

KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL, 1963-2002:
CONTRADICTION BETWEEN RHETORIC AND PRACTICE.

THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

BY MAUMO LEONARD OLUOCH

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI,
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE & PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

May, 2009

DECLARATION

THIS THESIS IS MY OWN ORIGINAL WORK THAT HAS NOT BEEN
SUBMITTED FOR EXAMINATION IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.

DATE: 29th June, 2009

MAUMO LEONARD OLUOCH.

THIS THESIS HAS RECEIVED MY APPROVAL AS THE UNIVERSITY
SUPERVISOR.

DATE: 29th June, 2009

DR. OLOO G. R. ADAMS.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear parents, Wilson and Philomena Auma, for giving their all to see me through school and for believing in the power of education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Special debt of gratitude is owed to many individuals who contributed ideas that shaped this work. My supervisor, Dr. Oloo Adams, promptly read and offered relevant comments for each of the six chapters. I thank him for being available whenever I wanted assistance throughout the period of writing this thesis. I thank Dr. Philip Nying'uro, the Chair of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, for reminding me of the need to complete this work. I acknowledge the advice, comments and encouragement from my lecturers at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. I would also like to salute my six classmates; Chelogoi Davis, Karanja Patrick, Kwamboka Caroline, Mutega John, Ngugi John and Okello Caroline for their uplifting words and deeds during the two years of the programme.

Outside the academic field, I would like to thank those who assisted me during the process of conducting interviews. These include Dr. Caleb Mbai of the Israeli embassy at the time, Mr. Johnson Soi and Mr. Robert Ngesu of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the office of the Director of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, Peterson Nyanchweya and Ms. Jane Ndung'o from the Export Promotion Council, Mr. Ouko of the Office of the President, and Mrs. Kamau of the Department of External Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry. There were others who did not want to be mentioned by name. I greatly appreciate their help.

To those who typed, printed and bound this work, I thank you for the efforts. In case of any errors in this research, I alone would be responsible. It is my hope that the reader finds this thesis a useful addition to any available material on Kenya's foreign policy.

ABSTRACT

Kenya-Israeli relations were formalised immediately after Kenya's independence in 1963 upon which bilateral agreements were signed and Israeli assistance were received in various fields. At this time, Kenya's foreign policy was guided by the principle of positive non-alignment, enabling it to gain from the East and the West and to safeguard its newly acquired independence. Israel was an ideal partner in Kenya's quest to build its young nation as it had gone through a similar path and had little neo-colonial designs upon Kenya.

Although Kenya-Israeli ties have been strong since independence, the Middle East crisis has over the years presented Kenya with a dilemma in its foreign policy towards Israel. Within the UN forums, for example, Kenya supports the Palestinian course by backing the UN resolutions that are viewed by Israel as unfavourable. This research probes Kenya's foreign policy from 1963 to 2002 on the basis of its pronouncements and behaviour in relation to the Middle East crisis and its foreign policy towards Israel.

Kenya's foreign policy is shaped by the desire to attract economic assistance that does not come with a heavy burden. This has been an attractive aspect in its relations with Israel. Towards Israel, external actors and factors do not play a major role in influencing Kenya's foreign policy. Within the UN, Kenya's foreign policy is guided by the UN principles. Here, Kenya finds an opportunity to participate in diplomatic events and to be part of the international community that seeks to end conflicts in the world. Domestically, the economy was found to be an important factor in Kenya's foreign policy because Israeli assistance in agriculture is geared towards the improvement of the economy. Israel also provides a sizeable market for Kenya's products and is a good

tourist originating country in that region. Kenya also gains economically from other Israeli-friendly states such as the USA by maintaining cordial ties with Israel.

Because Israel represents a wider interest for Kenya, this study recommends that the ties between the two countries be strengthened further by diversifying Israeli technical know-how in the various sectors of Kenya's society. Kenya has suffered as a result of terrorist acts and therefore, needs to be within the circle of the major powers that seek to stop the spreading tide of insecurity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Declaration</i> | <i>ii</i> |
| <i>Dedication</i> | <i>iii</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgement</i> | <i>iv</i> |
| <i>Abstract</i> | <i>v</i> |
| <i>Table of Contents</i> | <i>vii</i> |
| <i>List of tables</i> | <i>xi</i> |
| <i>List of Abbreviation</i> | <i>xii</i> |
| <i>Maps of Kenya and Israel</i> | <i>xiv</i> |

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1. Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1.1. Kenya..... | 1 |
| 1.1.2. Israel..... | 3 |
| 1.1.3. Kenya-Israeli Relations | 5 |
| 1.2. Statement of the Problem..... | 9 |
| 1.3. Objective of the Study..... | 11 |
| 1.3.1. Key Research Questions..... | 11 |
| 1.4. Justification of the Study..... | 12 |
| 1.5. Scope and Limitations of the Study..... | 13 |
| 1.5.1. Scope..... | 13 |
| 1.5.2. Limitations..... | 14 |
| 1.6. Definition of Terms..... | 15 |
| 1.7. Literature Review..... | 15 |
| 1.8. Conceptual Framework..... | 28 |
| 1.9. Research Hypotheses..... | 31 |
| 1.10. Methodology..... | 32 |
| 1.10.1. Sampling Method..... | 33 |
| 1.10.2. Data Analysis..... | 33 |

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

| | |
|---|----|
| 2.1. Introduction..... | 34 |
| 2.2. The History of Kenya's Foreign Policy..... | 34 |
| 2.2.1. Foreign Policy-Making Process..... | 36 |
| 2.2.2. Diplomacy and Foreign Policy-Making..... | 36 |
| 2.2.3. Economic Development and Foreign Policy..... | 38 |
| 2.2.4. Historical Perspective in Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Israel..... | 39 |
| 2.2.4.1. The 'Uganda Scheme'..... | 39 |
| 2.2.4.2. Trade Contacts between Kenya and Israel..... | 42 |
| 2.2.4.3.. Visits and Training..... | 43 |
| 2.2.4.4. Arab Threat as a factor in Kenya-Israeli ties..... | 44 |
| 2.2.4.5. Symbolic and Ecological Reasons..... | 46 |
| 2.3. Conclusion..... | 47 |

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. EXTERNAL FACTORS AND ACTORS IN KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.1. Introduction..... | 49 |
| 3.2. The External Actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy..... | 50 |
| 3.2.1. The United Nations Organization..... | 50 |
| 3.2.2. The OAU/AU and Israel..... | 57 |
| 3.3. The External Factors in Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Israel..... | 61 |
| 3.3.1. The Capitalist Ties..... | 61 |
| 3.3.2. Threats to Kenya's Territory..... | 65 |
| 3.3.3. Polarity..... | 66 |
| 3.3.4. Global war on International Terrorism..... | 67 |
| 3.3.4.1. Conceptual Analysis of Terrorism..... | 68 |
| 3.3.4.2. The 1976 Entebbe Raid..... | 72 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 3.3.4.3. Norfolk Hotel Bombing..... | 79 |
| 3.3.4.4. Nairobi US Embassy Bombing..... | 82 |
| 3.3.4.5. Kikambala Paradise Hotel Bombing..... | 86 |
| 3.4. Conclusion..... | 89 |

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. THE DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4.1. Introduction..... | 90 |
| 4.2. Domestic Determinants of Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 91 |
| 4.2.1. Kenya’s Economy and its Foreign Policy towards Israel..... | 92 |
| 4.2.1.1. Agriculture..... | 94 |
| 4.2.1.2. Manufacturing..... | 100 |
| 4.2.1.3 Trade..... | 101 |
| 4.2.1.4. Tourism..... | 105 |
| 4.2.2. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy..... | 107 |
| 4.2.3. Ideological Orientation..... | 109 |
| 4.2.3.1. African Socialism..... | 111 |
| 4.2.3.2. Non-Alignment..... | 112 |
| 4.2.4. Geopolitical Factors..... | 113 |
| 4.2.5. Nation Type and Foreign Policy..... | 117 |
| 4.2.6. The Military and Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 119 |
| 4.2.7. Parliament..... | 120 |
| 4.2.8. Domestic Parties..... | 121 |
| 4.3. Conclusion..... | 123 |

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. KENYA’S LEADERSHIP AND FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5.1. Introduction..... | 126 |
| 5.2. Individual actors in Foreign Policy..... | 127 |
| 5.2.1. Foreign Policy under President Jomo Kenyatta..... | 128 |
| 5.2.2. Foreign Policy under President Daniel Arap Moi..... | 133 |
| 5.3. Conclusion..... | 141 |

CHAPTER SIX

6.0. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.1. Summary..... | 143 |
| 6.2. Conclusions and Findings..... | 144 |
| 6.3. Recommendations..... | 148 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....

| | |
|---|------------|
| Books..... | 149 |
| Articles and Journals..... | 157 |
| Newspapers and Magazines..... | 163 |
| Government and Official Documents..... | 163 |
| Un-Published Material..... | 164 |
| Website..... | 166 |

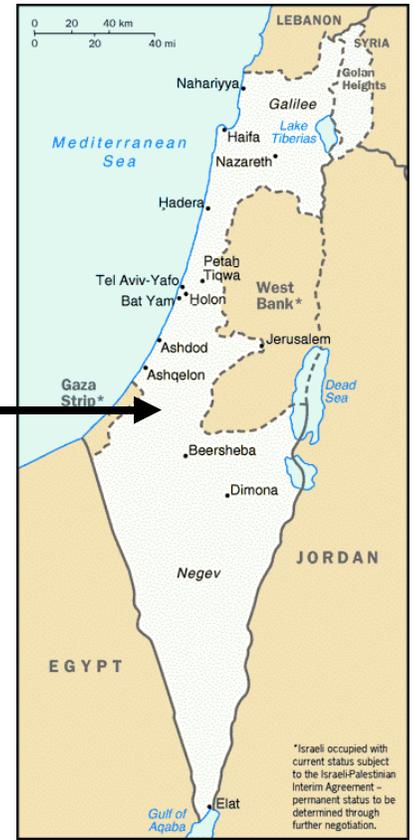
APPENDIX

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| Interview Schedule..... | 167 |
|-------------------------|-----|

DECLARATION.....i

| | |
|--|------------------|
| <u>THIS THESIS IS MY OWN ORIGINAL WORK THAT HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED FOR EXAMINATION IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>DATE: 29th June, 2009.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>MAUMO LEONARD OLUOCH.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>THIS THESIS HAS RECEIVED MY APPROVAL AS THE UNIVERSITY SUPERVISOR.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>DATE: 29th June, 2009.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>DR. OLOO G. R. ADAMS.....</u> | <u>i</u> |
| <u>CHAPTER ONE.....</u> | <u>1</u> |
| <u>1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....</u> | <u>1</u> |
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1.1 Kenya..... | 1 |
| 1.1.2 Israel..... | 3 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Problem..... | 9 |
| 1.3 Objective of the Study..... | 11 |
| 1.3.1 Key Research Questions..... | 11 |
| 1.4 Justification of the Study..... | 11 |
| 1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study..... | 12 |
| 1.5.1 Scope..... | 12 |
| 1.5.2 Limitations..... | 14 |
| 1.6 Definition of Terms..... | 15 |
| 1.7 Literature Review..... | 15 |
| 1.8 Conceptual Framework..... | 27 |
| 1.9. Research Hypotheses..... | 31 |
| 1.10. Methodology..... | 31 |
| 1.10.1 Sampling Method..... | 32 |
| 1.10.2 Data Analysis..... | 32 |
| <u>CHAPTER TWO.....</u> | <u>33</u> |
| <u>2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY.....</u> | <u>33</u> |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 33 |
| 2.2 The History of Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 33 |
| 2.2.1 Foreign Policy-Making Process..... | 35 |
| 2.2.2 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy-Making..... | 35 |
| 2.2.3 Economic Development and Foreign Policy..... | 37 |
| 2. 2.4 Historical Perspective in Kenya’s Foreign Policy towards Israel..... | 37 |
| 2. 2.4.1 The ‘Uganda Scheme’..... | 38 |
| 2. 2.4.2 Trade Contacts Between Kenya and Israel..... | 40 |
| 2. 2. 4.3 Visits and Training..... | 42 |
| 2. 2.4.4 The Arab Threat as a factor in Kenya-Israeli Ties..... | 43 |
| 2. 2.4.5 Symbolic and Ecological Reasons..... | 44 |
| 2.3 Conclusion..... | 46 |
| <u>CHAPTER THREE.....</u> | <u>48</u> |
| <u>3.0 EXTERNAL FACTORS AND ACTORS IN KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL.....</u> | <u>48</u> |
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 48 |
| 3.2 The External Actors in Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 49 |
| 3.2.1 The United Nations Organization..... | 49 |
| 3.2.2 The OAU/AU and Israel..... | 56 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 3.3.1 The Capitalist Ties..... | 60 |
| 3.3.2 Threats to Kenya’s Territory..... | 63 |
| 3.3.3 Polarity..... | 64 |
| 3.3.4 Global war on International Terrorism..... | 66 |
| 3.3.4.1 Conceptual Analysis of Terrorism..... | 66 |
| 3.3.4.2 The 1976 Entebbe Raid..... | 70 |
| 3.3.4.3 Norfolk Hotel Bombing..... | 76 |
| 3.3.4.4 Nairobi US Embassy Bombing..... | 79 |
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | 88 |
| 4.0 THE DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL..... | 88 |
| 4.1 Introduction..... | 88 |
| 4.2 Domestic Determinants of Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 89 |
| 4.2.1 Kenya’s Economy and its Foreign Policy towards Israel..... | 90 |
| 4.2.1.1 Agriculture..... | 92 |
| 4.2.1.3 Trade..... | 98 |
| 4.2.1.4 Tourism..... | 102 |
| 4.2.2 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy..... | 104 |
| 4.2.3 Ideological Orientation..... | 106 |
| 4.2.3.1 African Socialism..... | 108 |
| 4.2.3.2 Non-alignment..... | 108 |
| 4.2.4 Geo-political Factors..... | 110 |
| 4.2.5 Nation Type and Foreign Policy..... | 113 |
| 4.2.6 The Military and Kenya’s Foreign Policy..... | 116 |
| 4.2.7 Parliament..... | 117 |
| 4.2.8 Domestic Political Parties..... | 118 |
| 4.3 Conclusion..... | 120 |
| CHAPTER FIVE..... | 123 |
| 5.0 KENYA’S LEADERSHIP AND FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL...123 | |
| 5.1 Introduction..... | 123 |
| 5.2 Individual Actors in Foreign Policy..... | 124 |
| 5. 2. 1 Foreign Policy under President Jomo Kenyatta..... | 125 |
| 5. 2. 2 Foreign Policy under President Daniel Arap Moi..... | 129 |
| 5.3 Conclusion..... | 137 |
| CHAPTER SIX..... | 139 |
| 6.1 Summary..... | 139 |
| 6.3 Recommendations..... | 144 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 145 |
| Books..... | 145 |
| Newspapers and Magazines..... | 160 |
| APPENDIX..... | 164 |



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Kenya and Israel vary in terms of history, geographical/physical size, political and economic capability. Despite these differences, common attributes that define statehood have brought them together in a significant way. States go beyond their borders so as to achieve, fulfill and protect various objectives. Each government uses certain strategies to guide its actions in the international arena. The strategies spell out the objectives to be pursued by state leaders as well as the means and instruments by which the goals are pursued. The strategies are foreign policies.¹ A state's foreign policy is shaped by the internal dynamics of individual and group decision making and by the states and societies within which the decision makers operate.² A discussion of Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is an inquiry into Kenya's foreign policy process, determinants, objectives and outcomes.

1.1.1 Kenya

Kenya came under British rule in 1895. It was through the construction of the Uganda railway, with British Government funds, that the political delineation of the area which became the Republic of Kenya firmly began.³ The construction of the Uganda railway, as it was then known, commenced from the East African coast at Mombasa in 1896 and reached its planned terminal on the shores of Lake Victoria in 1902. This is the

¹ Goldstein, S. J., *International Relations*, 6th ed. (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley, 2005), p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³ Hazlewood Arthur, *The Economy of Kenya. The Kenyatta Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 1.

year that marks the beginning of a deliberate policy of European settlement in Kenya. In the year 1920, the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar was confined by Britain to a 10-mile wide coastal strip, which was rented from the Sultan. The remainder of the land was formally annexed by Britain, and the territory acquired the form of the colony and protectorate of Kenya, a name with a native *Kamba* meaning.⁴ The country emerged from colonial rule in 1963 as a new independent African state and became a key player in the political, economic, and strategic development in the international system. Kenya assumed a republican form of government under President Kenyatta in 1964, inheriting a highly heterogeneous population made up of many tribes.

The size of Kenya is approximately 582 646 square kilometres.⁵ Kenya lies astride the equator between the Indian Ocean and Lake Victoria. The second largest city, Mombasa, is the leading port on the East African coast giving Kenya a vantage point in terms of external trade in relation to its immediate neighbours. In the course of the colonial period, a number of economic and governmental activities common to the whole of British East Africa⁶ were concentrated in Kenya. Together with a large European community that was powerful and dominant in the whole region, Kenya became the most industrialized state in the region. Under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, the country enjoyed a favourable position in world affairs. The government pursued moderate domestic and foreign policies, making agreements with the major world powers and receiving economic and military assistance in return from them. This was the principle of positive nonalignment. The government desired to borrow technological knowledge and economic methods without commitment, to seek and accept technical and financial

⁴*Kii nyaa*; a mountain with streaks of snow. Ibid. p. 205.

⁵Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development, *Kenya Facts and Figures*, 2005 Edition, p. 3.

⁶Kaplan Irving, *et al*, *Area Handbook for Kenya*, July 1967, p. 359.

assistance without compromising conditions and to participate fully in world trade without political domination.

Trade, tourism, economic assistance, market for agricultural products and foreign investment prompted Kenya to establish relations with many other foreign countries. Kenya was admitted to membership in the United Nations on December 16, 1963 and became a member of most of the agencies of the organization benefiting from a number of programs sponsored by various organizations and thus gaining much more international recognition from other members.

1.1.2 Israel

The roots of the state of Israel may be traced to the Old Testament in the Holy Bible.⁷ The development of the Zionist⁸ movement in Europe and the Balfour Declaration⁹ of 1917 were major events leading to the eventual establishment of a Jewish state in the Middle East. This brought about intensive expansion of Jewish immigration and settlement. The tragic events, ending in the holocaust in which over six million Jews perished in Europe, stimulated Jewish leadership in Palestine and the world Zionist movement in its activity for establishing an independent Jewish state, Israel. The Biblical foundation/Religio-historical background of the Zionist/Jewish claim to the land in the Middle-East is the basis of the state of Israel in that region.

A partition plan was adopted in November 1947 by the General Assembly of the United Nations whereby two states, Arab and Jewish, would be created. This was

⁷ Genesis 32: 25-29.

⁸Zionists are those who believe that Jews have a right to a national home in historic Palestine. The Zionist movement took political shape during the First World Zionist Congress in Basle Switzerland in 1897. Theodor Herzl became its leader.

⁹This was a pronouncement on the 2nd November 1917 in favour of a Jewish national home in Palestine, following the occupation of Palestine in 1917/18 by Great Britain, eventually granted a mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations on July 1922.

accepted by the Jewish leadership but rejected by the Arabic side. Consequently the state of Israel was proclaimed on 14th May 1948.

Israel is only 20,770 square kilometres in size. Out of this, 92% or 18,643 square kilometres is being claimed by the Palestinians.¹⁰ Its borders are not clear given the persistent claim of territory by the Arabs who accuse Israel of illegal occupation. It is geographically in the Middle East, but not entirely in the Middle East. It is regarded at times as part of Europe, of Asia, or indeed of neither.¹¹ This problem can be traced to territorial shift necessitated by the victory in the June, 1967 Six-Day War and the subsequent occupation of Golan Heights that belonged to Syria, the Gaza strip that belonged to Egypt, the West Bank that belonged to Jordan and East Jerusalem. This became a major source of tension in the Arab-Israeli conflict that persists to date. While the Arabs still claim 'their land' back, Israel continues to maintain the lands for its own safety, survival and most importantly security. This is why it is hard to define the boundaries and the exact size of the small Jewish state of Israel.

To gain international recognition, the state of Israel had to join the family of nations. On 12th May 1949, its flag was hoisted outside the United Nations headquarters. This opened doors for *de jure* recognition, exchange of envoys, ratification of bilateral agreements and admission to world bodies. Official actions of other governments towards Israel were seen as proof of other states' willingness to accept Israel on a basis of reciprocity, equality, and comity.

As most African states began to attain their independence from colonialists, Israel saw an opportunity of expanding its relations. During this time, the foreign policy was

¹⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/geography> -of-Israel

¹¹ Asher Arian, (Ed.), *Israel- A Developing Society* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980), p. 35.

‘safety in numbers.’¹² Israel’s sense of isolation in a region surrounded by potentially hostile neighbours was the main force behind this policy. Establishment of friendly relations, greater identification, and international alignment with as many emerging states as possible was emphasized by Golda Meir¹³ in a speech to the Israeli parliament, the Knesset in 1960:

“Our aid to the new countries is not a matter of philanthropy. We are no less in need of the fraternity and friendship of the new nations than they are our assistance.”¹⁴

1.1.3 Kenya-Israeli Relations

Diplomatic ties between Israel and most sub-Saharan African countries were well established by mid 1960s. Relations had been established with over thirty sub-Saharan African states (although only twenty six were served by resident ambassadors) and co-operation agreements signed with twenty of them.¹⁵ Various advisers and experts from Israel in the fields of agriculture, health and military were dispatched throughout Africa. Israeli companies in cooperation with African entrepreneurs undertook assorted projects while many other Africans received training in Israel. Among the African countries that were in very good relations with Israel, were Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Central African Republic, Liberia and Gabon.¹⁶

¹²By mid 1960s Israel had established diplomatic relations with all but two of the 35 sub-Saharan African States. See Marcus R. Einfeld, “Israel’s Relations with Africa”, Three Lectures to the Anglo-Israel Association at Royal Society of Arts, London, 1974, p. 7. For a full list of the States which signed agreements with Israel, see Shimeon Amir, *Israel Development Cooperation with Africa, Asia and Latin America*, (New York, 1974), p. 113

¹³Foreign Affairs Minister

¹⁴ Golda Meir’s speech to the Knesset, 24 October, (Jerusalem: Government press office, 1960), in Steven, S. Carol, PhD dissertation, Department of History, St John’s University, New York.

¹⁵Marcus R. Einfeld, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁶See Susan Aurelia Gitelson, “Israel’s Africa Setback in Perspective” *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problem*, No. 6, Hebrew University, May 1974, pp. 8-9.

After the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel occupied some territories claimed by Palestine, namely Gaza and West Bank. Egypt and Syria lost part of Sinai and the Golan Heights respectively. In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in what has been referred to as the Yom Kippur war.¹⁷ In support of Egypt over Sinai and the Palestinians over the occupied territories, the OAU called on African states to cut diplomatic links with Israel. African states started severing relations with Israel despite resistance from Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Felix Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

Kenya's relations with Israel go back to the pre-independence period.¹⁸ In 1955, apart from South Africa, there was only one Israeli diplomatic representative in all of sub-Saharan Africa: an honorary consul in Nairobi. Kenya's friendly ties with Israel can be shown further by the unique relations that developed after the Organization of African Unity, O A U, called on Member States to sever relations with Israel.¹⁹ Although Kenya severed relations with Israel on 1st November, 1973, it has been argued that new forms of interactions were devised in situations where diplomatic ties were absent.²⁰

It is important to note that Kenya had Israeli diplomats as 'Interest officers' within the framework of the foreign embassy of a third state, Denmark.²¹ Again, Israeli delegates participated in various international conferences held in Kenya, one such delegation being the international conference on social services in August 1974.²² In late

¹⁷See Jacob R., "Aspects of Israeli Foreign Policy" in Barston, R. P., (Ed.), *The other Powers. Studies in Foreign Policies of Small States* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1973), p. 155

¹⁸For example, Waruhui Itote (General China), former leader of Mau Mau, left Kenya three years before independence secretly to study and train in Israel. Upon his return, he became one of the first African Officers in the Kenya Army and in 1966 was appointed Assistant General Director of the Israeli-trained Kenya National Youth Movement (service). For more information see: Abel Jacob, "Israel's Military Aid to Africa" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9, 2, 1971, p. 170

¹⁹See Oded, Arye, *Africa and The Middle East Conflict* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987), p. 165.

²⁰Naomi Chazan, "Israel in Africa," in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, number 18, winter, 1981, p. 29.

²¹*African Research Bulletin*, London, November, 1976

²²*Ha' aretz* (Israel), August 22, 1974.

1976, the Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed a large delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO, conference in Nairobi while the Inspector General of the Israeli Police headed the Israeli delegation to the Interpol conference in Nairobi in 1979.²³ In March 1981, two Israeli representatives paid a secret visit to Nairobi: Rahamim Timor, director of the Division on International Cooperation in the Foreign Ministry, and David Kimche, Mossad regional chief for Africa.²⁴ In December 1982, on his way from Kinshasa (Zaire, now DRC) Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir briefly stopped at Nairobi airport and met with President Moi who took the opportunity to request Israel to help with his personal security.²⁵ Even without any public display of support for Israel at the time of diplomatic rapture, the visits reveal the extent of the unofficial close contacts between Kenya and Israel.

Although Kenya had officially cut diplomatic ties with Israel, the country did not adopt extreme positions against Israel. At the July 1985 Nairobi conference, marking the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, Arab efforts to pass a resolution equating Zionism with racism failed to overcome Kenya's objections.²⁶ This problem was carried forward from the 1975 Mexico Declaration on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, which contained in one of its articles a clause stating that international peace could only be achieved through the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in all its forms. The US and other major Western powers had refused to ratify the declaration in Mexico, arguing that it equated Zionism with racism. The US,

²³See *Ma'ariv* (Israel), September 2, 1979.

²⁴ *Jeune Afrique*, 1982. Cited in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection. Who Israel Arms and Why?* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), p. 67.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶*Weekly Review*, August 2, 1985, p. 4.

backed by Canada, sought to block a similar sentence in the Nairobi conference against the wishes of Arab and African countries. The fear was that the issue would break the conference just like it did the previous two. A four-hour adjournment was called and the African group went into a closed door meeting at which Kenya suggested the replacement of the word Zionism with the words “all other forms of racism”. This deflated the tension and handed victory to the pro Zionism group.²⁷

Throughout the period though, public statements from Kenyan leaders seemed to be in support of the Arab stand on the Palestinian issue. In May 1977, the Kenyan Foreign Affairs Minister, Munyua Waiyaki, visited several Arab states including Sudan, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, ending with a joint communiqué supporting the Arabs in the Middle East crisis and denouncing Israel. It was also announced that Kenya had agreed to the opening of a Palestine Liberation Organization (P L O) office in Nairobi.²⁸

Upon taking office in 1978, President Moi visited Saudi Arabia, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, and Sudan. Joint statements of pro-Arab nature were issued and promises were made of generous loans. Kenya went even further and established ambassadorial level relations with PLO in 1980. In 1981, President Moi attended the Arab League Summit conference at Fez (Morocco) from where he made statements echoing the Arab line on the Middle East and the Palestinian problem.²⁹ It was almost a policy that Kenya identified and sympathised with the Palestinians in the Middle-East and not with Israel. In 1988, Kenya voted for the admission of PLO as a permanent observer to the UN’s General Assembly. This is also the year that Kenya officially restored diplomatic ties with Israel.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸*The Washington Post*, June 7, 1977.

²⁹*Daily Nation*, November 26, 1981.

Despite the sympathetic tones towards the Palestinian issue, Kenya's true position was stated by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Robert John Ouko after being confronted by the PLO ambassador at that time, Mr. Yousef Awad. The ambassador had asked for official Kenyan recognition for the 'state of Palestine'. In answer, Ouko said:

“Kenya does not issue statements recognising any state or government...we have given complete support to the PLO for long and it would be unfortunate if this has gone unnoticed by the organization.”³⁰

Ever since, the symbolic gesture of public recognition of the Palestinian state by Kenya has remained elusive.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya has had and maintains a special relationship with the state of Israel. Prior to Kenya's independence, Israel provided military and other forms of training to Kenyans.³¹ The first military pilots were trained in Israel.³² In 1964, Israel assisted Kenya to establish the paramilitary wing known as the General Service Unit. This is the unit that provides security for Israel's El Al flights in Nairobi, Israeli embassy, most diplomatic residences and embassies in addition to the personal security of the president of Kenya.³³ Since independence, Kenya has benefited from Israeli assistance in the fields of agriculture, medicine, education, science and technology.³⁴ However, the special

³⁰See *Kenya Times*, June 8, 1989, p. 32.

³¹ Iris Russell, "Training and Technical Assistance Agreement... proof of Kenya-Israel Friendship", *Ma'ariv* (Tel Aviv), 28 February, 1966.

³² M.J.V. Bell, *Military Assistance to Independent African States* (London: The Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 15, 1964), p. 3.

³³ Otenyo, E., "New Terrorism. Toward an explanation of Cases in Kenya", *African Security Review*, 13 (3) 2004, p. 80.

³⁴ Ministry of Finance, Agreement on Technical and Scientific Co-operation between the Government of the Republic of Kenya and the Government of the State of Israel.

relationship has been characterised by disconnect between Kenya's pronouncements and its actual foreign policy towards the state of Israel.

Kenya takes a strong position in favour of the Palestinian cause in the Middle East crisis and even seems to castigate Israeli stand on the issue. Kenya, for example, supported the UN resolutions 242 of 1967 that called on Israel to withdraw from occupied lands and the settlement of people displaced during the Six-Day War, and resolution 338 of 1973 that called for full implementation of the resolution 242. These resolutions have been viewed by Israel as favourable to Arabs.³⁵ In 1974, the UN reaffirmed inalienable rights of Palestine to sovereignty. Kenya was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council from 1973 to 74. It supported the two resolutions and the call for Palestinian sovereignty.

Despite Kenya's position at the UN, what happened on the ground painted a different picture. When the Organization of African Unity, OAU, called on member states to cut links with Israel in solidarity with Egypt over Sinai in 1973, Kenya was reluctant and only did that in the last minute out of pressure from the continental body rather than out of genuine desire to show support for the Arabs. After the diplomatic rapture, Israeli delegates participated in various International Conferences in Nairobi.³⁶ In 1976, Kenya played a significant role in the Entebbe rescue mission when it granted the Israeli commandos air and land space on their way to Entebbe, Uganda, to rescue Israeli nationals who were being held hostage by pro-Palestinian hijackers.³⁷

By accepting to uphold the UN and O A U resolutions and subsequently issuing public statements in support of the Palestinian course in the Middle East, one would want

³⁵ Resolution 242 of 1967 adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting and resolution 338 of 1973 adopted after the Yom Kippur war were un-favourable to Israel. See Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (New York: United Nations, 1989), p. 50.

³⁶ *Ha'aretz*, (Israel), August 22, 1974. *Ma'ariv*, (Israel), September 2, 1979.

³⁷ *The Weekly Review*, July 12, 1976, p. 4.

to argue that Kenya was implicitly expressing its foreign policy position on Israel. The refusal to be categorical on the support to Palestinian aspirations to statehood on the other hand demonstrates an attempt to meet two objectives: acting in certain ways generally accepted as moral in the international system and acting in ways that take care of its national interest irrespective of moral considerations. It is upon this that we inquire into Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel from 1963-2002.

1.3 Objective of the Study

This study seeks to establish the motivation and interests of Kenya in its relations with the state of Israel from 1963 to 2002. Specifically, the study seeks to find out the main factors that influence Kenya's foreign policy towards the state of Israel.

1.3.1 Key Research Questions

1. How has Kenya's national interest influenced its foreign policy towards Israel?
2. Why does Kenya choose to bind itself with the UN and OAU resolutions that are viewed as inimical to Israeli interests?
3. Why does Kenya make public pronouncements in support of the Palestinian course and yet it does not wish to officially recognise Palestinian aspirations to statehood?

1.4 Justification of the Study

Integration of international politics, interdependence, and globalization require a clear understanding of the foreign policies of the partner states involved. This is mainly because much of what goes on in world politics revolves around interactions between governments. This study highlights the issues, interests and motives that have driven

Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel and will enable leaders (in Kenya) to easily deal with issues that may militate against cordial relations.

