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INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY : KENYA'S CONTRIBUTION

BY
MAURICE S.M. NAKITARE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

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DECLARATION


This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for an MA in any University.

Maurice S. M. Nakitare

Signature 

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor.

Dr. Josephine Odera

Signature 

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my entire family; Marylyn my wife, Edward my son and two little girls; Winnie and baby Neema Muthoni who was too young when I came to National Defence College.

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I wish to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for nominating me to attend a course at the National Defence College in 2004. During my stay at the college I learnt so many things that I had not come across. The company of a largely military class opened my eyes to issues I had hitherto, not fathomed.

Much thanks to senior directing staff for their valuable guidance. I wish to single out for special mention, the able leadership of the college Commandant Lt General Koech. The manner in which he took the problems of participants both collectively and individually was quite fatherly and touching.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MOU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
AU	-	African Union
UN	-	United Nations
COE	-	Contingent Owned Equipment
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
ECOMOG	-	Economic Commission Monitoring Group
DOD	-	Department of Defence
OP	-	Office of the President
PSTC	-	Peace Support Training Centre
USA	-	United States of America
UK	-	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNTAG	-	United Nations Transitional Assistance on Angola
UNTAC	-	United Nations Transitional Government in Cambodia
UNVEM	-	United Nations Verification Mission
ONUMOZ	-	United Nations Mission on Mozambique
PSO	-	Peace Support Operations
ECOWAS	-	Economic Commission of West African States
OAU	-	Organisation of African Union
ZANU	-	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	-	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
UDI	-	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
MPLA	-	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
UNITA	-	Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
SWAPO	-	South West Peoples Organisation
UNPROFOR	-	United Nations Protection Force in Former Yugoslavia
MILOB	-	Military Observer
UNSMSIL	-	United Nations Mission on Sierra Leone
UNMEE	-	United Nations Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNTAET	-	United Nations Transitional Assistance to East Timor
MONOC	-	United Nations Mission on D.R. Congo
UNIKOM	-	United Nations Mission on Iraq - Kuwait
MONUSRO	-	United Nations Missions to Morocco
SOFA	-	Status of Force Agreement
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
UNSOM	-	United Nations Mission on Somalia
AIA	-	Appropriations in Aid
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
DPKO	-	Department of peacekeeping operations
UNMIL	-	United Nations Mission to Liberia
IGAD	-	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
SPLM/A	-	Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army
ACPC	-	African Cambean Pacific Countries
EU	-	European Union
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	-	East African Community
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
UNEP	-	United Nations Environmental Programme

ABSTRACT

This study is a brief survey of Kenya's contribution in international peace and security through peacekeeping. It looks at the activities involved in the concept of peacekeeping and how internal conflicts and conflict management has been changing since 1945 when the Second World War ended.

Kenya has played a key role within the UN mandate, of contributing her armed forces to peacekeeping missions in various parts. This study gives a brief outline of the areas in the world where Kenya has contributed contingents for peacekeeping.

By 1990, Kenya emerged a leading contributor of peacekeeping troops not only in Africa but in the whole world. This contribution has earned Kenya international repute as an exporter of peace. Her military personnel are renowned for their neutrality, friendliness and professionalism. The reasons that influence Kenya to send her troops for peacekeeping and the benefits she derives from them are the main focus of this study.

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1.0

CHAPTER 1

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY: KENYA'S CONTRIBUTION

1.1

INTRODUCTION

Peacekeeping are those activities that involve maintenance and preservation of peace in an area or country that has experienced armed conflict. It involves the deployment of peacekeeping troops to observe the ceasefire-allowing humanitarian agencies provide relief needs to populations affected by conflict. It also involves creating an enabling environment to allow for the implementation of a ceasefire leading to reconstruction, reintegration and peace building. Iris Claude defines it as the prevention and termination of hostilities between or within states through the medium of peaceful third party intervention organized and directed internationally using multinational forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace.¹

After World War II the United Nations (UN) was created as a body for collective security to guarantee world peace. It was charged with guaranteeing peace by intervening in conflict areas to restore peace. Peace keeping is one such mechanism. The UN has sent peacekeeping missions in several areas of Asia, Europe, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East since 1948. Countries willingly contribute troops for peacekeeping upon request by the UN. In some missions UN peacekeepers have been faced with hostilities leading to loss of lives. Since 1948 when the first UN peacekeeping operation was deployed there have been 55 such operations, 42 of them since 1988 alone. Today, the UN is running 13 peace operations world wide, involving 36,300 soldiers and 4,700 civilian and police officers. Within the same period, 1, 790 peacekeepers have been killed. Kenya has lost some of her peacekeepers, the last one being in DR. Congo early March 2004.²

1.2

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In the last 25 years of the 20th century, Kenya contributed over 10,000 troops for deployment in peacekeeping missions abroad.

This study will seek to investigate the benefits Kenya gets by contributing troops for UN peacekeeping missions abroad. In seeking for this information the study will try to understand what factors make Kenya a country of choice by the UN for peacekeeping missions.

1.3

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Kenya ranks third after Ghana and Nigeria in Africa and sixth in the world as a leading peacekeeping force contributor. Over time, she has built a big reservoir of disciplined, trained and professional peacekeepers. However, these exploits have not been adequately studied in a comprehensive single study. The study will add knowledge on peacekeeping from the perspective of benefits to a contributing country. It is the assumption of this study that there is a price to pay by countries which troops for peacekeeping missions. This study will analyse why Kenya participates in this missions.

1.4

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- (i) To determine what benefits Kenya derives from sending troops to UN peacekeeping missions and identify what benefits if any, the individual soldiers gain from participating in peacekeeping.
- (ii) To analyse what factors make Kenya a regular contributor of peacekeeping troops for UN missions in respect wither foreign policy orientation. To determine the

level of casualties, and whether such casualties have affected the decision to send peacekeeping missions.

- (iii) To assess how peacekeeping has contributed in equipping Kenya Army in peace support operations.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

1. That countries contribute troops for UN peacekeeping missions due to the economic benefits that accrue there from.
2. That countries contribute troops due to foreign Policy orientation
3. That countries contribute troops because their armies are disciplined, professional and the foreign policy that they pursue.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

Peacekeeping assumed preponderance in the 20th century, from 1948 when the UN send troops to keep and maintain peace between Israel and Syria after the first Arab-Israel war.³ Other areas where UN has send peacekeeping troops include Cambodia, Vietnam, India, Bosnia- Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, Namibia, Angola just to mention a few.

Since peacekeeping missions began, a lot of information has emerged regarding peacekeeping both as a concept as well as a process. Writers on peace keeping as a process identify four types;(1) traditional peacekeeping, (2) multilateral peace operations, (3) humanitarian intervention and (4) peace enforcement operations.⁴

Studies that exist on peacekeeping primarily centre on UN mobilisations, causes of conflicts deployment of troops, logistical problems, success and failures of these missions.

Little literature is available which focuses on the economic, social or political benefits that individual countries gain for contributing troops to peacekeeping missions.

Despite all this, countries like Kenya continue to contribute troops these risks notwithstanding. It is the assumption of this study that there must be a prize for these countries to continue sending troops in the face of all the risks involved.

Agostino⁵ traces the various definitions of peacekeeping from classical to modern times, and describes in depth the UN involvement in peacekeeping giving the challenges inherent in the undertakings and how the UN has coped with such challenges.

He looks into the manner of despatching peacekeeping troops to various missions, the operational problems they encounter and the principles under which the soldiers operate. However, he does not, give the main reasons that inform countries to contribute their contingents. This study will seek to bridge this by trying to underscore what factors influence countries like Kenya in particular to send troops.

Durch⁶ on the other hand looks at UN and her role in peacekeeping in the 1990s He traces the initial peace keeping missions of 1940s and the development and evolution of peacekeeping up to the 1990s when it reached the peak. He defines what peacekeeping is, the UN and the structures at the UN that deal with peacekeeping deployment, financing and supervision. He gives good account on how peacekeeping has been changing over time pointing out the dynamics involved in peacekeeping, and peace building. The complexities and the multifaceted approach to these complexities is handled in great detail. He looks at specific cases in Africa, Asia and Latin America highlighting certain logistical problems peculiar to each individual case and the lessons the UN and the secretariat drew from some failures.

Despite the detailed and the indepth analysis of the UN peacekeeping missions in the said areas, the work does not mention the imperatives that make countries contribute troops to the UN mission. Again, this study intends to fill in this gap.

Cannaughton⁷ concentrates on UN military interventions in Iraq and their consequences. The case of Iraq, Beirut, Somalia and Rwanda are used as illustrations of UN, Peacekeeping initiatives through military intervention. He gives an account of how the need for international peace and security dawns upon the UN and the international community to forcibly intervene into a country to restore peace or provide humanitarian hope for populations who find themselves in a hopeless situation. In military interventions, the compelling point is the urgent need to intervene to restore peace and hope. But the question one asks is, what factors do influence countries, to volunteer their troops to such missions when they fully comprehend, the dangers and risks that await their troops in such missions?

Cannaughton does not in his study provide answers to this question. His analysis of the inherent failures by UN in peacekeeping in some of the cases that he tackles in the analysis are quite lurid.

Otunnu and Doyle⁸ are co-editors in a collection of very informative and critical articles from eminent scholars and practitioners of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Among them are the two UN Secretary Generals; Boutros Boutros Ghali and Koffi Anan. Other writers include Sadako Ogata, Ali Mazrui, Thomas M Frank, Ian Eliason and the editors themselves.

The analysis is a set piece of intellectual analysis of peacekeeping in a world full of uncertainty and unpredictability. Boutros Ghali's article on the "Agenda for peace" is an innovative model of re-looking at peace and security from a completely different perspective. This article, and efforts pursued by Boutros and his successor gave the UN new impetus of putting in place early warning mechanism that have helped the UN predict and prepare adequately to handle and manage conflicts that often caught the world body unawares.

The literature in the book is indeed valuable data on the whole subject of international conflict and management which has remained a major pre-occupation of world leaders in general and the UN in particular. The issues of preventive action, conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy are very key to avoiding escalation of disputes into open hostilities among states which in turn cost a lot in form of human beings through displacement, refugees and death.

The authors in the work despite their intellectual contribution, do not in their articles address the main theme of this study. What reasons other than moral obligation and concern for world peace and security influence countries like Kenya to contribute troops?

Garuba.⁹ Looks at Nigeria's contribution to international peace and security from the perspective of a loyal UN member. The collection of articles offer practical factors that make Nigeria a leading African Nation in contribution to peacekeeping missions. This study will adopt a similar approach to document factors that influence Kenya to send peacekeeping missions and the derivative benefits.

It is argued that Nigeria values and cherishes the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes as enshrined in the UN and AU Charters as well as the ECOWAS treaty.¹⁰ This may help the study understand whether there are other factors that determine Kenya's participation than those mentioned for Nigeria.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses the liberal model of International Relations as the frame work of analysis. Liberalism is an ideology whose central concern is the liberty of an individual. It is primarily a theory of government and that of the collective will. The government must seek to reconcile order and justice or in other words, security and justice.¹¹ According to Immanuel Kant one of the 18th century leading proponents of liberal institutionalism,

perpetual peace can be achieved when an individual consciousness and republican, states enter into a federal contract to abolish war.¹² Kant argues that is

Each nation for the sake of its own security has a right to demand of others that they should enter a long with it into a constitution, similar to a civil one within which the rights of each will be secured ———peace can neither be inauguratedr secured, without a general agreement between the nations, thus a particular kind of league which we will call a pacific federation is required.¹³

This thinking greatly influenced the post first world war liberal institutionalism. When the League of Nations was formed there after, Kant's, assumption for world peace was vindicated. The outbreak of the 2nd world war shattered this liberal thinking of world peace though collective security. The idea found new confidence with the formation of the United Nations in 1945. Kant was again vindicated by the Post War Period when 50 states joined the United Nations to form a collective security arrangement.

