignment did not imply non-commitment. We cannot stand aside when issues confront Africa or the world. We have definite views on Rhodesia, Angola, South Africa, Vietnam, Malaysia and disarmament. We do not hesitate to express these viewswhen the situation demand. But let me say it quite plainly today that Kenya shall not exchange one master for a new master. We intend to remain our own masters for ever. Let every nation in the East or West take heed of this warning today.

We welcome genuine friendship but we detest flattery. We welcome cooperation and assistance, but we shall not be

bought or blackmailed. We may be underdeveloped, and our people may walk barefoot, but we are proud people - proud of our heritage, our traditions and ancestry. What is more: we will not betray our children.

I must warn those in our country who seek to create confusion. It is true that we have passed through many years of western imperialism. It is natural that we should detest western colonialism and associate the word imperialism with the west. But if we are truely non-aligned, we must not avoid making friends with those western countries who extend an honest field of cooperation and trade. To do this is just to prove that we are not free and cannot separate good from bad. It proves that we still suffer from a colonial mentality. Some people deliberately try to exploit colonial hangover for their own selfish purposes or in order to serve some external force. If someone's judgement or opinion is wrong you should say so but to accuse him of imperialism because of this is sheer stupidity. We must reject such people publicly.

It is naive to think that there is no danger of imperialism from the East. In world power politics, the East has as much designs upon us as the west and would like us to serve their own interests. This is why reject communism. It is in fact the reason why we have chosen for ourselves the policy of non-alignment and African socialism. To us communism is as bad as imperialism. What we want is "Kenya nationalism" which helped as to win the struggle against

imperialism. We do not want some bodyelse's nationalism. It is a sad mistake to think that you can get more food, more hospitals or schools by crying "communism".

I am amused by those who suggest that we cannot condemn something we have not seen or tasted: I have even heard it said our only threat is neo-colonialism from the west.

I speak plainly on this subject today because the time has come for us to do so in order to leave no room for confusion. I am also happy that we have our constitution, a document on African socialism and a party manifesto. These three documents have been endorsed by our people and parliament and must be a guide to our new society. It is now for the public to judge the action of the Government and the utterances of all our leaders according to what is laid down in these documents. The world is looking to see if we shall be able to live according to these principles".

(3) Kenyatta's view on Pan-Africanism :

Praising the ideal of unity advocated by Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Kenyatta said, "It was the first concrete step taken by the free states of Africa in the welcome direction of building up African unity on a permanant basis. Preservation of OAU as an instrument for serving African interest is therefore of paramount importance.

Enshrined in the OAU charter are cherished principles which all African countries are endeavouring to apply in their sovereign lives. Among these are the non-interference in the internal affairs of states, peaceful settlement of disputes and positive non-alignment as a foreign policy we subscribed to these principles because they form a sound basis on which African unity, solidarity and cooperation can evolve most rapidly and genuinely.

It has to be admitted that internal differences and quarrels have arisen within the OAU. This should cause no alarm because in any human institution based on democratic principles differences will occur perfection or unanimity can hardly be achieved.

Strain and stress, however is a symptom of growth and the trying experience which the OAU is undergoing now is traditionally symbolic of the painful rites which an African youth undergoes before reaching manhood and maturity. That is why the importance of the OAU now and in the future cannot be discounted.

Despite temporary setbacks this organisation is emerging as a formidable instrument of peace, unity and strength. As such, it is posing a serious problem to foreign interests who still wish to retain Africa as their sphere of influence. The threat to the existence of the OAU does not spring from within but from external forces which are at work to wreck it.

It is therefore important for member states to be vigilant and avoid the common pitfall of being drawn into fraternal fends and fights which can only harm the higher interests of Africa including unity and peaceful economic development.

Kenya is totally committed to the OAU charter to the preservation of the OAU, to African unity, to the total liberation of the continent and to the restoration of human rights wherever they have been eroded".