To the academic field, the study will add to the knowledge of the foreign relations of Kenya with other partner countries like Israel. This study will fill the gap in the contemporary literature which has not focused on the details of Kenya's relations with Israel, but generalized the relations in terms of Africa and Israel. It is inaccurate to speak of foreign objectives of a continent like Africa as a whole.³⁸ Varying histories, disparate populations, conflicting ideological orientations, different international alignments, and the personal leadership idiosyncrasies of the leaders suggest that any such generalization is an effort in futility³⁹ and gives a wrong picture of what motivates the relations. Such generalized studies embracing all states tend to lose sight of the political realities being studied since every state has its own peculiar system of government,⁴⁰ foreign policy agenda/strategies and national interests. Finally, although studies have been done on Kenya's foreign policy, more is still needed on the relations with Israel.⁴¹

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.5.1 Scope

This study focuses on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel from 1963 to 2002. Our time frame is shaped by various considerations. First, Kenya became a sovereign state in 1963 and could therefore enter into foreign relations with other states. After the creation of Israel in 1948, Kenya was still a British colony and "its foreign policy" was

³⁸Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Israel and Black Africa, A Rapprochement," In *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), p. 187.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Frankel Joseph, *The Making of Foreign Policy. An Analysis of Decision – Making* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. vi

⁴¹Eric Otenyo, 'New Terrorism. Toward an Explanation of Cases in Kenya', *African Security Review*, 13 (3), 2004, p. 76.

actually British foreign policy. Secondly, it was within this period that Israel initiated quick diplomatic relations with newly emerging African states given the isolation and hostility that it faced in the Middle East.

Thirdly, the 1960s and 70s were the most trying years in the efforts of the state of Israel to win friends. The Arab hostility gave Israel the impetus to venture outside the Middle East for friendly states that could be called upon in time of need. It is important to note that Kenya provided Israel with air and land space on their way to Entebbe in 1976 to free the Israeli hostages held by hijackers.⁴² The 1970s also saw increased propaganda, promises of aid and technical assistance to African countries by Arabs on one hand and Israel on the other. The oil crisis that affected the economies of several countries, Kenya included, also occurred in this decade. Fourthly, it was within this period that there was a rapture of diplomatic relations between Israel and many African countries.

Fifth, the 1980s saw the quest for renewal of diplomatic relations. This decade also saw the end of the cold war. Neo-realists⁴³ argue that any change in the structure of the international system inevitably leads to changes in foreign policies. During the cold war period, foreign policies were defined by superpower rivalry. The end of the cold war brought with it a new scenario since systemic determinants of foreign policy increased to include several actors and issue areas apart from security and the economy. These include the proliferation of arms and terrorism that has had an impact on Kenya's foreign policy.

Finally, the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century saw an increase in the threat posed by terrorism. Israeli and US interests in Kenya have been targets of terrorists and in the process, Kenya has suffered great losses. It has

⁴²Katete, D. Orwa, "Continuity and Change: Kenya's foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi" In Oyugi, W. O., (Ed.), *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd., 1994) p. 311.

⁴³See Kenneth Waltz Neal, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random House, 1979).

threatened the economic stability of Kenya and it has heightened Kenya's security concerns and may therefore have a major influence on Kenya's foreign policy towards the state of Israel (as well as the US).

In terms of content, the study focuses on selected issues that have played an important role in the relations between Kenya and Israel since independence. The year 2002 was a practical ending point for this study because it marked the end of KANU's rule. Although President Kibaki ascended to power in December 2002, his first year in office was 2003. Because he had served under both President Kenyatta and Moi's regimes, the study made an assumption that there would probably be continuity in his foreign policy style.

1.5.2 Limitations

The major limitation that this study had was in terms of literature which though available was scattered in various publications and the task of consolidating them to make constructive reading was daunting. In terms of interviews, the individuals to be interviewed were hardly available in their offices and the challenge was on how to get hold of them. Others who had retired from official duty were equally hard to trace. Officers in the ministries and the Israeli embassy were reluctant to grant interviews and to provide other sources of information such as policy documents that could not be accessed publicly. Bureaucratic obstacles also frustrated efforts to carry out the interviews leaving the option of telephone interviews.

The officers from the ministries who accepted to be interviewed presented the challenge of confidence building. Apart from giving a clear explanation on the purpose of the study, there was a tedious process of acquiring authority to conduct the interviews. In most of the places, it was a requirement to present the proposal and an introduction letter

from the university supervisor in advance. In addition, most of the interviewees requested that their identities be protected. The process was time consuming and frustrating. Finally the study had to contend with limited financial resources.

1.6 Definition of Terms

This study used common concepts of international relations and foreign policy such as national interest, aid, conflict, cooperation, technical assistance, bilateral accords and rapprochement among others. These terms are not contested.

1.7 Literature Review

In studying Kenya's foreign policy, Godfrey Okoth⁴⁴ writes that Kenya had a foreign policy before 1963. But before 1963 the policies propagated and the policy makers were British. It was only after independence in 1963 that Kenya became a sovereign state and hence began to create and design its own international norms and principles. However, Okoth's work is important because in order to understand Kenya's foreign relations in the post-independence period one has to trace its roots in the pre-independence time.

Kenya-Israeli relations go back to pre-independence period.⁴⁵ Authors have attempted to show how these early ties were intended to cement relations between the two countries. Anda Amir⁴⁶ writes about Israeli assistance to Kenya in the field of community development and social welfare by establishing a training school for rural social workers at Machakos. Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya and Waruhiu Itote, have

⁴⁴ Okoth P. G., "Historiography of Kenya's Foreign Policy", *African Review Journal of Foreign Policy*, volume 1, March 1999.

⁴⁵ These early contacts between Kenya and Israel have been documented in chapter two.

⁴⁶ Anda Amir, "Israel sets up a school in Kenya", *The Jerusalem Post*, Africa-Israel supplement, 12 December, 1962.

separately praised the relations between Kenya and Israel in their separate publications.⁴⁷ As much as they are informative, these works fail to capture the contradiction in Kenya's pronouncements and its actual foreign policy towards Israel.

In writing about Israeli assistance programs in Africa, Mordechai E. Kreinin⁴⁸ demonstrates how Israel used a combination of investments and assistance called 'joint economic enterprises' or 'joint venture'⁴⁹ to provide temporary transfers of capital and know-how from Israel to countries of East Africa like Kenya. By doing this, Israel was broadening its national security interests which depended on its ability to influence events in a large area. However, the Israeli technical know-how in dry land management seems not to have done much for Kenya if the largely unproductive arid and semi-arid lands in Kenya could be taken as an indicator. Due to this, Kenya goes ahead to engage other countries that can offer the necessary assistance and it is no wonder that Arab states have been competing with Israel for influence in Kenya and in the continent.

Military and quasi-military programs made the most considerable mark in Africa and were an important part of Kenya's relations with Israel. This is according to Abel Jacob, who conducted field research in Kenya, Israel, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone.⁵⁰ In this article, the author deals with political motives of the donor country and the various ways in which the country may be concerned to influence the actions of the recipient government. Israel is not only a hegemonic power in the region; it is prosperous, creative and has used its young men and women in the development of the country. Israel has offered (and continues to offer) conventional military training in the

⁴⁷ Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya, The Tribal Life of the Kikuyu* (London: Mercury Books, 1961). Tom Mboya, *Freedom and After* (London: Andrew Deutsch, 1963), pp. 189-204.

Waruhiu Itote, *Mau Mau General* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 240.

⁴⁸ Mordechai E. Kreinin, *Israel and Africa... A study in Technical Cooperation* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 137.

⁴⁹ Other joint venture activities are reported in *The Israel Export and Trade Journal*.

⁵⁰ Abel Jacob, "Israel's Military Aid to Africa" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9, 2, 1971, pp. 165-187.

Army, Navy, Air Force and the police in Kenya.⁵¹ Israel has succeeded in integrating the military into the national life. It attempted to do this in Kenya by initiating the National Youth Service, (N Y S).⁵² Lucian Pye⁵³ holds the view that integration of the army into the general life of new societies can play a very important role in the modernization process.

Israel's assistance programs were not for free as attested by Susan Aurelia Gitelson.⁵⁴ She says that such programs were accompanied by the initiation of trade relationships with the countries that benefited. Israel exported food products, clothes, medicine, agricultural machinery, electric equipment and office supplies and in turn imported beef from Kenya. Israel lacks oil, a resource that is very useful in the economic development of many countries. For this reason, Kenya has had to be modest in its foreign relations with the oil producing Arab states.

Makinda S. M.⁵⁵ argues that the determining factor in Kenya's foreign policy behaviour has been the drive towards attracting more foreign capital, maintenance of commercial links, ensuring the security of the borders and consolidation of domestic power base. This is true of smaller states like Kenya whose economies depend to a large extent on foreign investment and assistance. It is, therefore, true that Kenya's economic dependence on the Western states has influenced its foreign policy behaviour. But it is equally evident that Kenya has extended favourable relations towards the Arab states for the sake of oil. In this process, Kenya finds itself in a dilemma especially in relation to

⁵¹ Waruhiu Itote, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 234-249.

⁵² The establishment of Kenya National Youth Service was a brainchild of Israel and was supposed to be a serious auxiliary of the armed forces.

⁵³ Lucian Pye, "Armies in the Process of Political Modernization" in John J. Johnson, (Ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Susan Aurelia Gitelson, "Israel's African setback in perspective", *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problem*, Number 6, Hebrew University, May 1974, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵ Samuel M. Makinda, "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 5 No.2 April, 1983, pp. 303 - 304.

the Middle East conflict because the Arabs tie the issue of oil to that of the Palestinian question. The oil crisis⁵⁶ of the 1970s for example, was closely tied to the Israeli-Palestinian question. Kenya has to balance its interests between the Arabs and the Jewish state of Israel and this shapes the foreign policy towards Israel.

A study carried out to show the Black African UN voting behaviour on the Middle East conflict, grouped the states from the most to the least friendly towards Israel. Kenya ranked fourth as pro-Israel.⁵⁷ However, it is within the UN that Kenya's stand on the Middle East conflict seems to be in favour of the Palestinians and not Israel. Several authors have attempted to suggest that the UN offers Kenya an opportunity to express its position on global issues. According to John Howell, Kenya saw the UN as essentially an organization for promoting an international morality especially related to the rights of oppressed peoples and weak countries.⁵⁸ Through the UN, Kenya hoped to express its commitment to decolonization and the struggle against racism, promote economic development of non-aligned states and to break the monopoly by the great powers in major international decision-making.⁵⁹ Kenya's participation in the organization was seen as part of a process of asserting and demanding recognition as a respected member of the international community. This view has been supported by John Okumu⁶⁰ who adds that in the UN, Kenya saw a potential forum for international understanding, peace as well as a framework for multilateral economic interaction between industrialized countries and poor states.

⁵⁶ The political use of oil as an instrument to effect Arab objectives.

⁵⁷ Ran Kochan, Susan Aurelia Gitelson and Ephraim Dubek, "Black African UN voting Behaviour on the Middle East conflict" *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, 1,2, winter 1975, p.25

⁵⁸ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1968, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Kaplan, I., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 380-381.

⁶⁰ John J. Okumu, "Some Thoughts on Kenya's Foreign Policy," *The African Review* Vol.3, No.2, June 1973, p. 290.

The creation of the state of Israel is viewed by Arabs as a wrong decision by the UN. Mallison Thomas W. and V. Mallison Sally⁶¹ present this line of argument stressing that according to the Arabs, the Balfour Declaration which recognised the need for a Jewish National Home in Palestine (Middle East) was a violation of the right to self-determination of the people of Palestine. The Partition Plan of the United Nations General Assembly of 1947 provided for the creation of two states, Arab and Jewish. It laid the foundation stone for the establishment of the State of Israel. Yet the same UN has over the years accused Israel for aggression (since 1948) passing unfavourable resolutions. For a friendly country like Kenya, the dilemma is obvious. The Israeli policy of self-determination for Jews (living everywhere in the world) is, according to the Arabs, based on the denial of self-determination of the Palestinians. The two positions present a hard choice for any bilateral partner like Kenya. The option is to try a delicate balance of international moral image and realistic national interest.

Naomi Chazan⁶² has argued that after the rapture of Israel-African diplomatic relations, new forms of interactions were devised, marginal contacts were elaborated, and a complex network of relationships were woven in a situation where formal diplomatic ties were absent. The author says that in the past, Israeli ties with Africa could usefully be described and analyzed on a continental basis. In recent times though, it has been advisable to point to particular states with which Israel has developed different types of relationships, for varied reasons and with different outcomes. Chazan puts Kenya together with the former Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Gabon, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Liberia, as some of the countries that developed intricate network of links with Israel. These covert relations were going on at a time when the OAU had

⁶¹ Mallison Thomas W. and V. Mallison Sally, *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order* (London: Longman, 1986).

⁶² Naomi Chazan, "Israel in Africa", *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Number 18, winter 1981.

called on member states to sever relations with Israel and also when the Arabs were supposedly making inroads into African states with their generous grants and loans, to win them to the Arab side in the Middle East crisis.

Oded Arye⁶³ examines the relations between Africa and the Middle East. Like Chazan's study, we find that Oded's work was a general review of Africa as a continent. The study neither concentrates on any particular country nor deals with one particular issue. It shows the contest between Arabs and Israel over Africa, drawing a conclusion that African relations with Arabs did not have any significant effect on African attitudes towards Israel. This is not quite true because Kenya for instance made pronouncements that were clearly in favour of the Arabs. In essence the author argues that Arabs did not succeed in changing the Africans' attitude towards Israel. However, one could argue that to some extent oil was used as an attractive bet to trap the African countries. Most of these countries rely on oil to run their economies and yet they have to import it from the Arabs. Any change in the international oil industry affects these countries more because they are less able to absorb the costs of adjustments to higher energy prices and endure shortage in energy supplies.⁶⁴ Since there are many countries in Africa and also in the Middle East, there must have been different opinions about the relations between Israel and particular countries. The author argues that African-Israeli ties in the fields of trade, cultural and technical cooperation continued even after the diplomatic rupture, mentioning Kenya as one of those countries that had cordial relations with Israel during this time. This may be the case, but within the same period, Kenya's pronouncements in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict betrayed the country's pro-Palestinian stand.

⁶³Oded Arye, *Op. Cit.*

⁶⁴ Abdulaziz Al-Sowayegh, *Arab-Petro-Politics* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 19.

In the years before the Yom Kippur War,⁶⁵ Arab countries had successfully campaigned in Africa to end the productive relationships of many African countries with Israel. By 1973, however, many African countries were feeling that the Arabs had failed to compensate them sufficiently for their support. Victor T. Le Vine and Timothy W. Luke⁶⁶ analyse the direction and dynamics of the changes in the relations between the Islamic countries and sub-Saharan Africa between 1967 and 1978. Kenya has a sizeable number of citizens who profess the Islamic faith, about 15%,⁶⁷ and has over the years had good relations with most Arab countries. Writing about triple heritage⁶⁸ and foreign policy, Ali Mazrui argues that most African(s) states have been blinded by Christianity and the same applies to their foreign policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Africans forget that there are many more Christians among the Palestinians than among the Israelis.⁶⁹ Although religion may not have much role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy, it does shape public opinion. There could be interplay between religion, public opinion and Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

Ethan A. Nadelmann has presented Israel's relations with Black Africa.⁷⁰ In his article, the author looks at the possibility of diplomatic rapprochement between Israel and Black Africa. He says that Israel's unique relationship with African states which commenced immediately following their independence and ended with a diplomatic rupture during the last months of 1973, continued on a discreet and unofficial basis. The article views the relationship on two levels- the bilateral and the multilateral – and from

⁶⁵This war launched by Egypt and Syria against the unsuspecting Israel started on October 6, 1973.

⁶⁶Le Vine T. Victor and Timothy W. Luke, *The Arab-African Connection; Political and Economic Realities* (Boulder: West View Press, 1979), p. 6.

⁶⁷ Ali Mazrui, "African Islam and Competitive Religion: Between Revivalism and Expansionism", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10. No. 2, April 1988, pp. 499-518.

⁶⁸ Three principal religious legacies of Africa; Indigenous, Islamic and Christian.

⁶⁹ Ali Mazrui, "African Islam and Competitive Religion: Between Revivalism and Expansionism", *Op. Cit.*

⁷⁰Ethan A Nadelmann, "Israel and Black Africa: A Rapprochement." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 19, Number 2, Edited by David Kimble, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

the context of four perspectives; first, the foreign policy objectives of Israel; second, the foreign policy objectives of Israel and Black Africa; third, the relationship between Arabs and Africans especially since 1974 and fourth, the relationship between Israel and South Africa. Israel and South Africa maintained ties even when there was an international outcry about the apartheid regime in South Africa.⁷¹ Britain was equally blamed for maintaining ties with the apartheid regime. Because Britain is Kenya's major bilateral partner, Kenya's discreet relations with Israel may have received British support and may have involved South Africa as well demonstrating that in international relations, national interest far much outweighs moral considerations.

Steven S. Carol⁷² gives a historical account of Israeli foreign policy towards East Africa. His work constituted four countries, namely Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. His main concern was to highlight the motives behind Israel's involvement in economic cooperation, technical cooperation, and military assistance. This study was historical in nature⁷³ and lacks the analytical aspect, which the current study seeks to add in examining Kenya-Israeli relations. Again, its concern was Israel's foreign policy towards East Africa while this one concentrates on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. Although the study suffers the weakness of generalization, it is helpful as it attempts to exploit the historical links between Israel and the East African countries and even draws a conclusion that the cordial relations between Kenya and Israel have deep roots in their (colonial) history.

⁷¹ Gordon Thomas, *Gideon's Spies. Mossad's Secret Warriors* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1999), p. 261.

⁷² Steven S. Carol, "Israel's Foreign Policy Towards East Africa", (Unpublished Ph. D dissertation, Department of History, St John's University, New York, 1977).

⁷³ For example, Kenya's relations with Israel has been presented right from the turn of the twentieth century when there was a proposal to re-establish the Jewish State in Kenya, somewhere between Nairobi and Mau Summit. For more on this see Marvin Lowenthal, (Ed.), *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1962), p. 407.

Orwa Katete⁷⁴ presents an analysis of Kenya's foreign policy under two regimes; Kenyatta and Moi's. His motivation in this study is that a regime change in a developing country such as Kenya should mean a significant shift in foreign policy. This according to the study was not the case. It was found that in both Kenyatta and Moi's regimes the principles that guided the foreign policy were the same: territorial integrity, national security, good neighbourliness, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and non-alignment. To this extent there was continuity. But continuity in foreign policy is assumed to be as a result of a long historical tradition. Although it has been argued elsewhere⁷⁵ that regime type /change does not matter in foreign policy, the author says that this cannot be the case for a developing state such as Kenya. Having been independent for only four decades, the country could not be said to have established a tradition of continuity in foreign policy. Regime change in a developing country may mean a significant shift in foreign policy. However, as much as Kenya may have had a change of government, the political elites have remained basically the same. Most of them are products of the KANU party that ushered independence to this country in 1963.

The collapse of the Soviet Union as a super power changed the situation for most African countries. While client states lost their patron, USSR, internal opposition received support from Western Europe and North America. Assistance and bilateral aid to African countries came with stringent conditionality. Hence, diplomatic conflicts between Moi's government and the Western countries were not unusual. This was not the case during Kenyatta's era. It has been noted that the dependent nature of Kenya's

⁷⁴Katete, D. Orwa, *Op Cit.*, pp. 297-323.

⁷⁵Ray James, "Promise or Peril? Neo-realism, Neo-liberalism, and the future of International Politics," in Kegley, W. C. Jr., *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neo-liberal challenge* (New York: St Martin's Press, Inc., 1995), p. 338.

economy on the Western countries is an example of continuity in foreign policy. There are challenges that come with such relations.⁷⁶ But for Kenya, like a ripe orange differs from an unripe one, so did the foreign policy under the two regimes. The difference was not in substance but in form.⁷⁷ The end of the cold war may have had little effect on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

William Ochieng' observes that the first two years of Kenya's independence were years of political adjustment⁷⁸ and therefore, a period of foreign policy adjustment as well. He argues that this time was taken by efforts to develop the philosophy and objectives of foreign policy and to outline national interest and set up a system for foreign policy decision-making and implementation. Ochieng' views this period as characterized by ideological differences between conservatives (mainly in Kenya African National Union) and radicals (mainly in Kenya African Democratic Union).

Ideological conflicts had a role in Kenya's foreign policy as shown by John Howell. He asserts that Kenya's foreign policy rotated between the theory of realism, which he called conservative, and the theory of idealism, which he called radical. He saw two distinct foreign policies in Kenya; the policy of realism operated with respect to Kenya's objectives in Eastern Africa while continentally and internationally, Kenya was guided by idealism. In this approach, national variables were seen to affect Kenya's foreign policy in East Africa only, while systemic variables affected the country's posture on continental and international issues.⁷⁹ The Middle East crisis is an issue that demands global response and Kenya, being a member of the international community, finds itself taking a stand that supports the Arabs and castigates Israel.

⁷⁶See: Moo B., "Foreign Policy of The Dependent State", *International Studies Quarterly*, 1983, Vol. 27.

⁷⁷Katete, D. Orwa, *Op Cit.*, pp. 297-323.

⁷⁸Ochieng, W. R., (Ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1989), pp. 206-207.

⁷⁹John Howell, "Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy", *Journal of Modern African studies*, Vol. 6 (1), 1968.

John Okumu, reflecting on Kenya's foreign policy in 1973, saw the foreign policy objectives in terms of the realities of international politics at that time. Specific and identifiable national variables affected Kenya's foreign policy and led policy makers to adopt a pragmatic approach to foreign policy. Domestically, Okumu identified existing secessionist movements in Kenya and potential for the rise of other such movements as having been central in the emergence and pursuit of Kenya's foreign policy. He adds that national variables interacted with systemic variables to shape Kenya's foreign policy by cautioning against radical and ambitious goals. Okumu's analysis confirms that Kenya's foreign policy objectives are shaped by national interest whose satisfaction calls for prudence. Kenya's rhetoric and practice in its foreign policy towards Israel must be viewed from that perspective.

Adar Korwa⁸⁰ advanced a similar argument when he wrote on Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia. He argues that continuity in Kenya's foreign policy could be clearly seen in its behaviour towards Somalia, a behaviour based on adherence to the doctrine of territorial integrity. National interest defined Kenya's foreign policy in this case. Adar's study shows that national security issues conditioned Kenya's foreign policy in the region. Kenya appeared vulnerable out of real threats from the republic of Somalia which claimed some parts the North-Eastern province of Kenya. While Adar's study shows how the province was critical to the survival of the new state, the study did not go further to explain how Kenya's foreign policy towards other countries outside Africa was aimed at pre-empting expansionist policies and the spread of irredentist interests. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was closely associated with the issue of territorial

⁸⁰Adar G. Korwa, *The significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the Modal determinant of Relations: A case study of Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia 1963-1983* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994).

integrity.⁸¹ In the quest to expand its boundaries, Somalia received assistance of all kinds from Arab states both in Africa and those in the Middle East, USSR and some Western powers.⁸² Because of this, Kenya had to be cautious in its dealings with the Arab states.

Kenya's foreign policy has been a subject of several university theses. Among the theses are Adar Korwa's⁸³ which analyzed Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia, 1963 - 1983, basing the argument on the issue of territorial integrity. Oloo Adams⁸⁴ has also written on the Role of Parliament in foreign policy making process in Kenya. His concern was to find out the extent to which the parliament in Kenya has been effective or non-effective in foreign policy making. Omolo Kennedy⁸⁵ analyzed how Germany used foreign aid as an instrument of foreign policy towards Kenya. The study aimed to show how economic interests are normally used to influence foreign policy. Omolo's thesis clearly demonstrates how a poor country such as Kenya could be manipulated by a donor country due to economic interests. It is due to this insufficiency that in the 1979-83 Development Plan, the late Robert Ouko, then Minister for Planning and National Development, observed that Kenya would continue to seek foreign private investment, as well as grants and loans from international donors to augment the domestic resources.⁸⁶ A similar argument was advanced by Wanjala Nasongo.⁸⁷

⁸¹While Somalia's claim was quietly supported by Egypt in the name of Islamic brotherhood, Israel was keen on reducing Egypt's influence in the region. On Egypt's involvement see: Makinda S. M., "Kenya's Role in Somalia-Ethiopian conflict", Working Paper No. 55, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (Australia, August 1982).

⁸² On foreign aid to Somalia from both the East and the West see, Satya Pal Ruhela, Ed., *Mohamed Farah Aidid and his Vision of Somalia* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994), pp. 121-125.

⁸³Adar Korwa, 'Kenya's foreign policy Behaviour towards Somalia, 1963 - 1983.' PhD Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of South Carolina, 1986.

⁸⁴Oloo Adams, G. R., 'The Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy Making Process in Kenya, 1963-1993.' Unpublished M. A., Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1995.

⁸⁵Omolo Kennedy John, 'Foreign Policy through Aid: The case of Federal Republic of Germany's Aid to Kenya, 1963-1989.' Unpublished M. A., Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1994.

⁸⁶Republic of Kenya, *Ministry of Economic Planning and National Development, Development Plan, 1979/83*: iii.

⁸⁷Shadrack Wanjala Nasongo, "Claims and Realities of Inter-State's Relations: the case of Kenya -Norway Aid Relation", Unpublished M. A., Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,

Bosire R. Moegi⁸⁸ analysed the patterns of conflicts and cooperation that characterized the relations between Kenya and the USA from 1963-1991. The study identified and explained the linkages between various aspects of foreign policy behaviour between the two states, arguing that national interest played a major role in the relations. The study, however, did not show any balancing between national interest and moral principles in the relations. Despite the gaps, the literature provides a basis on which the current study builds on to analyze Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

1.8 Conceptual Framework.

A theory can be defined as a logical deductive system consisting of a set of interactive concepts from which testable propositions can be derived.⁸⁹ A theory denotes a set of systematically organized ideas that explain a given phenomenon. It is employed in explaining, predicting, describing, and understanding; thus answering the 'whys' and 'hows' of the world around us. A credible theory therefore, is a conceptual foundation for reliable knowledge.

Realism was the dominant theory during the cold war period. It depicted international affairs as a struggle for power among self-interested states. Because the system is anarchic,⁹⁰ each state has to survive on its own. However, realism may not be an appropriate theory in this case because it conceptualizes the state as a "black box".⁹¹ In order to understand Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel, this study employs the national interest approach.

University of Nairobi, 1992.

⁸⁸Bosire R. Moegi, "Kenya-US Relations. An Inter-play of National Interest, 1963-1991", Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1993.

⁸⁹Nachamias, C. F., and D. Nachmias, *Research Methods in Social Sciences* (London: Martians Press, 1996), p. 143.

⁹⁰There is no Central authority to protect states from one another.

⁹¹This means that realism does not take into consideration the domestic political processes, which are both seen as hard to comprehend and superfluous for explaining a state's external behaviour.

The roots of national interest approach are in the realist theory. Because of this, it suffers certain weaknesses traced to that theory. Realists see states as “unitary actors”, entities with one set of values, preferences, and objectives, which speak with one voice called national interest. The problem here is that one can construct arguments to prove that any action is intended to enhance or preserve the power of the state.⁹² It can become a justification for any action or inaction. The approach also assumes that foreign policy preferences, objectives and strategies derive largely from the society inside the state, that is, from domestic factors and not from its place in the international system.⁹³ This is partly true but there are certain systemic events that condition a country’s foreign policy. A good example is the global change from bi-polar to uni-polar as a consequence of the end of cold war (and the disintegration of USSR). Another weakness is the lack of clarity in the national interest. Within any state there are different groups, classes and individuals each with its own interest. These groups will always seek to influence the government in power and thus affect the policies made. Hence, it is hard to view states as unitary actors with a single purpose.

Kenneth Waltz⁹⁴ suggests that because there is a huge gap between theories of international politics and theories of foreign policy, any borrowing from the former in order to construct theories of foreign policy is deeply suspect. For our case, the argument does not apply because national interest emphasises domestic variables, which are the most important in conditioning and/or determining a state’s foreign policy.

National interest approach will be used as a fundamental model or scheme that organizes this discussion on Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel. It will offer direction

⁹²Bruce Russet and Harvey Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (New York: Freeman and Company, 1989), p. 170.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Waltz Kenneth, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).

as to where to look for questions and answers and hence provide solutions for the problem. According to Thomas Kuhn such a scheme is important as a criterion for choosing problems that can be assumed to have solutions. These are the only problems that can be treated as scientific.⁹⁵

The notion of national interest emerged with the development of national sentiment and democratic institutions. It corresponds with a confirmed belief that, in a given situation, one can objectively determine the immediate and long-term goals the nation should set itself.⁹⁶ Although each country has its priorities called national interest, there are general elements that make up national interest. The first is a nation's survival or its security. This involves preservation of sovereignty and independence, preservation of territorial integrity, and preservation of lives of the inhabitants. Secondly, national interest can be served by promoting certain values-religion and/or ideology. Thirdly, national interest is about power, wealth and resources.⁹⁷ Montesquieu summarises this by saying that though all governments have the same general end, that of preservation, each has another pertinent objective, increase of dominion through war, religion or commerce.⁹⁸

According to Hans Morgenthau,⁹⁹ national interest (material or ideal) dominates directly the actions of men. National interest is the general and continuing end for which a nation (state) acts.¹⁰⁰ According to Plato,¹⁰¹ the society exists to produce the necessities

⁹⁵Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 37.

⁹⁶Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Introduction to the History of International Relations*, Translated by Mary Ilford (Oxford: Frederick A Praeger Inc., 1967), p. 260.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸*The Spirit of the Laws*, Book xi, ch. V.

⁹⁹Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 4 -5.

¹⁰⁰Feliks Gross and Adolf A. Berle jr., *Foreign Policy Analysis* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), p. 75.

¹⁰¹Nettleship, R. L., *Lectures on the Republic of Plato* (London: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 70-71.

of life. The function of the state is to satisfy necessary wants. This is what produces human society. National interest is a “public good” or “the good of the polis.” It is what ensures that the state survives. Morgenthau argues that diplomatic strategy should be motivated by national interest than by utopian and dangerous moralistic, legalistic, and ideological criteria.¹⁰²

If national interest is about the survival of the state, then the minimum requirement of a state like Kenya is to protect its physical, political, and cultural identity. Physical identity is about the maintenance of territorial integrity. Political identity is about the preservation of existing politico-economic regimes, while cultural identity is about preservation of ethnic, linguistic, religious norms and the dignity of the people of Kenya. In general, national interest is about the continued existence of the state and the people of Kenya. According to Russet and Starr,¹⁰³ national interest indicates values which are shared by most citizens. Such values include peace, prosperity, and security.

Kenya’s foreign policy objectives can be traced to the K A N U manifestos of 1961 and 1963.¹⁰⁴ The 1961 manifesto stated that Kenya would vigilantly safeguard national interest among other duties.¹⁰⁵ The national interests can be translated from the principles of the two manifestos as; to protect the security of the citizens, preserve the national integrity of Kenya, protect Kenya’s territorial integrity and enhance national security, maintain a sustained inflow of foreign investment, sustain Kenya’s special economic position in East Africa and most importantly, maintain military forces capable of protecting the people and the state of Kenya.

¹⁰²Hans Morgenthau, *Dilemmas of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p.140.

¹⁰³Bruce Russet and Harvey Starr, *Op Cit.*, 1989, p. 207.

¹⁰⁴Katete, D. Orwa, *Op Cit.*, pp. 299-301.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

1.9. Research Hypotheses

1. Systemic factors/actors play a marginal role for Kenya's vital foreign policy predisposition towards Israel.
2. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel has been influenced by political and geo – strategic factors.
3. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is informed by social and economic factors.

1.10. Methodology

Methodology is a system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated. This is a qualitative study that relied on library research and supplemented by informant interviews. The methods of data collection used included content analysis of research articles and textual materials, informant interviews and telephone interviews.

Analysis of secondary data from libraries was done in form of content analysis and analysis of existing statistics. In content analysis, among sources of data were books, technical and trade journals, public records and statistics, historical documents, magazines, newspapers, letters and speeches. Analysis of existing statistics is the use of official or quasi-official statistics as a supplement source of data (an example being government statistics on trade). Sources of existing statistics were government reports, bilateral agreements, and Government Yearbooks.