Kant observes that this idea of federalism, extending gradually to encompass all states and thus leading to perpetual peace is practicable and has objective reality.¹⁴

Even if the UN is not “federalism” as advocated by Kant above, its formation has seen a tremendous transformation in the world's outlook to war and peace. The UN has enacted a wide range of legislations geared towards outlawing and preventing war. Though we have had wars in the world, the UN has ensured that no major large-scale war breaks out in the half century of its existence. Through declarations, treaties and various statutes, the United Nations has brought together its member states to be conscious of the fact that war is not necessary due to the consequences it brings. Indeed the cardinal principal of the UN is peaceful settlement of conflict and not war. The peoples of the world, argues Kant, “have entered in varying degrees into a universal community that has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere. The idea of a cosmopolitan right is therefore not fantastic and overstrained; it is a necessary compliment to the unwritten code of political international right transforming it into a universal right of humanity”.¹⁵

Since 1948, the United Nations has been preoccupied by the idea of preventing war by offering the alternative of peaceful settlement of conflicts. Where war has occurred, it has in some cases authorised through its security council for peace enforcement. The case for Afghanistan, Iraq (1990) and former Yugoslavia are examples. The spirit of peacekeeping has equally been a cardinal principle of the UN. This study is predicated within the paradigm of collective security under the broad liberal institutionalism. The idea of collective security contends Adebayo¹⁶ involves the system coming together to act under an agreed set of norms, principles and rules to defend an existing security order from threat of attack. This approach is successful within the Supranational organisation such as the UN or regional security arrangements such as NATO or ECOMOG¹⁷

1.8

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on secondary data from existing literature available at the Department of Defence (DOD), Office of the President (OP), and the Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC), based at Karen, Kenya. Primary Data was gathered through a questionnaire (Annex I) by use of oral interviews with senior officers at the OP, DOD and the Treasury (Ministry of Finance). The oral interviews were reinforced by official government documents concerning the selection, preparation and transportation of the troops to the designated areas. The UN reimbursement records also provide an in-depth information on the economic benefits Kenya gets.

Interviews centred on some of the officers who had taken part in Peacekeeping drawn from the three branches of the Kenyan military namely the Air force, the Navy and the Army. This information complimented data collected from senior government officers.

The area of concentration was the military units based in Nairobi. About 80% of those who have served in peacekeeping are based in Nairobi. This greatly facilitated the interviews.

Of the three branches mentioned above, officers from each were interviewed. They comprised, as much as possible all ranks ranging from the highest to the lowest to give a representative ratio. Their experiences were supplemented with the information from the senior officers. Structured questionnaires were formulated for self-administration, while in other cases; personal interviews were carried out.

END NOTES

¹ Iris L, C, Jr (Swords into plough shares) p233

² Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC) Karen, Kenya, Presentation Paper, 2004.

³ Durch, w. J., (UN Peacekeeping: American Policy on the Uncivil wars of 1990's) p.3.

⁴ *ibid*, pp 3-6

⁵ Agostino Zacarias: The United Nations and International Peacekeeping. (IB Tauris) 1996.

⁶ William J Durch (Ed) UN Peacekeeping: American Policy and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s (New York) 1996.

⁷ Richard Cannaughton: Military Intervention and Peacekeeping (Ash gate) 2002

⁸ Otara A Otunnu et al (Eds) Peacemaking and Peacekeeping (Rowman and Littlefield,) 1998

⁹ Chris A Garuba International Peace and Security. The Nigeria Contribution (National War College, Abuja) 1997

¹⁰ *Ibid* pp 31 - 45

¹¹ Dunne T " Liberalism" in Baylis J and Smith S, The Globalisation of world politics (Oxford, OUP, 2001) p 163

¹² Immanuel Kant (Perpetual peace: a philosophical sketch) pp 102–5

¹³ Ibid, see also Cannaughton, R. (Military intervention and peacekeeping) p 2-13.

¹⁴ Kant op cit, p 105-8

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ [http://www.un-globalsecurity.org/pdf/Adebajo_paper_hum_inventi;\(Google\)](http://www.un-globalsecurity.org/pdf/Adebajo_paper_hum_inventi;(Google))

¹⁷ Adekeye Adebajo “Nigeria;Africa’s Gendarme?”Security Dialogue31 no 2(June 2000) pp185-199. See also Robert Mortimer; from ECOMOG to ECOMOG II; intervention in Sierra Leone in ---() pp189-207.

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2.1 EVOLUTION OF PEACEKEEPING AND CHANGING CONCEPTS

The historical circumstances that defined the formation of the United Nations (UN) lay in the failure of states to resolve conflicts peacefully. The formation of the League of Nations after the end of the First World War had raised hopes that at least, mankind would restrain from use of force in resolving disputes through institutions and International Law. When President Woodrow Wilson came up with the 14 points, European countries that had fought against each other during the war gladly formed the League of Nations in 1919.

This was an effort aimed at binding countries to exercise constraint from use of war as a means of dispute resolution as well as conflict management. The liberal scholars of Europe then, hailed this development as welcome since, they had enunciated in their paradigm of liberal institutionalism, that world peace would be possible through a world body such as the League of Nations. But this romanticism was short lived as the outbreak of the Second World War shattered the dreams of peacemakers.

Right from its inception, the League of Nations lacked a law enforcement mechanism or the means to restrain its members from resorting to war in their conduct against each other. The United States, which was one of the leading proponents of its establishment did not join the League, greatly undermining its effectiveness. Signs of the collapse began to manifest in the early 1930s. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, while Italy invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. In both these cases, the League of Nations could not prevent or even discourage the belligerent countries. In 1933, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League and in 1934 Soviet Union joined it, prompting the withdrawal of Brazil and Spain.¹ During the Spanish civil war of 1936 – 39, imperial Russia and Germany got embroiled in it followed by a soviet attack of Finland in 1939. By this time, Italy, Spain and Japan had effectively repudiated the treaty of Versailles of 1919 which established the League of Nations.²

As the world moved to the brink of another war, only France and Britain remained as the members of the League. Cannaughton asserts that the League of Nations failed because, it had been founded on a moralistic and vindictive peace and settlement principal hence rejected by most states especially the vanquished ones like Germany, Japan and Italy.³

It was not until 26th June 1945 that a new hope for collective security remerged when the charter of the United Nations Organizations was signed at San Francisco, by 50 member states. The United Nations charter was crafted with failures and weaknesses of the League of Nations in mind. Chapter VI and VII of the charter expressly outlawed use of force by a state in resolving disputes. Both chapters underscored peaceful settlement of disputes by use or threat of use of war and established peace enforcement procedures. Article 2 (4) of the charter explicitly states that no state would go to war against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state.

The charter also created the Security Council, composed of five allies of mainly the winning side in the war: namely US, China, UK, France and Russia while Germany and Italy were again, like in the treaty of Versailles, condemned as enemy states. The Permanent Members of the Security Council were the only ones empowered to initiate war, through a resolution of the National Assembly of the UN.

The UN thus assumed a special function under the umbrella of chapter 6 and 7 of the charter of the Pacific settlement of Disputes called Peacekeeping.⁴ Since then, peacekeeping has been evolving and acquiring new concepts and definitions as the UN activities increase to cop with the dynamic situations that keep emerging.

2.2 CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The traditional peacekeeping missions during the cold war period involved deployment of troops ostensibly to deter direct clashes between hostile forces from inter state disputes. These peacekeepers were purely of military component ⁵and were deployed after a ceasefire had been observed. Towards the end of the cold war, the nature of peacekeeping operations changed due to a change in the nature of conflicts. Firstly the cold war conflict was largely confined to super power rivalry through their surrogate states e.g. Israel and Arab states, Congo in 1960 – 64, Vietnam, South and North Korea, Haiti, Cambodia, Mozambique, Namibia etc. Second, the kind of peacekeeping forces deployed were mostly from the five permanent members of the Security Council or their close allies.⁶

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, peacekeeping became very demanding. This was as a result of an increase in new theatres of conflict and the nature of conflict. From inter-state disputes, new intra state conflicts emerged pitting nations within states that had been held together by brutal force, especially in Eastern Europe, formerly under Soviet Union. In Africa and Asia, countries which were protected by the two super powers suddenly felt insecure. Former despots who enjoyed super power patronage were faced with an unstoppable surge of democratic waves. This brought about a complex kind of conflict hitherto faced by the UN and the world at large.

Since 1988, new challenges in a new environment especially in Africa and Europe became complex. The intra state conflicts defied state integrity focusing on political repression, ethnic tensions, demand for economic equality and agitation for democracy. These conflicts led to human suffering, civil wars, and internal displacement creating a very large refugee problem on a scale never seen before. In weaker states this led to breakdown of Law and Order followed by state sponsored abuse of human rights, violence and genocide.

The case for Rwanda in 1994 is testimony to this.⁷ In others the centre could not hold leading to state failure like in Somalia and former Yugoslavia.

To meet these challenges, the UN peacekeeping operations increased both in number and on scale. There have been 42 such operations since 1988. The table below shows the number of UN peacekeeping missions since 1948-1990

Table 1
UN PEACE KEEPING MISSIONS IN COLD WAR ERA

YEAR	MISSION	COUNTRY
1948		Syria – Israel
1964		Syria – Golan Hights
1974		Cyprus
1978		Southern Lebanon
1956 – 67		Sinai Peninsular
1960 – 64		Congo
1950		Vietnam
1989 – 90	UNTAG	Namibia
1992 – 93	UNTAC	Cambodia
1989 – 97	UNAVEM	Angola

The table above shows that in most cases, the disputes involved inter state conflicts up to the late 1980s, when the nature of conflict sharply shifted from inter to intra state. The

complexity of the conflict widened UN peace involvement with expanded mandates. Besides, the nature of responsibilities for the peacekeepers became multinational and multifaceted. The peacekeepers were not only military components, but also Civilians, Election Observers, Civil Police, and Unarmed Military Observers.

The change in the nature of conflict also had a bearing on the concept of peacekeeping as had originally been conceived. As we have already observed, the traditional peacekeeping assumed three kinds; Peacekeeping Perse, Peace Enforcement and Humanitarian Intervention. The latter could as well be called a mild form of peace enforcement because it is caused by conditions on the ground in a given country where peace has to be forcibly secured to allow the smooth operation of Humanitarian agencies.

In 1990, Somalia began a gradual decline to lawlessness that led to suffering of thousands of internally displaced people. The United States acting on the dictates of “moral high ground” militarily intervened in what was called ‘Operation Restore Hope’ to provide safe routes for humanitarian agencies who were operating in the country to access and provide relief services like food, medicine, shelter, clothes and hope to thousand of the victims of the internal war.

With full authorization of the UN, the US militarily intervened on humanitarian grounds, despite the fiasco that the whole operations turned out to be. This is an example of peace enforcement arising out of a humanitarian catastrophe.

The complexity in peacekeeping as a result of the changing nature of conflicts led to evolution of the concept itself. A new terminology of Peace Support Operations (PSO) evolved and peacekeeping now shifted from the traditional model to areas that included enforcement of ceasefire, organization and supervision of elections, demilitarisation, demining, protecting safe areas, demobilization of combatants and peace building. These expanded activities also called for frequent renewal and expansion of the mandate of the UN

peacekeeping missions. In normal practice, peacekeeping missions are deployed to an area on the following predispositions; there must be an agreement by the international community through the Security Council. Secondly the warring groups, whether within a state or in the case of inter state conflict, should give express consent before deployment. Thirdly UN member states should show readiness to contribute troops and lastly there should be existence of conditions of peace on the ground through a ceasefire. The UN, has on occasions been hesitant to deploy troops in an areas, where sufficient evidence exists that deployment of her troops may gravely endanger their lives. This is so because; standard UN peacekeeping missions are deployed under chapter 6 of the charter. Such deployments are guided by three principles. First is the principle of non-use of force. UN peacekeeping forces are not supposed to use force except in situations where their lives are in grave danger. Second, the principle of impartiality. It is a cardinal maxim among peacekeeping missions that never become part of the problem. The, UN forces are therefore required to be impartial, non-partisan and committed to maintenance of peace and not being part of the problem. Third is the principle of consent. Before any deployment of a UN mission both groups in the conflict must give consent to such deployment.