(4) President Kenyatta's view on the Treaty for East African Cooperation :

Reporting to the parliament, on the Treaty for East African Cooperation, President Jomo Kenyatta said, "on the KANU manifesto of 1963 we pledged to build on the foundation of the East African Common Service Organisation and the East African Common Market to strengthen the Cooperation between the peoples of East Africa.

We expressed the hope of a closer political association. Since then we have worked consistently and persistently to maintain and strengthen the ties between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Our East African Co-operation has survived the adverse predictions of the enemies of African unity. It is indeed one of the most advanced stages of cooperation between sovereign states anywhere in the world. We have something of which we can be proud of".

(5) Kenyatta's view of Commonwealth :

Speaking in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London, July 1964, Kenyatta said, "The Commonwealth family should be greatest example of democracy and multi racial cooperation among the free nations. He warned that if the Commonwealth failed to resolve the problem and conflicts of race it would be ineffective".

APPENDIX - II

Important Development in Kenya's Foreign Policy During Kenyatta's Period:-

1) 1963 - KANU manifesto pledged to build on the foundations of the East African Common Services Organisation and East African Common Market to strengthen the Peoples of East Africa.

2) December 1963 - i) Kenya Government Legal Notice no. 73 and Legal Notice No. 74 banned all trade to and from South Africa and Portugal. It was considered a necessary sacrifice in thefight against apartheid.

ii) Kenya admitted to the United Nations Organisation.

iii) Kenya declared its support of the seating of representatives of People's Republic of China - rather than representative of Taiwan government.

3) December 1964 - Kenya became Republic.

4) January 1964 - Kenya became the member of Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

5) 1964 - The Government of Kenya signed an economic agreement with the government of the Soviet Union.

ii) Kenya supported London International Conference on Economic sanctions against South Africa.

6. October 1964 - Kenya supported the recommendations of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of non-aligned

countries held at Cairo which asked the UN member states to restore all rights to the People's Republic of China and recognise the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representative of China to the United Nations.

8. July 1964 - Kenyatta warned that, if the Commonwealth failed to resolve the problems and conflicts of race it would be ineffective.

9. 1964 - Kenya Government made Foreign Investment Protection Act which provides guarantee that capitals and profits could be repatriated.

10. May 1965 - The Government of Kenya declared that it would not recognise any government in Rhodesia unilaterally declared by Ian Smith. It further declared that it would not recognise any independent government in Rhodesia as a result of unilateral declaration or recognition between Mr. Smith and the British Government, if such government is not based on democratic - one-man, one-vote majority rule.

11. November 1965- Kenya was made a member of OAU Defence Committee. Other members of the Committee were Nigeria, Tanzania, UAR and Zambia.

12. February 1966- Kenya Government turned down to accept a £ 16,000,000 Russian loan despite the fact that she had signed an agreement in respect of that loan.

13. June 1967 - Treaty for East African Cooperation was signed by President Obote of Uganda, president Nyerere of Tanzania and president Kenyatta of Kenya.

14. October 1967 - Kenya and Somalia reach agreement at Arusha which recognised the need to restore normal and peaceful relations between both the country.

15. September 1969 - Kenya was made the member of the OAU Committee of Seven to investigate the working of the organisation of the African Unity Liberation Committee.

16. August 1970 - Kenya introduced a resolution in the OAU, which requested the African Heads of State and Government to send a delegation of three ministers to discuss with the countries concerned in arms sales to South Africa and show why they should cease.

1970 - A Treaty was signed between Kenya and Ethiopia delineating their border.

18. April 1975 - Kenya reemphasized her stand on majority rule, racial harmony, stability and territorial integrity in Southern Africa in the 20th Conference of Commonwealth held in Kingston (Jamaica).

19. April 1976 - Relationship between Kenya and Uganda became tense when Idi Amin renewed his attack on Kenya.

20. December 1977 - In order to normalise relations with Tanzania - Kenya released details of a nine point accord.

21. 1977 - East African Community was disintegrated.

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