Apart from secondary materials, key informant interviews were carried out with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tourism and Wildlife, Agriculture, Trade and Industry and the Office of the President. These ministries were selected based on the roles that they play in foreign policy making and implementation and also on the basis of the direct impact of the Israeli assistance. The interviews were based on prepared

questions designed to discover the motives and interests of Kenya in its foreign policy towards Israel. The interviews were conducted according to the position, knowledge, and professional background of the interviewee.¹⁰⁶

1.10.1 Sampling Method

For practical reasons, the study used purposive sampling and identified five ministries from where five individuals were conveniently selected for the interviews. Because it was practically difficult to access the senior officials (Permanent Secretaries, Departmental Directors, Ministers, Ambassadors, and even their deputies) I deliberated to interview those acting in their capacities. The informants were sampled from specific sections in the ministries. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the interviewees were sampled from among the Second and Third Secretaries and Desk Officers in the Middle East Division. In the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the office of the Director, External Trade and also the Export Promotion Council provided the interviewees. From the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, the office of the Director, Department of Tourism; from the Office of the President, the Department of Internal Security and from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Irrigation and Soil Conservation sections.

1.10.2 Data Analysis

With content analysis, the task was to reduce a wide variety of items of information to a more limited set of attributes composing a variable. Data from analysis of existing statistics was analyzed, and together with the interview responses, used to draw conclusions about Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

¹⁰⁶A list of sample questions and the interview schedule is provided in Appendix.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO KENYA'S

FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 Introduction

According to Robert M. Maxon,¹⁰⁷ the sixty plus years of colonial rule had an immense impact in determining the political shape of the modern state of Kenya. Among the most significant aspects of the political heritage of colonialism were the emergence of an authoritarian structure of government and the state policies of administrative control and centrally directed development. Indeed, as Maxon asserts,¹⁰⁸ we cannot underestimate the role played by the colonial administration in shaping Kenya's foreign policy orientation. This chapter discusses the historical links that Kenya has had with Israel as a precursor to Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

2.2 The History of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Colonial administration was inaugurated in Kenya in 1890 and came to an end on 12th December, 1963. The colonial state was an overseas extension of metropolitan Britain, run by a small number of British administrators and thus did not lay a strong foundation for the development of a modern African state. Its goals were to maintain law and order, to foster obedience and loyalty to the colonial authorities and to defend and promote the political and economic interests of the British.

The norms and principles that were propagated at this time were to benefit British interests. Since foreign policy is a country's policy relating to external actors, it is only

¹⁰⁷Robert M. Maxon, "The colonial Roots", In Oyugi, W. O., (Ed.), *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994), p. 33.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 60.

exercised by a sovereign state. Given this background, it is hard to discuss Kenya's foreign policy at this period. We can only talk of Kenya's foreign policy in the post independence period.

Kenya, like other African countries that had just acquired independence, joined the international world as an independent African state and at this particular time its foreign policy was determined by traditional variables (i.e. national and systemic).¹⁰⁹ The broader guiding principles of Kenya's foreign policy were; vigilant safeguarding of national interests, maintenance of independence for people of Kenya, collaboration to foster and promote African unity, work for international peace and peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states in addition to the policy of good neighbourliness.¹¹⁰ It is in the spirit of these principles that Kenya joined regional and international organizations, contributed to peacekeeping operations and provided humanitarian support to other countries.

Kenya's foreign policy was based on the principle of positive nonalignment. According to *Sessional Paper Number 10* of 1965,¹¹¹ the government asserted that the African socialism the country espoused must not rest for its success on a satellite relationship with any other country or group of countries. The government, therefore, made agreements with the major world powers and received economic and military assistance from them. Positive nonalignment was seen as a means of maintaining the country's political independence and also as an opportunity for economic development. This principle, however, did not mean that Kenya had to remain neutral on world issues. In early 1966, Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, said:

¹⁰⁹Katete D. Orwa, "Continuity and change: Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi." In Oyugi W. O., (Ed.), *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹¹¹African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. *Sessional Paper No.10*, 1965.

“We fully commit ourselves to support what we believe to be right and just in international affairs....”¹¹²

2.2.1 Foreign Policy-Making Process

Immediately after independence, Kenya’s foreign policy-making process was still in its rudimentary stage. The capacity for the process was not yet developed. Foreign policy was handled by the President and those close to him. Officially, there are institutions which are charged with the responsibility of foreign policy-making. These include Parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In addition to these two, foreign policy can also be formulated at the individual level by the President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. However, as is the case with smaller states, foreign policy is a special preserve of the President. This is true of Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi. Foreign policy-making in Kenya has been dominated by the Executive arm of government (the president).¹¹³

2.2.2 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy-Making.

By early 1966 Kenya’s diplomatic ties had been established with over forty states in Africa, Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Foreign embassies were limited to a maximum of ten persons each due to resource constraints (an exception was commonwealth countries). The decisions with regard to the countries with which relations were to be opened were influenced to a great extent by economic considerations. Although financial constraints limited the number of missions that could be sent abroad, ties were established with all trading partners and those countries which were potentially or actually sources of investment or assistance. Diplomatic missions with Commonwealth

¹¹²See: Kenya African National Union (K A N U) manifesto, 1961 and also 1963.

¹¹³See Oloo Adams, ‘The Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy-making Process in Kenya, 1963-1993’, *Op. Cit.*

countries were of the high commissions type while relations with other countries were maintained at the ambassadorial level. The ambassador to the United States was also accredited to the United Nations.

The quality of Kenyan diplomacy compared favourably with that of other sub-Saharan African countries. However, lack of experience and insufficiency of top-grade personnel imposed some limitations which meant that negotiations abroad for loans or other assistance were conducted by cabinet ministers. Delegations to meetings of such organizations as the O A U, the Commonwealth Conference and United Nations were often headed by the Minister for External Affairs.¹¹⁴

For Kenya, like most other African countries, important foreign policy decisions after independence were made by the president. From December 1964 to May 1966 the Minister for External Affairs was Joseph Murumbi. However, given the importance of the Ministry, the President must have received advice on some foreign issues from other more trusted members of the cabinet. On May 3, 1966, there was a re-organization of the cabinet, necessitated by the resignation of a group led by former vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga.¹¹⁵ At this time President Kenyatta took over the external affairs portfolio, a dual role which he also exercised in the first year of independence. Murumbi was appointed the Vice-President and Minister without portfolio. This reason coupled with a series of misunderstandings among the politicians, prompted his resignation. Kenya was a young state just emerging from colonialism and the implication was that practically, Kenya's foreign policy was controlled by the Head of State.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Kaplan Irving, *et al*, *Area Handbook for Kenya* (Washington, D.C.:1967), p. 362.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

2.2.3 Economic Development and Foreign Policy

Kenya inherited a fairly developed economy from the colonial rulers (British). The economy was tied to the capitalist system with many foreign investors preferring to invest in the country. The structure and development of the domestic economy were thus supported by international capital. In order to maintain the lead position in this region, Kenya's foreign policy had to be pro-capitalist. The need for economic growth led Kenya to adopt a free market system which enabled the country to maintain and attract foreign investment.

Kenya's foreign policy aims at diversification of links in order to achieve the aim of foreign investment.¹¹⁷ External financial sources are in this sense, an important determinant of Kenya's foreign policy. Because of its economic capacity in the region Kenya pursued the policy of good neighbourliness in Eastern Africa and nonalignment outside the region. Kenya needs market for its goods in the region; primary goods, manufactured goods and even human resources. The country's involvement in various peace initiatives in the region is in line with the policy of peaceful cooperation and co-existence in Africa.

2. 2.4 Historical Perspective in Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Israel

Kenya and Israel share much in common historically. The relationship between these two states pre-dates their independence. First, the Zionist movement had proposed to establish the Jewish state in the Rift Valley province of Kenya; secondly, there were trade links with colonial Kenya and later, state sponsored visits. The two also shared a

¹¹⁷See, Orwa D. Katete, "Kenya's Foreign Policy, 1963-1986." In Ochieng' Philip, (Ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1989), p. 300.

British colonial rule. These among other factors formed the basis of the historical links between Kenya and Israel.

2. 2.4.1 The ‘Uganda Scheme’

On 23rd April 1903, the British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, on behalf of the British government made a proposal to Theodore Herzl, leader of the Zionist organization, that an autonomous Jewish colony be established in British East Africa.¹¹⁸ The proposal was commonly known as the ‘Uganda Scheme’, since that part of land in East Africa was considered to be in Uganda and not Kenya. In 1902, after the completion of the Uganda Railway, the Eastern province of Uganda, covering the area stretching from Lake Victoria to a few miles west of Nairobi was transferred to the East African Protectorate, Kenya. This was a strategic move by the British and not land annexation. It was meant to bring the railway and the whole area considered suitable for European farming under a single territorial administration.¹¹⁹

The negotiations between Herzl and the British government ended in Herzl proposing that the British extend a charter for settlement, and an official proposal by the British government was made on 14th August 1903, concerning Jewish settlement in British East Africa (Kenya).¹²⁰ The area under consideration was actually between Nairobi and the Mau Escarpment,¹²¹ forming the present day Nakuru district, Nyandarua, Laikipia and parts of Naivasha and Narok districts of Kenya.

The borders of the territory were not specified and were to be finally fixed after the opinion of British experts was obtained and a commission of inquiry sent by the

¹¹⁸Steven S. Carol, “Israel’s Foreign Policy towards East Africa,” Ph. D Thesis, Department of History, St. John’s University, New York, 1977, p. 41.

¹¹⁹Hazlewood A., *The Economy of Kenya. The Kenyatta Era, Op. Cit.*, p. 1.

¹²⁰Marvin Lowenthal, (Ed.), *The Diaries of Theodore Herzl* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1962), p. 407.

¹²¹Ya’acov Friedler, ‘The Uganda Affair’, *Jerusalem Post*, 17 December 1971.

Zionist organization. Through this proposal, Herzl had many intentions chief among them being to create political ties that would bind the British government to Zionism's principle of Jewish statehood.¹²² This settlement in Kenya would be useful for furthering the settlement plans in *EL Arish* and strengthen the Zionist position in the negotiations on *Eretz Yisrael* (the land of Israel).

Herzl and his aides asked a British lawyer (David Lloyd George) to draw up a charter for the proposed territory to be submitted to the British Government for approval. A few Zionists were opposed to the Uganda scheme though. One such Zionist was Chaim Weizmann, (first president of Israel later) who, from the contacts, succeeded in convincing the British Government under the premiership of David Lloyd George, to sign the Balfour Declaration in 1917.

The 'Uganda scheme' led to sharp disagreement and furious debates among the Zionists on one hand and between the Zionists and the British settlers on the other. Those who supported the scheme ("Territorialists") led by an Anglo Jewish writer, Israel Zangwill, advocated for any territory anywhere rather than none. Those who opposed the scheme (*Ziyyonei Zion*) or Zionists of Zion were mainly Russian Jews who could not accept anything short of the Jewish state in the Middle East.

In East Africa, the British settlers were unanimous in their opposition to the scheme. The settlers had already developed a massive hostility towards the Indian workers imported to build the Kenya-Uganda Railway but were fast establishing themselves as leading merchants and peddlers. They (white settlers) would not agree to be replaced by Jews. Meetings were held to condemn the plan through their mouth piece, *The African Standard*, and forerunner of the current, *East African Standard*.

¹²²Steven S. Carol, *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.

The leading British cleric in East Africa, Bishop Peel of Mombasa, also played a prominent role in preventing the establishment of the Jewish state at this time. Torn between his fears that the Jews would hinder his missionary work among the Kenya Africans, and his understanding that he could not reject the people of the Bible, he worked out a compromise with the British commissioner of the protectorate, Sir Charles Eliot. Together, they concocted a scheme of segregation whereby the Jews would be settled a distance from the Coast and away from the railway and from the “pure” white settlers.¹²³ On 25th January 1904, Herzl asked the British government to demarcate the area it had in mind for the proposed settlement. The land was the 4000 feet high Uasin Gishu plateau, 5000 square miles of territory in the heart of the Rift Valley.

A commission of inquiry that was sent to determine the feasibility of the scheme found an “impossible land utterly unsuitable” for the kind of settlement that had been foreseen. Their report was brought before a Zionist Congress that met from 27th July to 2nd August 1905 where the delegates voted to reject the “Uganda Scheme” totally.¹²⁴ It was decided at that time that the Zionist organization should concern itself with settlement solely in *Eretz Yisrael* (Palestine).

2. 2.4.2 Trade Contacts Between Kenya and Israel

In 1953, trade relations began between Kenya and Israel, while Kenya was still under British rule. For this purpose, Israel maintained a consulate-general in Kenya.¹²⁵ This trade manifested itself in many forms, including the shipment on 15th February 1958 of animals from Mombasa to Eilat for the Tel Aviv Zoo.¹²⁶

¹²³Robert G. Weisbord, *African Zion* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1998), p. 102.

¹²⁴Rufus Lears, *Fulfillment: The Epic Story of Zionism* (New York: Herzl Press, 1972), p. 117.

¹²⁵Steven S. Carol, *Op. Cit.*

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

In 1957, Zim Israel Navigation Company Vessels began a chartered service from Eilat to Eastern Africa.¹²⁷ Zim Vessels transporting general cargo, cement and Potash called at Mombassa port, taking back to Israel seeds, beans, coffee, tinned meat, hides and skins.¹²⁸ This early trade was conducted before Israel had any ambassadorial level diplomatic relations with the country.

Most of Israel's export to this region is conducted by Amiran Israel foreign trade corporation; a semi-public company. In 1958, the Israeli government-sponsored Israel Export and Trust Cooperation was established to handle Israeli export throughout the world. In 1960, Amiran was set to deal with Israel export to East Africa. The company maintained offices in Kenya among other East African countries such as Ethiopia, Tanzania and briefly Uganda.¹²⁹

Three main groups of commodities constituted the bulk of the Israel-Kenya trade. The first consisted of building materials, notably cement, but also plywood, plastics, panels, tiles, carbide, safety glass, sun heaters, paints, locks and screws. The second category was made up of irrigation equipment, steel pipes and fixtures, chemicals, fertilizers and agricultural equipment. The third group consisted of durable consumer goods such as cooking stoves, refrigerators, air conditioners, motor vehicles parts, tires, textiles, cotton clothing and yarns, knit wear, sanitary ceramics, canned food, edible oils, detergents, stationery, pharmaceuticals and jewellery.¹³⁰ Kenya on the other hand supplied Israel with a number of primary products such as dairy products, beef, skin and hides.¹³¹ The balance of trade was however, skewed in favour of Israel.

¹²⁷“Zim serves Africa,” *The Israel Export and Trade Journal* (Tel Aviv: July 1963), 15-25.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹“Israel products adapted to East African Markets,” *Israel Export and Trade Journals* (Tel Aviv: July, 1967).

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹See, Susan Aurelia Gitelson, “Israel's African setback in perspective,” *Jerusalem papers on peace problem, number 6*, Hebrew university, May 1974, pp.8-9.

2. 2. 4.3 Visits and Training

Prior to Kenya's independence, several dignitaries visited Israel, including Mr. and Mrs. Tom Mboya and Waruhiu Itote, ("General China") a Mau Mau leader who underwent military training there.¹³² Prior to Kenya's independence, Israel trained Kenyan military units, at the request of Kenyan officials. The principal architect of Israel's military aid policy to emerging nations of Africa and Asia was Shimon Peres who was Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Defence from 1953-59.

On 13 November 1962, Waruhiu Itote left Kenya secretly, without a passport to study and train in Israel with thirty other Kenyans.¹³³ Waruhiu Itote stayed at Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi in the upper Galilee and studied at the military officers' Training school in Tel Aviv.¹³⁴ On 10 January 1963, a group of seventy five East Africans from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda followed Itote secretly to train as army officers and pilots. Upon graduation on 26 July 1963, General Zvi Zur, Israel's Chief of the General Staff wrote:¹³⁵

"You have been commissioned as officers by the Israel Defence Forces, who are proud to have had you live, train and study with them. We hope that you are fore-runners of a long and fruitful cooperation between our countries and their military organizations."

Itote returned to Kenya on 26 November 1963 shortly before independence and became one of the first African officers in the Kenya Army. When Kenya became independent in December 1963, President Jomo Kenyatta publicly revealed that the first

¹³²Waruhiu Itote, *Mau Mau General* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967), pp. 234-249.

¹³³Iris Russell, "Training and Technical Assistance Agreement...proof of Kenya-Israel Friendship" *Ma'ariv* (Tel Aviv), 28 February, 1966.

¹³⁴Waruhiu Itote, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 234-240.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 241.

Kenyan pilots had received their secret training in Israel. In all, thirty Kenya army officers and five pilots were trained in Israel prior to Kenya's independence.¹³⁶

2. 2.4.4 The Arab Threat as a factor in Kenya-Israeli Ties

Kenya had some basis for a community of interests with Israel against a common Arab threat. Arab states had been supportive of Somalia in its desire for its unification. The reasons for the support were that Somalia is both a Muslim state and also joined the Arab League in 1974 from where it gained support for its territorial claims.¹³⁷ This support was most evident during the 1977-78 Somalia-Ethiopia war. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Libya and Sudan initiated efforts to discourage Kenya-Israeli relations.¹³⁸ The African Arab countries even offered to come to the aid of Somalia in the event of Ethiopian invasion.¹³⁹ There was evidence of Egypt arming Somalia when in 1977 Kenya Air Force intercepted and detained an Egyptian cargo plane destined for Somalia.¹⁴⁰

Almost as soon as Israel began the expansion of its contacts in Africa, the Arab states both as a bloc through the Arab League and individually sought to block Israel-African relations and nullify Israel's achievements in such parts. Egypt launched a sustained effort of its own aimed at undermining Israel's influence and enlightening the African leaders of 'the real nature of Israel'.¹⁴¹ The Arab League also issued a warning to the African states of the dangers in accepting Israeli assistance, arguing that such offers are a façade for neo-colonialism.¹⁴² Kenya-Somalia border conflict provided a perfect

¹³⁶M. J. V. Bell, *Military Assistance to Independent African States* (London: The institute for strategic studies, Adelphi Paper 15, 1964), p. 3.

¹³⁷ Oded Arye, *Islam and Politics in Kenya* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000), p. 125.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹³⁹W. A. E. Skurnik, "Continuing Problems in Africa's Horn," *Current History*, 82 (482), March, 1983, p. 122.

¹⁴⁰Makinda S., "Kenya's Role in the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict," Working Paper No. 55, *Strategic and Defence Studies Centre* (Australia), 1982, p. 8.

¹⁴¹ See Joel Peters, *Israel and Africa: The Diplomatic Friendship* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1992), p. 21.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

avenue for their political rivalry. Kenya-Israel ties were therefore cemented by the need for unity against a common Arab threat.

Israel's initial goals in Africa were to establish relations that would ameliorate its diplomatic isolation, garner support at the United Nations, achieve greater international legitimacy, and create economic opportunities mainly for Israeli government concerns and also for private business interests. By early to mid 1960s, Israel had turned greater attention to combating Arab and Eastern bloc influence that threatened its interests in the sub-Saharan African states. Israel expanded its purview in the continent, shifting the principal focus of its activity to Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, from which it wished to exclude Egyptian (Arab) and communist influence.¹⁴³ Israel's strategic interest in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular is based on its desire to secure the routes to the Red Sea. This can easily be done if Mombasa, the largest Kenyan port city and also home to Kenyan Arabs, is secured. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is, therefore, conditioned by the desire to contain Arab threat both at home and from outside the country.

2. 2.4.5 Symbolic and Ecological Reasons

The attraction of Israel for Kenya was best explained by Jomo Kenyatta, who wrote:¹⁴⁴

“Israel has built a nation with Jews coming from all the corners of the world; we want to build a unified Kenya composed of a multitude of tribes joined together through Harambee.”

¹⁴³Levey Zach, 'Rise and Decline of a Special Relationship: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966', *African Studies Review*, April 2003, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mt. Kenya, The Tribal Life of the Kikuyu* (London: Mercury Books, 1961), Introduction.

Israel was to Kenya, a symbol of progress that had to be emulated. It represented the attainable dream, a country that is small, young, still struggling, yet by the world's standards, stable and successful. To Kenya, Israel provided a perfect picture to be copied.

An additional factor that attracted Kenya to Israel was their ability to manage the hostile land. The general climatic conditions in Israel are to a large extent comparable to those obtaining in Kenya. Israel is semi arid in the north and arid in the south. A great deal could be learned about agricultural crops grown in Israel that could similarly be raised in Kenya. Indeed, Kenyans have been going to Israel since 1958 to study agriculture and mechanical engineering.¹⁴⁵

By 12th December 1963, Kenya-Israeli relations were firmly established. Israel opened an embassy in Nairobi, while Kenya's diplomatic mission in Israel was handled by a non resident ambassador. By 1966, almost six hundred Kenyans had studied in Israel. On 25th February 1966, a technical and scientific cooperation agreement was signed between the two countries. This was in their desire to promote and further to the greatest possible extent economic, scientific, educational, and technical cooperation for mutual advantage.¹⁴⁶

Kenya also received an Israeli loan of some \$2,428,500.¹⁴⁷ Between 1963 and 1971 more than one thousand Kenyans visited and received training in Israel. For its part, Israel was engaged in a variety of economic and technical programs including the work of Israeli specialists in the fields of bio-chemistry, horticulture, nutrition, social work and traffic control. Israeli corporations expended over \$15 million on building construction,

¹⁴⁵Israel Diplomatic Network, Embassy of the State of Israel, <http://nairobi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/main/>, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶Ministry of Finance, Agreement on Technical and Scientific Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Kenya and the Government of the State of Israel.

¹⁴⁷Iris Russel, *Ma'ariv* (Tel Aviv), *Op. Cit.*

housing projects and water supply projects.¹⁴⁸ These ties formed the base upon which Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was made.

2.3 Conclusion

The history of Kenya's foreign policy orientation rotates around the early Kenya African National Union (K A N U) manifestos of 1961 and 1963; and the *Sessional Paper* No. 10 of 1965. It is in these documents that we find the principles that guided and continue to guide Kenya's foreign policy. National security, territorial integrity, good neighbourliness, non-alignment, national self interest and need for economic development, were thus important in shaping Kenya's foreign policy.

Kenya's economy immediately after independence was dominated by foreign capital. The economy relied on export of coffee and tea and lacked indigenous managerial and technical skills as well as technology. This meant that Kenya's economy was open for any foreign assistance. The country based its foreign policy on the principle of positive nonalignment in order to achieve this objective of economic prosperity. Kenya would have to borrow from any country technology, economic methods, but without any commitment; seek and accept financial assistance from any source without strings attached and participate fully in the world economy without political domination.¹⁴⁹ Kenya opted to pursue an open foreign policy aimed at diversifying its external trade relations and sources of foreign aid and attract foreign private investment to stimulate rapid economic development.

Israel's quest for friends meant that the country had to venture into early relations with those countries that were just attaining their independence. Both Kenya and Israel shared a similar background in terms of British Colonial rule and the struggle for

¹⁴⁸Steven S. Carol, *Op. Cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁹African Socialism and its application to Planning in Kenya, *Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965*, p. 9.

independence. This background was instrumental in the early relations of the two countries. Kenya's geopolitical location and ecological similarity with Israel were also important factors in enhancing technical cooperation and assistance between the two countries.

The history of Kenya's foreign policy is that of state building, consolidation of power and international recognition. Over the years, Kenya's foreign policy has been directed towards aspects of territorial integrity, security and survival. With all its traditional partners, Kenya's foreign policy has been geared towards the enhancement of good neighbourliness within the East African region and economic assistance from western countries. These are aspects that could only be achieved through cordial and friendly policies.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 EXTERNAL FACTORS AND ACTORS IN KENYA'S

FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

3.1 Introduction

Foreign policy of a state is the output of that state in to the global system.¹⁵⁰ It is a set of guides to choices being made about people, places, and things beyond the boundaries of the state. It includes all that a state chooses to do or not do outside its borders. It links the activities inside the state and the outside world. It puts the state in to communication with the external world.¹⁵¹ The external world is made up of many actors; individuals, organizations and other states. In this chapter, we discuss the external factors and actors that condition Kenya's foreign policy especially towards Israel. Important actors are the international organizations (UN and OAU/AU). Factors include polarity and international terrorism. This chapter seeks to either prove or disapprove the hypothesis that systemic factors are marginal for Kenya's vital foreign policy predisposition towards Israel.

¹⁵⁰Bruce Russet and Harvey Starr, *World Politics; The Menu for Choice* (New York: Freeman and Company, 1989), pp. 162-163.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

3.2 The External Actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy

There are various systemic actors that condition a country's foreign policy. Kenya, like many other developing countries, depends on external assistance for its well being. This therefore implies that its foreign policy will be non-confrontational when it comes to international organizations and other economically powerful states in the world. These organizations influence a country's foreign policy through the conditions that they attach to the financial assistance and other forms of aid that they provide to the needy countries.

3.2.1 The United Nations Organization

The name 'United Nations' was devised by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in the "Declaration by United Nations" of 1st January 1942, during the Second World War, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the axis powers.¹⁵² After the Dumberton Oaks deliberations of 1944, the UN officially came into existence on 24th October 1945.¹⁵³

The UN was instrumental in the proclamation of the state of Israel on 14th May 1948. However, over the years, the Palestinian issue has meant that the UN made resolutions that were meant to end the conflict.¹⁵⁴ Most of the resolutions were perceived by Israeli decision makers as inimical to Israeli interests. In fact, it is the US Veto within the UN that has always supported the Israeli course. The dilemma for Kenya is how to

¹⁵²Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (New York: United Nations, 1989), p. 1.

¹⁵³Bennett A. Leroy, *International Organisations. Principles and Issues* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 44.

¹⁵⁴Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November, 1967, adopted unanimously at the 1382nd UN meeting. Also Resolution 338 of 1973, adopted after the Yom Kippur war. Both were un-favourable to Israel.

support the UN resolutions without appearing to hurt the Israeli course in the Middle East conflict. The issue is that while the relationship between Kenya and the UN has been good since independence, the same can not be said to be the case for Israel. A further discussion on this is necessary if we have to understand the dilemma for Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

In response to hostilities which broke out at various times since the creation of the state of Israel, the UN General Assembly made several resolutions aimed at achieving peace in the Middle East. On 5th June 1967, war broke out between Israel and its Arab neighbours- Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The UN Security Council called for an immediate ceasefire which ended the war six days later. After the Six-Day War, Israeli presence remained in various Arab territories; Sinai, Gaza Strip, West Bank of the Jordan, East Jerusalem and Syrian Golan Heights.¹⁵⁵ This forced the Security Council to unanimously adopt resolution 242 (1967), which defined principles for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The principles were; withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 war, termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.¹⁵⁶ The irony here is that Israeli borders can not be secure if its forces withdraw from the 'occupied lands'.

The resolution was not acceptable to the state of Israel. This was because it not only affirmed the need to guarantee free navigation through international waterways in the area, but also the need to settle the refugee problem justly. The issue of Palestinian refugees' return to Israel is still a thorny one simply because their return to Israel would

¹⁵⁵ *Basic Facts about the UN, Op. Cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

mean that Israel, the home of Jews, would have more Arabs, the great majority imbued with hatred for Jews.

Another war (Yom Kippur War) began on 6th October 1973 when Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked Israeli positions in the Suez Canal sector and on the Golan Heights. The Security Council adopted resolution 338 (1973) which called for a ceasefire and full implementation of the previous resolution 242. Later in 1974, the UN General Assembly reaffirmed ‘the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine’ to unhindered self-determination, independence and sovereignty. It also invited the PLO to participate in the work of the Assembly and United Nations international conferences as an observer. Kenya was a non-permanent member of the Security Council from 1973 to 1974¹⁵⁷ and supported the resolutions on the Middle East conflict. Out of the 15 members, only China failed to vote and the resolution 338 of 22nd October 1973 was adopted by 14 votes.¹⁵⁸

In 1975 the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, which recommended to the Security Council that a time table for complete Israeli withdrawal be established. It further recommended that the evacuated areas, with all properties and services intact would be taken over by the UN which, with the cooperation of the League of Arab States, would hand them over to the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. In 1977 the General Assembly called for annual observance of 29th November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.¹⁵⁹ In 1978, after the Camp David accord between Egypt and Israel, the League of Arab States asked all Arab nations to refrain from supporting the treaty.

¹⁵⁷Wellens C. Karel, (Ed.), *Resolutions and Statements of the United Nations Security Council, 1946-1992, A Thematic Guide* (London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990), p. 950.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 677.

¹⁵⁹*Basic Facts about the UN, Op. Cit.*, p. 53.

The General Assembly on its part condemned such treaties and declared the accord invalid in so far as it purported to determine the future of Palestinian people. In 1987, the Palestinian *Intifada* began. Palestinians in the occupied territories declared that the uprising would continue until Palestinian independence and statehood were achieved. In response, the General Assembly adopted resolutions calling on Israel to release detained and imprisoned Palestinians immediately.¹⁶⁰

Israel has over the years tried to respond positively to the UN resolutions. Peace has not, however, been realized. This situation has more to do with the Arabs who have refused to accept the fact that Israel has a right to belong in/to the Middle East, than with the occupied territories as the UN resolutions have suggested. On 13th September 1993, for example, Israel and PLO signed a Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements. Palestinian Authority was established in May 1994 and given responsibility for health, education, social welfare, tourism and direct taxation in the other areas of West Bank.¹⁶¹ The General Assembly adopted another resolution to this effect, 49/149, affirming the right of the Palestinian people to self determination. The vote for the resolution was unanimous.

While Kenya voted with other countries in favour of the Palestinian state, only the US voted with Israel against the resolution.¹⁶² This clearly shows that within the UN, Kenya's foreign policy is conditioned by the main principle for which the organization was formed, to maintain international peace and security. According to the UN charter, the stated objectives of the UN include maintenance of international peace and security, promotion of international economic and social cooperation and promotion of the respect

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁶¹Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Confronting New Challenges* (New York: United Nations, 1995), p. 271.

¹⁶²Department of Public Information, *Year Book of the United Nations*, Vol. 48 (New York: United Nations, 1994), p. 618.

for human rights of all peoples. Additional objectives that are inferred from the preamble or Article 1 of the charter include the development of friendly relations among nations, strengthening universal peace, practising tolerance and living together in peace as good neighbours. The UN is, therefore, an organization that harmonizes the actions and behaviour of member states through the adherence of the stated objectives. It offers opportunity to member states for multilateral relations and peaceful interactions.

Despite the UN resolutions the Middle East conflict has persisted. Resolution 1397 (2002)¹⁶³ gave a vision of two states, Israel and Palestine. With the assistance of Russia, US, EU and the UN, both parties committed themselves to serious negotiations to end the violence but not much has so far been achieved. The violence and hostility in the region point towards a reversal in the peace process.¹⁶⁴

The argument above has been geared towards proving the fact that the UN has not been very friendly to the state of Israel. The General Assembly has always been quick to blame Israel for the instability in the region while at the same time exonerating the Arabs from blame.¹⁶⁵ Kenya on the other hand has had a very warm relation with the UN since its admission in 1963. The support Kenya gives to the UN, especially in relation to the Middle East issue can be seen in certain quarters as an extreme stand against Israel.

However, Kenya's support for UN resolutions on the Middle East conflict has not affected its foreign policy towards Israel. While Kenya has remained steadfast in its support for the UN, the state has equally maintained good relations with Israel. This is simply because Kenya would not like to be seen to contradict the UN. In 1983 for example, Kenya's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Elijah Mwangale, in a speech read on

¹⁶³ *Year Book of the United Nations*, Vol. 56, p. 638.

¹⁶⁴ *Year Book of the United Nations*, Vol. 57, p. 458.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

his behalf by the Assistant Minister, Professor Paul Sumbi at the 38th anniversary of the UN in Nairobi, said:

“Peace in the Middle East would not be realized until the Palestinian people (refugees) are fully settled”.¹⁶⁶

The statement by the minister suggested that Kenya would take an extreme position against Israel unless the Palestinian refugees were settled in Israel. Although the statement was pro-Palestinians, Kenya acknowledges that co-existence between the Jews and the Arabs can not be easily achieved because the Arabs have consistently called for annihilation of Israel. Kenya realises this and would therefore be cautious in its support for the Palestinian course and aspiration to statehood. According to a Second Secretary in the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs:¹⁶⁷

“The continued call by Arabs for the destruction of the state of Israel is their undoing. Kenya sympathises with the Palestinians but it cannot support those calling for elimination of others.”