Guided by these 3 principles, UN peacekeeping missions have since 1988, been expanded to include the several activities we have alluded to in the passing pages. The end state of most missions have been to leave a country, which has assumed the status of controlling its own affairs after a devastating internal war or with another state. Peace support operations as a concept therefore broadened the activities of UN missions from purely a military component to election observation, training of a new police force, restructuring of a functional local administration and initiating confidence-building mechanisms through peace building.

The Peace Support Operations (PSO) doctrine has developed to achieve more than what traditional peacekeeping originally stood for.⁸ The original intervention that aimed at achieving a political settlement of the conflict has expanded to restoration of a functional Government, Law and Order, economic development, implementation of a ceasefire to its fullest or what has come to be known as comprehensive settlements whose final resolution is done through holding of national general elections. The UN has also adopted new strategies of peacekeeping by use of regional economic integration blocs such as ECOMOG under ECOWAS or security arrangements such as NATO. The case for Nigerian led ECOMOG operation in Liberia and Sierra Leone and NATO in former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan are living examples.

2.3 FROM PEACEKEEPING TO PEACE ENFORCEMENT: CHALLENGES FOR THE UN

Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter calls for all member countries to seek peaceful settlement of disputes amongst its members. But despite this appeal and plea, the world has witnessed a lot of wars either between member states or within states. On occasions where conditions for peaceful settlement fail, the UN invokes chapter 7 to secure peace. This is called peace enforcement. But even where peace enforcement is carried out, two of the three sacrosanct principles of impartiality, and non-use of force are observed. The aim in this kind of operation is to secure, enforce and preserve peace. However the mission still remains as that in the traditional peacekeeping.

Peace enforcement under Chapter 7 involves a more robust force where possible to ensure that peace is secured. This is intended to enforce compliance on the part of one or both groups of combatants in a dispute. In this scenario, consent of one or both parties may not matter much. Peace enforcement forces have a credible deterrence capability to overwhelm the combatants so as to enforce peace. In this exercise, among the tasks may

include restoration of law and order, cordon and search and proactive responses than reactive ones as in traditional peacekeeping. The living examples of peace enforcement include Bosnia in 1995, East Timor, Kosovo in former Yugoslavia, Iraq in 1990 and Somalia in 1992. Peace enforcement missions may also overlap peacekeeping in duties as aforementioned, since both operations are aimed at achieving a similar goal; peace. The difference between the two lies in the degree of consent before deployment and the capability of the force available to secure the peace. While peacekeeping largely relies on persuading, peace enforcement applies a combination of persuasion and compulsion.

Endnotes

¹ Cannaughton, R, (Military intervention and peacekeeping) p.7

² Ibid p 7-8

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid p 13

⁵ Durch, W, J, (UN Peacekeeping: American Policy on the Uncivil Wars of 1990s)

⁶ Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC) Karen Kenya, Presentation Paper, 2004.

⁷ Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC)

⁸ Ibid

3.0

CHAPTER III

3.1 KENYA AND INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING IN THE LAST CENTURY:

3.1.1 Introduction

As has already been observed in the previous chapters, Kenya has been and still is one of the leading contributor to UN peacekeeping efforts in the world. In the last 20 years of the last century, Kenya's contribution to peacekeeping reached a record high when she send over 4,000 men and women for peacekeeping to Sierra Leone. The collapse of Former Yugoslavia and the political turmoil in East Timor also saw Kenya send about two companies and several military observers.

This chapter will give a brief account on the areas Kenya has contributed peacekeeping missions under the auspices of either the United Nations or African Union. In the second part, the chapter will look at the factors that determine Kenya to send peacekeepers to UN/AU missions.

3.2.1 DIMENSIONS OF KENYA'S PEACEKEEPING

Kenya first sent her peacekeepers to Chad in 1975 during a civil war pitting Government forces of then President Goukouni-Weddeye and rebel leader Hussein Habre. This civil conflict was arbitrated by the OAU and following the signing of a ceasefire agreement; the UN deployed a largely Nigerian Peace keeping force. Kenya contributed the deputy force commander, Brigadier Sam Macharia.¹ Kenya was called

upon again to provide her troops for peace keeping in Zimbabwe after the end of the guerrilla war led by Robert Mugabe against the government of Ian Smith.²

Mugabe, who became Prime Minister and later President of Zimbabwe, had fought a guerilla war against the Apartheid regime of Ian Smith for over a decade. The guerilla war had been bitterly fought between the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU PF) jointly with Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo.³ As a transition to independence, the OAU organized for a peacekeeping mission to enable the country hold general elections. This initiative was supported by the UN.

Kenya was invited to contribute a peacekeeping force and she responded by sending a company of troops. The elections of Zimbabwe were held in 1980 and Robert Mugabe emerged the winner with his ZANU patriotic Front forming the first African led government from Ian Smith who had defied former colonial master, UK by declaring a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1961. Despite British and UN economic sanctions imposed on Ian Smiths government, Rhodesia, as Zimbabwe was then known, survived the sanctions until the victory of Mugabe's guerrilla forces.⁴

In 1988, the 10-year oil war between Iran and Iraq came to an end after both combatants reached a stale mate as it was clear the war was producing no outright winner. Despite the use of all weapons at their disposal the Iran – Iraq war ended at the intervention of the United Nations Mediation efforts. The UN therefore deployed a peacekeeping mission to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire. Kenya's reputation as a peacekeeping nation had grown with leaps and bounds. Upon the request by the UN, Kenya responded by sending a contingent of servicemen comprising of civil police and military observers.

By 1990, Kenya had emerged as a leading peacekeeping contributor within UN circles. She had become a leading nation from Africa alongside Ghana and Nigeria. While this was happening, the world was witnessing one of the greatest events in human history, the collapse of Soviet Union and Communism. The fall of Russia was a major historical event that astounded political scientists and fundamentally altered international relations

In Angola, Jonas Savimbi enjoyed western backing notably the US and South African Apartheid regime against the government in Luanda. It will be remembered that in 1975, Angola had gotten independence from Portugal after a bitter guerilla war. Prior to the elections, three major political parties had emerged; the popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostino Neto, Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola (FPLA) by Holden Roberto. When Savimbi lost elections, he went to the bush and launched one of Africa's most brutal civil war. Savimbi was covertly and overtly supported by western powers greedy for Angola's precious medals such as diamonds, but also because Agostino Neto and later Eduardo Dos Santos were viewed as pursuing communist ideologies.⁵

To resolve the Savimbi – government conflict the UN secured a ceasefire and deployed a peacekeeping mission to oversee general elections. Kenya was again called upon to contribute some peacekeepers, and she responded by sending a contingent of servicemen and women. Despite allegations that Kenya was perceived to be pro – UNITA, the apolitical nature of her army, accompanied by the professionalism the Kenyan men and women had acquired over a time had earned them a reputation. Earlier,

Kenya had been involved in mediation efforts by bringing the warring factions together in Nairobi although these efforts failed to secure peace.

When the fall of communism became a historical fact, regimes that had enjoyed US, USSR or Western Patronage found themselves on the receiving end. The New World Order was that in which liberal democracy and Free Markets were the guiding principles of state relations.⁶ In a unipolar world with only the US as a super power, even former friends became foes if they did not democratize. The new forces of globalization and demand for democracy and popular participation began bearing heavily on Apartheid South Africa. The world's longest political prisoner, Nelson Mandela was released and South Africa began a slow but painful path to a free and all race election. In 1994, Nelson Mandela with African National Congress (ANC) won the first all race elections and the Apartheid regime came to an end.

In neighboring Namibia, Sam Nujoma led his South West Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) into independence in 1990. The UN organized a peacekeeping mission to oversee the transitional elections. Kenya's contributions was the largest of the entire UN mission comprising not only soldiers but a civilian component of 150 election supervisors including the deputy National Supervisor of Elections.

Kenya's response to UN appeal for peacekeepers was keeping in line with a tradition that she had established of being neutral, friendly and professional. But more importantly, Kenya was viewed as ideologically less inclined to any of the forces in Namibia. One, she was not a member of the Frontline countries who had bore the brunt of espionage and sabotage intrusions from the Apartheid regime of South Africa. Secondly, because Kenya had established a record of holding regular general elections

every after 5 years since her independence in 1963. As to whether the elections were free and fair is a matter of debate and is not the purpose of this exercise. Suffice is to say that the UN requested Kenya to provide election supervisors and observers because she had a homegrown capacity to undertake the exercise. Indeed Kenya provided some officers from Provincial Administration department to assist the newly independent government to model her Provincial Administration alongside Kenya's.

In 1994, while South Africa was having their first African president, former Yugoslavia was disintegrating as a Unitary State. Chaos ensued as Serbia, one of the federal states that made up former Yugoslavia began an ocre of ethnic cleansing against the Albanians, Croats and Slovans. The implosion in Yugoslavia forced the United States to lead a UN intervention force that restored order, paving way for a UN peacekeeping mission.⁷ The UN mission to Former Yugoslavia was deployed between 1991 to 1996. Kenya contributed 4 battalions under the European Community and United Nations Mandate (UNPROFOR) and were deployed in Croatia, Kosovo and Serbia.

In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait claming it as one of its provinces. This blatant violation of International Law was roundly condemned by all peace-loving nations of the world. The UN Security Council declared Iraq's action as unacceptable and demanded her unconditional and immediate withdrawal. But the United States was even more forthright than the UN rhetoric. President George Bush Senior built the world's largest International Coalition of nations and led a coalition force under the UN mandate called 'Operation Desert Storm' to drive President Saddam Hussein's army from Kuwait. Under US command, the coalition forces did drive the Iraqi army from Kuwait and a

peacekeeping mission was deployed. Kenya sent military observers and civilian police in Kuwait the following year (1991). Kenya's other contribution of civilian police was in Cambodia during the transitional period after the victory of the Khmer Rouge against the Phomn- Penh.⁶

In the Horn of Africa, Kenya too has been called upon to provide peacekeepers when Ethiopia and Eritrea went to a bloody war in 2000 over a border dispute. The UN arbitration efforts paved way for a peacekeeping mission. Kenya provided 3 battalions, military observers and humanitarian deminers. In the Asian Sub region Kenya sent 2 companies plus military observers and civilian police to East Timor after a civil war of secession pitting East Timor against Indonesia.

Kenya's largest contribution to UN peacekeeping was that to Sierra Leone in 2002. The country contributed four battalions including Major General Daniel Opande as the Force Commander. The appointment of Major General Opande (now Lt General) marked the Zenith of Kenya's ascendance in the world as an exporter of peace. When civil war broke out in neighbouring Liberia, president Charles Taylor was forced to abdicate his reign on the intervention US, UN and Nigerian-led-ECOWAS mediation efforts. Lieutenant General Opande was again appointed as the Force Commander of the UN peacekeeping force, capping a career of a Kenyan soldier that has been associated with peacekeeping diplomacy.

3.2.2 PEACEKEEPING AND KENYA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

As we have seen from a brief history of Kenya's participation in peacekeeping, the country's armed forces have displayed a remarkable sense of neutrality, professionalism and friendliness.

