

CONCLUSION

This report set out analysis US foreign policy towards Kenya focusing on the role the US played in Kenya's democratisation process, the 1998 attacks on the US embassy in Kenya and the effects of 11 September 2001. It also set to establish how this policy has in turn affected the country's institution building and domestic policy. The aim of this study was to identify the tension, the continuities and new avenues of the bilateral relation between Kenya and the US.

The study began with an introduction that laid down the primary purpose of the research and the literature by various authorities in Kenya-US relations especially during the Cold War period, the post-Cold War period, and the war on terrorism. This was followed by chapter one which set out to give a background understanding of Kenya-US relations during the Cold War. It identified the security concerns in the region that brought both governments together. The US was out to contain the spread of communism in the region while Kenya needed the US to deter any threat especially from Somalia. Though Kenya asserted to be a non-aligned country immediately after independence it leaned towards the Western ideology. This ideology stance was mainly influenced by the country's economic ties to its former colony Britain. Largely owing to its strategic position in the Greater Horn of Africa the country was a major aid beneficiary from the US and other donor countries. Throughout this period the containment of Soviet influence in the region was the US's major concern as opposed to calling on governments to reform.

President Kenyatta and Moi had ensured they were no opposing voices in the country and even amended the constitution making Kenya a *de jure* one party state. With the fall of the Berlin Wall Cold War policies were abandoned, the promotion of democracy became US's focus in the immediate post-Cold War period. The mounting pressure on Moi to change the constitution in order to ensure the country held multiparty elections brought new tensions to Kenya-US relations.

US policies towards Kenya in the post-Cold War era mainly called for Kenya to reform both politically and economically. The primary purpose of chapter two was to outline the change of US policy from containing the Cold War in the region to calling on Kenya to

reform from an authoritarian rule to a liberal democracy. The US played a crucial role towards this transition though the Senior Bush Administration sometimes abandoned its policy for its own interests. This inconsistency strengthened Moi's resolve to abandon all calls for reforms. The withholding of aid by the US congress and other donors eventually led to Kenya's democratic transition. Kenya's transition though was not smooth as Moi resisted change; the elections were marred with irregularities and violence. It is however important to note that however imperfect the transition process was the country took a marginal step towards being a liberal democratic State when it held the 1992 election.

The post-Cold War period was characterised by a major rise in inter and intra State conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa. Somalia had no central government following the removal from power of Siad Barre while the north-south Sudan conflict escalated. The conflicts in these countries led to an influx of a large number of refugees into Kenya. Due to Kenya's decaying of government institutions due to high levels of corruption and poverty, border security had weakened considerably. Additionally the immigration laws were laidback thus human traffic flow across the borders made it easy for arms to move from the warring countries to Kenya. The consequence of this has left Kenya at a vulnerable condition as terrorists have been able to find their way into the country and establish terrorist cells in the country.

In turn this cells set out to attack the US embassy in Kenya in 1998. Chapter three focused on the 1998 US embassy bombings and the new aspects it brought to Kenya-US relations. Terrorism is an old concept that has no definite meaning, however characteristics of terrorism have been identified by scholars like Cindy Combs (1997), Michael Stohl(1983) and Walter Laquer(1987) to help in understanding terrorism. In order to formulate or enforce international agreements against terrorism there is a need to first define it. The UN has attempted this by passing various resolutions addressing terrorism since the Cold War to present. The resolutions address various measures governments should take to help curb terrorism. For instance member States are expected to enact anti-terrorism laws.

The embassy attacks angered Kenya's citizens. There were claims by the populace that the US had abandoned Kenya in its point of need due to the actions taken by the US Marines following the attacks, they erected barriers round the embassy. Thereafter there were claims on the disparity of compensation between Kenyan victims and the US victims. These claims though did not have a major effect on Kenya-US relations. The attacks introduced a new aspect to Kenya-US relations but it did not change it. Even during this period the US continued to call on economic reforms and a stop to corruption in the country.

Both the Kenyan and US government did not tackle the issue of fighting terrorist cells in the country following the 1998 attacks. This was to be addressed following the 11th September 2001 attacks in the US and the declaration of war on terrorism by President Bush. Chapter four focused on Kenya's role in the war on terrorism. The 2002 NSS identified Kenya as an anchor state in Africa to work in partnership with the US to fight terrorism in the region. In December 2002, Israeli interests were attacked in the country. This attack led to Kenya taking decisive actions to address terrorism issues within its borders and the region. Kenya no longer saw itself as just a victim but also a source of terrorism.

An anti-terror legislation was introduced in parliament in 2003. The Bill was seen to violate the citizens' basic human rights; it was strongly opposed by the public, civil society and parliamentarians. The chapter looked at the main features of the Bill that created great opposition as well as the role the US had to play in its drafting. The US was accused of manipulating the government to pass the Bill as it was seen to echo the USA PATRIOT Act. The continuous travel advisory that the US has placed on Kenya has been a source of tension. They have been seen to have no relevance and to be a form of punishment on Kenya for not passing the anti-terror Bill and signing Article 98 that exempts US soldiers from being brought before the International Criminal Court. Kenya and the US though have continued to work in partnership in fighting terrorism in the region. Even with the various differences Kenya and the US will continue working in partnership to combat terrorist activities in the country and the region. This partnership is likely to continue for a while as long as the threat of terrorists attacking is perceived.

The main theme that emerged in the research was security and military collaboration between the two countries. This collaboration is not recent; it came to into place during the Cold War and has continued over the years. The new policy on terrorism brought it out back to prominence, after the Cold War there was no major threat facing the US thus not much attention was paid to the collaboration. Security and military collaboration is a policy stemming out of the Cold War period.

The argument of this study is that although there have been changes in the Kenyan domestic context from an authoritarian single party to a multiparty regime, the contours of US foreign policy have always consistently reflected Kenya's strategic significance in the region. From the Cold War to the post-Cold War era to the war on terrorism the US's policy towards Kenya has been to safe guard the Greater Horn of Africa. US policy towards Kenya has been influenced by its National Security Strategy over the years and its policies have been a reflection of the country's domestic policy along with its interests.