The relationship between Israel and the then apartheid South Africa was also an issue of concern in the UN. Many members criticised Israel for its continued relationship with the pariah state that was internationally ‘isolated’. Kenya also criticised Israel through its Ambassador to the UN office in Geneva, who expressed concern that South Africa had developed nuclear weapons through the assistance of certain countries.¹⁶⁸ At this time South Africa and Israel were working closely in terms of security intelligence and assistance in the field of nuclear technology could not be ruled out.¹⁶⁹ Apart from Israel, Britain was quietly blamed for maintaining ties with South Africa. Britain has

¹⁶⁶*Daily Nation*, 25 October, 1983.

¹⁶⁷ Personal interview with a senior officer, Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kenya).

¹⁶⁸*The Standard*, 21 October, 1985.

¹⁶⁹Gordon Thomas, *Gideon's Spies. Mossad's Secret Warriors* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), p. 261.

remained Kenya's major bilateral partner. The implication of the ties is that Kenya too could have been discreetly involved with South Africa. This is because at that time, in the continent, Israel was identified with South Africa.¹⁷⁰ A Desk Officer in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came close to confirming this argument:¹⁷¹

“In Africa, Kenya and South Africa have been the closest friends of Israel.”

Apart from this correlation, the African countries that had close relations with Israel since 1960s and kept the relations going even after the diplomatic rupture were also perceived by analysts and observers as ready to maintain formal and informal contacts with South Africa. Such countries included Malawi, Mauritius, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Swaziland and Kenya.¹⁷²

Kenya's foreign policy towards the UN is a matter of principle that binds all members for the sake of peace and global security. It does not in any way interfere with its foreign policy towards the state of Israel. This would explain why in 1988 while Kenya voted for the admission of PLO as a permanent observer to the UN's General Assembly, it gave little support to Palestinian aspirations to statehood.¹⁷³

From independence (when Kenya supported UN resolutions on peace and decolonization) to the 21st century (when Kenya supports the UN approach on the Middle East crisis and also on the war on terrorism), the purpose and principles of the UN are still upheld as a matter of Kenya's official foreign policy position. Kenya has consistently expressed its support for the UN and the desire that the world body continues to operate effectively as an institution of multilateral diplomacy.

¹⁷⁰ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ Personal Interview with a Desk Officer, Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kenya).

¹⁷² Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁷³ United Nations, General Assembly Resolution 42/229 A: 143-1-0 of 2nd March, 1988.

The UN has raised Kenya's image in the international arena. Kenya remains the only Third World country hosting the headquarters of a UN agency; the United Nations Environmental Program, U N E P. Fifteen other UN bodies use Nairobi as their regional centre.¹⁷⁴ Kenya also sends delegations to UN General Assembly and is always active in other UN summits and activities such as Peace Missions.

3.2.2 The OAU/AU and Israel

The leading principles of the O A U charter as defined in Article III were the sovereign equality of all member states; non-interference in internal affairs; and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence.¹⁷⁵ Every member state has to abide by these principles.

Kenya's foreign policy is conditioned by these principles especially within the East African and the African region. Outside these regions, however, the principles have had little effect on Kenya's foreign policy. As a consequence of the Six-Day War between Arabs and Israel; Egypt, Jordan and Syria lost parts of their territories. Other 'Palestinian territories' were equally occupied by Israel. Because of this 'occupation' and what was perceived by Arabs as Israeli aggression against Palestinians, Arab states in Africa, led by Egypt and Libya, and from the Middle East led by Saudi Arabia, put great pressure on OAU to sever relations with Israel.

The Middle East problem became a constant item on the agenda of the OAU summit meetings.¹⁷⁶ However, it was not until 1971 that the OAU summit decided to face it boldly by establishing a special committee of the Heads of State known as the 'Ten Wise Men'. Chaired by President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, it consisted of the

¹⁷⁴Nying'uro, O. Philip, "The External Sources of Kenya's Democratization Process", in the *Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, 1997, p. 10.

¹⁷⁵Hargreaves, J. D., *Decolonization in Africa* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 203.

¹⁷⁶ The summits of 1963 in Addis Ababa, 1964 in Cairo, 1965 in Accra.

Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Salassie, Presidents of Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Zaire, Tanzania and Kenya. These were some of the strongest supporters of Israel on the continent. At the end of their task, which included, *inter alia*, consulting the UN Secretary-General U Thant, a memorandum drafted by Senegalese President Leopold Sedar Senghor was adopted and signed by the nine participants. Their proposals were sympathetic and impartial toward Israel.¹⁷⁷ Despite the effort, the OAU mission failed to break the diplomatic deadlock and bridge the gap between Israel and Egypt on one hand and between Israel and Arabs on the other. The ‘Ten Wise Men’ could not stop the strong Arab wave that convinced OAU to urge its members to strengthen individual and collective measures to isolate Israel in the political, military and agricultural fields. This culminated in the diplomatic rapture in 1973, giving a strong diplomatic victory to the Arabs.¹⁷⁸

For Kenya, the links were officially cut out of solidarity with the other countries in Africa and not out of genuine concern for the plight of the Arabs. Despite the diplomatic rapture with Israel, many Kenyans still supported Israel. Their attitude found expression in more sympathetic statements and moderate positions by leaders. Martin Shikuku, the then Assistant Minister for Home Affairs, reacted to the rapture and the subsequent oil crisis by saying:¹⁷⁹

“... together with the rest of Africa, Kenya had gone out of her way to support the Arabs in good faith...but Israel had done a lot for Kenya.”

Immediately after the rapture Kenya and Israel invented informal relations and the ties between the two states remained unaffected. This was in realization on the part of Kenya

¹⁷⁷ Colin Legum, ‘Israel’s Year in Africa: A Study of Secret Diplomacy’, in *Africa Contemporary Record 1972-73*, (1973), p. A 128.

¹⁷⁸ OAU Document, ECM/Res. 20(VIII), Addis Ababa, November 1973.

¹⁷⁹ *Daily Nation* May 5, June 19, 20, 1974.

that the oil-rich Arab states were unwilling to provide the promised aid and were also undermining the African economies by maintaining exorbitant oil prices. OAU was a loose organization of independent African states and had little capacity to restrict the member states, especially the sub-Saharan states, in their new discreet ties with Israel.

The Organization of African Unity was formed to try and end colonialism, domination of the continent by foreign powers, alleviation of the suffering of its people and ultimately unite the continent. The father of Zionism, Theodor Herzl recognized parallels between the African and Jewish experiences. His intention was to redeem the Jews and then assist in the redemption of the Africans.¹⁸⁰ OAU, therefore, became a battlefield between Israel and Arabs. The importance of OAU for Israel rested on the fact that the votes of the member states at forums such as the UN General Assembly could be swayed in Israel's favour. However, the OAU hardly succeeded in influencing the voting behaviour of its members at such meetings.

The OAU transformed into a supranational organization, African Union (AU) in September 1999 when a special Summit in Libya issued the Sirte Declaration establishing the union loosely based on the European Union model. It was officially launched in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002 with Thabo Mbeki as Chairman. The organization was founded to promote cooperation among the independent states of Africa with the ultimate objective of creating a united African government.

The AU seems to play a more significant role than its predecessor, OAU. This is because there has been, since the establishment of AU, a closer watch on African policies and the economic performances of the African states. The initiative has been propagated more by the New Partnership for African Development; N E P A D.¹⁸¹ The AU aims to

¹⁸⁰ Golda Meir, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 308-309.

¹⁸¹ See Peter Anyang' Nyong'o *et al*, (Eds.), *NEPAD: A new Path?* (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2002), pp. 105-164.

help promote democracy, human rights and development across Africa. This is expected to be done by increasing intra-African investment and finding African solutions to African problems. AU also aims to change the approach that was employed by OAU in addressing issues. OAU was seen as weak in certain areas. Approach to problems was sometimes based on trial and error, which led to arguments and factions.¹⁸² Its charter was also contradictory, calling for non-interference in internal affairs of member states, a principle that was blamed for persistence of many civil wars and authoritarian rule in Africa.¹⁸³

The fundamental difference between AU and OAU is in the structure and the aspirations. The structure is based on the European Union model and to some extent a duplication of the UN structure with several organs; assembly of the union, the executive council, the pan-African parliament, the court of justice, the commission, the permanent representative committee, the specialized technical committees, the economic, social and cultural council, the peace and security council, and finally the financial institutions.¹⁸⁴

In terms of aspirations, AU was formed as a successor to the amalgamated African Economic Community (AEC) and the OAU. Eventually the AU aims to have a single currency (the Afro) and a single integrated defence force, as well as other institutions of state including a cabinet for the AU Head of State. It aspires to secure Africa's democracy, human rights and a sustainable economy, especially by bringing an end to intra-African conflict and creating an effective Common Market.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² *African Review of Foreign Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1999, p. 46.

¹⁸³ See Amadi, H., "The OAU Involvement in African Conflicts: The Case of the Somali Civil War", Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1998, p. 99.

¹⁸⁴ www.africa-union.org.

¹⁸⁵ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-Union>.

3.3 External Factors in Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Israel

This section discusses the various external factors that have conditioned Kenya's foreign policy especially towards the state of Israel. The factors include the capitalist ties, threats to Kenya's territory, polarity and the global war on terrorism.

3.3.1 The Capitalist Ties

Kenya was incorporated into the Western economy as a result of British colonialism. Kenya's domestic and international activities have always been strongly influenced by the colonial heritage left after over six decades of colonialism (1895-1963). The colonial heritage has over the years determined the economic, political and military relations with Western (capitalist) countries in general but Britain in particular.

Adar and Ngunyi¹⁸⁶ argue that the colonial policy made Kenya an industrial power and that most foreign visitors found Nairobi a better place for business than any other place in East Africa. Kenya's external policy of attracting investment can clearly be seen as a function of its capitalist heritage. Kenya grew to claim a high position in the periphery, becoming a client state that serves the wishes of the patron states, but able to dominate in the region. Kenya's foreign policy has thus been affected by the centre-periphery network. According to Immanuel Wallerstein,¹⁸⁷ the world can be divided into the core (centre) and the periphery. While the core monopolizes industrial production and technology, the periphery is seen as a source of labour and raw materials. The division does not end there. The periphery is divided into the core/centre of periphery and the periphery of the periphery.

¹⁸⁶Korwa G. Adar and Mutahi Ngunyi, "The politics of Integration in East Africa since Independence", in Oyugi, W. O., *Op. Cit.*, p. 412.

¹⁸⁷Wallerstein, I., *The Modern World Systems: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of European World Economy in the 16th Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

Kenya, as a consequence of the early capitalist ties, is the core of the periphery. This means that it is an important agent of the capitalist forces in the West. This further implies that Kenya's foreign policy will reflect not only its capitalist ties but also its desire to maintain the dominant position at the periphery. This network has maintained Kenya as a dependent state hence affecting its foreign policy. This can clearly be seen in the bilateral relations between Kenya and the countries from the West.

Dependence is used to mean a situation in which the economy of a certain country is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected.¹⁸⁸ The relation that develops between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes a dependent nature. While the dominant ones can expand and can be self sustaining, the dependent ones can do this only as a reflection of that expansion¹⁸⁹ which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate policies. Kenya's foreign policy may, at times, have to reflect the desires of bilateral partners.

Foreign policy can be viewed as an externalized domestic policy. The actions or statements by a country directed to external/other actors are aimed at improving the domestic situation. The internal situation of dependent countries can only be understood if they are seen as being linked to the international economy, in which underdevelopment is a consequence and part of the process of the world expansion of capitalism.¹⁹⁰

In the world market, parts of the system develop at the expense of other parts. The sorry economic situation of developing countries like Kenya is due not to a lack of integration with capitalism but to the way in which they are joined to this system. This linkage plays a major role in the nature of a country's foreign policy. Kenya, like many

¹⁸⁸T. Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence" *American Economic Review*, 1970, pp. 231-236.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

other African countries, has been captured in the capitalist system due to various reasons such as trade, aid and technology. A number of scholars have argued that the technological superiority of advanced countries sets in motion automatic, persistent and cumulative forces that produce underdevelopment and perpetuate inequality.¹⁹¹ This affects foreign policy adversely.

The most important contribution of the capitalist ties to the economy of Kenya can be seen in the existence of Multinational Corporations, (M N Cs). They are some times called trans-national corporations. These are large companies with subsidiaries in different countries.¹⁹² Through them, linkages develop between countries. Laws and policies developed in one country may affect decisions in another country through these companies. These companies often bargain with the host states in various issues including political ones which are of interest to them. At other times they may even lobby local political forces in order to influence domestic and foreign policies favourable to them.

Corporations from Europe dominate the Kenyan market.¹⁹³ Israel's involvement can be seen in the activities of the Amiran Company, a state-owned entity that specializes mostly in agriculture and handles the export and import trade businesses of Israel not only in Kenya but in the whole of Africa. The most important M N Cs in Kenya are those established on the import substitution, producing consumer products. Israeli companies in Kenya are not very prominent in this sector. Most of them are found in the agricultural

¹⁹¹Furtado, C., "The Concept of International Dependence in the Study of Underdevelopment." Paper Presented to the Union for Radical Economics, Washington DC, 10 November, 1972.

Also: H. W. Singer, "The Distribution of Gains from Trade and Investment Revisited." *Journal of Development Studies*, July 1975.

Griffin, K., "The International Transmission of Inequality" *World Development*, March 1974.

¹⁹²Madeley, J., *Trade and the Poor. The Impact of International Trade on Developing Countries* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd., 1996), p. 86.

¹⁹³Irvin Gershenberg, "Multinational Enterprises, Transfer of Managerial Know-How, Technology Choice and Employment Effects: A Case Study of Kenya" (Geneva, 1983); cited by Orwa D. Katete, 'External Economic Relations', in Ochieng' W. and R. M. Maxon, *An Economic History of Kenya, Op. Cit.*, p. 394.

and the tourist/hotel industry (for example Mayfair and Holiday Inn among others). It is in such sectors that Israeli companies would influence and shape the character of Kenya's foreign economic policy.

Multinational corporations impact negatively on the economy of a host country. Like a tick that drains its host of the vital blood, these companies channel the profits to their mother countries affecting the economies of the poor host countries. It has been hard for the government of Kenya to control the operations of these companies not because it doesn't want to but because it can't. According to Maria Nzomo, various factors constrain and prevent the government from effectively controlling the activities of these trans-nationals.¹⁹⁴ These factors are identified as the complex nature and structure of the companies, the liberal government policy on foreign investment and weak institutional framework for bargaining and control.¹⁹⁵ This implies that MNCs have a considerable impact on the economies, trade and people of a developing country like Kenya.

3.3.2 Threats to Kenya's Territory

When Kenyatta came to power on 12th December 1963, national security and unity of Kenya were under threat by secessionist movement in the Northern Frontier District, N F D. This claim could trigger other irredentist movements from other neighbouring countries such as Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania. This could pit Kenya against the neighbouring countries and could also lead to civil strife.

Both Kenyatta and Moi took strong stands on the issue of territorial integrity, national security, national unity and sovereignty and chose to pursue a policy of good neighbourliness in their regional foreign policy. Kenya's military capability had to be

¹⁹⁴Maria Nzomo, 'External Influence on The Political Economy of Kenya: The Case of M N Cs' in Oyugi, W. O., *Op.Cit.*, p. 446.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

strengthened through modernization of equipment. According to an informant from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the necessary sophisticated equipment could only come from military super powers like Israel, US and Britain:

“National security guided both Kenyatta and Moi. Both of them prioritized Kenya’s military capability. Israel is a small country but in terms of military prowess it is a superpower. Kenya imports a lot of military hardware from Israel.”¹⁹⁶

The threat to territorial integrity also meant that military agreements had to be reached. The 1963 Ethiopia-Kenya military agreement was reaffirmed in 1979 out of the growing threat to the country. In 1964, President Kenyatta had signed an agreement with the Government of Britain. In 1980, a similar agreement was reached between Kenya and the US Government. This agreement gave the US military access to Kenya’s strategic facilities especially those along the coast.¹⁹⁷

3.3.3 Polarity

Before the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the world was dominated by two powers, differing in ideology and orientation to issues. The US was open and pro-capitalist while USSR closed, totalitarian and socialist. This led to a rivalry that divided the world into two blocs, East and West.

Foreign policy of small, dependent states like Kenya were at that time conditioned by the bloc rivalry. However, Kenya opted for the principle of non-alignment to counter the negative trappings of the rivalry. But as has been shown earlier in this study, this

¹⁹⁶Personal interview with a Trade Officer, Department of External Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry.

¹⁹⁷Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, March 30, 1979, p. 29528; *Africa Research Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No. 9, (1983), p. 6695, in Orwa, D. Katete, *Op. Cit.*, also, Makinda, S., ‘From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics’, *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 5 (2), 1983.

principle was only theoretical. Practically, Kenya's foreign policy was conditioned by the West capitalist ideology.

After the end of the cold war, US, as the only super power, began to preach democracy throughout the world but with extra emphasis on sub-Saharan African states. In Kenya, the American democratic principles culminated to diplomatic conflicts between Kenyan authorities and American diplomats. This affected Kenya's foreign policy as the Kenyan leadership under President Moi rejected most of what was suggested from outside.

During Kenyatta's reign, there was no problem with the West. They (West) never questioned detention of politicians like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga or Martin Shikuku, or the assassinations of Argwings K'odhek and J. M Kariuki. The existence of a single political party was equally overlooked.¹⁹⁸ Western countries, and more so USA, adopted a policy of 'say no evil, see no evil, hear no evil' towards most African states. This changed with the end of the cold war.

The Post-Cold War period presented new opportunities and incentives to states to cooperate in a variety of ways. Non-state-based elements of regional and global governance too emerged to play unprecedented roles.¹⁹⁹ The uni-polar world meant that political and economic developments in Kenya had to face severe scrutiny from most bilateral partners led by the US.²⁰⁰ Israel, however, has not been one of those countries that question Kenya's performance in political and economic spheres. As has been argued in this study, Israel was not a colonial master in Africa and hardly tries to dominate these

¹⁹⁸Orwa D. Katete, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁹⁹ Pierre de Senarclens and Ali Kazancigil, Ed., *Regulating Globalization. Critical Approaches to Global Governance* (NY: UN University Press, 2007), p. 161.

²⁰⁰ Orwa D. Katete, *Op. Cit.*

states. However, because of the close relationship between Israel and the US, the former may, if it so wished, push its demands through the latter.

3.3.4 Global war on International Terrorism

Terrorism has ushered in a new era in Kenya's foreign policy. The war on international terrorism has made Kenya's foreign policy to fall prey to external demands by foreign actors who would want to enlist the support of Kenya in the global war on international terrorism. After the 1998 bombing of the US embassy and the 2002 attack on an Israeli-owned resort at Kikambala in Kilifi, pressure was put on Kenya by USA to pass the Anti Terrorism Bill. This Bill was drafted in 2003 but was rejected by Muslims and lobbyists who saw the Kenya government as acting from external pressure. If this Bill goes through to become Law, it will most likely affect Kenya's relations with Islamic countries that have been friendly to Kenya. The passing of the Bill though would imply a major step towards containing terrorist acts.

This section discusses the terrorist acts visited upon Kenya and their effects on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. The objective is to prove or disapprove the hypothesis that systemic factors are marginal for Kenya's vital foreign policy predisposition towards Israel. Of interest here is the 1976 Entebbe raid, the 1981 Norfolk Hotel bombing, the 1998 Nairobi bombing of the US Embassy and the Kikambala Hotel bombing of 2002. From previous chapters we have already seen the nature of Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel; friendly, genuine and trustful.

3.3.4.1 Conceptual Analysis of Terrorism

The word terrorism has its origin in the Latin verb *terrere*, which means to tremble or to cause to tremble. It may also have come from the verb, *detertere*, which

means to frighten. The English word, terror, has been used to imply action or quality of causing dread, and also, a person, object or force, inspiring dread. Over time, the term terrorist evolved to denote those revolutionaries who sought to use terror systematically either to further their views or to govern. A variety of phenomena may strike terror in human beings for example volcanic eruption, floods, famine and starvation. In the modern world, the natural catastrophes are nothing compared to the systems of terror invented by man himself against fellow human beings. This system is embodied in some belief and sustained by secret groups scattered all over the world who use coercive intimidation to achieve their motives.

An acceptable definition of terrorism is a problem that scholars have grappled with for a long time. Terror is in the heart and mind of the victim. It is a subjective experience which elicits varied reactions-tolerance or susceptibility. And this also means that terrorism can never be a rational, selective, discriminate political weapon of real precision.²⁰¹

Terrorism, though hard to define, can be seen as the use of illegitimate violence by sub-state groups to inspire fear, by attacking civilians and/or symbolic targets. The notion of symbolic targets is a problem because in most cases innocent non-targets too suffer, a good example being the innocent civilians who died in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998. Terrorist attacks are done by design, like the attack on the twin towers in New York. The violence is done for purposes such as drawing widespread attention to a grievance, provoking a severe response, or wearing down their opponents' moral resolve, to effect political change. It is an irrational use of violence. Some individuals or leaders or even groups in society become possessed by fanatical hatred or desire for vengeance that they create mass terror by acts of genocide and massacre like it was the case in

²⁰¹Wilkinson Paul, *Political Terrorism* (London: MacMillan, 1974), p. 12.

Rwanda in 1994. It has been argued that determining when the use of violence is legitimate, which is based on the contextual morality of the act as opposed to its effects, is the source for disagreement over what constitutes acts of terrorism.²⁰² In this case, terrorism may appear to be functionally desirable if not essential depending on one's perspective. A good example is the conflict that has persisted between Israeli Defense Force, IDF, and the Palestinian insurgents, where each side blames the other for terrorism. It therefore implies that terrorism is subjective and lies in the mind of the beholder. This also implies that there could be different forms of terrorism.²⁰³ It is not our concern here to try and analyse what forms of terrorism there may be. This section is concerned with the impacts of terrorist acts on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. These acts had certain characteristics which have been associated with terrorist acts.

A major characteristic of terrorism is its indiscriminate nature. Sometimes, terrorists have a specific target; an individual, a collective group of people or even a physical feature like a building or a bridge, and other forms of targets such as vessels sailing in the seas, trains, buses and aeroplanes. But in most cases, acts of terrorism cause harm to unintended 'targets' - persons and property that were not targets. According to Raymond Aaron, an action is labelled 'terrorist' when its effects (especially psychological) are out of proportion to its physical result.²⁰⁴ That the effects of a terrorist act go beyond the harm caused to the intended target. The indiscriminate nature of terrorism helps to spread fear, for if no one in particular is a target, (then) no one can be safe.²⁰⁵ All individuals, men, women, and children regardless of their role in society are potential victims. Terrorists also disregard the rules and conventions of war so that non-

²⁰²James D. Kiras, "Terrorism and Globalization," in John Baylis and, Steve Smith (Ed.), *The Globalization of World Politics. An introduction to International Relations*, 3rd ed., (New York: Oxford University press, 2001), p. 492.

²⁰³Wilkinson Paul identifies Psychic and political terror. *Op. Cit*, pp. 11-12.

²⁰⁴Raymond Aaron, *Peace and War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 170.

²⁰⁵*Ibid*.

combatants, hostages, prisoners-of-war, journalists and civilians (neutral) have no inviolable rights before terrorists.

The second major characteristic of acts of terror is that they appear unpredictable and arbitrary to the society which experiences them. This is what makes the war on terrorism a tricky affair. The potential victim of a terrorist act is unable to do anything to avoid his destruction because the terrorist operates and judges on the basis of his own idiosyncratic code of norms and values. It is hard to predict the next target of a suicide bomber, unless one gets into the mind of the bomber.

Terrorism is also extremely ruthless and destructive. In most cases, terrorists arm themselves adequately with the most destructive weapons they can afford so as to check possible resistance. In the 21st Century, the terrorists are capable of accessing the most sophisticated weapons including chemical and biological weapons. This makes terrorism to be closely linked to war.

An act of terror clearly displays features of amorality and anomie.²⁰⁶ It is (almost) always carried out by indoctrinated individuals who rejoice in and glorify such murderous acts. Terrorists either profess indifference to existing moral codes or else claim exemption from all such obligations. They sacrifice all moral and humanitarian considerations for the sake of some political end. Their ideologies assume that the death and suffering of the innocent public are means entirely justified by their political ends. To a terrorist therefore, Judaeo-Christian notions such as mercy, compassion, and conscience are signs of weakness which must never be entertained.

From the above characteristics, it can be said that terrorism is a sustained policy involving the waging of organized terror on the part of a movement, faction or a small

²⁰⁶ A condition of normlessness, a term first introduced by Emile Durkheim in his 1897 classic, *Suicide* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1951).

group of individuals. It is now important to analyze the acts of terrorism that have been visited upon Kenya and/or those that affected Kenya as an unintended target.

3.3.4.2 The 1976 Entebbe Raid

The July 4th, 1976 Entebbe Airport raid was a culmination of a hijack situation that had lasted several days. The ordeal started on Sunday, June 27th in the Greek airspace. A group of guerrillas thought to have been pro-Palestinians hijacked Air France airbus, carrying twelve crew members and two hundred and fifty six passengers, travelling from Tel Aviv to Paris.²⁰⁷ Initially, the hijackers forced the pilot to fly the plane to Benghazi in Libya but on Monday June 28, it flew to Entebbe in Uganda.

Kenya came into the picture when on Tuesday June 29th, the Uganda radio announced that the hijackers represented the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P F L P) and that they were demanding the release of fifty three Palestinians from jails in Israel, Kenya and some other countries in Europe.²⁰⁸

In Uganda, it was expected that Idi Amin, the country's President would help to negotiate with the hijackers. There were several reasons for this expectation. One, Amin was in fairly good terms with most Arab states and had always, like most African countries including Kenya, supported the Palestinian course in the Middle East conflict.²⁰⁹ In 1974, Amin was credited with the successful negotiation with two Ethiopians who had hijacked an internal flight between Nairobi and Malindi. However, the timing of the hijack made it tricky for Amin. Days earlier, there had been an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Amin's life, an attempt blamed on Zionists and imperialists based in Kenya.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷*The Weekly Review*, July 12 1976, p. 41

²⁰⁸Forty of the prisoners were thought to be in Israeli jails, six in the then West Germany, five in Kenya, and one each in Switzerland and France.

²⁰⁹In 1973 during the Yom Kippur War, Amin sent a token Military force to fight alongside Arab forces.

²¹⁰*The Weekly Review*, July 5 1976, p. 3.

Despite this difficulty, Amin managed to convince the terrorists to free forty seven women, children and other passengers who were in poor health.

The hostage situation meant that four governments; Kenyan, Israeli, French and West German, had to consult on how to deal with the hijackers' demands. Israel had more than eighty nationals aboard yet the Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, was bound by the policy of non-negotiation with terrorists. France, through Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues, described the hijackers' demands as inadmissible.²¹¹ West Germany and Switzerland had no nationals in the plane and their stance could be influenced by what Israel and France would choose to do.

Kenya found itself in a tricky position. A choice had to be made either to support Israel and France or maintain good neighbourliness with Uganda and enhance regional/East African harmony. Kenya chose to deny the presence of any Palestinians in its jails. The government also invited observers to come and verify the case. A government spokesman said that the claim of five Palestinians held in Nairobi was made by Idi Amin out of ill will.²¹²

The hijack situation also happened at a time when Kenya's relations with Uganda were not good. Since February 1976, Amin had made claims that Palestinian freedom fighters were arrested in Kenya in January and that they subsequently disappeared. A war of words had started earlier on when Amin claimed some parts of Western Kenya. It is clear that Amin wanted to get back in to the good books of Arab states by pressurizing Kenya, an Israeli ally and making Kenya pay for its support to the Western states, Israel and France. It was no surprise that the hijackers issued an ultimatum warning the Kenyan

²¹¹Ibid., p. 4.

²¹²There was doubt about the names of the prisoners claimed to have been held in Nairobi. Observers reported that while the list of prisoners in Israel, W. Germany, France and Switzerland was detailed as to the names, that pertaining to Kenya had only surnames or first names for three of the five Palestinians thought to be in Kenya. This suggested that the list did not come from the hijackers but from Amin.

government of reprisals from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, P F L P, all over the world.

Although Israeli commandos rescued almost all the hostages,²¹³ the aftermath of the episode left Kenya in a sour relation with its neighbouring states. The first issue that came up was that while flying from Israel to Entebbe, three, C- 130 Hercules transport planes with a combined force of Israeli paratroopers and infantry men over flew Kenya (also Sudan and Ethiopia). Kenya claimed that this was done without any permission.²¹⁴ This explanation was not satisfactory to Uganda, Tanzania and even Somalia. These neighbouring countries have viewed Kenya suspiciously ever since.

The second issue was that an hour after leaving Entebbe Airport, the three Hercules landed at Nairobi. The Kenya government did not say for what purpose the planes landed but most likely two reasons could have necessitated this; refuelling and emergency medical service for Israeli wounded soldiers. This means that Kenya gave full support to the rescue mission although the government denied any link to the whole process. The operation of that magnitude could not have been carried out without Kenyan support and involvement. Indeed, a rear base for the operation was established in Nairobi.²¹⁵ It is clear that Kenya denied formally what was seen as an unacceptable policy and yet sanctioned it from the backstage.²¹⁶ Towards Israel, Kenya's pronouncements and behaviour have consistently been contradictory.

²¹³The chronology of the hijack and subsequent rescue has been documented. *The Weekly Review*, July 12, 1976, p. 4. Also; Okoth, P. G., "The Foreign Policy of Uganda Since Independence Toward Kenya and Tanzania" in Oyugi, W. O. (Ed.), *Op Cit.*, pp. 370-371.

Okoth, P.G., "Uganda's Foreign Policy During the Amin Era, 1971-1979" in *African Review of Foreign Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 2000, p. 12.

Gordon Thomas, *Gideon's Spies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 149-152.

²¹⁴*The Weekly Review*, July 12, 1976, p. 4.

²¹⁵ Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66.

²¹⁶*The Weekly Review*, *Op. Cit.*

Among the other African countries and especially Uganda, Kenya was perceived as an accomplice to the Israel raid. While Israel got appreciation and admiration from Western States, the Arab and Afro-Asian world condemned the raid as a violation of Uganda's territorial integrity and as a manifestation of Israel's disregard for human life.

Kenya made the choice to support Israel fully aware that its position in the East African region was not very strong. There was the ideological complexity of the Tanzanian and Somali regimes and also the military balance²¹⁷ in the region at that time. Kenya found itself in the midst of potential danger and its national interest could be served by international support that was expected to follow in the later years from France, Israel, Germany and other Western powers.

The Entebbe raid generated much heat which forced the government to release a statement to declare its stand towards Israel *vis-à-vis* Arab states and Palestine. In the statement, Dr. Muniya Waiyaki, the then Foreign Affairs Minister said that Kenya needed friends.²¹⁸

“Kenya does not live in isolation. It is a part of the international community and must live in harmony and cooperation with the other members of the community if our economic priorities and objectives are not to be jeopardized.” In essence, the Minister was emphasizing the fact that Kenya's economic interests are well served by the Western countries and that explains why the country played alongside Israel and France in the Entebbe raid saga. On the thorny Palestinian issue, Kenya was at a crossroads. All along, Kenya has supported the Palestinians and even called upon Israel to pull out from ‘occupied’ lands in accordance with the UN resolutions. Kenya's position was in line with that of the UN and OAU because of a moral responsibility. Most

²¹⁷For Military strengths of the region at that time see the data by International Institute for Strategic Studies, in *Weekly Review*, July 12 1976, p. 5.

²¹⁸ *Weekly Review*, September 27 1976, p. 3.

of the OAU members suffered under colonialism and domination by foreign powers. For that reason, Kenya had a moral responsibility to be concerned with the plight of others in similar situations. The Minister said;

“The support given to the Palestinians by the government of Kenya... is based on principle. This support has long been there before the events of 1973.”²¹⁹

The Minister just fell short of saying that Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel was not based on the Palestinian issue. This is an issue that affects the whole world and should be addressed by the whole world and Kenya is part of the world. The Minister added;

“The conflict in that area is not as local as it seems. It is not a question of a quarrel between the Arabs and Israel. It is a matter of great concern to the international community including Africa. It involves a well established principle in international law and practice- the inadmissibility to acquire territory by use of force of arms. Kenya and the whole of Africa cannot stand by when such a fundamental principle is violated with impunity be it by Israel or any other state.”²²⁰

This statement also meant that Kenya did not support Palestine as a result of promises of aid made by the Arab States. It was out of principle. It was also out of principle that Kenya severed diplomatic relations with Israel.