Kenya has, since 1970's when she first participated by sending peacekeeping mission, to Chad, avoided becoming localized to the conflict by taking sides. The reasons as to why she has contributed troops in some countries will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Kenya has remained steadfast in defining her regional and international foreign policy orientation on the basis of universally recognized norms. Kenya therefore has projected her foreign policy as an advocate of peaceful settlement of disputes. Her military has remained apolitical as compared to her neighbours in the region. Except for Tanzania, Kenya's other neighbours like Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda have had military rulers at one time or another since their independence.⁸ In 1964, a unit of Kenya army mutinied causing the countries ever scare of a military intervention in politics. This was followed by a failed coup in 1971 that was led by a section of the army. In 1982, another military coup was mounted by some elements from the Air Force but was crashed. One common thing about these three coup attempts is that they all failed because they lacked support across the entire army. This compares negatively with those coups that happened in her neighbours and Africa in general.

The Kenyan army has remained apolitical, and loyal to the civil authority. Apart from her core function of defending the country both on land, in space and the waters, the armed forces have participated in other secondary roles of aiding civil police in maintenance of Law and Order. It has also assisted in emergence operations such as

rescue missions during the annual seasonal flooding in Budalangi of Western Kenya, construction of public works like bridges and supply of relief food to famine stricken remote parts of the country. In 1998, the army participated in rescue mission when terrorists detonated a bomb in the US Embassy in the city center killing over 200 Kenyans and injuring over 5,000 others.

Kenya has therefore played her rightful role in the international arena as a peacemaker and a peacekeeper. Despite the high cost of peacekeeping operations the country has, against meagre resources continued to respond to UN requests whenever she has been called upon to contribute troops since 1980 alone the country has contributed 11,545 troops and participated in 27 missions worldwide. Currently (2004) the country has 1,821 personnel deployed in 11 missions world-wide.⁹

The table below shows the countries that Kenya has contributed peacekeeping missions to.

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TABLE 2 – KENYA’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING

COUNTRY	MANDATE	NAME	COMPONENT	YEAR
Angola	UN	UNVEM I-III		
Cambodia	UN	UNAMIC/UNTAC	Civipol	1992-1993
Chad	OAU	UNSOG	1x coy	1966-1990
D R Congo	UN	MONUC	Milobs	2001-2004
East Timor	UN	UNTAET	2 coys, milobs	2000
Ethiopia/Eritrea	UN	UNMEE	3 bns milobs	2000
Iraq/Kuwait	UN	UNIKOM	milobs, civipol	1991
Kosovo	UN	UNPROFOR	milobs, civipol	1991-1996
Liberia	UN	UNMIL	milobs/F/comu	1989/97/002
Mozambique	UN	ONUMOZ	milobs	1992
Morocco	UN	MONUSRO	milobs	1991
Namibia	UN	UNTAG	1x battalion	1990
Sierra Leone	OAU/UN	UNSMSIL	4x bns mulobs	1999-2004
Zimbabwe	OAU	OAU	1 x coy	1990
Yugoslavia	EL/SN	UNPROFOR	4 Bn	1991-1996
Sudan	UN	MILOBS		2004

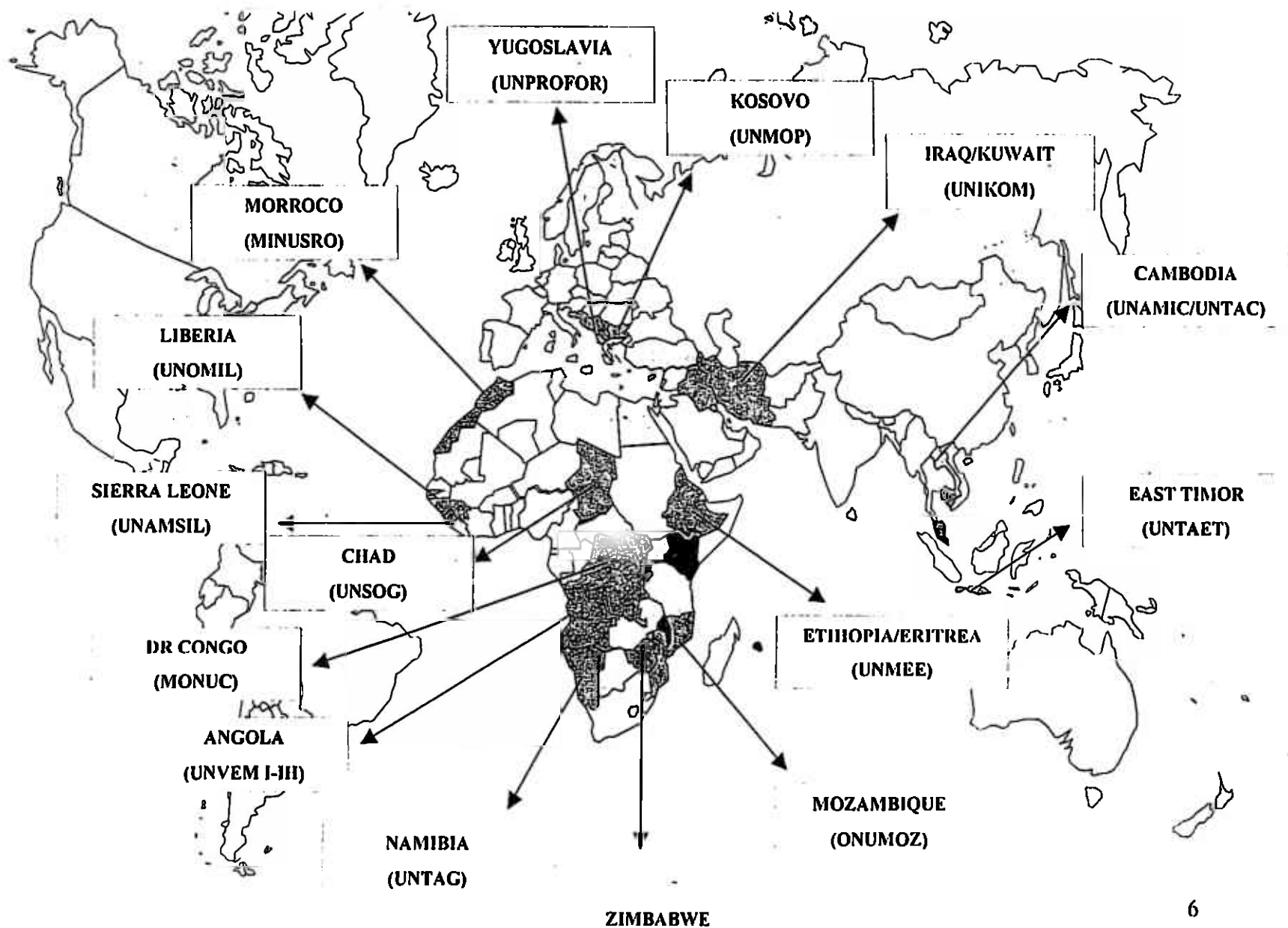
Source: Peace Support Training Centre (PSTC) Karen

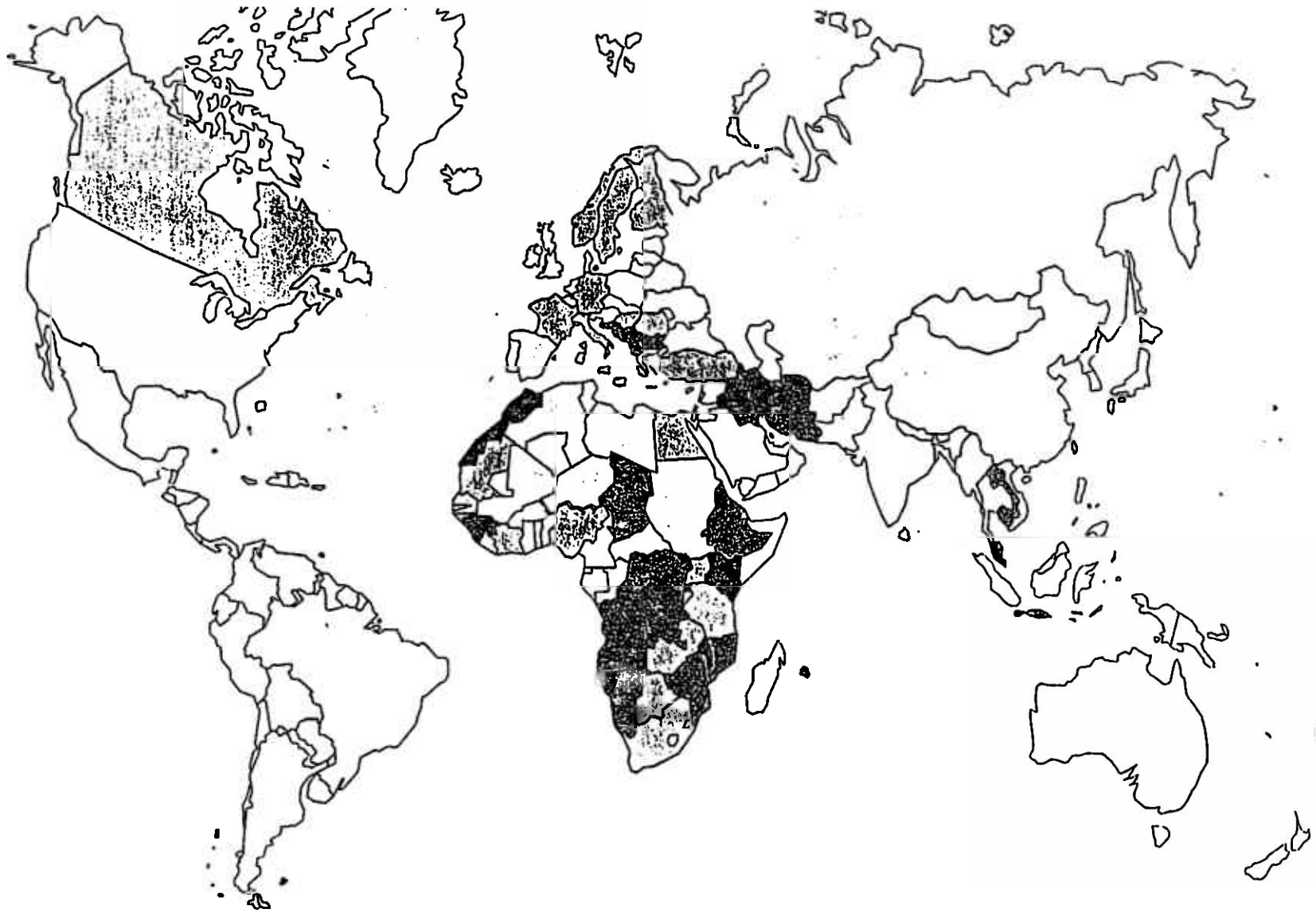
From the table above, it is clear that majority of Kenya’s peacekeeping troops have been deployed in various trouble spots within the African continent as compared to Asia, Europe and the Middle East. The largest single contribution to Europe was when

she contributed four battalions to former Yugoslavia. In Africa, the largest contribution was in Sierra Leone where the country sent 4 battalions and military observers. This was followed by Ethiopia/Eritrea where 3 battalions were sent, military observers and humanitarian demises. This mission was still ongoing by the time of this research (2004).

Another observation from the table is that majority of the conflicts in Africa to which Kenya has contributed peacekeeping troops are those related to internal civil strife occurring mostly after the collapse of Soviet Union. The super power rivalry that had taken center stage for over 3 decades since the end of 2nd world war had ended in 1990 as already observed. In those countries where there was conflict, either the political leadership was very oppressive and authoritarian or had failed to manage latent social discontent as a result of relative deprivation by some of the restive sections of their society. During the cold war, such countries would afford to oppress their citizens without any fear of condemnation by the super powers as they were propped up deliberately to stem out the spread of either communism or capitalism. In others it was a question of self-determination and self rule hence secession.

The secession movement in Polisario or Western Sahara was opposed by Morocco, which was unwilling to grant autonomy. In East Timor the islands were fighting a civil war of secession and received tacit backing from the US and Australia. For both the US and Australia, mineral – rich East Timor was a good bulwark against the world's largest Islamic state of Indonesia and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. In Yugoslavia, the implosion was based on a repressive regime of Slobdan Milosovic that ad held its reigns on a loose confederacy that had been crafted by the charismatic Marshall Tito.