“Kenya and majority of O A U members severed diplomatic relations with Israel not because they were promised aid and cheap oil by the Arabs but because of the refusal by Israel to return the Arab lands they captured during their wars. This is a clear violation of the charters of the O A U and the UN.”²²¹

²¹⁹Ibid.

²²⁰Ibid.

²²¹Ibid., p. 4.

Despite the harsh statements, Israel remained a significant partner and a true friend that hardly applies double standards in dealing with Kenya. Unlike other Western countries that deny military and economic assistance to countries that do not bow to their orders, Israel has remained a genuine friend to Kenya. According to an informant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:²²²

“When contrasted with other bilateral partners, Israeli assistance does not come with strings attached. This makes it attractive to relate with at all times.”

Although this may seem to be the case, Israeli leadership believes that their assistance to countries like Kenya is not for free.²²³ The assistance provides a political rather than economic advantage to Israel which seeks more reliable friends that can be called upon in times of need. Kenya’s vote at the UN General Assembly, where Israel faces a large hostile voting bloc from the Arab and Muslim states, is a significant support that Israel would like to safeguard. Although Israelis are treated as Zionist terrorists and imperialists by some African states, Kenya has not employed these terms in describing Israel.

The aftermath of the Entebbe raid left Kenya in very bad relations with her immediate neighbours. While Kenya decided to deal with these neighbours (especially Uganda) silently without invoking any help from Israel, Uganda on its part openly sought Arab nations’ assistance.²²⁴ Kenya did not try to attribute the poor relations with Uganda to the hijacking that culminated in the Entebbe raid. The government statement was phrased to absolve Israel from any blame in the sour relations between Kenya and Uganda:

²²²Interview: Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Middle East Division, Kenya.

²²³ See Golda Meir’s Speech to the Knesset, 24 October (Jerusalem: Government Press Office, 1960).

²²⁴*The Weekly Review*, August 2 1976, p. 5.

“The sinister designs of Uganda against Kenya were not born out of the events of Entebbe or the hijacked plane. The Uganda authorities were utilizing the events to try and justify their premeditated aggression against Kenya.”²²⁵

To Somalia, Kenya became a neighbour to be treated with suspicion. The then Somalia’s President Major General Mohammed Siad Barre, called Israel a menace and a serious threat to international peace and security. This meant that Kenya was equally a threat to the security of the region and had to be treated as such. Kenya was on the verge of isolation in the region. This situation however, did not affect the relationship between Kenya and Israel and did not affect Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel. The finality with which the Kenya government denied the accusations levelled against it by the neighbouring countries in East Africa served as a pointer that despite all, its foreign policy towards Israel was not subject to external interference.

“We did not, directly or indirectly take part in the Israeli operations at Entebbe on July 3/4, 1976. Our action in allowing the Israelis to land at Nairobi after the operation was purely on humanitarian grounds.”²²⁶

As much as Kenya distanced itself from the rescue mission, it can be concluded that prior arrangement had been made to facilitate safe passage and use of Kenya’s facilities in the event of security/military contingencies, emphasising the contradiction between rhetoric and practice in Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel.

3.3.4.3 Norfolk Hotel Bombing

This bombing happened on the New Year’s Eve (31st December 1980).²²⁷ The cause of the explosion which claimed eighteen lives was not clear for quite sometime,

²²⁵Ibid., p. 8.

²²⁶Ibid., p. 9.

²²⁷*Daily Nation*, January 2 1981, p. 1.

though foreign link was not ruled out since most of the residents targeted were foreigners. The Norfolk Hotel was formally opened on Christmas Day in 1904 and bought in 1927 by Abraham Block, an Israeli national. The hotel has been under the Block lineage and at the time of the bombing, was run by his two sons.

The real target of this attack was not Kenya. The bomber had an interest in the foreigners who gathered for a New Year's Eve buffet dinner in the Eland dining room. Kenyans who got injured or lost their lives were unfortunate victims; terrorism is indiscriminate. Acts of terrorism kill and injure unintended persons.²²⁸

Because there was no particular suspect, president Moi's message lacked direction and finality that would have been expected. It was an empty statement;

"I am shocked that there has been a bomb explosion... at the Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi... Let each one make effort so we can jointly strive to eliminate all sorts of evils so that our country shall remain in peace."²²⁹

It was not enough for the president to deliver such a statement when there was need for a more direct action so as to stem the cause of the problem. It was a general statement that was not directed to any one in particular. President Moi did not want to insinuate the link between the terrorist act and the presence of Israeli interest in the Norfolk Hotel.

A suspect in the bombing was traced to areas said to be favoured by international terrorists (Middle East and some parts of Europe). A report from Beirut showed that the Palestine Liberation Organization denied responsibility for the bomb explosion. The suspect was named as Muhammad Akila, who held five different passports.²³⁰ It was also suspected that Italian Red Brigades terrorists could have taken part. This was because the

²²⁸ Among the casualties were fourteen Kenyans, eight Britons, nine Americans, three Belgians, two Germans, two Italians, one Austrian, two French and two Zambians.

²²⁹ *Daily Nation*, January 2 1981, p. 1.

²³⁰ *Daily Nation*, January 5 1981, p.1.

owner of the Italian motor company, Fiat, Mr. Giovanni Agnelli was booked in the Norfolk Hotel just before the Christmas Holidays.²³¹ His family had been a major target of the Mafia and it was thought they (Red Brigades) were trying to kill the Fiat President.

Middle East diplomatic sources said that the bombing was instigated by the German and the Palestinian terrorists. The bombing was carried out after Israel had released two West German terrorists who returned to West Germany on 23rd December. The two Germans had been convicted by the Israeli court for attempting to shoot down an El Al plane in Nairobi in 1976.²³² The two Germans denied the accusations. The P L O representative in Nairobi to the U N E P also denounced the Norfolk bombing as a criminal and inhuman act.²³³ It later emerged that the bomber was a Moroccan with Palestinian ties. He had worked with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and his 'real' names were Qaddura Mohammed Abd-el-Hamid.

Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was again on the verge of being tested. While Kenya was sympathetic to the Palestinian course, innocent lives and property were being destroyed by groups that claim to be Palestinian sympathisers. The government statement was as earlier, indifferent:

“...He (The bomber) is known to have joined the Al-Fatah group..., the P F L P, and was sent on a mission to Europe in 1973 by P F L P. The Kenya government strongly condemns his barbaric act.”²³⁴

This statement lacked direction and the desired force. It condemned the bomber and failed to address the real cause of the barbaric acts - the ties between Kenya and P L O on the one hand and between Kenya and Israel on the other in addition to Kenya's position

²³¹Ibid., p. 5.

²³²Ibid.

²³³Ibid.

²³⁴*Daily Nation*, Thursday January 8 1981, p. 1.

on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Even when the government statement went closer to the issue, one could still see the wide gap left between the government policy and the root cause of the problem:

“The stand of the Kenyan government against international terrorism is well known. The government reiterates that it will never condone or support any acts of terrorism as a means of solving any type of conflict, international or otherwise. The Kenyan government therefore appeals to the international community to equally condemn all forms of terrorism and take appropriate measures to eradicate the menace.”²³⁵

This was an indifferent statement. Kenya, having suffered the atrocities of the barbaric acts should have issued a more terse statement that would have served as a warning to would be perpetrators that Kenya is not an avenue for settling political disputes.

The fact that the Norfolk Hotel was re-opened soon after the rabble had just been cleared at the scene, underlies the strong relations between Kenya and Israel. In such situations, investigations would require that the scene be secured and any business stopped for a period of time as a security precaution. This also explains why it is our argument here that terrorism has done very little to interfere or significantly affect Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel.

3.3.4.4 Nairobi US Embassy Bombing

This bomb blast occurred on Friday, August 7th 1998, at 10:40 a.m.²³⁶ A similar attack occurred near the US Embassy in Dar es salaam, Tanzania. The Nairobi blast killed 254 people, injured over 5000, flattened a four-storey building, and extensively damaged a twenty-two storey Co-operative House and the Kenya Railways Headquarters.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 5.

²³⁶*East African Standard*, Saturday August 8, 1998, p. 2

Many buildings about a kilometre away had their windows shattered. Among the injured were the then American Ambassador to Kenya, Prudence Bushnell and the then Trade Minister Joseph Kamotho.

Initial rescue efforts were co-ordinated by the Kenya army, the Kenya police, St. John's Ambulance and the public. It was apparent that the target of the attack was the US Embassy, an indicator that the terrorists were foreigners. President Moi confirmed this at the scene of the blast when he said that Kenya was not at war with any country. He wondered why the country should be destroyed by outsiders.²³⁷ The external involvement was also hinted by the US Chairman of the House International Relations Committee who said that there had been no evidence of dissent by local (Kenyan) groups. He added that US relations with Kenya and Tanzania were good.²³⁸

At the bomb blast scene, rescue volunteers and the public expressed disappointment with the US embassy personnel who were accused of being only interested in protecting their damaged embassy.²³⁹ The then leader of official opposition in Kenya, Mr. Mwai Kibaki, (who became Kenya's third President in December 2002) urged the government to call for more international assistance to help in the rescue and also in establishing the motive and those behind the attack.²⁴⁰ The leader of government business in parliament, Mr. Musalia Mudavadi, described the bomb attack as a clear act of terrorism which should not be allowed to take root in Kenya.²⁴¹

Although no group claimed any responsibility, Egypt's banned Jihad group had earlier warned USA and Israel to expect a holy war²⁴² and was, thus, a prime suspect. By

²³⁷Ibid., p. 3.

²³⁸Ibid., p. 9.

²³⁹The US rescue team was equally criticized for what was seen to be discriminating assistance.

²⁴⁰ *East Africa Standard*, Saturday August 8 1998, p. 4.

²⁴¹Ibid.

²⁴²Ibid.

attacking American interests anywhere in the world, the terrorist groups were sending a message to other friendly states to the USA that they were at equal risk of terrorist attack.

As Kenya struggled with the rescue effort, the Israeli rescue team arrived on Saturday August 8th, and, supported by heavy equipment supplied by private Israeli companies working in Kenya, commenced rescue operations immediately saving a mother and a son trapped on the 22nd floor of the Co-operative House for more than 36 hours.²⁴³ The Office of the President reported that rescue operations were boosted by International Military teams from Israel and the USA. Other countries that assisted in different ways were France, Canada, South Africa and Britain.

The Israeli rescue team was seen as more focused, determined, serious and human in their work than their American counterparts. After rescuing a victim,²⁴⁴ a Mr. Ng'ang'a, the Israeli ambassador, Mr. Zipori Menase, together with an Israeli soldier, Gil Weiner, made a visit to the hospital where the victim was admitted. On behalf of all Kenyans, Lang'ata Member of Parliament, Raila Odinga, who was at the hospital, commended the Israeli soldier for his successful efforts of rescuing Mr. Ng'ang'a.²⁴⁵

The behaviour of the marines at the scene may have contributed to the call for faster relocation of the US embassy from the city centre.²⁴⁶ The then Minister of State in the Office of the President, Major (rtd.) Marsden Madoka said the government may relocate the embassy to a less populated area. This was in response to a proposal by University of Nairobi students at the scene of the attack who suggested that the embassy be relocated outside the city. This was mainly because the US embassy was seen as the

²⁴³*East African Standard*, Monday, August 10 1998, p. 1.

²⁴⁴This man, Gaitara Ng'ang'a, a manager at the Co-operative Bank was the first survivor saved by the Israeli team.

²⁴⁵The story of this rescue can be found in the *East African Standard*, Wednesday, August 12 1998, p.14.

²⁴⁶*East African Standard*, Monday, August 10 1998, p.3.

target of international terrorism and a risk to innocent Kenyans.²⁴⁷ Little was said about the Israeli interests (the embassy along Bishop Road, the Jewish Community Centre, the Vermont Memorial Hall and the Synagogue off University Way) in the city.

The role that the Israeli rescue team played was recognized and appreciated by all. Even the US rescue team allowed the Israeli troops to lead the rescue operations. Speaking to journalists outside the US embassy in Nairobi, the head of the US team, Captain Mike Reilly, said that they did not want to bring conflicts in the rescue operations, and that was why they resolved to let the Israelis take charge.

The Americans were further perceived negatively after the US State Department issued a travel advisory to its citizens against travelling to Kenya following the bombing.²⁴⁸ While this terrorist act negatively affected Kenyans' attitude towards the US, it strengthened that towards Israel. As much as Israel was part of the cause of the whole problem (terrorism), the country was not to be blamed. Expressing outrage at the scale of brutality, President Moi posed;

“Why should they target Kenyans? Kenyans have always lived in peace.”²⁴⁹

This sentiment was also echoed by an Israeli Rabbi, Shalom Tsadok and an Israeli tourist, Rachel Levy. The two saw the bombing as a result of diabolic hate. Kenya, they said, had done nothing to deserve the attack. The Rabbi compared Kenyans to Israelis who are peaceful but hated by others.²⁵⁰

Other Kenyans called for foreign Islamic missions to do more to assist Kenya especially during rescue operations. This was because the attackers were viewed to have used the Islamic slogan as a shield to kill innocent people. This again points to the

²⁴⁷The Embassy was temporarily relocated to USAID offices in Parklands, outside the city and then later moved permanently about ten kilometres from the city centre along Mombasa Road.

²⁴⁸In an effort to salvage their waning dignity the US government travel warning was withdrawn on the 14th August, 1998. However, the damage had already been done.

²⁴⁹*East African Standard*, Monday August 10, 1998, p. 4.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 5.

foreign link to terrorism - USA, Israel and Arab. For instance, those who drove the bomb to the US embassy building were described as 'Arab looking men'.²⁵¹ Their main target was the USA embassy, possibly because of the US Middle East policy of supporting Israel against the Arabs. This line of thought is clearly enhanced by the statement attributed to the Jamia Mosque Imam (Sheikh Abdi Nassir) who said that individual Arabs with grudges against USA and Israel should not use Islam to terrorise mankind.²⁵²

The act of terrorism did little damage to the relations between Kenya and Israel. If anything, it served as an avenue for the president to express Kenya's posture towards Israel. Bidding farewell to the Israeli rescue team, President Moi, on behalf of the government and the people of Kenya, expressed deep appreciation for the speedy response by the government of Israel at that time of need. He conveyed his gratitude to Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, saying the support from Israel demonstrated the true friendship existing between Kenya and Israel.²⁵³

3.3.4.5 Kikambala Paradise Hotel Bombing

Paradise Hotel, situated thirty Kilometres from Mombasa Town, was a target of terrorist bombing on 28th November, 2002. It was owned by an Israeli businessman, Mr. Itzhak Mamam. Like many other Israeli-owned hotels, its patrons were mostly Israelis. Built in 1997, it started its operations in the year 2000.

Twelve people died after three suicide bombers hit the hotel. Earlier on, two shoulder-launched missiles had been fired at an Israeli charter jet which had just taken off from Mombasa airport. It had 271 passengers and crew aboard.²⁵⁴ It was a pre-arranged attack on Israeli targets at the coast. Nine Kenyan workers, three Israelis and the terrorists

²⁵¹ *East African Standard*, Tuesday, August 11, 1998, p. 1.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵³ *East African Standard*, Friday, August 14, 1998, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ *Daily Nation*, Nairobi, Friday, November 29, 2002, p. 1.

died. A group called the Army of Palestine believed to be part of Al Qaeda, claimed responsibility for the attack. The synchronicity of the attacks suggested Al Qaeda involvement. In the 1998 US embassy bombing and also in 2001 New York bombing, this aspect (synchronicity) was evident. This has been identified as an aspect of Al Qaeda strategy.²⁵⁵

This attack was aimed at focusing attention on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Both Israeli and Kenyan officials blamed Al Qaeda for the failed missile attack on the airliner and the suicide bombing of the hotel.²⁵⁶ The way it was co-ordinated and executed meant that it was done by an organized network. No other network other than Al Qaeda could do this. The then Kenya's Vice President, Musalia Mudavadi without hesitation attributed the bombing to the Al Qaeda group.²⁵⁷

Kenya's ambassador to Israel said that there was no doubt as to who was behind the attack. Kenya, he said, had no domestic problems, no terrorism, and had no problems with the neighbours. Al Qaeda was the main suspect. This was supported by the then Israeli Foreign Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. A close aide to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said that Al Qaeda's past activities in East Africa and the manner of attacks pointed to the group which carried out almost simultaneous bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

To further show the closeness of the two countries (Kenya and Israel) after this terrorist attack, the government statement issued by the Vice President was sympathetic to Israel and chose not to blame it (Israel). It said;²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵Magnus Ranstorp, a terrorism expert at St. Andrew's University in Scotland. See *Daily Nation*, Monday, December 2, 2002

²⁵⁶The attack occurred at exactly 8.15a.m. on Thursday when three suicide bombers rammed their Pajero through a security barrier at the Paradise Hotel at Kikambala on the North Coast, which was at that time packed with guests from Israel. Seconds later, a light aircraft dropped small bombs on the hotel reducing it to rubble. Almost at the same time, missiles were fired at an Israeli charter plane, but missed.

²⁵⁷*Daily Nation*, Friday, November 29, 2002, p. 3.

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*

“The government would like to make it clear that this was an act of international terrorism, targeting Israeli interests.”

The statement added that the security of Kenyans and all visitors (Israeli) was assured, and that surveillance had been extended to the Kenyan borders and all entry points.

Despite the fact that the hotel was foreign-owned, President Moi (Kenya) spoke of it as if it was Kenyan. In his first reaction to the news while in Uganda, he said;²⁵⁹

“I have learnt this morning about the terrorist attacks against one of our hotels in Mombasa. Anybody doing that kind of a thing does not represent the feelings of the people of East Africa and will be fought. Kenya will fight these terrorists.”

This hotel is owned by a consortium of Israeli, American and European investors; Moi wanted to identify with the Israeli element in the ownership. Israel and Kenya have had good relations and the bombing of the hotel did not create a dent in the ties. After the bomb, the Israeli ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Yaacov Amitai, spoke of the need to keep the partnership on course. He emphasised that Israeli activities in Kenya will continue; tourists from Israel would be encouraged to visit Kenya, agriculture and health programmes would also continue.²⁶⁰ This supports the argument that terrorist activities, specifically those targeting Israeli interests in Kenya, would not and have not stopped Kenya-Israeli involvement that began before 1963.²⁶¹

It is apparent that Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel has been that of inclusion, coalition and genuine friendship. In fact the relations between the two countries have remained cordial despite the diplomatic rapture of 1973 to 1987, and the

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁶⁰ *Sunday Nation*, December 8, 2002, p. 2.

²⁶¹ The Israeli Embassy in Nairobi caters for the entire East African region, including Uganda, Tanzania, Seychelles, Madagascar, Mauritius, UNEP, and the HABITAT. Again, the Israeli National Airways, El AL flies to Nairobi weekly. The Arkia Airways brings tourists to Kenya regularly on chartered flights. Cargo freight from Nairobi comprises flowers for export to Europe via Israel among other products. Kenya and Israel are among the top flower exporting countries worldwide.

terrorist acts of 1980, 1998 and 2002. Trade relations and tourism have not been affected; the Israeli embassy has not been moved out of the city like they did the US Embassy. Instead, extra security by the General Service Unit (G S U) has been provided.

The terrorist acts offered a new opportunity for Kenya and Israel to prove their true friendship. Following the 1998 attack, MASHAV stepped up its training efforts in the field of medicine to cover issues like disaster management and emergency medicine. These efforts have seen the life-saving skills of Kenyan doctors and nurses improved over the years using new and innovative methods. After the 2002 Kikambala attack, Kenya and Israel again proved that the bonds between them were still strong as cooperative efforts in the field of security and especially on preventing terrorism was improved.²⁶²

3.4 Conclusion

Kenya is a member of the international community and its foreign policy has been more than once affected by systemic factors and actors. These factors and actors have not affected Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

Although Israel was a creation of the UN, it has been found out in this chapter that most of the UN resolutions have been unacceptable to the state of Israel. Kenya on the other hand has followed a policy of supporting these resolutions, making its foreign policy towards Israel 'indifferent'. The global war on international terrorism on the other hand has made Kenya to take a stand that has created a conflict with Muslims in the country and also with those Islamic states which view Kenya as representing Western interests in the region. Towards Israel, though, terrorism has not achieved the objective intended by the perpetrators, to make Kenya reconsider its relations with the Jewish state and its closest supporter, the USA.

²⁶²Israeli Diplomatic Network, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

As a consequence of the terrorist acts, Kenya has received assistance, meant to address the insecurity problem, from not only Israel but also Israel's greatest supporter, the USA. This has maintained Kenya within the Anglo-American circle of friends through which Kenya's security expertise and capacity in counter terrorism have been increased. It is fair to argue here that external variables have been insignificant in conditioning Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. The terrorist bombings that Kenya has suffered as a result of foreign interests have not succeeded in affecting Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF KENYA'S

FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL

4.1 Introduction

Kenya, like any other sovereign state, pursues its external goals and interests through its foreign policy. Foreign policy denotes statements, intentions and actions of a state towards other states and /or other international actors.²⁶³ It is the course taken by the state in conducting its relations with other states²⁶⁴ and /or other international actors. It defines the state's attitude or behaviour towards other actors and it comprises a set of means by which state objectives are achieved.

To understand Kenya's actions, attitudes and behaviour towards Israel, it is necessary to examine issues of economic cooperation, military interactions, socio-cultural relations, security and stability. These issues emerge from both the internal and the external environments-domestic and international environment. In the previous chapter we discussed the external factors in Kenya's foreign policy. We now turn to the domestic factors. According to Kissinger, foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends.²⁶⁵

In discussing Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi's reign, Orwa Katete says that the variables which affect Kenya's foreign policy are largely national and

²⁶³Deborah, J. Gerner, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Renaissance, Routine, Or Rubbish?", in William Crotty, (Ed.), *Political Science: Looking to the Future, Volume 2: Comparative Politics, Policy and International Relations* (Illinois: North Western University Press, 1991), p. 126.

²⁶⁴Okoth, P. G., "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy", *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs*, Volume 16, Nos. 1 and 2, 1990 /91.

²⁶⁵Henry Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy" in Wolfram, F. Hanrieder, *Comparative Foreign Policy. Theoretical Essays* (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1971,) p. 22.

systemic.²⁶⁶ The national variables are: national security, territorial integrity, economic and geopolitical factors.

Kenya's aim is to preserve and maintain its position in the region as well as in the globe so as to attain national aspirations. The major aim of this chapter is to find out how domestic factors have impacted on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. This chapter aims at testing two hypotheses: (1) that Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is informed by social and economic factors, (2) that Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel has been influenced by political and geo-strategic factors.

4.2 Domestic Determinants of Kenya's Foreign Policy

It is hard to differentiate foreign policy from public/domestic policy. This is because the domestic issues are the motives behind a state's external actions and behaviour. It deals both with domestic and international political arena.²⁶⁷ In the study of foreign policy, several levels-individual, state, systemic among others - are analysed and an attempt is made to integrate them into a coherent whole. James Rosenau calls it a 'bridging discipline' with 'limitless boundaries' as it deals with the continuing erosion of the distinction between domestic and foreign issues, between socio-political and economic process that unfolds at home and those that transpire abroad.²⁶⁸

After independence, Kenyan nationalism placed a high value on political independence. This sought to maintain the country free from foreign political control. This is why the country chose to pursue a policy of nonalignment and to guard against falling under the dominance of any major world power. This desire to remain free of

²⁶⁶Orwa D. Katete, "Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi." in Oyugi, W. O., *Op. Cit.*, p. 302.

²⁶⁷Foreign policy is an externalized public policy because national interest is public interest. Whatever the government does outside is with the aim of internal/ domestic situation which has a great influence on foreign policy.

²⁶⁸Rosenau, J. N., "Toward single country Theories of Foreign Policy: The case of the USSR", in Hermann, C. F., *et al*, (Ed.), *New Directions in the study of Foreign Policy* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987), pp. 1-3.

foreign control played and continues to play a major role in Kenya's foreign policy. President Kenyatta summarized this in his address to the KANU Party Conference in March 1966.²⁶⁹

“We live in a cruel and fast world .We need to be sure of ourselves and to stand firm in our convictions if our independence is to survive. Too many people or countries try to woo us one way or the other. We must be careful lest our independence is undermined through neo-colonialism....”

However, the kind of economy after independence demanded that external relations be diversified for the benefit of the country. The country's economic base is agriculture-tea, coffee, horticulture, wheat, rice, maize, sisal, pineapples, pyrethrum, dairy products and hides/skins. The economy also relies on tourism and to a little extent on industry (petroleum products, sugar milling, cement, beer, soft drinks, textiles, vehicle assembly and paper). Kenya's economy has been performing poorly over the years largely due to inappropriate agricultural, land, and industrial policies compounded by poor international terms of trade and stringent conditions from bilateral and multilateral partners/donors. Kenya's foreign policy towards these external donors/partners has been geared towards the stabilization of the economy and restoration of sustainable growth.

4.2.1 Kenya's Economy and its Foreign Policy towards Israel

Kenya's economy at independence and the economic system that the ruling elite opted for was an economy dominated by foreign capital. The economy relied on export of coffee and tea, the two items which provided most of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Kenya's foreign policy since independence has outlined economic development as one of the main objectives. The flow of foreign private capital and increased

²⁶⁹Irving Kaplan, *et al*, *Area Handbook for Kenya* (Washington, DC: 1967), p. 416.

borrowing from foreign and international institutions required the adoption of a pragmatic and conservative approach to foreign policy.²⁷⁰

Kenya's economy at independence also included a highly developed commercial production of an increasingly diversified range of agricultural products. Production for domestic consumption centred on cereals such as maize, wheat, rice, and livestock. To a lesser extent, sugar, rice and cotton were also produced. Major agricultural exports have been coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal and flowers. Agriculture has been the largest sector of Kenya's economy. By 1964, just a year after independence, its annual contribution to the Gross Domestic Product averaged about 40%. Wholesale and retail trade was the second largest, making up to nearly 13%, industry and governmental services contributed roughly 11% each. Other contributions to G D P came from construction, transport, communication, banking, insurance, real estate and rents; which made about 25%.

The table below shows the importance of agriculture to the economy of the country immediately after independence. Although other aspects of the economy existed, it is clear that agriculture was the most important contribution to the G D P at that time.

TABLE 4.1 GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT OF KENYA, 1962-1964.

²⁷⁰*Sessional Paper* No.10 of 1965, p. 9.

| | 1962 | | 1964 | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|--------|---------|
| | Amount ²⁷¹ | Percent | Amount | Percent |
| Marketed agricultural production. | 39.86 | 16.3 | 48.42 | 17.4 |
| Subsistence agriculture | 63.22 | 25.9 | 68.49 | 24.7 |
| Industry | 27.16 | 11.1 | 31.12 | 11.2 |
| Construction | 6.76 | 2.8 | 4.28 | 1.5 |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 30.06 | 12.3 | 35.16 | 12.7 |
| Services | 48.91 | 20.0 | 57.24 | 20.6 |
| Government | 28.12 | 11.5 | 32.99 | 11.9 |
| Total | 244.09 | 99.9 | 277.70 | 100.0 |

Source: Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Statistics Division, *Statistical Abstract*, 1965, pp. 99-100.

From this table, we can argue that there was going to be a heavy reliance on foreign economic assistance for development purposes. The country was going to turn to the developed nations for economic assistance so as to improve the domestic economic situation. Agriculture would definitely be a priority sector for the policy makers.

4.2.1.1 Agriculture

Kenya's economic well-being has been and still is tightly bound up with agriculture. Majority of Kenyan citizens draw their livelihoods from land, either through farming or livestock keeping. Since independence, agriculture has continued to be the country's most vital asset and the primary economic concern. It supports the livelihood of over 75 per cent²⁷² of the population and many more find employment in activities closely linked to the use of land for agricultural purposes. Agriculture is also the largest single earner of foreign exchange, accounting for over 80 per cent of export proceeds.²⁷³ Although the country is usually self-sufficient in agricultural produce, periodic droughts cause crop failures which necessitate imports of basic foodstuffs.

²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Amount in million pounds. Pound equals Kshs. 2.80

²⁷²Irving Kaplan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 433.

²⁷³Ibid.

Kenya has varying climatic conditions, soil and topography which combine to produce diverse patterns of land use. Kenya's provinces are distinct in their agricultural potential, others considered as the national granary while others are arid and semi-arid. Another problem that has affected agricultural production since independence is the lack of techniques necessary for higher levels of production and husbandry. Subsistence production has thus characterized agriculture in Kenya with about 50 per cent of the total agricultural output.

Commercial production for export focuses on coffee, tea, sisal, pyrethrum, flowers and on a smaller scale, wattle and pineapples. Rice, sugar, cotton and wheat are produced largely as cash crops but are almost totally consumed domestically. Meat and dairy products are marketed domestically with a little export. Due to the problems that Kenya's agricultural sector faced from the independence period, it was necessary for the government to seek assistance from external sources to improve the land potential. The following information on Kenya's land potential explains the need for this.

**TABLE: 4.2 LAND POTENTIAL CATEGORIES IN KENYA BY PROVINCE
(IN SQUARE MILES)**

| Land usage class | Coast | Eastern | Central | Rift valley | Nyanza | Western | North Eastern | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------|---------|---------|-------------|--------|---------|---------------|---------|
| Class A ²⁷⁴ | 1562 | 1562 | 1402 | 11589 | 2133 | 2694 | ----- | 20948 |
| A(i) | ----- | 10 | ----- | 1625 | ----- | ----- | ----- | 1635 |
| A(ii) | 445 | 1455 | 1064 | 5046 | 1023 | 1907 | ----- | 10540 |
| A(iii) | 474 | ----- | 234 | 2698 | ----- | 256 | ----- | 3662 |
| A(iv) | 643 | 103 | 104 | 2220 | 1110 | 531 | ----- | 4711 |
| Class B ²⁷⁵ | 1705 | 4245 | 1649 | 7918 | 1716 | ----- | ----- | 17233 |
| B(i) | 425 | 1676 | 1451 | 2168 | 621 | ----- | ----- | 6341 |
| B(ii) | 601 | 1227 | 156 | 876 | 559 | ----- | ----- | 3419 |
| B(iii) | 679 | 1342 | 42 | 4874 | 536 | ----- | ----- | 7473 |
| Classes C and D ²⁷⁶ | 23586 | 46,293 | ----- | 47,497 | ----- | ----- | 48,268 | 165,644 |

Source: Kaplan Irving, *Op. Cit.*, p. 438.

Only 13% of a total land area of 219 789 square miles can be used for agricultural purposes, 4% for cultivation and 9% for intensive grazing. Most of the arable land is located in Nyanza, Central, Western province, parts of the Rift Valley province and the littoral of the coast province. The northern half of the country, including the entire North-Eastern province and substantial sections of the Rift Valley and Eastern provinces, consist of nearly uninhabitable volcanic desert, capable of supporting only semi nomadic pastoral life. In the southern half, most of the Coast province have slight but unreliable rainfall and support little more than wild game and small herds of cattle; southern areas of the Rift Valley province can support larger herds, but tse-tse fly infestation and scanty rainfall limit the land's potentials.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴Class A-High Potential land (35 inches or more of rainfall)

A (i) good, deep soil: located at high, cold altitudes; only one crop per year possible; suited to mixed farming on large or medium-sized units; emphasis on wheat pyrethrum, tea, vegetables, some fruits, sheep and dairying

A (ii) - Good, deep soil; moderate temperatures; two crops per year possible; suited to intensive small holding or plantation. Agriculture; coffee, tea, maize, wide variety of food crops and dairy.

A (iii) - Adequate rainfall; soil fertility and drainage problems; suitable for mixed farming, emphasis on tea.

A (iv) -Adequate rainfall; shallow soil; dairying or sheep.

²⁷⁵Class B -Medium, potential land (25 to 35 inches of rainfall).

B (i) - Good, deep, soil; small holder or plantation units: sisal, maize, coffee and stock raising.

B (ii)-soil fertility and drainage problems; stock raising and sisal.

B (iii)-Unreliable rainfall, shallow soil and steep slopes; Stock raising only.

²⁷⁶Class C and D- suited only to stock raising and wildlife (Less than 25 inches of rainfall).

²⁷⁷Kaplan, I., *Op Cit.*, p. 439.

Given the significance of agriculture to Kenya's economy, government direct involvement was necessary. Government controls in the agricultural sector, for example, go back to the colonial times in the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. The controls included improvements on land, types of livestock and crops that could be raised and methods of cultivation, provision of extension services and credit and marketing of commodities.²⁷⁸ After independence, agricultural policies were based on principles outlined in the *Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*. Specifically, the principle of positive nonalignment was important in ensuring the development of the agricultural sector. Among other countries, Israel would be the most appropriate source of Kenya's assistance in this sector of the economy.

The lessons learned by Israel could be passed on to Kenya in its process of nation-building. While emphasising the role that Israel could play in assisting the newly independent countries of Africa, Golda Meir said:²⁷⁹

“Like them, we had shaken off foreign rule; like them, we had to learn for ourselves how to reclaim the land, how to increase the yields of our crops, how to irrigate, how to raise poultry, how to live together and how to defend ourselves”

Israel has been praised for making the desert bloom. Their agriculture scientists and technical assistants in various fields were at this time a great relief to Kenya's agricultural sector. Their notable contribution was in the dry land regions of Eastern province such as Machakos and Kitui. The concept of irrigating the drought-prone Eastern Province (Ukambani region) of Kenya was mooted in the 1980s when Kenya Agricultural

²⁷⁸ Hezron Nyangito, “Agricultural Sector Performance in a changing Policy Environment”, in Kimuyu Pete *et al.*, (ed.), *Kenya's Strategic Policies for the 21st Century: Macroeconomic and Sectoral Choices* (Nairobi: IPAR, 1999), p. 129.

²⁷⁹ Golda Meir, *My Life*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 309.

Research Institute (KARI) began developing the *Katumani* drought-resistant maize seeds. This was followed by a joint venture between the University of Nairobi and the Israeli Government at Kibwezi. The fruits of the experiment can still be found in areas around Kibwezi and Mtito Andei where farmers adopted the new farming methods.

Due to the attractive nature of the farming technology, other neighbouring areas such as Machakos District around Mua Hills have benefited through fruit farming.²⁸⁰ In Kitui, the cultivation of fruit trees-orange, banana, guava, mango and paw-paw, was seen to be more profitable. Large-scale cultivation of fruits in Israel has become possible through irrigation, which maintains them over the long rainless season.²⁸¹ Due to ecological similarity between Kenya's dry lands and Israel, their technical assistance, especially in the disease and pest control was important for the Kenyan fruit farmers. However, because most of Kenya's arid and semi-arid lands are still largely unproductive, the impact of Israeli assistance to this sector can not be overemphasised. According to an informant from the Ministry of Agriculture:²⁸²

“There is little to show for the Israeli technical Know-how in Eastern Province. Given the financial constraints, most locals were not enthusiastic about irrigation. Apart from water scarcity, they wanted continued assistance from the Government. Only the few farmers who were ready to sacrifice their meagre resources and implemented the idea are reaping the benefits.”

Kenya heavily relies on agriculture as the base for economic growth, employment creation and foreign exchange generation. Agriculture is also the major source of the country's food security. Its contribution to real GDP growth has been higher vis-à-vis

²⁸⁰ John A. Dixon, et al, (ed.), *Dry Land Management: Economic Case Studies* (London: Earthscan Publications, Ltd., 1990), p. 43.

²⁸¹ *Israel Journal of Plant Protection Sciences*, Supplement No. 1, October 1977, p. 1.

²⁸² Interview with a Senior Agricultural Officer, Ministry of Agriculture.

other sectors of the economy: 36.6% in the 1964-1974 period, 33.2% in the 1974-79 period, 29.8% in the 1980-89 period and 26.2% in the 1990-95 period.²⁸³ Throughout the 1990s, the agricultural performance fluctuated with the changes in the weather conditions. The *El Nino* and *La Nina* weather effects resulted in substantial crop production decline.²⁸⁴ Agricultural output growth also fluctuated depending on the weather pattern and market prices. The table below offers the summary of agricultural performance from 1994 to 2002.

TABLE 4.3 AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT AND INPUT, 1994-2002 K£ Million

| | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Total Output | 5,870.12 | 6,367.15 | 6,778.60 | 7,580.71 | 8,154.32 | 7,778.71 |
| Less Input | 578.02 | 589.52 | 545.60 | 680.77 | 753.41 | 781.90 |
| Value Added | 5292.10 | 5,777.63 | 6,233.00 | 6,899.94 | 7,400.91 | 6,996.81 |

| 2000 | 2001 | 2002 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 325,591.2 | 344,618.4 | 322,256.8 |
| 60,765.2 | 77,806.8 | 75,089.8 |
| 264,826.0 | 266,811.6 | 247,166.9 |

Source: Republic of Kenya, *Economic Survey*, 2005, p. 143. *Economic Survey*, 1999, p. 111, 2000, p. 119.

The performance of Agriculture remained weak in 2002. After recording a modest 1.2% recovery in 2001 the sector's GDP growth declined to 0.7% in 2002. Mixed weather condition was blamed for this situation.

4.2.1.2 Manufacturing

²⁸³Republic of Kenya, *National Development Plan*, 1997-2001, p. 50.

²⁸⁴Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Finance and Planning, *Economic Survey*, 2002, p. 133.

Manufacturing sector ranked second to agriculture before tourism emerged as a major aspect in Kenya's economy. Immediately after independence, manufacturing was important in terms of use of resources, production and employment in addition to export earnings. This sector has been relatively successful recording an average growth in production of 10.5% between 1973 and 1977.²⁸⁵ The manufacturing sector is also important because it produces items which are included in the basic needs basket of goods and services such as clothing, building materials and medicines. Ability to produce these goods at the lowest cost contributes to alleviation of poverty. The largest sub-sectors of manufacturing are food processing, basic metals, metal products, machinery and equipment, and chemical industries. The sector still relies to a very great extent on imported intermediate inputs.

Kenya's industrial base is still undeveloped and tilted in favour of agro-activities. It is highly import dependent, with the greater part of the imports being accounted for by raw materials, capital goods and spare parts. Kenya does not export much of the manufactured products. It instead provides market for Israeli manufactured goods of various types. Except for industries based on natural resources, cement for example, and agriculture, local linkages are still not strong enough to generate the requisite growth synergy.²⁸⁶ The skill levels in Kenya's manufacturing are low and of importance in the quest for industrialization is the development of human capital.

4.2.1.3 Trade

The importance of trade in the economy of this country is underscored by its high contribution to the G D P. The most important commercial commodities in Kenya have

²⁸⁵ Republic of Kenya, *Economic Survey*, 1978, p. 31.

²⁸⁶ Republic of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the year 2020* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1996).

been agricultural produce; food, drink and tobacco. Others have been furnishings, shoes and leather goods, motor vehicles and their spare parts; general wholesale and general retail; industrial hardware, building materials and timber. Trade between African countries (such as Kenya) and Israel has been one-sided since Israel's major imports, oil and grain are not available from most sub-Sahara African countries. Kenya's principal commodities of export to Israel include live animals, food meat and meat preparations such as tinned meat, butter and ghee, hides and skin, timber, wattle bark, pyrethrum, wool, coffee, tea and pineapples. Among Kenya's principal commodities of import from Israel include machinery and transport equipment, electrical machinery, apparatus and appliances, aircraft engines, marine internal combustion engines, agricultural machinery and implements, mineral fuels, lubricants, chemicals, rubber, fabrics, plumbing fixtures and fittings among others.

Statistics show that Israel is a good trading partner to Kenya in the Middle East region. Although Kenya does not have the capacity to provide for Israel's most pressing needs, the size of the Israeli market is significant. A summary of the details on Kenya's trade with the Middle East by countries of origin and destination appear in the table below.

**TABLE 4.4 EXPORTS AND IMPORTS BETWEEN KENYA AND THE
MIDDLE EAST, 1963-2002, (Kshs. 000)**

| Country | Imports | Exports |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Bahrain | 22,191,125 | 726,952 |
| Iran | 22,857,454 | 5,149,174 |
| Israel | 18,635,174 | 10,147,155 |
| Kuwait | 8,280,286 | 750,764 |
| Saudi Arabia | 134,403,735 | 7,280,063 |
| Rest of Middle East ²⁸⁷ | 612,056,225 | 49,292,457 |

| | | |
|-------|-------------|------------|
| Total | 818,423,999 | 73,346,565 |
|-------|-------------|------------|

Sources: Reconstructed by the author from Republic of Kenya, *Statistical Abstracts*, 1964-2003.

Israel appears to be a good recipient of Kenya's exports in the Middle East region. Kenya's export earnings from Israel are relatively higher than those from selected countries in the region. A clear picture of Israel's position as an external market for Kenya's products can be illuminated by the table on balance of trade between Kenya and the Middle East.

TABLE 4.5 BALANCE OF TRADE BETWEEN KENYA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1963-2002 (Kshs. 000).

| Country | Balance of Trade |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Bahrain | -21,464,173 |
| Iran | -17,708,280 |
| Israel | -8,488,019 |
| Kuwait | -7,529,522 |
| Saudi Arabia | -127,123,672 |
| Rest of the Middle East | -562,763,768 |
| Total | -745,077,434 |

Source: Reconstructed by author from Republic of Kenya, *Statistical Abstracts*, 1964-2003.

The balance of trade is negative with all selected countries in the region. This, on the part of Arab states, is explained by the huge amounts spent by Kenya in purchasing oil and other petroleum products. The negative balance of trade with Israel is traced to the

²⁸⁷ Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic, and Yemen Peoples Democratic Republic.

price difference between the items of export and import between Kenya and Israel. While Kenya's products to Israel are basically non-industrial and therefore, low in price, the industrial products imported from Israel are relatively expensive, contributing to the negative balance. Despite this tilted situation in favour of Israel, the percentage of Israeli market available for Kenya's exports is fairly high compared to the other countries in the region. The following table captures this reality.

**TABLE 4.6 PERCENTAGES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BETWEEN
KENYA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1963-2002**

| Country | Imports | Exports |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| Bahrain | 2.71 | 0.99 |
| Iran | 2.79 | 7.02 |
| Israel | 2.28 | 13.83 |
| Kuwait | 1.01 | 1.02 |
| Saudi Arabia | 16.42 | 9.93 |
| Rest of Middle East | 74.78 | 67.20 |
| Total | 99.99 | 99.99 |

Source: Reconstructed by the author from, Republic of Kenya, *Statistical Abstracts*, 1964-2003.

In terms of market size for Kenya's exports, Israel provides the largest, 13.83% of the total regional market. At the same time Kenya's imports from Israel account for only 2.28% of the regional trade lending credence to the view that Israel is more interested in political than in economic advantage it reaps from its African ties.²⁸⁸ For Kenya, Israel is a significant trade partner in the region. Information gathered from one of the informants, a Senior Trade Officer from the Ministry of Trade and Industry seems to support the view that from the region, Israel could be a more important trading partner:²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Mitchell G. Bard, "The Evolution of Israel's Africa Policy", *Jewish Virtual Library*, www/jewishvirtuallibrary.org/source/politics/Africa.html/

²⁸⁹ Personal interview with a Senior Trade Officer, Ministry of Trade and Industry.

“While a bigger percentage of Kenya’s imports from the region is taken up by oil from the Arab nations, Israel provides Kenya with industrial goods and other hardware important to the military.”

As an attribute of the economy, trade, is an important instrument in Kenya’s foreign policy towards Israel. It is to Kenya’s economic advantage to safeguard the Israeli market and perhaps work out modalities of diversifying the products of export to Israel.

4.2.1.4 Tourism

Kenya has a wide range of scenic attractions. Together with varied and pleasant climate, diversity of wild life, numerous natural recreation facilities such as deep sea fishing at the coastal towns of Lamu, Malindi and the city of Mombasa and mountain climbing, Kenya offers a unique attraction to tourists from all over the world. The strong basis of this sector can also be seen in terms of the improved infrastructure such as the port in Mombasa, the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi, Moi International Airport in Mombasa and Eldoret Airport. There are also a number of well established tourist facilities such as hotels and lodges. Tourism not only earns Kenya foreign exchange but also provides a major stimulus to economic development.

In order to attract a high number of tourists, the government has in the past directed efforts to the promotion of the sector. Most investments were directed towards tourist amenities in the parks and reserves. Both domestic and foreign private investors were encouraged. These efforts were co-ordinated by the Tourist Development Corporation.²⁹⁰ The targeted market was Western Europe and North America. Access roads, low-cost lodges, camping facilities and means of transportation have been improved to attract tourists from the various regions.

²⁹⁰Irving Kaplan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 54

In the 1960s and early to mid 1970s the performance of the tourism sector did not show a clear-cut picture of growth. It was measured only by one standard; the number of visitors. In 1969, tourism earned Kenya K£16.7 million,²⁹¹ slightly less important than coffee which was and still is Kenya's most valuable export. The sector slowly recorded improvement through the 1980s and became a major foreign exchange earner for the country by 1990s. It was the second highest foreign exchange earner after agriculture.²⁹²

The marginal improvement was, however, affected by the travel advisory issued by the UK and USA after the terrorist bombing of the American Embassy building in Nairobi on 7th August 1998. The number of visitor arrivals and the average length of stay are key determinants of the level of tourism earnings. During this period, (1999-2000), the main tourist arrival points of Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, JKIA (Nairobi) and Moi International Airport (Mombasa) recorded declines of 21.3% and 33.6% respectively.²⁹³

Kenya's major tourist originating countries have been the UK, Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, USA, Canada and Scandinavian countries. From Africa, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia have been important tourist generating markets for Kenya. Among the tourist originating countries though, Israel ranks low. Kenya has in the past assisted in developing Israeli wildlife by donating animals to the zoo in Tel Aviv.²⁹⁴ This should have served as an incentive enough for Israelites to come and visit our National Parks and game reserves. However, records show that the number of visitors from Israel to Kenya has been low compared to those from other countries (especially those from Europe and

²⁹¹Republic of Kenya, *Economic Survey*, 1970, p. 105.

²⁹²Republic of Kenya, *Economic Survey*, 1997, p. 178.

²⁹³Republic of Kenya, *Economic Survey*, 1999, p. 158.

²⁹⁴ Steven, S. Carol, *Op. Cit.*

North America). But from the continent of Asia, Israel ranks fairly as a tourist originating country for Kenya.

TABLE 4.7 TOTAL DEPARTING VISITORS TO ASIA, 1963-2002.
(WITH PURPOSE OF VISIT)

| Nationality | Transit | Holiday | Business | Total |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| India | 102,901 | 250,399 | 57,497 | 410,797 |
| Japan | 25,964 | 205,921 | 31,585 | 263,470 |
| Israel | 35,053 | 113,212 | 14,162 | 162,427 |
| Others ²⁹⁵ | 87,656 | 307,616 | 62,882 | 458,154 |
| Total | 251,574 | 877,148 | 166,126 | 1,294,848 |

Source: Reconstructed from Republic of Kenya, *Statistical Abstracts*, 1964-2003.

From the statistics it is clear that Israel is rather an important tourist originating country for Kenya. The number of visitors from Israel has been relatively low. Even for these few who visited Kenya, their stay in Kenya was confined to particular hotels (Israeli-owned Hotels) in Mombasa and Nairobi.²⁹⁶

4.2.2 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

At any given time in a society, there are matters on which action is influenced or taken by the public. A number of citizens may be aware that a question of policy may be involved and will hold some articulated preference of greater or less consistency, intensity, and intellectual depth. The majority though, will be unaware of the whole issue and may hold latent or even no opinions at all. The configuration of opinions, latent opinions, and non-opinions relevant to a given public issue at any specific time might be referred to as representing public opinion on that issue at that time. A section of society may hold some views about certain issues, political, economic, or socio-cultural.

²⁹⁵ All Asian countries including the Middle and Far East.

²⁹⁶ Personal Interview with a Senior Tourist Officer, Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife.

However, only a very small section of the public, geographically concentrated and closely inter-knit, maintains an active interest in foreign policy issues.²⁹⁷ That becomes what may be called public opinion.

It has been argued that this ‘informed public’ is important both as a constraint on the government’s freedom of action and as a source of constructive criticism. It not only exerts a direct influence upon the government but also acts as an intermediary between it and the general public, putting a gloss on official interpretations of policy and setting the tone of the public debate.²⁹⁸ The members of this informed public are drawn from parliament, the press, universities (academia) the civil society and research institutions. Others could come from business, finance, and commerce concerned with international trade, and the leadership of organized groups which focus on foreign policy issues.²⁹⁹

Religion plays an important role in shaping the public opinion of Kenyans in relation to Israel. Kenya is characterized as a majority Christian nation (over 65%).³⁰⁰ Kenya has had Christian presidents who have been influenced by the Euro-Christian/Judaeo-Christian culture in their conduct and relations with the state of Israel. Christians in Kenya strongly identify with the roots of their religion in Israel. Christianity teaches that Israel is God’s chosen land and that Jerusalem is the city of the Lord. For most Kenyan Christians, therefore, opinion towards Israel has always been favorable. Skeptics, however, argue that Christians are often blinded by their religion in their feelings towards Israel and the Middle East crisis.³⁰¹ According to this line of debate, Israel is a Jewish state (as opposed to a secular one) where all non Jews are second class citizens.³⁰² Despite

²⁹⁷Wallace William, *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1977), p. 88.

²⁹⁸Ibid.

²⁹⁹Ibid.

³⁰⁰Otenyo. E., *Op. Cit.*, p. 79.

³⁰¹ Ali Mazrui, “African Islam and Competitive Religion; Between Revivalism and Expansionism”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1988, p. 510.

³⁰² Ibid.

this 'realization', isolated voices of discontent about Kenya-Israeli ties (from Muslims, for example) have failed to catch the attention of Kenya's leadership. The Muslim population in Kenya is low³⁰³ and concentrated in the Coast province and a few towns and urban centers. This population has over the years lacked political advantage to influence government policy. This would explain the failure of the Muslim pressure in affecting/influencing Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

Despite the favorable public opinion towards Israel, there is no link between this and Kenya's foreign policy-making process. People do not actually make foreign policy because they are ill equipped to choose intelligently among the alternative courses of action available. Again, the secrecy with which international affairs are conducted means that the critical information is kept away from the public. Although public opinion in Kenya is favorable to Israel, it does not matter very much in the foreign policy making process. It is the leader's idiosyncrasies and operational code that matter. Public opinion in Kenya is un-interested and un-involved in most foreign policy issues; it hardly sets limits to what policies are feasible.

4.2.3 Ideological Orientation

Two main ideological orientations, African Socialism and the Non-alignment movement, have in the past conditioned Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's foreign pronouncements, actions, intentions, agreements, technical exchanges and negotiations, while under the guidance of national interest, have been influenced by the doctrines and/or principles of African Socialism and the Non-alignment movement. However, the extent to which they have conditioned Kenya's foreign policy is minimal. It has been argued that Kenya was from the outset integrated into the Western economic structures as

³⁰³ Approximately between 7-20%. Otenyo, E., *Op. Cit.*, p. 79.

a member of the bloc's ideological axis.³⁰⁴ Even at the height of the cold war Kenya allied with the West.

Israel is the strongest and the most strategic ally for the West in the Middle East region. Strategically positioned at a point where three continents- Africa, Asia and Europe- meet/separate, Israel is the centre of the regional strategy, politics and power struggle. It is an important 'watchdog' for Western interests in the region.³⁰⁵ Western strategy involves a search for regional bases that can be used to serve and safeguard western political and economic interests. As a strong and reliable ally of the West, Kenya is highly regarded as a regional base for its various activities in Eastern and Central Africa. Given that both Kenya and Israel are Western allies next to and amidst Western enemies respectively, both may have common goals as they seek to champion Western interests in their regions. For this reason, it is likely that Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel may be a subject of Western influence. In the same breath, Kenya gains from the West due to its good ties with Israel. A desk Officer in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed this by saying.³⁰⁶

“Israel may not have enough resources to assist Kenya. However, by maintaining cordial ties with Israel, Kenya gains from other friendly Western powers.”

This implies that there is a correlation between Kenya's closeness to the West and its cordial relations with Israel.

³⁰⁴Makinda, S., “From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy”, *Third World Quarterly*, 52(April), 1983, pp. 300-319; Nying'uro Philip, “United States Policy and the transition to Democracy in Kenya, 1990-1992”, PhD. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1999.

³⁰⁵ Abdulaziz Al-Sowayegh, *Arab Petro-Politics* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 53.

³⁰⁶ Interview, Desk Officer, Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

4.2.3.1 African Socialism

The principles of African socialism were defined in the *Sessional Paper Number 10* of 1965.³⁰⁷ In this document, the government asserts that it is committed to pursuing the goals of political equality, social justice, human dignity, freedom from want, disease and exploitation, equal opportunities and a high, growing and equitably distributed per capita income. These objectives could be achieved through African socialism, a political and economic system which has its roots in traditional African societies. African Socialism was desirable because it would draw on the best of African traditions, such as political democracy and mutual social responsibility. It would thus differ from both *laissez-faire* capitalism and Marxian Socialism.

The document asserts that in foreign economic relations, the country would practice economic non-alignment, while at the same time seek and accept foreign economic assistance and participate fully in world trade. This means that Kenya would not be drawn into the East-West rivalry that was characteristic of the first three decades of independence. Always maintaining its independence, Kenya would deal with any country or international agency which could assist it although the country (Kenya) could choose the economic methods that were adaptable to it. This thinking shaped Kenya's foreign policy that aimed to achieve the benefits of Israeli technical expertise in various fields of the economy.

4.2.3.2 Non-alignment

The Non-alignment movement was an external development triggered by the cold war. It was adopted by Kenya as the country's posture in international affairs. It was a movement of those countries that chose to occupy the middle ground in the rivalry

³⁰⁷ "African Socialism and its Application to planning in Kenya", *Sessional Paper No. 10* of 1965.

between the communist East and the capitalist West. As a policy, it was consistent with the demands of national survival and interests of the new state. This was a pragmatic response to uncertainty about the reliability of the then bi-polar international system and the fear that the sovereignty of the newly independent state (Kenya) could be threatened by the resurgence of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Kenya chose to remain firm and resolute in what came to be known as positive non-alignment. This was so as to pursue goals that would bring people food, education, medicine, and a better standard of life. Non-alignment did not imply non-commitment.³⁰⁸ In the government's view, it implied borrowing technology and economic methods and receiving financial assistance without commitment to any other country's political view. Positive non-alignment meant that Kenya could not stand aside when issues confronted Africa or the world. This would explain why Kenya took a pro-Arab stand on the Palestinian issue. The country also had definite views on African states still under colonialism and expressed them when the situation demanded.³⁰⁹ Positive non-alignment meant that Kenya had to forget about Western colonialism and imperialism so as to associate and make friends with those countries that extend an honest field of cooperation and trade. But Kenya would not exchange one master for a new one. From the East, there was a danger of communism and from the West a danger of imperialism. By choosing the policy of non-alignment, Kenya would serve the interests of none other than its own national interests. Kenya intended to remain its own master forever. In Kenyatta's words:

³⁰⁸Jomo Kenyatta's Speech, *Kenya News Agency* Handout, No. 368, Nairobi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1 June 1965. In Gertzel, C., Maure Goldschmidt and Rothchild Donald, (Ed.), *Government and Politics in Kenya. A Nation Building Text* (Nairobi: EAPH, 1969), p. 579.

³⁰⁹Ibid.

“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, traditions and ancestry.”³¹⁰

In the spirit of non- alignment, Israel was seen by Kenya as a genuine friend. Israel was not part of colonial legacy and did not constitute a threat to Kenya’s integrity. The country shared at least a desire for non-aligned status and did not hold any imperialistic designs on Kenya.

Non-alignment served Kenya’s national self-interest. Although its foreign relation with the West was seen by analysts to be more special, Kenya wanted to be a friend of all and an enemy of none. The variety and extent of Kenya’s foreign relations under the non-alignment movement have been documented and described in the literature on that subject elsewhere.³¹¹

4.2.4 Geo-political Factors

Kenya lies astride the equator between the Indian Ocean and Lake Victoria. The second city, Mombasa, is the leading port on the East African coast. Kenya is linked to the rest of the world through this port (in addition to the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport at Nairobi, Eldoret International Airport and Moi International Airport in Mombasa). Kenya is also located next to the Horn of Africa and has a coastline that extends for 250 miles along the Indian Ocean. The land of Kenya varies from uninhabitable volcanic desert to forests, fertile valleys and lush, tropical farmland. Less than a quarter of the country is potentially agriculturally productive. More than half the

³¹⁰Ibid.

³¹¹For more on non- alignment and Kenya’s national interest see: Orwa D. Katete, “Continuity and change: Kenya’s Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi,” in Oyugi, W. O, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 306-308. Also: E.O. Opondo, “Non- Alignment: An analysis of its Interpretation and application in Kenya, 1963-1986.” Unpublished M A Thesis, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1988. William R. Ochieng’ and D. K. Orwa, (Ed.), “Foreign Policy, 1963-1986”, in William R. Ochieng, (Ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1989).

country- parts of Eastern, Rift Valley, and North-Eastern Provinces- is desert or semi-desert. In the North, Lake Turkana is the largest alkaline lake in the world. Most of the country north of the equator has little rainfall and is hot and arid, whereas the regions south of the equator are fairly wet, and temperatures range from hot to cool. Unreliable rainfall has been a constant problem to farmers adversely affecting crops, livestock, and people.

Kenya borders Ethiopia to the North, Sudan to the North-West, Uganda to the West, Tanzania to the south and Somalia to the East. Some of these and other neighboring countries are landlocked and heavily rely on the port of Mombasa for their foreign trade, raising Kenya's significance in the region. After the Ethiopian-Eritrean war and the political turmoil in Somalia, the Kenyan coast has gained much leverage to the West and also Israel as a focal point upon which the sea route and the entire region could be policed.

In discussing geography and its relevance to foreign policy, Nicholas J. Spykman³¹² identifies two main factors that are important: size and location. He says that the entire foreign policy of a country does not lie in geography. Factors that condition foreign policy are many: they can be permanent or temporary, obvious or hidden. Of the various factors that condition foreign policy, the geographic area of the state is the most permanent one. Geography does not determine but rather conditions foreign policy. It is the material rather than the cause of its policy. As Kenya makes its policies towards Israel, the country must realize that the port of Mombasa may be a crucial factor that can be used to bargain for its interests.

³¹²Nicholas J. Spykman, "Geography and Foreign Policy", *American Political Science Review*, 32, 1938, pp. 28-50.

The relevance of the port city led to a military agreement between US president James E Carter and the government of Kenya in 1980.³¹³ This agreement gave the Americans exclusive use of the port city and boosted America's strategic endeavors in the Indian Ocean-Gulf region. It must be recalled that Mombasa was used for US military operations during the first Gulf War and also during the Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.³¹⁴ In the most recent times, Mombasa has become an important base for various forces seeking to prevent terrorist activities. This implies that Kenya is a strategic point from which the world's powers keep a keen watch of their own security.

The comparative size of a state, provided there is an effective political and economic integration, is a rough indication of the state's strength and therefore, an element in foreign policy. But it is only strength in so far as size is equivalent to arable land and thus, manpower. Size is also important in the sense that the larger the area, the greater the chances that it contains varying climatic ranges, topography, resources and economic possibilities. Currently, however, what matters most is industrial and technological capability. Although size is of importance as an element of defense, it can be equally an element of weakness especially if there is no effective internal control. Democratic Republic of Congo (D R C) has experienced (in) security problems with its neighbors Rwanda and Uganda due to its enormous size. Kenya's northern frontier has in the past created a security problem for the government occasioned by Somalia's claim over the region.

Important as size may be, it does not determine the rank of a state in the hierarchy of world powers and may be less significant than location. The location of a country may determine its importance in international affairs and may help in defining its

³¹³Orwa D. Katete, *Op. Cit.*, p. 323.

³¹⁴Otenyo, E., *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.

problems of foreign affairs.³¹⁵ Kenya's location next to the Horn of Africa, its proximity to the Indian Ocean and eastern border with the failed state of Somalia has on one hand opened it to the world and on the other hand rendered it vulnerable to external threats. This gives Kenya a high geo-strategic value especially in this era of international terrorism. This was also the case during the cold war rivalry.³¹⁶ The strategic position that links Africa to Asia and Europe makes the port of Mombasa a key conditioning factor in Kenya's foreign Policy. Israel takes greater interest in the port of Mombasa which connects to Eilat, Israel's only Red Sea Port, and the gateway to Israeli ships and Israeli bound foreign vessels.³¹⁷ The blockade of the straits of Tiran by Egypt on 22nd May, 1967 which cut off Eilat, gave Israel the impetus of stopping such an action in future.³¹⁸ The port of Mombasa is strategically located for the purpose of safeguarding that sea route.

Terrorism, like the cold war in the past, provides Kenya with opportunities and leverage for its foreign policy options as the need to police the Indian Ocean coastline is high on the agenda list of not only Israel but USA as well as other Western powers. The port at Mombasa is thus a potential base for curbing the spread of religious extremism that often leads to terrorist activities.

4.2.5 Nation Type and Foreign Policy

By using the attributes of size, economic development, and political accountability, James Rosenau generated what is referred to as the nation typology.³¹⁹

The size of a state (resource base, geographical area, or population size), its level of

³¹⁵Ibid; p. 39

³¹⁶See Nying'uro O. Philip, "External Sources of Kenya's Democratization Process," *The Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, 1997, p. 11.

³¹⁷ See the map.

³¹⁸*Disputed Territories, Forgotten facts about the West Bank and Gaza strip*, Israel Information Center, Jerusalem, 2003, p. 12.

³¹⁹Rosenau, J. N., "Pre-Theories and theories of foreign policy" in R. B. Farrel, (Ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966).

economic development, and its governmental structure (democratic or not), are three national attributes included as elements of power. The three are also among the most important attributes of a state.³²⁰ This is because they define important concepts, correlate with a large number of variables, and sort states into relatively homogenous groups.³²¹

TABLE 4.8: ROSENAU’S EIGHT NATION TYPES

| Geography and physical Resources | Large Country | | | | Small Country | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Developed | | Undeveloped | | Developed | | Undeveloped | |
| State of economy | Developed | | Undeveloped | | Developed | | Undeveloped | |
| State of the Polity (Political accountability) | Open | Closed | Open | Closed | Open | Closed | Open | Closed |
| Examples(some are by the author) | USA Canada | Russia | India Brazil | China Sudan | Holland Finland | none | Kenya Israel | Iraq, Cuba Guinea |
| | 1. Large developed Open. | 2. Large Developed Closed. | 3. Large Undeveloped Open. | 4. Large undeveloped and Closed. | 5. Small Developed and Open. | 6. Small developed and closed. | 7. Small Undeveloped and Open. | 8. Small Undeveloped and Closed. |

Source: Reconstructed from Moore, W. David, “National attributes and Nation Typologies: A Look at the Rosenau Genotypes,” in Rosenau J. N., *Comparing Foreign Policies. Theories, Findings and Methods* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974) p. 253.

Although a lot has changed in many countries, changes such as balkanization in Eastern Europe & democratization in Africa, of interest to our study is that Kenya is grouped under the category of a small, underdeveloped and open country. This categorization would condition the country’s foreign policy. Political accountability determines a country’s level of economic development and vice versa. Similarly, a country’s foreign

³²⁰Moore, W. David, “National Attributes and Nation Typologies: A look at the Rosenau Genotypes,” in Rosenau, J.N., (Ed.), *Comparing Foreign policies. Theories, Findings, and Methods* (New York: John Wiley and sons, 1974,) p. 252.

³²¹Sawyer, J., “Dimensions of Nations: Size, Wealth and Politics”, *American Journal of Sociology*, 73, September, p. 171.

policy is a reflection of its economic condition. An underdeveloped country like Kenya would initiate foreign policies aimed at attracting economic investment, foreign assistance and aid. A developed country on the other hand has more power of persuasion when it comes to international agreements on important issues such as trade. A country that is small in size, undeveloped and closed is disadvantaged in various ways and could rarely achieve a strong posture in international affairs.