3.2.3 SELECTION OF PEACEKEEPING CONTRIBUTORS: THE PROCESS

For a country like Kenya to contribute peacekeeping troops to UN or AU Missions, certain procedure has to be carefully followed. The process normally begins with the UN, in pursuit of Chapter 6 or Chapter 7 of its Charter formally requesting member states to provide troops for peacekeeping. Article 43 of the UN Charter states inter alia that “all members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, undertake to make available to the Security Council on its call and in accordance with a special agreement, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for purposes of maintenance peace and security.”

The UN Secretary General request the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which forwards the request to the Office of the President where the Department of Defence falls. The President, as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya then gives his official approval. After the approval, the Department of Defence (DOD) liaises with the UN Department Peacekeeping (DPKO) for operational for details. This is then followed by signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between Kenya’s Permanent Representative to the UN behalf of the Republic of Kenya and the UN. Normally the MOU contains details on the nature and number of troops required, whether infantry, Armour or humanitarian Deminers, just to give an example.

The MOU also details the administration conditions, logistics, Financial terms and the Military hardware that the contingent right to carry with itself; also known as Contingent Owned Equipment (COE). After the deployment of the troops the UN reimburses Kenya in respect of the Personnel, goods services and the military hardware at negotiated and agreed rates. It is at this level of negotiated rates that countries have turned peacekeeping into a source of earning foreign money from the UN. Indeed some countries like Fiji, India, Pakistan and Nigeria have turned peacekeeping into a commercial venture of earning billions of dollars. Some of these countries have even modernized their military equipment through UN reimbursement.

3.3 FACTORS DETERMINING KENYA'S CONTRIBUTION OF PEACEKEEPING TROOPS

According to respondents' views from office of the President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Department of Defence, one can group the factors that determine Kenya to send her troops for UN/AU Peacekeeping into five broad but mutually reinforcing categories. These categories include; Kenya's Foreign Policy Orientation since independence and her conflict management diplomacy, international obligation as a member of the UN, the professionalism of her soldiers, the financial benefits and the prevailing conditions in the country of mission.

3.3.1 FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION

Since her independence in 1963, Kenyan foreign policy has been designed to pursue universally recognized tenets. These tenets are very cardinal to the interaction between

and amongst countries as actors in the international system. They include among others; respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states including national security, good neighborliness and peaceful co-existence, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-alignment, national self interest and finally adherence to the charters of the UN, African union and the treaty of the East African Community (EAC).¹⁰

Kenyan leadership from the outset recognized the fact that peace and security are a prerequisite for both social and economic development. It was therefore incumbent upon the founders of independent Kenya to pursue with vigour and conviction a policy that was geared towards enabling Kenya to take a leading role within the East African region and the African continent. Indeed, economic development has played a dominant role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy. At independence in 1963, Kenya's economy was the most vibrant compared with her sister countries of Uganda and Tanzania. This disparity in levels of economic development was later to severely affect the relations of her East African neighbors who perceived Kenya's industrial goods as dominating both Ugandan and Tanzanian markets. Coupled with ideological differences amongst the three East African leaders, the East African community that was instrumental in pushing for a regional economic integration followed by a political federation later collapsed in 1977. The collapse of the Community was very costly to Kenya as it drastically curtailed her economic growth and expansion.

Kenya has pursued a policy of good neighbourliness and non interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Her status as a littoral state of the Indian ocean gave her a geo-strategic position of influencing relations with other landlocked countries in the neighbourhood.¹¹ She became a leading light in the re-establishment of the East African

Community whose treaty was signed in 1999 and common customs union in 2003, whose effective date of operation would be January 2005. Kenya is also a member of the intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) common market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation, amongst others.¹²

Kenya's cooperation in these multinational organizations is predicated on the fact that her development and prosperity are closely tied with those of her neighbours in the region. It is within this context of her foreign policy orientation that she has been deeply involved in peace making in the Great Lakes region, horn of Africa and within East Africa itself. In 1985, Kenya hosted a reconciliation meeting to arbitrate the warring factions in Uganda between the ruling junta under Tito Okello and National Resistance Army then under Yoweri Museveni. Within the IGAD, Kenya has been involved and was instrumental in securing a ceasefire between the Sudanese government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement SPLM/A. The peace agreement was reached and was due to be signed later in 2004 before the Darfur crisis broke out shifting the attention of Kenya, Sudan and the international community to the crisis. Under the same IGAD framework, Kenya has also led the Somali Peace process which has successfully witnessed the signing of the charter, nomination of members of parliament and selection of the president to usher in a government of national unity before national elections are held. Somalia has been without a government since 1990 when Siad Barre was overthrown.

From the "near broad", Kenya too, has pursued her policy of peaceful settlement of disputes by arbitrating in the Mozambiqan civil war, pitting FRELIMO and South

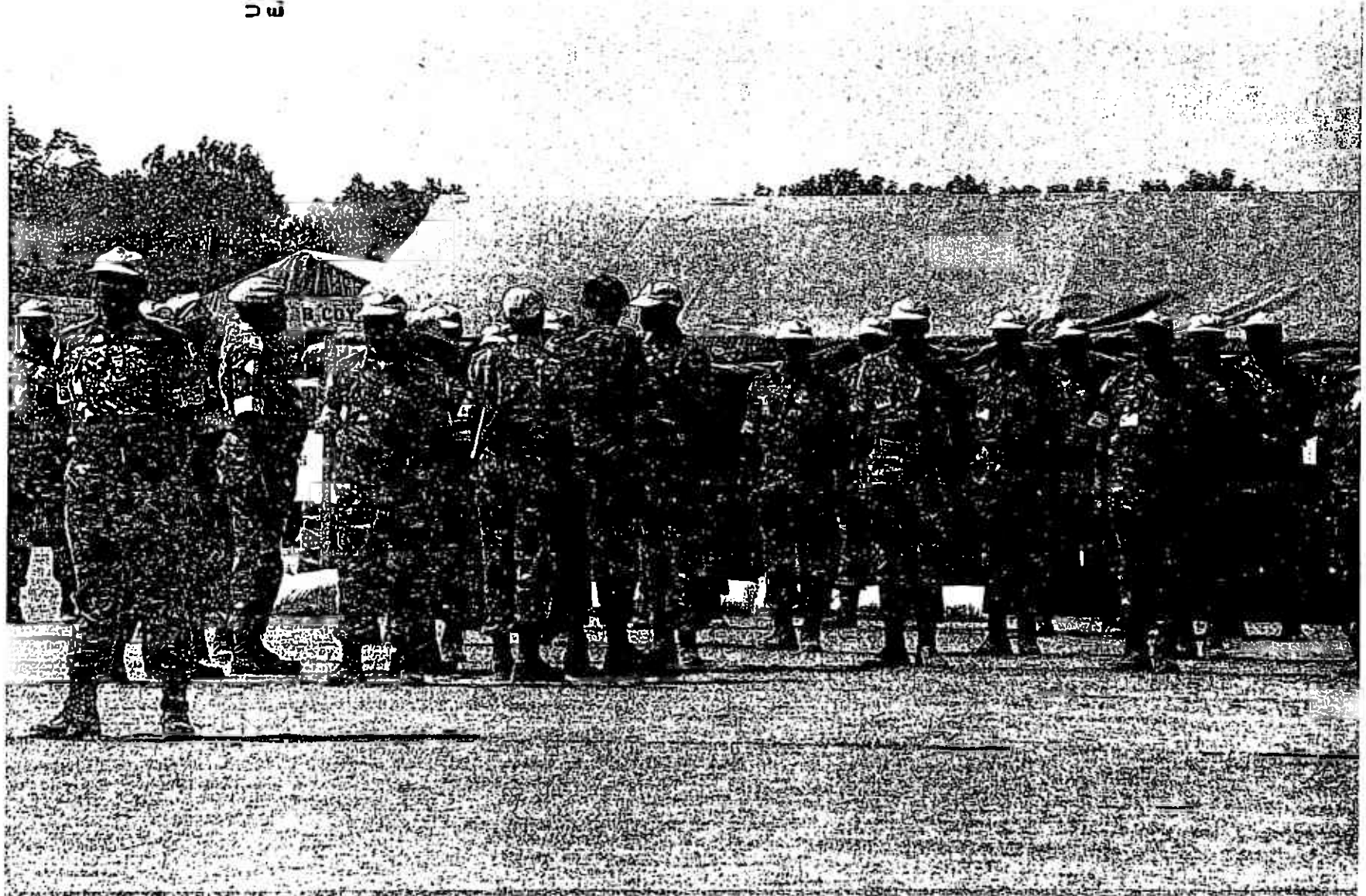
African backed RENAMO of Afonso Dhlakana. In Angola Kenya hosted the warring factions of UNITA, MPLA and FNLA before the African Union and later UN brokered a peace deal that led to holding of UN supervised elections.

Kenya has remained a loyal member of the Commonwealth and has been active in resolving conflicts that arise amongst members of the organization. She is also a founder member of the Organization of African Union (OAU), a precursor to the African Union (AU). In recognition of her membership and the tremendous contribution to regional and sub-regional peace initiatives, former President Daniel Arap Moi was elected OAU Chairman in 1991 for a two-year term. During the transformation of OAU to AU in July 2002, Kenya was a leading attendant represented by President Moi during the inauguration ceremony held in Durban, South Africa.¹³

Kenya has also embraced the New Partnership for Africa (NEPAD) and was appointed as a member of the implementation committee. She has since been the first among others to create a Secretariat within its Ministry of Economic and National Planning,. Kenya has been selected as the headquarters of proposed NEPAD East African regional office.

Against this backdrop, Kenya's contribution to international peace and security can not be downplayed. She has ably taken up the challenges thrust upon her by both the dynamics of geo-politics, regional conflicts and global economic and security concerns. Her foreign policy orientation has been a function of events occurring concurrently both at the international as well as the regional level. When called upon to contribute troops for UN or AU peacekeeping missions, this has naturally fitted in her national foreign policy initiatives. This explains why she currently (2004) has over 2000 peacekeeping

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troops mostly in Africa and Europe. The table below shows the number of Kenyan personnel involved in peacekeeping missions by November 2004.

TABLE 3 – KENYA'S TROOPS ON PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS IN AFRICA AND EUROPE (1990-2004)

COUNTRY	MISSION	OFFICERS	TROOPS	TOTAL
BURUNDI	ONUB (MPC)		80	80
BURUNDI	ONUB (MILOBS)	2		2
BURUNDI	ONUB (STAFF)	3		3
BURUNDI	ONUB (GAC)		117	117
BURUNDI	ONUB (KENBATT12)	42	778	820
CONGO	MONUC (MILOBS)	47	1	48
CONGO	MONUC (S/OFFRS)	9	3	12
CONGO	MONUC (UNMET)	3	2	5
COTE	UNOCI (MILOBS)	8		8
D'IVORE	CJTF HOA	3		3
DJIBOUTI	UNMEE (MILOBS)	11		11
ERITREA	UNMEE (De-Mining)	3	41	44
ERITREA	UNMEE (STAFFORR)	8	4	12
ERITREA	KENBATT 13	34	537	571
ERITREA	UNMEE (GAC)		200	200
ERITREA	STAFF OFFRS	5	3	8
LIBERIA	MILOBS	3		3
LIBERIA	MINURSO (MILOBS)	10		10
MOROCCO	UNSMIL (GAC)	8	180	188
S/LEONE	UNISMIL (STAFF	9		9
S/LEONE	OFFRS)	12		12
S/LEONE	UNSMIL (MILOBS)	3	4	7
SUDAN	IGAD (MILOBS)	5		5
SUDAN	AU (MILOBS)	1		1
KOSOVO	UNKIM (MILOBS)			
		229	1950	2179

Source: DOD, Nov. 2004

Majority of Kenyan troops deployed in various UN or AU missions are infantry soldiers who perform general duties of maintaining peace in accordance with UN mandate and the rules of engagement. In Ethiopia-Eritrea, Kenya has 41 men and 4 officers, specialized in demining who are undertaking a very dangerous and highly risky job of detecting and removing landmines in the heavily mined region of the Eretrea, bordering Ethiopia. Others include staff officers and military observers whose duty is to monitor and report progress on the UN sponsored process of demobilization, demilitarization and re-integration of former combatants.

3.3.2 PROFESSIONALISM

Kenya has remained a country of choice by both the UN and AU to contribute troops for peacekeeping missions as a result of her professionalism. Since she started contributing troops in 1980s Kenyan soldiers have exhibited an excellent sense of professionalism, neutrality and friendliness. This professionalism was captured by major Phil Ashby of the UK when he got marooned within the rebel forces of Revolutionary United Front (RUF) of Foday Sankoh in Sierra Leone in 1999-2001. Ashby says:-

“In my opinion the Kenyans were the best troops available to the UN in Sierra Leone. It was therefore no coincidence that they had been given the hardest area in which to operate. Infact, I would not be here today were it not for their professionalism and bravery.”¹⁴

This accolade by major Ashby is a summary of what Kenyan troops exhibit while on duty in the UN missions everywhere in the world. As pointed earlier in chapter

two, for a country to contribute troops to another, both host countries and the combatants to the conflict should give consent. The fact that Kenya has each time been accepted to contribute troops underscores her international appeal as friendly disciplined and professional force. According to senior military officers. Kenyan soldiers undergo one of the best military training in the world. They are taught tough basic combat skills, jungle training and handling of all manner of weaponry. The doctrine of complimentary support of the three sister arms of the Kenyan armed forces has been quite instrumental in creating a sense of brotherhood while training in their various fields of specialization. Despite their different traders as land army, Airforce and Navy, the doctrine of training ensures that they compliment one another during operation. In a real combat theatre each arm understands the limitation of the other and the challenges faced by their colleagues to ensure coordinated execution of mission to achieve desired ends. This training once acquired becomes a lasting and cementing factor that ensure a feeling of togetherness and belonging or what is called “Espirit de Corp.”

When Kenyan troops are called up for development, this training has helped them to adapt quite swiftly and harmoniously either amongst themselves or any other troops from other parts of the world. Kenyan professionalism suits them in any situation anywhere.¹⁵ It does not belabour anyone to see near and far, to proof that indeed Kenya has contributed peacekeepers to virtually all the continents except Latin America.¹⁶ The nature of professional training for Kenyan soldiers is at tactical strategy, basic combat that is operational globally. This assists them to be adaptable to any country they are deployed. The training doctrine is therefore broad based and indepth. Kenya maintains

joint military training sessions with the UK, US, which gives her soldiers international exposure to a broad spectrum of training instructions.¹⁷

In the several missions that Kenya has participated, the discipline, neutrality and friendliness of her soldiers has been recognized not only by the host country but within the UN department of peacekeeping operations. It is in this context that Lt. General Opande was appointed to be force commander to the United Nations mission to Sierra Leone in 200 after the initial fiasco when UN troops were surrounded and killed, then under an Indian force commander. General Opande was again appointed force commander to the UN mission in neighboring Liberia following the overthrow of President Charles Taylor. The table below shows the countries with which has participated in peacekeeping all over the world.

TABLE 4: INTERACTION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	MISSION	COUNTRIES
NAMIBIA	UNTAG	Kenya
BOSNIA	UN	Kenya, France, UK, Ukraine, Netherlands, Russia, Argentina, Nigeria
YUGOSLAVIA	UNPROFOR	Kenya , USA, France, Canada, Belgium, India, Sweden, Czche. Slovakia, Russia, Nigeria, Nepal, Argentina
ERITEREA/ETHIOPIA	UNMEE	Kenya , Jordan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Bangladesh, India, Zimbabwe
SIERRA LEONE	UNSMIL	
KOSOVO	UN	Kenya , New Zealand, Australia, Italy, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Ghana, Nigeria, India
KUWAIT	UNIKOM	Kenya , Italy, Venezuela, US, UK, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, Romania, Rua
EASTIMOR	UNMET	Australia, Brazil, USA, Phillipines, Fiji, Thailand, India, New Zealand, S. Korea, Canada, Pakistan, Portugal, Kenya
CROATIA	UNPROFOR	Kenya , Canada, Netherlands, Nigeria, Spain, Malaysia, Egypt, Ukraine, Russia, Park, Argentina

10 Source:- Oral interviews

From the a foregoing table, one is but impressed with the level of interaction Kenyan soldiers have had with others from different parts of the world. Secondly, they have been to as many places as there can possibly be. What is most important of all is that Kenyan contingents in all these missions have remained professional, disciplined and neutral in

their assignments. This compares with troops from other countries such as Nigeria whose troops mutinied in 1993-94 citing unpaid allowances. Other countries have lost their soldiers due to taking sides with local combatants or soldiers disappearing from their camps for pleasure seeking ventures.¹⁸ Indeed in Croatia (1993-84) two military observers one Malaysian and two Netherlanders were killed by anti-personnel landmine while on unauthorized excursion.¹⁹

3.3.3 INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION

Kenya is an active member of United Nations, which she joined shortly after her independence. She is also a member of the African Union, East African Community, COMESA, IGAD and many other international organizations. The headquarters of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Health Office of HABITAT are based in Nairobi. She has pursued a foreign policy of good neighbourliness and peaceful settlement of disputes. This policy together with the relative peace she has enjoyed since independence has been of very significant influence in dealing with the UN to promote peace and security in the world. As a member of the UN and signatory to the UN Charter, Kenya has been influenced by her international obligations to provide peacekeeping troops whenever she has been requested to. In this regard, her international stature not only as a peacekeeper but a peace exporter has been recognized. According to the UN Charter, Member countries are obliged to provide army assistance in form of troops, equipment, funds or way leave to facilitate the deployment of UN peacekeeping troops in any area of the world where peace has been compromised. Indeed, this is the desire of most countries of the world; pursuit of peace and security for

altruistic reasons. International peace and security has been Kenya's foreign desire, just as it has been her preoccupation both at the regional and sub-regional level.

It is in keeping with her legal responsibility and obligation as a member of the United Nations and regional multilateral corporations that Kenya willingly contributes her troops for peacekeeping. This is in spite of the budgetary constraints she encounters while sending the troops albeit initially before the UN begins to reimburse such expenditure.

This continued support of UN peacekeeping and peacemaking initiatives earned Kenya membership of the United Nations Security Council in 1993-94. Due to the same unfailing support the United Nations Security Council convened its meetings in Nairobi in November 2004 to address the security crisis in Darfur, Sudan and the Great Lakes region. The Security Council meeting was second of its type in Africa and the third outside the UN headquarters in the USA.²⁰

3.3.4 FINANCIAL BENEFITS

The financial cost of Kenya's contribution to peacekeeping missions is quite immense. This is given owing to the fact that peacekeeping is an eventuality of the unpredictable nature of man. Much of the conflicts that flare up in the world occasioning UN intervention and subsequent deployment of peacekeeping missions are usually unforeseen. As such Kenya does not factor the element of peacekeeping in her national budget. Despite the insufficiency of funds, it has not hampered her from sending troops abroad for peacekeeping.

The underlying reason for this is the amount of money the country derives from these missions. Financial benefits to Kenya by way of peacekeeping is channeled in two ways; direct payment by the UN to individual peacekeepers and reimbursement to the country for the personnel and equipment owned by the troops known as contingent owned equipment (COE). Reimbursements from the UN payable to Kenya is a very thorny and emotive issue. During my interviews, I found out that queries related to utilization of UN reimbursement is a rather unsettling issue and quite often than not senior military officers were unwilling to engage in an exhaustive debate over the matter. Be that as it may, Kenya gets a good deal of foreign exchange in form of appropriations in Aid (AIA) payable to the department of Defence.

In the normal budgetary allocations, the DoD which falls under the office of the President is voted a certain amount of money for training, purchase of equipment, development and operations and maintenance among other activities. When therefore, Kenya is requested to provide troops for peacekeeping. Expenditure for formal selection, brief training and deployment to mission area is a cost to the DoD before the UN starts to reimburse the country. The intensity of lobbying and political interference on who to be selected to go for peacekeeping attests to the financial benefits. The financial benefits the soldiers derive from these missions, has become a very popular and contested exercise and has not escaped Kenya's socio-political enemy number one – corruption. My interviews revealed that on a good number of occasions, the process of selecting peacekeepers has not met the test of merit, equity and fairness.

Treasury officials contend that DoD has not been forthright in budgeting properly for the expected earnings from UN reimbursements. Indeed, it is now an established fact

that Kenya is one of the favorite countries for peacekeeping missions not only in Africa but in the world. It is possible therefore, that DoD experts, jointly with treasury budget officials can arguably project the amount of money Kenya can earn from peacekeeping missions.

According to DoD sources, total expenditure by Kenyan government towards UN peacekeeping missions since Namibia to the Ethiopia/Eritrea mission is estimated at Kshs 10,328,653,416.8 while total reimbursement from the UN is estimated at Kshs. 11,177,646,573,573.60.²¹ The expected total reimbursement by end of 2004 was Kshs. 2,143,896,086.30. Looking at the total expenditure a total reimbursements, one is tempted to infer that the government does get value for its money. But other factors ought to be put into consideration. These include the UN allowances paid to the individual soldiers, which is not reflected. Besides, the type of experience, exposure and skills learned by the soldiers are so immeasurable to be quantified. Also to be considered is the compensation paid due to loss of lives or breakage of equipment in line with status of force agreement (SOFA) between the UN and the country.

From the interviews conducted a good number of respondents posited that economic considerations do play a key role in the country's decision to send peacekeeping missions. This of course is done in a way to portray the country as if it is not hiring mercenaries for peacekeeping in return for financial gain. The truth of the matter, however, is that financial gain is a motivating factor. The desire for each individual soldier to be nominated for peacekeeping is so overwhelming amongst those who have not yet been selected to go. At one point during my interviews, some soldiers

started mopping me requesting to be considered as if I was on a recruiting mission! This anxiety and agitation is only but a pointer to how lucrative the venture is.

Countries which also participate in peacekeeping other than Kenya have actually taken advantage of the UN reimbursements to equip their contingents with the latest and newly acquired equipment to attract 100 per cent reimbursements hence modernizing their military hardware. Canada for example has created a large reservoir of peacekeepers by rotating her armed forces where at any given time, 25% are involved in continental assignment, 25% on peacekeeping, 25% on national defence while 25% are on training in peacekeeping related activities. This ensures her virtual participation in peacekeeping missions anywhere.²²

Though DoD has a policy of being fair to all soldiers by according to each soldier a chance to be selected for peacekeeping, human weakness of nepotism and favoritism has compromised the spirit of this policy. To some extent this has affected the deployment of forces where urgent action is required because some of the officers are not psychological ready for the daunting task ahead. If a battalion of Kenyan men and women's mandate is extended DoD demands that the battalion returns home to be substituted by a fresh one. This is due to the internal demands from those who have not gone; again underscoring the point that peacekeeping is a very lucrative venture.

Those soldiers on missions do send money home to their families and loved ones. This has in turn become a source of foreign exchange earnings to the country since the money is sent in foreign currency, normally in US dollars. Together with the official UN reimbursements, the repatriation of allowances from individual soldiers has become a steady supply of much needed foreign currency. My attempts to get the actual monetary

figures of such disbursements were frustrated due to the fact that each soldier sends the money to his personal private account and secondly most of them felt it was a private matter that needed no disclosure. Nonetheless, it is possible to infer with certainty that financial gains both at the country as well as individual level do play a crucial role in influencing Kenya to send her troops for peacekeeping.