Israel and Kenya are in the same category. The institutional setting of Israeli foreign policy reflects the patterns of an open system. This is manifested in organizational pluralism on one hand and in the influence of parliament, public opinion, a free press and organized interest groups. On development dimension, it is tricky to define Israel as either a developed or third world country. From the point of view of its geographical location, its period of political independence and certain aspects of its social fabric, Israel appears to be a Third world country. The economy of Israel is heavily dependent on assistance from USA and a sizeable, potent domestic arms industry, governed by large state enterprises. The size of Israel is smaller than some provinces in Kenya. In its pre-1967 boundaries, Israel was only 15 kilometres wide at some places.³²²

In Rosenau's framework, the foreign policy behaviour patterns of countries in each nation type will be relatively similar.³²³ Towards each other, Kenya and Israel would initiate cordial and friendly policies. Indeed there has been little shift in Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel since independence.

³²²*Disputed Territories. Forgotten facts about the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, Jerusalem; 2003, p. 11.

³²³Maurice A. East and Charles F. Hermann, "Do Nation -Types Account for Foreign policy Behavior?" in Rosenau, J. N., *Op. Cit.*, p. 271.

4.2.6 The Military and Kenya's Foreign Policy

The Kenyan military establishment includes the Kenya Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Other forces that can be called upon to support the military are the Kenya Police and the General Service Unit. The army has a dual mission of defending the country's territorial integrity and assisting the police in preserving internal security. It also has the responsibility of maintaining a constant state of readiness to defend the nation and implement its military policies. The Navy on the other hand, defends the national coastline and polices the territorial waters in addition to protecting the harbours and fisheries. The Air Force defends the air space of the country and also provides aerial support to the Army and the Navy. Together, the three forces form the defensive capability of Kenya, which is an important aspect in international politics.

The military has for a long time relied on the British for various forms of support and assistance. It also relied on the British officers for direction, training and leadership. This can be explained from the fact that soon after independence, the country had no senior military leaders with the necessary experience. The forces were not sufficiently advanced in support and logistic functions to permit highly effective independent operation. There was a shortage of technicians and specialists to maintain and operate the complex weapons and equipment of modern warfare acquired from Britain and other friendly countries. A few years after independence, apart from the British influence, other influences were felt, though not in significant proportions. Several offers for military assistance in form of equipment and training came from Israel.³²⁴ During the diplomatic rapture, for example, Kenya purchased Israeli military equipment. In 1978, it bought two missile boats and forty-eight Gabriel Missiles to be used with the boats. These were

³²⁴ M.J.V., Bell, *Military Assistance to Independent African States*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. Also Waruhiu Itote, *Mau Mau General*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 234-240.

delivered in 1979 and 1982. Other non lethal military equipment imported were field kitchens, uniforms and personal gear.³²⁵

In order to develop a more sophisticated military, Kenya has had to rely on external partners for both military hardware and training. This reliance means that Kenya's foreign policy to such friendly countries has been and will be influenced either by accepting the demands of those countries or by adopting a less aggressive stand in certain issues. Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain, Israel and USA can be seen in this light. The need for up-to-date weapons and sophisticated training, conditions Kenya's foreign policy towards these countries with military capability. Apart from offering training to the paramilitary General Service Unit, Israel has supplied Kenya with arms of different designs and description.³²⁶

4.2.7 Parliament

Parliament is a very important institution for championing mass interests. After independence, parliament gained importance as a public forum through which citizens could articulate their aspirations. Through parliamentary committees, some foreign policy issues can be discussed. Members of parliament are at an advantage than any other citizen in terms of access to sources of information on foreign embassies. Foreign diplomats may also supply members of parliament with information and give them their interpretation of international development. Again, many members of parliament are known to have business connections with companies involved in overseas trade presenting them with a wide range of opportunities for travel and overseas contacts. Parliament also gives members an additional opportunity of belonging to the Inter

³²⁵ See Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

³²⁶ S I P R I World Armaments and Disarmament: S I P R I Year Book Stockholm. Cited in Opondo, E. O., *Op. Cit.*

Parliamentary Union (I P U) and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (C P A) which, promote further contacts among parliamentarians.³²⁷

The extensive parliamentary activities and opportunities indicate its involvement and influence in foreign policy. However, it has been found out that parliament is ineffective in holding the government to account in foreign policy matters or in influencing policy.³²⁸ In October 1973 when the Yom Kippur War broke out, Muslim members of parliament raised the matter in parliament, expressing support for the Arabs. Kenya had in many occasions held a similar position on the Palestinian issue. However, at this particular time, the then Attorney-General, opposed the raising of the matter and averred that if the Muslim MPs were real (patriotic) Kenyans, they would be careful about involving Kenya in any way in that war.³²⁹ The contradiction here is that Kenya would want to be sympathetic to the Palestinians in the Middle East but when called upon to decisively offer the needed support, it quickly backtracks.

4.2.8 Domestic Political Parties

A dominant political party can play an important role in foreign policy. During the period of one-party politics in Kenya, the position of K A N U in policy matters could not be challenged. Former president Moi is on record for warning politicians that the government would not tolerate ministers and assistant ministers who behaved like rebels and who publicly condemned policies pursued by the government.³³⁰ It is, however, an overstatement to argue that political parties play a role in foreign policy formulation. In this multi-party era, most political parties emerged to compete for parliamentary seats, saving little time for high politics.

³²⁷Oloo Adams, *Op. Cit.*

³²⁸*Ibid.*

³²⁹ Oded Arye, *Islam and Politics in Kenya*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 127.

³³⁰Oyugi W. O., "Party State Relations in Kenya," in Oyugi, W. O., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 173-174.

Oyugi has argued that uneasy relations existed between the party and state in the governing process.³³¹ This has become tenser with the increase in the number of political parties. The emergence of multi-party politics meant that most parties are hurriedly formed, with loose structures and undefined policies. The parties are therefore vulnerable to fragmentation and can hardly stand the test of endurance. The case of the Forum for Restoration of Democracy, FORD, formed in early 1990's to challenge KANU is a perfect example of what happens to political parties in Kenya. It is only in countries where political parties follow principles and policies that they may be said to play a significant role in foreign policy.³³²

Since independence, political parties have been muzzled by individual leaders. KANU was muzzled by the first president Kenyatta who became the centre of politics³³³ and upon his death; Moi equally became more dominant than the party. The case was no different with the multi-party politics. Most parties were at the mercy of individual leaders in form of either party chairmen or *de facto* leaders. The party was thus identified with the person rather than policy. FORD was under Jaramogi Oginga Odinga before its disintegration into FORD Kenya and FORD Asili under Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Kenneth Matiba respectively and later FORD People under Kimani wa Nyoike. After Jaramogi's death, FORD Kenya was under Kijana Wamalwa but never held on for long as New FORD Kenya emerged after Wamalwa's death. National Development Party, NDP, was under Raila Odinga before its merger with KANU. Later, Raila led a walk out from KANU to form Liberal Democratic Party, LDP. The expansion

³³¹Ibid., p. 175.

³³² In Israel, for a long time especially after the 1967 war, the two major parties, Labor and Likud, have had clear principles and guidelines which political leaders hardly depart from. The Labor party defends the need for security while exploring ways for a negotiated resolution of the conflict, and favours the exchange of territories for peace. The Likud on the other hand supports the notion of a "Greater Land of Israel".

³³³Ngunjiri N., "The Interaction of Kenyan Parliament Backbenchers and the Kenyan Foreign Policy" (Unpublished B. A, Dissertation, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1974), p. 55.

of the democratic space led to emergence of many parties, broadening the range of actors in the domestic arena. However, most of them have no significant impact on foreign policy (towards Israel). High politics has always been carried out in secrecy; issues of foreign policy are assumed to be beyond the competence of political parties and secondary in their priorities.³³⁴

Although party principles may affect foreign policy implementation, the political parties are in most cases controlled by the state principles or national interest. But at times, foreign policy may be paralyzed as the different parties work to pressure a government. Many parties impact negatively on a government's performance outside its boundaries especially if the parties fuel domestic instability. In such a case, a government tends to concentrate on internal problems paying lip service to the external environment.

4.3 Conclusion

Among the domestic factors that have conditioned Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel, the economy has been significant. Kenya's foreign policy has been directed towards the improvement of the economy. The main attributes of the economy have been identified as agriculture, trade, manufacturing industry, and tourism. The country's foreign policy has been conditioned by these aspects of the country's economy.

Kenya's foreign policy has been geared towards achieving economic progress. Countries with economic capability have been important partners to Kenya. From this chapter, data has shown that our economy strongly depends on agriculture and tourism. The two aspects are basic in the general improvement of the economy. Israel and Kenya have had economic relations for a long time. The relations have always been in favour of Israel as evidenced by the balance of trade. In terms of tourism, Israel is not a very

³³⁴ Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons, (ed.), *African Foreign Policies. Power and Process* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2001), Introduction.

important tourist originating country. However, this situation can be improved for the benefit of both countries. It must also be pointed out that Kenya's agricultural sector gained from Israeli technical assistance and training. Despite this, the technical know-how has not succeeded in changing the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) in Kenya, as most are still largely unproductive.

Other domestic variables that have been discussed here include public opinion, ideological orientation, geopolitical factor, the military, parliament, political parties and the nation typology. As a developing country, Kenya's domestic concerns are the top priority. This implies that such factors influence both the choice of objectives and the kinds of policies adopted to achieve those objectives.³³⁵ For Kenya, domestic factors are the most important influences on foreign policy.

Despite its physical size, the hostile political environment, the economic hardship and the constant struggle to survive, Israel is economically viable as a partner to Kenya. Data on trade and tourism indicate the significance of Israel in the Middle East region as a recipient of Kenyan products and an average originating country for tourists. For that reason, Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is a function of its domestic condition. This leads to the confirmation of the hypotheses that; 1. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is a function of political and geo-strategic factors, and 2. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is informed by social and economic factors.

Although the average Kenyan does not make any foreign policy, public opinion in Kenya is favourable toward Israel given that majority of Kenyans are Christians who identify with Israel as the land of God's chosen people. The two countries are strong

³³⁵John Spanier and Robert L Wendzel, 9th Ed., *Games Nations Play* (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1996).

Western allies and also share various attributes implying that their goals and objectives converge. Kenya has gained economically, politically and militarily in its ties with Israel.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 KENYA'S LEADERSHIP AND FOREIGN POLICY

TOWARDS ISRAEL

5.1 Introduction

A leader is that individual who, more than any other person in the government, is recognized to have the authority to commit the country to a course of action.³³⁶ In this case it is the head of state. The involvement of that individual in an event can signify various things. Kissinger suggests that it can indicate a personalized leadership style in which government action depends on the initiative of a key individual.³³⁷ It could also reflect the particular interest which a given head of state attaches to foreign affairs or reveal the extent of national commitment to a given course of action. In almost every government, the top executive seeks to assure his/her personal involvement in matters of gravest importance to the nation's welfare. In most African countries, the foreign affairs ministers perform their duties under direct instructions from the appointing authority, the President.

³³⁶Maurice, A. East and Charles, F. Hermann, 'Do Nation-Types Account For Foreign Policy Behaviour?' in Rosenau, J. N., (Ed.), *Comparing Foreign Policies: Theories, Findings and Methods, Op. Cit.*, p. 285.

³³⁷Kissinger H., 1966, in Hermann and East, *Ibid.*

5.2 Individual Actors in Foreign Policy

Kenya has had three presidents from independence to 2002; Jomo Kenyatta (1964-78), Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002) and Mwai Kibaki (2002-). Each faced his own unique problem in the process of propelling Kenya to international recognition. Kenyatta commanded internal respect from Kenyans of all walks of life and was respected across borders as a pan-Africanist and an international figure. During his reign, the main challenge was ensuring national unity, national security and territorial integrity.³³⁸

President Moi on the other hand faced the challenge of matching Kenyatta's footsteps. It was expected that he would carry on the mantle of Kenya as a respected country in the international arena. Within Africa, Moi preached peace and Kenya's foreign policy towards countries in East African region was aimed at enhancing peace and friendly co-existence. During his reign, Kenya experienced problems from within and without. Internal political opposition to Moi's regime escalated to a level that had not been witnessed before. Problems were compounded by Western political powers and internal domestic pressure ultimately bringing KANU's regime to an end in 2002.

This chapter discusses the nature of Kenya's foreign policy under the first two leaders, Kenyatta and Moi, with a special emphasis on their orientation towards the state of Israel. This study would have covered one year of Kibaki's rule but this short time would not allow for a concrete discussion of the leader's foreign policy orientation. It is also important to note that president Kibaki served both under Kenyatta and Moi. For that reason, it is possible that his foreign policy towards Israel would not greatly deviate from his predecessors'.

³³⁸Orwa D. Katete, *Op. Cit.*, p. 303.

5. 2. 1 Foreign Policy under President Jomo Kenyatta

Kenya attained self internal government on 1st June 1963, with Jomo Kenyatta as the Prime Minister. It was a semi-federal state with a two-house legislature (House of Representatives and the Senate) and with regional governments based on redrawn provincial boundaries.³³⁹ On 12th December 1963, the territory moved to independence.³⁴⁰ The system of regionalism (*majimboism*) was gradually abandoned through amendments in the 1960s; on 12th December 1964 the regional governments were renamed provinces while the regional assemblies lost their independent powers, and authority was centralized in the national (central) government. Kenya became a republic with the president as head of state and head of government.

Kenya became a *de facto* one party state after the dissolution of Paul Ngei's African People's Party, APP, in 1963, and Kenya African Democratic Union, KADU, in 1964.³⁴¹ Given the immense political power that the constitution conferred upon him, Kenyatta was able to maintain control over the national administration, reassert central government control over local government and dominate the legislature.³⁴² The president's personal involvement was seen in almost every sector of the government under the pretext of ensuring national security. Due to this interference, personal, tribal, doctrine and policy disagreements were amplified in the Kenyatta government.

The first ministry in charge of foreign affairs was created in December 1963 and placed under the office of the Prime Minister. It was known as the Ministry of External Affairs. Honourable Joseph Murumbi became the first Minister of State for Foreign/External Affairs. However, it was not until 1969 that it became a full ministry

³³⁹ Maxon M. Robert, "The Colonial Roots", in Oyugi, W. O., *Op. Cit.*, p. 58.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² On the domination of parliament by the executive, see: "Oloo Adams, 'The Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy-Making Process in Kenya, 1963-1993'", *Op. Cit.*

known as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs housed in the old Treasury building along Harambee Avenue.³⁴³ At this particular time Kenyatta took a leading role in propagating Kenya's foreign policy particularly on the issue of territorial integrity.

According to Rosenau, small states favour participation of Heads of State in foreign policy.³⁴⁴ This, in the case of Kenyatta's era, can be said to be true especially if the policy issues were political and touching on territorial integrity of the country. This explains why President Kenyatta personally played a major role in coping with the threat of secessionist movements in the North Eastern Province (formerly Northern Frontier District).

Foreign policy under President Kenyatta was about asserting Kenya's position on the world stage.³⁴⁵ From independence to around 1968, he took a centre stage in Kenya's foreign policy. This can be explained by the fact that foreign affairs was run from the Office of the President until 1968. All the ministers; Hon. Joseph Murumbi (1963), Hon. Mbiyu Koinange (1963), Hon. James Nyamweya (1967), and Hon. Argwings K'odhek (1968), served as Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs in the Office of the President. From 1969 to 1978, the ministry was under the leadership of powerful and influential ministers, namely, Hon. Dr. Njoroge Mungai (in 1974, also the president's personal physician) and Hon. Dr. F. L. Munyua Waiyaki (1974-1978). These were the people who created and executed Kenya's foreign Policy. The early years of Kenyatta's regime were also occupied by propagation of the policy of national security and political stability. Everything was done to improve Kenya's security/military posture in the region. Reaching out to friendly states such as Great Britain, U S A and Israel was therefore in line with this policy.

³⁴³See chapter 2 for a brief history of the ministry.

³⁴⁴Rosenau J. N., *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy, Op. Cit.*

³⁴⁵*African Review of Foreign Policy*, Vol.1 No. 2, July, 1999, p. 44.

When African states started to sever relations with Israel in 1973, Kenyatta was among the African leaders who resisted the call. This was probably in line with Kenya's foreign policy of being a friend to all and an enemy to none. Kenya professed good neighbourliness, international co-operation, based on equality in a background of peace and stability. Kenyatta took a long time to make a decision on this issue and when he finally did on October 20th 1973, he said:

“One thing we should not poke our noses into is the conflicts of other peoples. I for one will not drag you into the conflicts of other peoples. We will remain friends of all and enemies of none.”³⁴⁶

Under President Kenyatta, Kenya and Israel had initiated cordial relations. This friendly relation was based on mutual trust and respect. Even before independence Israeli experts from various fields were engaged with the rising Kenyan leadership and assisted in the difficult task of creating and strengthening state building institutions. The seeds for the creation of the National Youth Service, NYS, were based on the Israeli “Gadna” experience of enlisting the country's youth for nation building through various activities such as agriculture.³⁴⁷ In 1964, Israel supported the formation of the paramilitary General Service Unit, GSU, in Kenya. This specialised unit provides security for the president and top government officials, Israel's El Al flights in Nairobi, Israeli embassy, most diplomatic residences and embassies operating in Kenya.³⁴⁸

The similar semi-arid climate, which exists both in Kenya and Israel allowed Kenyan citizens to travel to Israel for enrichment courses. Following an official visit to Kenya by Golda Meir, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1963, it was decided in a

³⁴⁶Gitelson S. A., *Israel's African setback in Perspective*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

³⁴⁷Asher Naim, 'Jomo Kenyatta and Israel', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 17: (3-4), Fall 2005, pp. 3-5. Also, <http://nairobi.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/main/document>.

³⁴⁸Otenyo, E., 'New Terrorism. Toward an Explanation of Cases in Kenya', *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.

meeting with Kenyatta that more emphasis should be put on Kenya's training needs in agriculture and medicine among others. The result was an extended effort to train Kenyans on Israeli know-how by MASHAV, the Centre for International Cooperation, under the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Under the organization, trainees from Kenya were flown to Israel for study.³⁴⁹

In the region, Kenya could not wholly trust its two neighbours, Uganda and Tanzania, both members of the East African Community. Kenyatta's toleration of Idi Amin who came to power in Uganda through a coup in February 1971 heightened differences between Kenya and Tanzania. This was because Kenya and Uganda had mutual interests in their economic cooperation. The Mutual economic cooperation between Kenya and Uganda began to be compromised when Idi Amin claimed part of Western Kenya.³⁵⁰

The cooperation was further dealt a blow during the Israeli raid on Entebbe airport in 1976 to free hostages held by Iran-backed hijackers. At this time, Uganda's economic cooperation with Kenya was overlooked in favour of Israel's interests. Kenya played a major role in providing not only air space but also landing space to refuel for the Israeli rescue commando unit. This episode cemented Kenya's relations with Israel. According to Naomi Chazan,³⁵¹ Kenya was seen as economically, politically and geographically, a key regional focus for Israel. This special interest lay in Kenya's ability to take independent stands on issues. Despite Kenya's economic relations with neighbouring Uganda, and its support for the Palestinians in the Middle East crisis, Kenyatta allowed Kenya air and land space to be used for the Entebbe rescue mission.

³⁴⁹ Asher Naim, 'Jomo Kenyatta and Israel', *Op. Cit.*

³⁵⁰ Okoth, P. G., "The Foreign Policy of Uganda since Independence toward Kenya and Tanzania", in Oyugi, W. O., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 369-375.

³⁵¹ Naomi Chazan, "Israel in Africa", In the *Jerusalem Quarterly*, No .18, winter 1981, p. 42.

Israel had forged ties with Kenyatta and won his confidence before independence in anticipation of fruitful relations.³⁵² The Entebbe raid was Kenyatta's loyal support to Israel; a country that had in the early 1960s initiated assistance programmes in the fields of pilot and military training, security and intelligence cooperation among others. It was also a gesture of 'returning a hand'. The policy of 'you scratch my back and I yours' was put in practise during this crisis. This is because, earlier before, the Israeli intelligence had informed Kenya about the full extent of Chinese network in the country. This exposure led to expulsion of most Chinese out of Kenya despite their protests that they were only businessmen.³⁵³ Kenyatta laid the strong foundation in Kenya-Israeli relations.

Two days before independence, Kenyatta and Israeli Foreign Minister, Golda Meir, laid the foundation of the first embassy (Israeli) in Kenya. At this ceremony president Kenyatta said that he looked forward to Kenya-Israeli friendship as the two countries had much in common historically.³⁵⁴ Kenyatta remained friendly and trustful towards Israel all his life.

5. 2. 2 Foreign Policy under President Daniel Arap Moi

When Moi came to power after the death of Jomo Kenyatta on 22nd August 1978, Kenya's relations with its immediate neighbours were rather shaky.³⁵⁵ Somalia was still a threat from the East, receiving military assistance from the former Soviet Union and the Arab nations; the East African Community had collapsed in 1977; Kenya's border to the

³⁵²Asher Naim, "Jomo Kenyatta and Israel" *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 17: 3-4, Fall 2005, p. 1.

³⁵³Gordon Thomas, *Gideon's Spies. The Secret History of the Mosad* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), p. 259.

³⁵⁴Asher Naim, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

³⁵⁵*Nyayo Pictorial. The First Ten Great years of Nyayo Era*. Department of Information, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Kenya, 1988, p. 76.

south remained closed by Tanzania (since mid 1977) while Uganda remained in turmoil under a military dictatorship.³⁵⁶

President Moi's challenge was to restore peace and good neighbourliness so as to bring about greater understanding and cooperation for the sub-region.³⁵⁷ In Africa, Kenya under Moi gave support to liberation movements in Southern Africa, recognizing and according A N C diplomatic status. Moi also was the longest serving chairman of O A U, serving for unprecedented two years from 1981.³⁵⁸

In his foreign policy, Moi followed Kenyatta's foot-steps. Like Kenyatta, he propagated the policy of non-interference in domestic affairs and national integrity of other states. Kenya also continued to seek foreign private investment as well as grants and loans from international donors to augment domestic resources. Kenya turned to friendly countries that, in Moi's words:

“Have understood our quest for economic sovereignty and have not made their financial and technical assistance an insufferable burden.”³⁵⁹

Although not mentioned, Israel would fit the above description well. Limited by budgetary considerations, Israel was not part of colonial legacy and did not constitute a threat to Kenya's integrity. Israel shared with Kenya a desire for non-aligned status, and its mixed economy reflected the plans of many African governments such as Kenya. Israel's experiences with, and solutions to many of the problems which it shared with the states of sub-Saharan Africa appealed to African leaders, who requested assistance in almost all aspects of nation building.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶Ibid.

³⁵⁷Ibid.

³⁵⁸Ibid.

³⁵⁹Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning and National Development, *Development Plan, 1979/83*: iii.

³⁶⁰Ethan A. Nadelmann, “Israel and Black Africa: A Rapprochement,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 19 No. 2, *Op. Cit.*, p. 188.

Orwa Katete³⁶¹ argues that the main difference between Kenyatta's and Moi's foreign policy lies in the personal involvement of the president. Kenyatta was seen to have maintained a low profile in the management of foreign policy especially in the twilight years of his leadership. On the other hand, Moi took the centre stage in the country's foreign policy. Due to the pressing economic needs, Moi had to look beyond Israel for assistance.

Upon taking office, Moi visited most leading capitals of the world to promote global understanding among nations. He visited US, United Kingdom, Holland, France, Germany, China, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Finland, Korea, Japan and China. In the Middle-East, he visited Egypt, United Arab Emirates, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Kenya's economic and financial interests were the main motivations behind the personal presidential visits, especially to the Arab world. Immediately after his visit to the Arab nations, promises of generous loans were made and since 1980, many commercial, economic and political Arab delegations visited Kenya.

Kenya's foreign policy at this particular time was not only pragmatic and prudent but also in line with positive non-alignment, which served national self-interest of Kenya. The economic objectives of Kenya would be served better in cooperation with those nations that had economic capability. Israel is a small country constrained by budgetary considerations because of limited resources. According to Rosenau, small states are less likely to have the diversified internal capabilities to achieve the degree of self-sufficiency enjoyed by larger states.³⁶² This would explain why it did not feature among those countries visited by president Moi at that time.

³⁶¹Orwa D. Katete, "Continuity and change, Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi" in Oyugi W. O., *Op. Cit.*, p. 318.

³⁶²Rosenau, J. N., "Theories and Pre-theories of Foreign Policy' in Rosenau, J. N., *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy* (London: Pinter, 1980).

Israel largely depends on the US and European partners economically, as there is little trade with the Arab neighbours. Due to hostile neighbours, Israel has had a lot of economic difficulties. The Jewish community in the US and the Diaspora also provides most of the economic support needed by the state of Israel.³⁶³ Like Kenya, Israel receives economic assistance and aid from other external sources. In this context, the rapprochement with Germany was of considerable importance. Since the signing of reparations agreement in 1952, which led to establishment of diplomatic relations in 1965, Germany has been Israel's strongest supporter in the European community. It is therefore apparent that Moi's visit to the Arab capitals and his sympathetic tone to the Palestinian issue while there was a tactical move to attract assistance due to their superior economic capability boosted by their oil resource.

The relationship between Kenya and Israel under President Moi was cordial. It was under president Moi that the official diplomatic links were restored with Israel in 1988, a move that was attributed to the good developments in the Middle East conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The statement released by the Kenya Government to this effect said:

“Having observed the recent development regarding the Middle East peace process and acceptance of the United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Kenya Government is satisfied that the future augurs well for the region...It is the Government's belief that in order to pave the way for better understanding, love for one another must be established in order to create mutual trust.”³⁶⁴

³⁶³See Brecher, M., *Decisions in Israeli Foreign Policy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 314.

³⁶⁴*Daily Nation*, Saturday, December 24, 1988, p. 1.

This statement tends to suggest that Kenya re-established the links with Israel as a result of good progress in the Middle East crisis. This is misleading in the sense that, many other African countries had already renewed links with Israel. They included Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire, Liberia, former Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Togo and Egypt. Three other African countries, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland, never broke ties with Israel. Although Kenya's turn to renew ties was long overdue, the country wanted the world to know that it is 'concerned' about the plight of those suffering in the Middle East. But for Kenya, the crisis in the region does not affect its bilateral relations with Israel. Two weeks before the restoration of diplomatic ties, President Moi had hinted to this by saying:

“...We take pride in re-affirming our commitment to the strengthening of the bonds that bind us with friendly nations of the world. We belong to a world that is full of challenges and opportunities.”³⁶⁵

From 1973 when official ties were cut to 1988 when they were restored, Kenya had 'maintained' links with Israel through the Danish Embassy. The two countries were not, therefore, starting from the beginning. According to the then ambassador-designate, Mr. Arie Ivtsan:

“It was a very moving moment for us all in the embassy, the Jewish community and representatives of the Danish Embassy who have been overseeing Israel's interests.”³⁶⁶

Mr. Ivtsan had come into Kenya as Israel's permanent Representative to United Nations Environmental Programme, UNEP and Habitat. According to the ambassador, the action taken by president Moi was a courageous act of statesmanship. Through this

³⁶⁵Ibid.

³⁶⁶*Daily Nation*, Saturday, December 31, 1988, p. 1.

move Kenya stood to gain immensely from Israel's sophisticated agriculture and its success in the community health. From this action Kenya stood to gain Israeli expertise in agriculture, particularly drip irrigation, with the aim of boosting local food production. Other benefits were in training of Kenyan medical personnel, strengthening political relations, educational, cultural and business contacts.

Kenya's pragmatic decision to renew diplomatic ties with Israel did not go down well with the Arab League which felt that the action was not only untimely but also not in the interest of the Palestinian cause.³⁶⁷ This prompted a rejoinder from Kenya's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Robert Ouko, who reminded the Arab League of Kenya's consistent pro-PLO voting in the UN and the recognition of PLO by Kenya. In response to criticisms that Kenya was yet to recognise the Palestinian state in exile, Dr Ouko said that Kenya never makes formal statements of recognition of states.³⁶⁸ Despite Kenya's supposed strong feelings for the Palestinians, it was not ready to be categorical about its support for the Palestinian statehood.

Under Moi's leadership, Kenya was perceived to be a close ally of Israel because members of Moi's government had business connections with Israeli nationals.³⁶⁹ Nicholas Biwott, a prominent and powerful member of cabinet in Moi's government for example, was a business associate of several Israeli nationals, including wealthy businessman Gad Ze'evi who had interests in communication and electricity sectors. Another reason was that Israel trained President Moi's security detail.³⁷⁰

In January 1994, President Moi made a four-day official visit to Israel to cement the relationship between the two countries. While there, President Moi hailed the peace

³⁶⁷Ibid.

³⁶⁸Ibid.

³⁶⁹Otenyo, E., "New Terrorism. Toward an explanation of Cases in Kenya", *African Security Review*, 13 (3), 2004, p. 80.

³⁷⁰Ibid.

efforts between Israel and PLO and particularly praised the Israeli-PLO peace accord signed in Washington in September 1993:

“This historic occasion was only possible as a result of courage and patriotism by the Jewish people and their leadership...We in Kenya applaud and salute your valiant efforts...”³⁷¹

The visit by the president to Israel was a historic one because it was the first one by a Kenyan Head of State since Kenya’s independence. It brought joy and fond memories to the president. At a dinner hosted by President Ezer Weizmann and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Moi said:

“I was overwhelmed with joy when I rested my foot on your soil. It reminded me of the obvious joy Abraham Block must have had when he stepped on the Kenyan soil in 1903.”³⁷²

The president was in a way reminding the Jews that Kenya had, in a small way, offered an alternative home to the Jewish people during the difficult times of world history. He also used the opportunity to thank the Israeli nationals residing in Kenya for engaging not only in commerce and other income generating activities, but also in government administration, recalling that in 1957, a Jew, Mr. Israel Somen was unanimously elected mayor of Nairobi.

The visit by President Moi at a time when peace negotiations with the PLO were going on was seen by the Israeli leadership as proof of Kenya’s confidence in Israel. President Weizmann said that Kenya and Israel were friends who both struggled to attain independence. He also thanked Kenya for helping Israel in time of need (the 1976 Entebbe rescue mission). Both leaders proved that the relationship between the two

³⁷¹*Kenya Times*, Monday, January 10th, 1994, p. 1.

³⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 2. Mr. Block was the second Jew to arrive in Kenya after a Mr. Marcus, after which many more Jewish families fleeing persecution came to settle.

countries has been very strong and based on genuine friendship. This was strengthened further by the signing of a cultural exchange accord during the visit. It was after the visit that a full-fledged Kenyan embassy was opened in Tel Aviv.

The visit to Israel was a learning experience for Kenya's leadership about what can be achieved in agriculture through irrigation, advanced technology and farming methods. Israel turned arid land into rich/productive farms. While addressing the Israeli parliament, Knesset, Moi said:

“Israel faces many problems that Kenyans face such as uncertain rains, extensive arid lands and infertile soils...The example you have set in areas of agriculture and technology, particularly in irrigation, is one we must heed and emulate in Kenya.”³⁷³

Kenya could learn a lot from Israel. President Moi found the Jews to be a very friendly, patriotic and hard working people. That is why the president on his return to Kenya asked Kenyans to be patriotic like Jews and put the interests of the nation first. Moi called for cooperation with Israel in all aspects of development, cultural, political or even technological. He, however, noted that there was need to strengthen economic co-operation. Kenya does not have a trade agreement with the state of Israel.³⁷⁴

After the state visit, support in agriculture and other areas of technical assistance increased. The resumption of diplomatic ties enabled many Israeli experts to come to Kenya to hold ‘on the spot’ courses in various fields for large groups of trainees. The most notable result in the agricultural sector is the Kibwezi Irrigation Project, a large scale school of irrigation, created in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development, USAID, to bring the success made in Israel in the field of

³⁷³*Kenya Times*, Tuesday, January 11, 1994, p. 1.

³⁷⁴Personal interview with a Trade Officer, Middle East Desk, Department of External Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry .

irrigation to Kenya. This project transformed the surrounding regions into self-sustaining, flourishing area. Moi made other visits to Israel in 1995; once after Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin's assassination and later for a (medical) private visit.

Kenya's relations with Israel under President Moi remained strong despite calls from certain quarters to rethink the relations. In September 2001, the influential Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, SUPKEM, issued a statement calling for an end to diplomatic links between Kenya and Israel, citing Israeli abuse of Palestinian rights. This request was never acted upon by the Kenya government. The Muslim pressure did not succeed in affecting Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. Like Kenyatta, Moi was a loyal and a genuine friend to the state of Israel to the end of his reign in 2002.