3.3.5 CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY OF MISSION

The conditions prevailing in an area or country where a peacekeeping mission is required, influences Kenya's choice to send troops. This is predicated on the assumptions that peacekeeping is a risky undertaking. No country, Kenya included will risk sending its troops to a mission where its soldiers will be exposed to hostile fire. In deciding to send soldiers for peacekeeping, considerable care and advance reconnaissance is carried out before sending. Even if consent to send and an MOU signed between Kenya and UN, the actual dispatch of troops may not commence till the conditions on the ground are confirmed to be secure²³ Since she began sending troops for peacekeeping, Kenya has lost 22 of her soldiers. These soldiers were killed in various UN missions as shown hereunder:- UNCRO-1, UNOSOM-1, UNPF-1, UNPROFOR-4, UNTAG – 4, UNAMSK – 4, MONUC-1 and 4 are missing in action.²⁴ The ghastly killing of Kenyan peacekeepers in Sierra Leone in 1999 by the RUF rebels just underscores how risky the business of peacekeeping can be. It is therefore very important to understand and fully appreciate the prevailing conditions before dispatching troops. In former Yugoslavia bombardments by allied Nato forces had virtually subdued the Serbs before Kenya and other countries send peacekeepers. Even then, we still lost

our soldiers. In East Timor Kenya sent in her Contingents after peace had been secured and her contingent participated in the transitional elections. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a ceasefire had been secured before security military observers were deployed but still lost officer under very bizarre circumstances. The point one is belabouring here is that unless the conditions on the ground are conducive for physical deployment, Kenya does not entertain risking her soldiers' lives.

¹ Mays T.M., *Africa's First Peacekeeping Operation: The OAU IN Chad*, 181/1982, London, Praeger, 2002, pp.79-105

² Tordaff W., *Government and Politics in Africa*, 2nd ed., Hongkong Macmillan, 1994, pp182-183

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ Daniel L., *The Far East and Australasia*, 34th ed., London, Europa Publications, 2003, pp231-237, see also the 30th ed., 1999 pp.197-2004

⁶ In announcing the **New World Order** President George Bush (Senior) outlined the new guiding US relations with Third World Countries as based on transparency, accountability and good governance.

⁷ Fleitz F. H. Jr., *Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990's causes solutions and US interests*, Westport, Praeger, 2002, p14, see also pp12-13 for details of other UN missions

⁸ Uganda first came under military rule in 1971 when Idi Amin overthrew President Milton Obote. Ethiopia was overthrown by Marxist Mengistu in 1974 while Somali came under Shed Barre in 1969. Sudan was overthrown in 1969 and has remained under military rule since then except for a brief interruption of civilian rule in the late 1990's

⁹ Peace Training Centre (PSTC), Karen, 2004

¹⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Departmental Paper, March 2003, p.1.

¹¹ Ibid p.2.

¹² Ibid p.2

¹³ Ibid p.8

¹⁴ Government of Kenya, Department of Defence, November, 2004.

¹⁵ Ashby, P. Unscathed: outnumbered, unarmed, under attack (Macmillan 2002) p.139.

¹⁶ Lt. General J. Koech, Oral Interview, Nairobi, 22.4.2004.

¹⁷ There is currently (2004) four (4) officers from the anti-terrosism unit stationed at Tampa Florida in USA who rotate every after a period of time.

¹⁸ Lt. General Koech Op.cot, O1, 22.11.04.

¹⁹ Shadrack Wesonga. 1..22.11.04

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ The first UN Security Council in Africa was held in Adis Ababa, Ehtiopia in 196 over the Congo Crisis.

²² Col. Adnan Mulata O.I. Nairobi; 18.11.04.

²³ Col.Sam Thuita OI Nairobi 22.11.04

²⁴ Major – Gen G. Okanga I.O, 22.11.04

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The areas to which Kenya has contributed in peacekeeping missions and the underlying reasons for her doing so have been handled in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I shall have a brief look at the benefits the country and individual soldiers derive from peacekeeping. Some of these benefits have already been mentioned in the previous chapter.

The benefits Kenya and her soldiers derive from peacekeeping missions can be summarized in three categories; economic, political and social. It should be emphasized here that these categories are not exclusive of one another neither can one separate benefits due to the country from those due to individual soldiers.

4.1.2. ECONOMIC

As already pointed out, Kenya gets reimbursed money in US dollars by the UN for providing troops to peacekeeping missions. The amount of money involved runs in billions of shillings. Usually the country is paid a specific amount to each personnel deployed, the uniform and equipment of the contingent. The UN pays an average of US\$ 1000 per each individual soldier per month to the government of Kenya.¹ As at November 2004, Kenya had 2,178 men and women on peacekeeping worldwide. This translates to US\$ 2,178,000 or Kshs. 174,240,000.² Assuming that these soldiers are likely to stay in their missions for a further five months, they are expected to earn the country Kshs. 870,700,000. This is a substantial amount of money to be channelled in meeting some budgetary requirements of the DoD in particular and government in general. This payment according to DoD sources is outside the allowances payable to individual soldiers.³

The total payment by UN to the government of Kenya (GOK) between 1992 to April 2004 is shown hereunder.

TABLE 5: TROOP REIMBURSEMENT TO GOK IN US DOLLARS

YEAR	MONUC	UNAMSIL	UNMEE	UNMIL	UNTAET	UNCRO	UNPROFOR
1992							7,155,292
1993							11,982,018 12,431,352
1994							3,165,635
1995						5,984,485	
1999		724,009					
2000		11,156,909	13,045	11,314	2,843,854		
2001		14,093,077	6,895,495	7,919	3,215,544		
2002		14,588,113	8,653,261				
2003		13,697,781	9,073,311				
2004	2,354	4,562,534	3,099,038				
TOTAL	2,354	58,822,423	27,734,150	19,233	6,059,398	5,984,485	34,734,297

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From the table above, the total payment in terms of UN reimbursements to the GOK by April 2004 was US\$ 33,356,340¹ or Kshs. 10,668,507,200 (ten billion, six hundred sixty eight million five hundred and seven, two hundred thousand). This is a walloping amount, about one tenth of the country's 200 billion national budget or the budget of two large ministries. As already indicated, senior military officials are not comfortable discussing the real expenditure of these proceeds. What is important is that this amount is a very great financial boost to the country's ailing economy. One observation worth of note, however is that according to printed estimates, the DoD does not reflect such colossal amounts of revenue as AIA in their budget proposals. The reasons given are that because one is not normally certain when peacekeeping assignments will be required. But

when peacekeeping assignments will be required. But even looking at the running financial year when troops are deployed in missions abroad, this anomaly is still present.

The literature available indicates that details on actual UN reimbursement to Kenya are scanty or not well documented and maintained. The data available may be that on the UN mission to Angola, Namibia, Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone and Eritrea/Ethiopia just to mention but a few.⁵

Together with payment of Kenyan personnel on UN missions the GoK is also reimbursed for equipment owned by the contingents. These payments are paid under specifically agreed terms within the M.O.U. on the basis of either the serviceability of the equipment, status of the force or letter of assistance. In this last one, a country may provide a certain equipment designed for a specific assignment or activity which the UN may not be having at any given mission area. The M.O.U may also specify whether the mission requires troops to carry their own equipment (Wet lease) or they go bare hand and UN provides the equipment (Dry lease). Either way, the UN pays a country certain amount of money. The table below shows such payments to Kenya for her participation in various missions.

TABLE 6: PAYMENTS FOR CONTIGENT EQUIPMENT TO KENYA (US DOLLARS)

MISSION	COE	LOA	D&D
UNMEE	US\$ 8,790,803.13	279,000.00	50,000
UNTAG	225,3646		
UNAMSIL	20,479,043	603,000	519,750
UNPROFOR	10,710,669	964,112.15	
UNTAET	1,912,604		
TOTAL	44,146,768.68	1,864,112.15	569,750

Source: Department of Defence

The grand total paid to Kenya by UN for her equipment in various missions was US\$ 46,562,630.83, equivalent to Kshs. 3,725,010,000. This indicates that if Kenya can equip her troops with modern military hardware, the country stands to generate a lot of money than she is currently getting. This is because UN usually reimburses a country's contingent owned equipment on the basis of its state of serviceability. Unfortunately according to my interviews, the state of Kenya's equipment especially motor vehicles have been the source of embarrassment and shame. In one such incident a UN delegation to verify the serviceability of Kenya's equipment to the UNMEE was appalled when Kenyan land-rovers could not even start the engine or move off the ship at the docking yard. This is a matter to be addressed by policy makers at the DoD.

Proceeds from COE can be channelled back to the DoD and used to acquire modern military hardware which in turn will earn the country substantial amounts of money. By November 2004, Kenya had 176 vehicles deployed in various missions from which she was earning the revenue alluded to previously. These vehicles range from armoured personnel carriers (APC), seater buses, lorries, trucks, tipers and exhausters. The goodness with acquiring new equipment for UN peace missions is that apart from the reimbursement, the country ends up with its own equipment transported back at UN cost. Kenya decision makers have yet to reap the full benefits of this particular facility.

4.2 INDIVIDUAL SOLDIERS

At the individual level, soldiers who participated in peacekeeping missions enumerated several benefits specific to them while at the same time generating others to GoK. All interviewees acknowledged the fact that their stint at UN missions generally uplifted their financial status. Among the benefits were the UN allowances they were being paid which ranges from US\$ 150 to 200 per month. Besides the UN allowances, their monthly salary

paid by the GoK continued flowing into their accounts while away. These UN allowances enabled most of them to purchase personal vehicles which were imported in the country tax free hence enhancing their status socially. Some utilized their savings into purchasing houses or residential plots in towns which they later developed by either building rental houses or their own homes. Others ventured into the transport industry by purchasing matatus plying either within major urban centres or upcountry. One respondent who was in former Yugoslavia invested the allowances in the treasury bonds in late 1990s which were then yielding very high interest rates and since then has been living poshly on their returns.

Personal financial benefits on the part of soldiers has reflected a dramatic changes in their social status at their places of work as well as rural or urban homes. This in turn has fired a yearning desire among those who have not yet gone to peacekeeping mission to lobby and agitate for the same. Socially the soldiers narrate poignantly on how they got exposure to various cultures different from those under which they have grown up. The learning of different languages and the way other people live and perceive life including their religious convictions have remained an enriching memory to them. But more importantly and perhaps most everlasting is their exposure to the stark realities of war and warfare. The personal and collective experience of destruction, despair and dehumanisation caused by war has left among the soldiers a solid conviction to protect and preserve security of their country at whatever cost. Upon return from their missions, the soldiers become “good evangelists” of peace amongst themselves and fellow Kenyans. In a country that has enjoyed peace and witnessed three failed coups attempts, this may explain why Kenyan military has remained political unlike neighbouring countries.

The social and economic benefits briefly mentioned above were not however, got on a bed of roses. Some of the soldiers recounted how psychologically it was difficult to cope in foreign lands far away from home. In some cases certain soldiers became psychopathic on

learning that their spouses had either become unfaithful or squandered all their UN allowances they were sending home. In some cases, some were socially deprived from enjoyment to which they were accustomed. This was common amongst those who were deployed in Islamic countries like Iraq, Iran and Kuwait, where the religion does not permit free and open socialization.

4.3 POLITICAL

Kenya's international stature has been greatly enhanced as a result of her participation in peacekeeping mission. This is a theme that has been repeated throughout this discourse. Suffice is to say that currently, she is rated among key troop contributors to UN and AU peacekeeping missions. Her diplomacy of peace management at sub-regional and regional levels speaks for itself. In this recognition the UN Department of peacekeeping operations has rewarded her by appointment of Lt. General Daniel Ismail Opande, force commander in Sierra Leone and Liberia in the year 2000 and 2002 respectively. Brigadier General Peter Manyara, deputy force commander in UN Mission to Ethiopia/Eritrea in the year 2001-2003. Brigadier General E.K. Tanui Sector Commander UNAMSIL in the year 2001-2002.

Besides these senior military appointments in peacekeeping, Kenyan efforts in settling disputes peacefully has gained her international acclaim especially the twin peace processes of the Sudan and Somalia. She is the headquarters to various international medias, two UN agencies and Nairobi is a busy connecting flights hub for the world's major airlines. These international appeal has enabled Kenya to earn herself respect and diplomatic leverage over her neighbours in East Africa as well as horn of Africa.

The peacekeeping diplomacy has been an excellent showcase for Kenya's image abroad through individual as well as truck one diplomacy. The bilateral relations between GoK and those countries she has participated in peacekeeping has steadily grown when peace

has been secured in Kenya, for example enjoys cordial relations with Namibia, Angola, East Timor, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Eritrea all having consented to her forces being deployed as peacekeepers. The exemplary show of discipline, neutrality and professionalism displayed by Kenyan soldiers has earned the country intense respect and honour. Kenya has earned esteem and nobility for her humanitarian gesture in participation in UN peacekeeping operations. The international community owes Kenya and other troops contributing nations a debt of moral gratitude for the gesture.⁶

Since Kenya started contributing troops for UN peacekeeping operations, she has been steadfast in maintaining a well trained and professional force. The demand for peacekeeping has been overwhelming to the UN especially after the end of cold war when the nature of conflict shifted from intrastate to interstate. Taking cognisance of this Kenya embarked on establishing an infrastructure to train and equip her soldiers to be ready for peacekeeping. In this regard, she has jointly with British Government constructed a peace support training centre at Karen, next to the Defence Staff College. This centre, with ultra modern lecture rooms and a well equipped library and boarding facilities admits and trains both military and civilian officers including the police in peacekeeping operations. The centre aims at being the centre of excellence in the Eastern, Central and Southern African regions in peacekeeping training. Recently, it has received financial assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany and its busy admitting participants from Africa, Asia and Europe.

This institution together with country's past record in peacekeeping has more than reinforced Kenya's commitment to international peace and security. As world dynamics keep shifting and areas of conflict enlarge, the future of world peace lies in taking early initiative to contain explosive situation from erupting into open war. Peacemaking and peacekeeping will therefore increasingly become a major pre-occupation of not only the UN

but also individual states as well. It is with this in mind that Kenya's past and future efforts in supporting UN peacekeeping missions has to be looked at. The country has established an international niche in the pursuit of global peace and security within the paradigm of collective security as envisaged by the Charter of UN and other regional and sub regional bodies. The future for world peace therefore lies with cooperation among states and not brinkmanship by those with military might, economic resources and diplomatic clout.

¹ Lt Gen. J. Koech, O.I, Nairobi, 22.11.2004.

² The dollar is exchanging at Kshs. 80.

³ Adren Mulata, I.O. Nairobi, 18.11.2004.

⁴ GoK, Department of Defence

⁵ Ibid

⁶ GOK, Defence Staff College, Unreferenced work, P.1.

5. CONCLUSION

Peacekeeping has been one of the UN's most challenging assignments since its inception in 1945. Kenya has played an active role as a member of the UN through contribution of her troops for UN peacekeeping Missions whenever called upon.

Since the collapse of USSR in 1990, conflict between states and within states increased dramatically on scale larger than ever before. The UN is increasingly under world scrutiny to provide a leadership role in resolving these conflicts by arbitration, peace enforcement and peacekeeping. Using the mandate bestowed upon her by the charter, the UN through the security council and Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has organised various peacekeeping missions in several parts of the world.

Kenya has responded positively to UN requests by sending contingents of her armed forces civil police and observers. This contribution has enabled the country to gain invaluable experience, expertise and professionalism in peacekeeping. She now ranks third in Africa and sixth in the whole world as a contributor to peacekeeping. Kenya's armed forces are known over the world for their friendliness, professionalism and neutrality.

There is a lot Kenya has and can gain in participating in UN Peacekeeping Missions. By participating in such missions, the army men come in terms with the stark realities of war. They acquire immense understanding of what the consequences of war can be to society, humanity and a country. Upon their return, they become "evangelists" for peaceful coexistence and resolving conflicts through peaceful means.

The UN offer reimburses each troop contributor monies for their contingent owned equipment based on the service ability of the equipment. The government of Kenya and DOD in particular can seize this opportunity by modernizing their equipment to earn 100%

UN compensation. If well utilised the UN reimbursement can be a profitable source of earning the government the much-needed foreign exchange. Since the end of the world war, there has been debate on the role of the military in modern state. This debate lingers on the fact that the concept of security in the western model was based on an external enemy. But events that have unfolded indicate that third world countries and especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, the concept of security has to be viewed from within and not without. Military expenditures in these countries are therefore increasing by each passing year.

Internal strife caused by relative deprivation of certain sections of the societies and the desire for regime consolidation by the ruling elites has unleashed an ogre of ethnic fighting that has caused a large mass of refugees within the continent. Instead of the African countries using the same resources for development purposes, a good percentage of the countries GDP goes into military expenditures.

The debate on military expenditures in developing countries is of great concern to policy analysts, researchers and donors. This concern lies in the fact that most developing countries are riddled with high levels of poverty against high military expenditures. A higher share of military expenditure in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) or total government expenditures implies that fewer measures are available for other sectors. Higher military expenditures also has a negative economic growth since it affects the balance of payments of a given country. Kenya's military expenditure especially those in relation to peacekeeping activities are quite considerable. But the returns in terms of UN reimbursement and her continued acceptance to send troops for UN missions means that the country actually reaps more than she spends. This is, however, a matter of debate.

The table below shows the trend of Kenya's military expenditures between 1995 and 2004.

TABLE 7 - KENYA'S DEFENCE AND SECURITY EXPENDITURE

YEAR	TOTAL GOVERN. EXPENDITURE (Kshs. Million)	ALLOC. DEFENCE (Kshs. Million)	TO	TOTAL % OF GOVERN. EXP. (Kshs. Million)
1990/1995	189,442	7,367		3.9
1995/1996	190,894	10,789		5.7
1996/1997	201,454	10,867		5.4
1997/1998	272,480	10,790		4.0
1998/1999	251,486	11,087		4.4
1999/2000	286,624	12,755		4.4
2000/2001	327,444	16,919		5.2
2001/2002	313,988	19,064		6.1
2002/2003	342,451	21,130		6.2
2003/2004	393,584	21,755		5.5

Source: (GoK) Ministry of Finance

Kenya's total military expenditure as a percentage of total government overall expenditure remained at below 10% but well above 2% allowed by the UN. The military expenditures steadily rose from 1995 at 3.9 to 6.2% in 2003 before dropping to 5.5% in 2004. The explanation to this is the high level of Kenya's participation in peacekeeping missions within the same period of time. It is, however, interesting to note that whereas the country was exporting peacekeepers.

It should be observed from the afore going analysis that Kenya's participation in peacekeeping is not out of the desire to make money, rather to contribute to world peace as a member of the UN. Her participation is predicated on her foreign policy orientation and professionalism of her soldiers. However, the country accrues economic benefits from the UN through reimbursements. This can be a source of the much needed foreign funds that can

be utilized in meeting the country's budgetary deficits. As a member of the UN Kenya participates in peace keeping for moral reasons and as a matter of principle due to her commitment to world peace through collective security. This is in spite of the very many risks real and apparent in peacekeeping missions.

It is important therefore for policy analysis and decision makers in Kenya to seize the good will she has enjoyed as one of the leading UN peacekeeping contributor and turn it into an opportunity. This opportunity lies in one thing. Maintaining her military hardware so as to attract maximum UN compensation for use of her equipment. This should not be a big problem. Once the country has been requested by the UN to provide troops for peacekeeping, both Treasury and DoD officials can approach suppliers of military related equipment who should sell to the government of Kenya at agreed terms of payment. Once the UN begins reimbursement, the GoK can pay off the suppliers and hence generate a lot of revenue from the use of their equipment.

It is likely from the look of things that to most of third world countries, social-political tensions will still persist. This, calls for future UN active involvement in peacekeeping initiatives. If this trend persists, Kenya with her credible capacity as a peacekeeper will need to make good these opportunities to generate money that can be ploughed back into the economy to benefit her people.

Kenya and other countries who are members of the UN should strive to eliminate insecurity by seeking peaceful means and settling their disputes. Countries in Africa and the whole world in general should strive to reap the full benefits of the peace dividend after the end of cold war. Studies by IMF have shown that industrialized countries now spend 5.5% of their GDP on military expenditure as compared to 11% in developing countries. This means that industrialized countries are now allocating former resources meant for military expenditures to other sectors of the economy.

Kenya's peacekeeping credentials have earned her a commendable position within Africa and UN. She stands high among leading UN peacekeeping contributors to many parts of the world.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE "A" **SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS**

1. When did Kenya start sending peacekeeping missions under the UN?
2. How many contingents has Kenyan sent on these missions? When and where?
3. What skills and experiences are required for soldiers to be selected for peace keeping?
4. How much has Kenya spent on these a peacekeeping mission?
5. Who meets the expenses of sending troops on UN mission? Is there any cost sharing?
6. Has Kenya lost or sustained injuries of her servicemen/women during these missions?
How many up to know?
7. What benefits does the country and military derive from these missions?
8. Why is Kenya a country of choice for UN peacekeeping mission?
9. How do you budget for UN peacekeeping contingents?

QUESTIONNAIRE "B" **SENIOR TREASURY OFFICIALS**

1. What amount of money has Kenyan spent on peacekeeping missions in past 20 years?
2. Do what vote does the Government (Treasury) charge expenses on peacekeeping?
3. In your opinion, is it worth to spend money for peacekeeping? Why?
4. Do you see any problems in the country's continued participation in peacekeeping missions?
5. What would be your suggestions Kenya's participation in future peacekeeping missions?
6. Do you think Government spending on UN peacekeeping missions is a justified expenditure?
7. What % of the peacekeeping expenses constitutes the total defence budget?
8. Are UN reimbursements paid to the DoD or the Treasury?

QUESTIONNAIRE “C”

MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN PEACEKEEPING

1. Name.....
Rank.....
Service: Army/Navy/Air force.....
- 2 Date of Departure.....
Date of Return
- Country of mission
3. Which other countries did you participate with?
 - 1.....
 - 2.....
 - 3.....
- 4 What were your most notable experiences during this period?
5. What personal benefits did you get from your participation?
6. What lessons did you learn that you would like to share with other peacekeepers?
7. What problems did you experience while you were away on mission?

QUESTIONNAIRE “D”

KENYA REVENUE OFFICIALS (KRA)

1. What policy regulates goods brought in by military and civilian officers returning from UN peacekeeping missions?
2. What kind of goods do they normally bring in the country?
3. What majority of goods do they bring in?
4. Is there any levies imposed on the goods? If yes, what is their value? (Kshs)
5. If levies are not imposed in (4) above, what is the value of the amount waived? (Kshs)

6. Is importation of goods by military officers subject to any abuse? Any reported cases?
7. Suggestions recommendations for handling such goods in future.
8. Does the country gain or loose by sending soldiers on UN peacekeeping missions?

QUESTIONNAIRE "E"

SENIOR OFFICERS, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. What factors determine Kenya's decision to send troops on peacekeeping missions?
2. What benefits does the government get from this exercise?
3. How has Kenya's role in UN peacekeeping affected her International standing? Give specific examples.
4. Who decides whether to send peacekeeping troops or not?
5. What lessons has Kenyan learnt from participating in peacekeeping?
6. What challenges has Kenya faced in her peacekeeping efforts?
7. What are the costs of peacekeeping to Kenya?
8. On balance, is it worth to participate in peacekeeping?
9. In your opinion, in what way is peacekeeping an investment in regional and global peace?