5.3 Conclusion

Kenya's foreign policy since independence can be said to have been pragmatic. The Kenyan leaders, Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi, were faced with challenges that called for major decisions that had long-term consequences. We have in mind here the severing of diplomatic ties and the Entebbe rescue mission during Kenyatta's regime and the re-establishment of diplomatic ties between Kenya and Israel during Moi's regime. According to Hans Morgenthau, a state pursues a policy aimed at three things; keeping power, increasing power or demonstrating power.³⁷⁵ Kenya has over the years pursued a policy that tends toward keeping power or a policy of the status quo. The Kenyan leaders have been more concerned with basically the same domestic variables that have appeared under the general title of national interest. Decisions made by the Presidents have thus been oriented towards national interest; national security, territorial integrity, economic development, national unity and continued independence of Kenya.

³⁷⁵Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations, The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson (New Delhi: Kalyani, 1991), p. 52.

Kenya's foreign policy under the first two presidents slightly differed. Under Kenyatta, the ministers in charge of foreign affairs tried to assert themselves³⁷⁶ while under Moi the ministers had to be cautious since the liberty to act was limited by the ever present President. Moi has been seen as a president who occupied a centre-stage in the country's foreign policy.

The belief system of the leaders also set them apart. A belief system is the collection of beliefs, images or models of the world that any individual holds. The belief system is composed of a more or less integrated set of images which make up the entire relevant universe for the individual. They encompass past, present, and expectations of future reality and value preference of what ought to be.³⁷⁷ While Kenyatta was pre-occupied with national security, Moi was pre-occupied with peace, love and unity. The belief system performed important functions for the leaders. It oriented them to the outside world, organized their perceptions and guided their behavior.

Kenya-Israeli relations under the Kenyatta and Moi regimes were cordial and productive. Kenya was like a second home to many Jews. This is because after settling, they were ready to take part in social, economic and most importantly, political activities. The election of Mr. Israel Somen to the mayoral position in Nairobi in 1957, attests to this. Although Kenya was sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, the leadership gave little support to Palestinian aspirations to statehood. It is therefore safe to assert that Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is unlikely to be affected by the Palestinian issue as has been evidenced from the first two regimes.

³⁷⁶ *African Review of Foreign Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1999, p. 44.

³⁷⁷ Ole R. Holsti, "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 6, 1962, pp. 244-252. Cited in, Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, *Op. Cit.*, p. 249.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel has been an attempt to reconcile international morality and national interest. In its foreign policy towards Israel, Kenya is continually constrained by the issue of Palestine in the Middle East crisis, and has had to

grapple with challenges and opportunities that emanate from the external environment. However, the country has been able to manoeuvre its way round the constraints and in the process managed to balance its national interests and the international expectation. The motivation behind Israel's involvement with various countries in Africa is the isolation the country faces in the Middle East. According to Ethan Nadelmann³⁷⁸ the Arab-Israeli conflict has pushed both Arabs and Israel to compete for friendship and support in Africa. This has caused a dilemma for the African states' foreign policies towards Israel and Kenya's is no exception.

Kenya has over the years had very special relations with Israel. The relations began long before Kenya's independence and to date the historical ties continue to bind the two countries. With the diplomatic rupture in 1973, Kenya continued with the relations with Israel, culminating in the 1976 assistance in the Entebbe rescue mission. After the official renewal of the diplomatic ties in 1988, many programmes were initiated by Israel to assist Kenya. This was followed by various agreements signed between the two countries.³⁷⁹

Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel since independence, 1963, has been the main discussion in this thesis. The study has tried to show how Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is determined and conditioned by a wide array of variables ranging from the domestic to the external arenas. The historical ties, the threat of terrorism, ideology, the domestic economic conditions, public opinion, geography, nature of leadership, and international moral considerations, are the variables that come into play in Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. However, what Kenya chooses to do or to avoid on the

³⁷⁸Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Israel and Black Africa a Rapprochement" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 19, No. 2, *Op. Cit*

³⁷⁹Apart from secondary data, this information was also provided by an interviewee, a Second Secretary, Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

multilateral stage does not affect its relations with Israel. There is no direct correlation between its behaviour within the UN, for example, and especially in relation to the Middle East conflict, and its actual behaviour towards Israel. The contradiction between rhetoric and practice in its foreign policy towards Israel, is a delicate balancing act of the international responsibility and expected moral principles on one hand and national interest on the other.

6.2 Conclusions and Findings

The guiding hypotheses in this study were about the factors that influence Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. Chapter two discussed the history of Kenya's foreign policy and it emerged that Kenya and Israel have had a historical relationship that goes back to the pre-independence period. It also emerged that the two countries share a common historical background; the British colonialism and the struggle for independence, a background that has led to genuine friendly relationship between the countries.

Policy decisions also reflect actual and perceived external factors. In chapter three the study focused on the external actors and factors that condition Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. Chapter three confirmed the hypothesis that systemic factors are marginal for Kenya's vital foreign policy predisposition towards Israel. Kenya's foreign policy towards the UN, for example, has not affected its relations with Israel. The study showed that in the UN Kenya has always taken stands that are in line with UN principles, especially when it is about the Middle East conflict. This is because Kenya did not want to go against the UN principles of maintaining world peace, security, good relations among states and upholding human rights. While Israel viewed most of the UN

resolutions as inimical to its interests, Kenya on the other hand had to support the resolutions that are unacceptable to the state of Israel.

It is logical for Kenya to appear to be on the side of Arabs/Palestinians in the Middle East crisis because the Arabs, like most African countries, belong to the third world. Their votes are also crucial in global forums and could be used to pressure the major powers to be sensitive to the interests of the poor countries. Although Kenya's behaviour within the UN seems to suggest an extreme position against Israel, this research found that there is no link between what Kenya chooses to do or not to do at the UN and its foreign policy towards Israel. In the UN Kenya gets an opportunity to be part of those states that are seen to play a key role in international diplomatic effort to resolve world conflicts.

Chapter three also focused on Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel in relation to various terrorist acts such as the Entebbe hostage standoff, the Norfolk bombing, the Nairobi US embassy bombing and the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel bombing in Kikambala. Although in all the above cases Kenya was not the intended target, the country was drawn into the centre of the action. This meant that Kenya had to be an important partner alongside USA and Israel among other Western / European countries in the global war on international terrorism. Because terrorism reinvents itself by acquiring latest techniques, sophisticated weapons, inflicting more severe harm and becoming more incognito, countering its threat too calls for a more concerted cooperation. Indeed after the terrorist acts, Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel became even more accommodative.

Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is strongly motivated by the belief that Israel is a genuine friend of Kenya. It is with such true friends that a real partnership can

be developed especially in this era of global war on international terrorism. It is in the national interests of Kenya to maintain the cordial relations with Israel, a country that represents a wider interest for Kenya. Israel serves a very important role as an American/Western outpost in the Middle East. Kenya gains indirectly from the Western powers by maintaining cordial ties with Israel. Benefits may come in form of grants, credibility with the West and consequently, leverage in the East African region if not in the continent.

Chapter four discussed the domestic factors and the economy was the most important influence in Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel. Kenya's economy relies heavily on agriculture, an aspect in which Kenya has received considerable assistance from Israel. Kenya has had scientific and technical agreements with Israel, agreements meant to improve the agricultural potential of the country and hence improve the economy. Israel is an important economic partner in the region as it provides a fairly sizeable market for a variety of Kenya's products, in addition to being a modest tourist originating country. The close ties are also motivated by political and military factors. While Kenya provides Israel with profitable market for the military hardware, Kenya's military capability is improved by the acquisition of the sophisticated weapons.³⁸⁰ Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel is also conditioned by political and geo-strategic factors. Kenya's strategic geographical position is still as important today, due to the desire by the Western powers to stop the tide of international terrorism, just as it was during the cold war period.³⁸¹

Public opinion hardly counts in terms of what a state intends to do or not, but in this case, religion was seen as a motivation behind the positive perception of Israel among the Kenyan public. Christianity teaches through the Holy Bible that Israel is the

³⁸⁰ Frank Andre Gunder, *Crisis in the Third World* (London: Heinemann, 1981), p. 51.

³⁸¹ Nying'uro, P.O., *Op. Cit.*, 1999, p. 173.

land of God's chosen people, and whoever blesses them shall be blessed.³⁸² For this reason, public opinion has been favourable to the state of Israel and the Muslim pressure in Kenya has failed to influence Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

Kenya's foreign policy since independence has been a function of national interest. It was indeed clear from chapter five that Kenya's foreign policy under Presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi was aimed at achieving national interest. This was propagated through a policy of retaining the status quo under the guidance of 'positive nonalignment.' Under the first two presidents, Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was that of loyalty, mutual assistance, accommodation and genuine friendship. Throughout the regimes, save for a continental approach to the diplomatic rapture, there was little shift in Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel.

6.3 Recommendations

Although the study found that economically the balance of trade is tilted in favour of Israel, it is our recommendation that a lot can still be done to improve this situation. Israel and Kenya are viable partners in other areas of development such as dry land research. This therefore means that Kenya should carry on with its cordial relations through friendly and realistic policies towards Israel. It is also recommended that Kenya should encourage Israel to engage more in Kenya through the joint ventures. The dry lands of Kenya are still largely unproductive and hunger is a perennial problem in most parts of Kenya. There is urgent need to maximize the utilization of Israel's dry land management technology so as to alleviate the hunger problem in Kenya.

Given the rising wave of terrorism, this study recommends that collective response should be enhanced to combat international terrorism. Although a range of

³⁸² The Holy Bible, Genesis 28: 13-15, 32: 25-29, Exodus 27: 29.

measures have been taken (the tabling of anti-terrorism bill, security precautions at airports and creation of international counter-terrorism forces) a lot more can still be done about the security at the border points. All states have/should have an interest in bringing to an end this war on international terrorism. Kenya and Israel should realise that their national interests can be served well only through cooperation.

The study is not, however, exhaustive. Further research could be done in the economic, military, education and cultural domain; on the nature of the relations between Kenya and Israel during the diplomatic rapture between 1973 and 1988; on President Kibaki's foreign policy orientation towards Israel and on the role of international terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy. The major question one would want to ask is why Kenya has suffered terrorist attacks, by exploring the role of the links among Kenya, Israel, USA and the Arabs in perpetrating hatred towards Kenya by terrorist groups.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Aaron Raymond, *Peace and War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).

Abdulaziz Al-Sowayegh, *Arab Petro-Politics* (London and Canberra: CroomHelm, 1984).

Adar G. Korwa, *The Significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the modal determinant of Relations: A Case Study of Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Somalia, 1963 -1983* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994).

Andre Gunder Frank, *Crisis in the Third World* (London: Heinemann, 1981).

- Allison G. T., *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown, 1971).
- Anyang' P. Nyong'o, Aseghedech Ghirmazion and Davinder Lamba, (Eds.), *NEPAD: A New Path?* (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2002).
- Arnold G., *Kenyatta and the Politics of Kenya* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1974).
- Asher Arian (Ed.), *Israel- A Developing Society* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980).
- Babbie Earl, *The Practice of Social Research* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989).
- Barston R. P., (Ed.), *The Other Powers: Studies in the Foreign Policies of Small States* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1973).
- Baylis John and Steve Smith, (Eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Bell, M. J. V., *Military Assistance to Independent African States* (London: The Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper No. 15, 1964).
- Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection. Who Israel arms and Why?* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988).
- Bennett A. Leroy, *International Organizations. Principles and Issues* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1988).
- Bill A. James and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1994).
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Confronting New Challenges* (New York: United Nations, 1995).

Brecher M., *Decisions in Israeli Foreign Policy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, *World politics: The Menu for Choice*, 3rd edition (New York: Freeman and Company, 1989).

Calvert Peter, *Latin America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

Craig Edward, (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2 (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

Crotty William, (Ed.), *Political Science: Looking To the Future. Comparative Politics, Policy and International Relations* (Illinois: North Western University Press, 1991).

Dixon A. John, *et al*, *Dry land Management: Economic Case Studies* (London: Earthscan Publication Ltd 1990).

Draper T., *Israel and the Middle East* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1983).

Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (Glencoe, Il: Free Press, 1951).

Farrel, R.B., (Ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics* (Evanston: North-western University Press, 1966).

Frankel Joseph, *The Making of Foreign Policy. An Analysis of Decision-Making* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Feliks Gross and Adolf A. Berle Jr., *Foreign Policy Analysis* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954).

Gertzel C. Maure Goldschmidt and Rothchild Donald, (Ed.), *Government and Politics in Kenya. A Nation Building Text* (Nairobi: E A P H, 1969).

- Gilpin Robert, *The political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- Golda Meir, *My life* (London: Futura Publications Ltd., 1975).
- Goldstein S. Joshua, *International Relations*, 6th ed. (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley, 2005).
- Gordon Thomas, *Gideon's Spies. The Secret History of the Mossad* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
- Hancock Graham, *Lords of Poverty* (London: Macmillan, 1989).
- Hanrieder F. Wolfram, *Comparative Foreign Policy. Theoretical Essays* (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1971).
- Hargreaves, J. D., *Decolonization in Africa* (London: Longman, 1991).
- Hazlewood Arthur, *The Economy of Kenya. The Kenyatta Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Hermann, C. F., et al, (Eds.), *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987).
- Hillman S. Richard, (Ed.), *Understanding Latin America* (London: Boulder, 1997).
- Hoffman, H. S., (Ed.), *Contemporary Theory in International Relations* (Englewood Cliff, N. J: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960).
- Holsti Kalevi Jaaka, *International Politics. A framework for Analysis* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1983).
- Joel Peters, *Israel and Africa: The Diplomatic Friendship* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992).
- John M. Staatz, (ed.), *Agricultural development in the Third World* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984).

Johnson J. John, (Ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

Kalecki, M., *Essays on Developing Economies* (London: The Harvester Press, 1976).

Kant Immanuel, *Critique of Pure Reason*, tr. N. K. Smith (London: Macmillan, 1929).

Kaplan Irving, *et al*, *Area Handbook for Kenya* (Washington D.C: July 1967).

Karel C. Wellens, (Ed.), *Resolutions and Statements of the United Nations Security Council, 1946-1992, A Thematic Guide* (London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990).

Kegley W. Charles Jr., (Ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and Neo-liberal Challenge* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

_____ and Wittkopf R. Eugene, *World Politics. Trend and Transformation*, 6th Ed. (New York: Martin's Press, 1997).

Kenyatta Jomo, *Facing Mount Kenya, The Tribal Life of the Kikuyu* (London: Mercury Books, 1961).

_____, *Suffering Without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968).

_____, *Harambee: The Prime Minister of Kenya Speeches, 1963-1964; from the Attainment of Self Government to the threshold of the Kenya Republic* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1964).

- Keohane Robert and Nye Joseph, *Power and Interdependence. World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989).
- Kerlinger N. Fred, *Foundation of Behavioural Research, Education and Psychological Inquiry* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1964).
- Khadiagala M. Gilbert and Terrence Lyons, (Ed.), *African Foreign Policies. Power and Process* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2001).
- Kimuyu Pete, *et al*, (Ed.), *Kenya's Strategic Policies for the 21st Century: Macroeconomic and Sectoral Choices* (Nairobi: IPAR, 1999).
- Kipper J. and H. H. Sounders, *The Middle East in Global Perspective* (Colorado: West View Press, 1991).
- Kuhn S. Thomas, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd Ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
- Le Vine T. Victor and Timothy W. Luke, *The Arab-African Connection: Political and Economic Realities* (Boulder: West View Press, 1979).
- Lenczowski George, *The Middle East in World Affairs* (London: Cornell University Press, 1980).
- Locke John, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, edited by P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- Lowenthal Marvin, (Ed.), *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (NY: Grosset and Dunlap, 1962).
- Macmillan School Atlas for Social Studies* (Nairobi: Macmillan Publishers, 2004).

Madeley J., *Trade and the Poor. The Impact of International Trade on Developing Countries* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, Ltd., 1996).

Mallison Thomas W. and Mallison Sally, *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order* (London: Longman, 1986).

Mazrui A. Ali, *Cultural Forces in World Politics* (London: James Currey Ltd., 1990).

Mboya Tom, *Freedom and After* (London: Andrew Deutsch, 1963).

Merton K. Robert, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

Montesquieu, C. L. de S., *The Spirit of Laws*, tr. by Thomas Nugent, with an Introduction by Franz Neumann (New York: Hafner, 1949).

Mordechai E. Kreinin, *Israel and Africa...A study in Technical Cooperation* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964).

Morgenthau, J. Hans, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967).

Mugenda M. Olive and Abel G. Mugenda, *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies, 1999).

Nachmias Chava Frankforte and David Nachmias, *Research Methods in Social Sciences* (London: Martins Press, 1996).

Nettleship R. L., *Lectures on the Republic of Plato* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

Ochieng W. R. (Ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1989).

_____ and R. M. Maxon, *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, Ltd., 1992).

Oded Arye, *Africa, and The Middle East Conflict* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987).

_____, *Islam and Politics in Kenya* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

Okoth P. Godfrey, *United States of America's Foreign Policy toward Kenya, 1952 – 1969* (Nairobi: Gideon S. Were, 1992).

Olatunde J. C. B. Ojo, D. K. Orwa and C. M. B. Utete, *African International Relations* (Lagos: Longman, 1985).

Oyugi W. O., (Ed.), *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd., 1994).

Paton Rob, *et al*, (Ed.), *Organizations; Cases, Issues, and Concepts* (London: Harper and Row, 1984).

Pierre de Senarclens and Ali Kazancigil, (Ed.), *Regulating Globalization. Critical Approaches to Global Governance* (New York: UN University Press, 2007).

Renouvin Pierre and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Introduction to the History of International Relations*, trans. Mary Ilford (Oxford: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1967).

Rosenau N. James, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy* (London: Frances Pinter, 1980).

_____, (Ed.), *Comparing Foreign Policies: Theories Findings and Methods* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974).

Roskin G. Michael, *Countries and Concepts. An Introduction to Comparative Politics* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1998).

Rufus Lears, *Fulfilment: The Epic story of Zionism* (New York: Herzl Press, 1972).

Russel K. Schutt, *Investigating the Social World. The Process and Practice of Research* (London: Pine Forge Press, 1996).

Satya P. R., (Ed.), *Mohamed Farah Aidid and his Vision of Somalia* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994).

Seymour M. Hersh, *The Samson Option: Israel, America and the Bomb* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991).

Shimeon Amir, *Israel's Development Cooperation with Africa, Asia and Latin America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

Snyder Richard Carlton, et al, (Ed.), *Foreign Policy Decision-Making. An Approach to the Study of International Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

Spanier, J. and R. L. Wendzel, *Games Nations Play, 9th ed.* (Washington D.C: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1996).

Uma Lele, (Ed.), *Aid to African Agriculture. Lessons from two Decades of Donor's Experience* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991).

Vasquez A. John, *Classics of International Relations*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996).

Wallace William, *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1977).

Wallerstein Immanuel, *The Modern World Systems. Capitalist Agriculture and the origins of European World Economy in the 16th Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

Waltz Kenneth Neal, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random House, 1979).

Waruhiu Itote, *Mau Mau General* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967).

Weisbord G. Robert, *African Zion* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1998).

Wilkinson Paul, *Political Terrorism* (London: McMillan, 1974).

Articles and Journals

Abel Jacob, "Israel's Military Aid to Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9, 2, 1971.

Asher Naim, "Jomo Kenyatta and Israel", *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 17: (3-4), Fall 2005.

Ali A. Mazrui, "African Islam and Competitive Religion: Between Revivalism and Expansionism", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1988, pp. 499-518.

Colin Legum, 'Israel's Year in Africa: A Study of Secret Diplomacy', *Africa Contemporary Record 1972-73*, (1973), p. A 128.

Decalo Samuel, "Israel Foreign Policy and the Third World", *Orbis*, Fall, 1967.

Dos Santos, T., "The Structure of Dependence", *American Economic Review*, 1970.

Furtado C., "The Concept of International Dependence in the Study of Underdevelopment", Paper to the Union for Radical Economics, Washington D.C., 10 November, 1972.

Gitelson Susan Aurelia, "Israel's African Setback in Perspective" *Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problem*, Number 6, Hebrew University, May 1974.

Griffin K., "The International Transmission of Inequality", *World Development*, March, 1974.

Hermann, Margaret G., "Explaining Foreign Policy Behaviour Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders" *International Study Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1 March 1980.

Holsti Ole, "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 6, 1962.

Howell John, "Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy", *Journal of Modern African Studies*,
Vol. 6, (1), 1968.

Hughes J. Antony, "Policy Options in the Horn", *Africa Report*, May-June, 1981.

Irvin Gershenberg, "Multinational Enterprises, Transfer of Managerial Know-how,
Technology Choice and Employment Effects: A case study of Kenya",
Geneva, 1983.

Jacob R., "Aspects of Israeli Foreign Policy", in Barston, R. P. (Ed.), *The other Powers
Studies in Foreign Policies of Small States* (London: George Allen
and Unwin Ltd., 1973).

Katete, D. Orwa, "Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to
Moi" in Oyugi, W. O., (Ed.), *Politics and Administration in East
Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd., 1994).

Kissinger H., "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy" in Wolfram F., Hanrieder,
Comparative Foreign Policy. Theoretical Essays (New York:
David McKay Co. inc., 1971).

Kochan Ran, *et al*, "Black African UN Voting Behaviour on the Middle East Conflict",
Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, 1, 2 Winter 1975.

Levey Zach, "Rise and Decline of a Special Relationship. Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966",
African Studies Review, April, 2003.

Mair Stephen, "Terrorism and Africa", *Africa Security Review*, 2003, volume 12, No. 1.

Makinda S. M., "Kenya's Role in Somalia-Ethiopian conflict", Working Paper No. 55.
Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (Australia, August, 1982).

_____, “From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics”, *Third World Quarterly*, volume 5, (2), 1983.

Marcus R. Einfeld, “Israel’s Relations with Africa,” Three Lectures to the Anglo-Israel Association at the Royal Society of Arts (London: 1974).

Mastanduno Michael, “Preserving the Uni-polar Moment: Realist Theories and US Grand Strategy after the Cold War”, *International Security* (Spring 1997), volume 21, No. 4.

Mintz Alex and Michael D. Ward, “The Political Economy of Military Spending in Israel”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 2, June, 1989.

Mitchell G. Bard, “The Evolution of Israel’s Africa Policy”, *Jewish Virtual Library*.

Morgenthau Hans J., “Another ‘Great Debate’: The National Interest of the United States”, *American Political Science Review*, 46 (1952).

Nadelmann A. Ethan, “Israel and Black Africa: A Rapprochement”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, volume 19, Number 2, Edited by David Kimble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Naomi Chazan, “Israel in Africa”, *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Number 18, winter 1981.

Nying’uro O. Philip, “External Sources of Kenya’s Democratization Process”, *Journal of Political Science*, Volume 25, 1997).

Nzomo Maria, “External Influence on the Political Economy of Kenya: The Case of

Ochieng William, "What is Africa's Business with the Middle East war?" *Afriscope*,
Volume 4, Number2, February 1974.

_____ and D. K. Orwa, "Foreign Policy, 1963-1983", in W. R. Ochieng' (Ed.),
A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980, Op. Cit.

Oginga J. A. Odinga, "Kenya at the UN", *The African Communist*, No. 16, January-
March, 1964.

Okoth P. G., "Uganda's Foreign Policy During the Amin Era, 1971-1979", *African
Review of Foreign Policy*, Vol.1, No. 3, July 2000.

_____, "Historiography of Kenyan Foreign Policy", *Africa Review of Foreign
Policy*, Volume 1, Number 1, March 1999.

_____, "The African Style of Foreign Policy: Instruments of Diplomacy", *The
African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and
International Affairs*, Vol. 16, Number 1 and 2, 1990/91.

Okumu J. John, "Some Thoughts on Kenya's Foreign Policy", *The African Review*, Vol.
3, (2), 1973.

Olajide Aluko, "Israel and Nigeria; Continuity and Change in their Relationship" *The
African Review*, Vol. 4, No.1, 1974.

Oliver K. James, "The Balance of Power Heritage of Interdependence and
Traditionalism", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3
September 1982.

Olsen Gorm Rye, "European Public Opinion and Aid to Africa: Is There a Link?"

The Journal of Modern African Studies, 39, 4, 2001.

Otenyo Eric, "New Terrorism. Toward an Explanation of Cases in Kenya", *African Security Review*, 13 (3), 2004.

Sawyer J., "Dimensions of Nations: Size, Wealth and Politics", *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1973.

Singer H. W., "The Distribution of Gains from Trade and Investment Revisited", *Journal of Development Studies*, July, 1975.

Skurnik, W. A. E., "Continuing Problems in Africa's Horn", *Current History*, 82 (482), March, 1983.

Spykman, J. Nicholas, "Geography and Foreign Policy", *American Political Science Review*, 32, 1938, pp.28-50.

Ya'acov Friedler, 'The Uganda Affair', *Jerusalem Post*, 17th December, 1971.

African Review of Foreign Policy, Vol.1, No. 2, July, 1999.

Foreign Affairs, Volume 57, Number 5, summer 1979.

Foreign Policy in Focus, Volume 6, Number 32, September 2001.

International studies Quarterly, Volume, 27, 1983.

Israel. The Conflict and Peace (Jerusalem; Israel Information Centre, 2003).

Journal of African Marxists, 'Independent Kenya', (London: Zed Press, 1982).

Journal of Modern African Studies, Volume 39, Number 4, 2001.

Middle East Journal, 18, 1, 1964.

Newspapers and Magazines

The Daily Nation, May 5, June 19, June 20, 1974; January 2, 5, 8, November 26, 1981; January 5, 1982; October 25, 1983; November 26, 1984; December 24, 31 1988; November 29, December 2, 2002.

The East African Standard, June 19, 1974; October 21, 1985; August 8, 10, 11, 14, 1998; January 4, July 1, October 16, October 30, 2003.

Ha'aretz (Israel), August 22, 1974.

The Jerusalem Post, African –Israeli Supplement, December 12, 1963.

The Jerusalem Post, 12th December 1962.

Kenya Times, January 10, 11, 1994; June 8, 1998.

Ma'ariv (Israel) July 9, 1979, February 28, 1966.

Sunday Nation, Nairobi, December 9, 2002.

The Washington post, June 7, 1977

Weekly Review, July 5, 12, August 2, September 27, 1976; August 2, 1985.

Government and Official Documents

African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10, 1965.

Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development, *Kenya Facts and Figures*, 2005.

Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts about the United Nations*, (New York: United Nations, 1989).

Israel Diplomatic Network. Embassy of the State of Israel.

Nyayo Pictorial. The First Ten Great Years of Nyayo Era. Department of Information, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1988.

OAU Document, ECM/Res. 20 (VIII), Addis Ababa, November 1973.

Republic of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1996 on Industrial Transformation to the year 2020* (Nairobi: Government Printer).

_____, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directory of Diplomatic Corps*, Nairobi, June, 1985.

_____, *Ministry of Economics Planning and National Development, Development Plan, 1979 -83, 1989-1993.*

Economic Survey, 1999-2005, 1997, 1992, 1981, 1978, 1970.

Statistical Abstract, 1964-2004.

US Department of State Bulletin, April 27, 1964.

Year Book of the United Nations, Volume 48, (New York: United Nations, 1994).

_____, Volume 56, (New York: United Nations, 2002).

_____, Volume 57, (New York: United Nations, 2003).

Un-Published Material

Amadi, H., “The OAU Involvement in African Conflicts: The Case of the Somalia Civil War”, M.A Thesis in International Relations, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1998.

Bosire R. Moegi, “Kenya -US Relations: An Interplay of National Interest, 1963-1991”, MA Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1993.

Nasong’o Shadrack Wanjala, “Claims and Realities of Inter-State Relations”, MA Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1992.

Ngunjiri N., "The Interaction of Kenyan Parliament Backbenchers and the Kenyan Foreign Policy" (Unpublished B.A Dissertation, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1974).

Nying'uro Philip, "United States Policy and the Transition to Democracy in Kenya, 1990-1992", Ph.D Dissertation, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1999.

Oloo G. R. Adams, "The Role of Parliament in Foreign Policy- Making Process in Kenya, 1963 - 1993." MA Thesis, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1995.

Omolo K. J., "Foreign Policy through Aid: The Case of Federal Republic of Germany's Aid to Kenya, 1963-1989" MA Thesis, Department of Political Science And Public Administration, University of Nairobi, 1994.

Opondo E. O. "Non-Alignment: An Analysis of it Interpretation and Application in Kenya 1963-19 86" MA Thesis, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.

Stephens Roberts Fyfe, "An Analysis of the Foreign Relations of Tanzania and Kenya: A comparative study", Ph.D. Dissertation, Political Science, University of Michigan, 1973.

Steven S. Carol, "Israel's Foreign Policy Towards East Africa," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, St John's University, New York, 1977.

Tirimba Mokaya, "Conflict and Cooperation: Antecedents of Kenya-Uganda Relations, 1964-1990", MA Thesis, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1991.

Wanjohi, N. G., "The Politics of Foreign Aid in Kenya since Independence, 1963 – 1977," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, 1980.

Websites

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org>

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-Union>

<http://www.google>.

<Http://Nairobi.mfa.gov.il/mfm//web/main>.

www.african-union.org

www.mfa.go.ke

www.news.bbc.co.uk

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. QUESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS(Week one and two)

1. In foreign policy, the rule of 'I help you, you help me' applies to all. In what ways has Kenya helped Israel?
2. What are the main objectives of Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel?
3. What would you say are the main factors that condition Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel?
4. Israel has to fight for its survival. How has the Middle East conflict affected Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel?
5. What would you say is the nature of relationship between Kenya and PLO?
6. Which party to the Middle East conflict does Kenya support; PLO/Arabs or Israel?
7. Do you view Israel as a foreign actor that has exposed Kenya to International terrorism?
8. Has terrorism affected Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel?

B. QUESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY (Week three and four)

1. Is Israel a viable trade partner to Kenya?
2. In what commodities do the countries trade?
3. Data clearly shows that balance of trade is skewed in favour of Israel. How do you intend to check this trend?
4. In your view, how important is the Israeli market for Kenya? What is being done in connection to the issue of improving the market?
5. How would you rate Kenya's exports to Israel?
6. Is a trade agreement important? Why has there not been one between Kenya and Israel?
7. In what sectors of the economy do we have Israeli multi-national corporations in Kenya?

C. QUESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND WILDLIFE(Week five and six)

1. Kenya is famous for its wildlife. Has it assisted Israel to set up zoos (in the desert)?

2. How are our game parks doing as attraction destinations for Israeli visitors?
3. Statistics show that not many tourists come from Israel. What is the Kenya Tourist Board doing to improve this situation?
4. Did terrorist bombing in Kenya affect the flow of tourists from Israel?

D. QUESTIONS TO THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, INTERNAL SECURITY AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION(Week seven and eight)

1. From independence to mid 1980s, Kenya had bad relations with Somalia. Did Israel help Kenya during the *shifita* problem?
2. A state without a stable government like Somalia is a recipe for regional instability. Can Israel help Kenya to prevent the effects of the Somalia conflict from spilling over?
3. Israel initiated successful programmes such as NYS and Dry land Management. How are these sectors performing?
4. Kenya assisted Israel during the 1976 Entebbe raid. Did Kenya get anything in return? Or was Kenya paying for previous assistance?
5. With the rise of terrorism, the East African region has been seen as vulnerable due to porous borders. How does Israel help in this case?
6. We have seen Israeli rescue teams coming to Nairobi during disasters e.g. bombings. Were these voluntary or were they requested by the Kenya Government?

E. QUESTIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (Week nine and ten)

1. In what sectors of agriculture has Kenya sought Israeli technological expertise?
2. How successful have agricultural programmes initiated by Israel in Kenya been?
3. Have there been improvements in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands in Kenya as a result of Israeli assistance?
4. Is there any long term programme on dry land management between Kenya and Israel?
5. How has the Kenyan farmer gained from Kenya's relations with Israel?

F. QUESTIONS TO THE ISRAELI EMBASSY (Telephone)

1. The Israeli Embassy in Nairobi serves various countries in the region. Why Nairobi?
2. Israel is said to have very close and important relations with USA. How does this impact on Kenya-Israeli relations?
3. We hardly hear or see the Israeli ambassadors to Kenya commenting on Kenya's internal / domestic issues like the ambassadors from USA and Europe do. How do you explain this?
4. What is your view on the future of Kenya-Israeli relations?
5. Does Kenya's stance on the Palestinian issue affect the relationship between Kenya and Israel?

