Republic of Kenya

Ministry of Defence

DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....iv
FOREWORD.....viii
PREFACE.....xii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....xiv
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....xvi

		Page	Para
PART I	**FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY**		
Introduction		1	1.1 - 1.3
National Interests		2	1.4 - 1.5
National Security and Foreign Policy		3	1.6 - 1.7
Kenya's Foreign Policy Objectives		3	1.8
The Guiding Principles		4	1.9 - 1.10
National Responsibility for Defence		4	1.11 - 1.15
Objectives of the Defence Policy		7	1.16
PART II	**THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**		
The Global Environment		8	2.1 - 2.6
Regional Security Environment		9	2.7 - 2.9
The National Security Environment		10	
The Geostrategic Environment		10	2.10 - 2.13
The National Environment		11	2.14 - 2.18

PART III FRAMEWORK FOR DEFENCE

Dealing with Military Threats	13	3.1 - 3.2
Terrorism	13	3.3
Regional and International Peace Security	14	3.4
Cyber Threats	14	3.5
National Health Security Threats	14	3.6
Exploitation of the EEZ	15	3.7
Environmental Degradation	15	3.8
National Economic Development Activities	15	3.9 - 3.10
National and Defence Industrial Development Activities	16	3.11
Space Science and Defence Research Development (R & D)	16	3.12
Resource Management	16	3.13 - 3.14
Human Resource Development	17	3.15 - 3.17
Building Capacity for the Civilian Component	18	3.18
Gender Mainstreaming	18	3.19
Land for Military Use	18	3.20

PART IV RESPONSIBILITIES FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE

Roles and Structures of the Defence Forces	19	4.1 - 4.3
The Kenya Army	20	4.4
The Kenya Air Force	20	4.5
The Kenya Navy	21	4.6
Multi Agency Cooperation	21	4.7
Reserves Forces	21	4.8
Need for Reserve Forces	21	4.9
The Role of National Security Agencies	22	4.10
CONCLUSION	23	4.11

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APSA	-	African Peace and Security Architecture
AQ	-	Al Qaeda
ARCSS	-	Agreement for the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan
AU	-	African Union
C4IS	-	Command, Control, Communications, Computers and Integrated Systems
CDF	-	Chief of the Defence Forces
CSIC	-	County Security Intelligence Committee
DFA	-	Defence Forces Act
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	-	East African Community
EASF	-	Eastern Africa Standby Force
ECS	-	Extended Continental Shelf
EEZ	-	Exclusive Economic Zone
ICGLR	-	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
HAZMAT		Hazardous Material
HCA	-	Humanitarian Civic Action
HOA	-	Horn of Africa
INCSR	-	International Narcotics Control Strategy Report
ISIL	-	Islamic States in the Levant
IT	-	Information Technology
KDF	-	Kenya Defence Forces
KFS	-	Kenya Forest Service
KM	-	Kilometers
KWS	-	Kenya Wildlife Service
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals

MI	-	Mile
Nm	-	Nautical Mile
NGOs	-	Non -Governmental Organizations
NIS	-	National Intelligence Service
NPS	-	National Police Service
NSC	-	National Security Council
NSAC	-	National Security Advisory Committee
NYS	-	National Youth Service
PSO	-	Peace Support Operations
R&D	-	Research and Development
RECs	-	Regional Economic Communities
ROEs	-	Rules of Engagement
UN	-	United Nations
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
SOPs	-	Standard Operations Procedures
Sq	-	Square

QUOTE

"You must work together and uphold the highest levels of coordination….. The government is providing all the support required by the security forces, including modern equipment to perform their duties"

President Uhuru Kenyatta on the occasion of swearing in of General S J Mwathethe as Chief of the Defence Forces on 6th May 2015.

His Excellency Hon Uhuru Kenyatta CGH

President of the Republic of Kenya and
Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces

FOREWORD

The security and defence of the people of Kenya and their property is the cardinal function of the Government. To this end, a coherent action plan on defence is contained in this document.

This White Paper contains an analysis of the possible threats facing Kenya and prescribes measures that may be taken to ensure our defence and security. Additionally, it offers guidelines on the organization, administration and employment of military power in order to discharge its rightful role in pursuance of Kenya's national interests.

Kenya desires to live in peace with all her neighbours and the world at large. We shall cooperate with all those willing to cooperate with us and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states within their present borders. We shall spare no effort in promoting peace and understanding within our region, but we are equally determined to use all means at our disposal, including military force to uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity to ensure the security of our people.

The White Paper recognises that in our dealings with other states, force is the option of last recourse. Our military posture will therefore remain defensive, however, should our nation be subjected to aggression, our forces should be able to deal with the aggressor decisively.

In the past, our forces and our overall capacity for national defence has been small and fairly limited in scope. Lately, our operations in Somalia have demonstrated the mettle and quality of our forces. Increasing conflicts in the region have compelled Kenya to review her ability to defend the nation against the more threatening aspects of these conflicts. In response to these threats, our Defence Forces have to expand both in capacity and capability.

This document offers continuous guidance and the direction of our Defence, covering the following:

a. Identifying Kenya's security interests and the threats facing them.
b. Spelling out Kenya's intentions in dealing with threats to National Security.
c. Spelling out the role of the Defence Forces in dealing with the security challenges, and offer guidelines on their organization, administration and employment in discharging their roles.

Those charged with the responsibility of defending our nation have the onerous duty of ensuring that the provisions of this document are interpreted and implemented in the spirit of true patriotism. In turn, the nation is proud in the knowledge that its security is in capable hands and that its highest ideals will be upheld at all times.

It needs no emphasis that conditions and relationships within our region are bound to change with time. In this regard, we must therefore be pragmatic in our perspective and responsive in our thinking such that our national policies, including the White Paper are periodically reviewed, as dictated by emerging strategic circumstances.

Hon Uhuru Kenyatta, CGH
President of the Republic of Kenya and
Commander -in- Chief of the Defence Forces

Amb. Raychelle Omamo, SC, EGH
Defence Cabinet Secretary

PREFACE

Since independence, Kenya has weathered many a storm and intends to keep guaranteeing the defence of her territory, people and their property. As a nation, we must develop a White Paper to anchor our Defence Strategy.

This White Paper highlights the threats to Kenya's interests and proposes counter-measures. The role of the Kenya Defence Forces as provided for in the Constitution has been recognised when allocating tasks during peacetime, crisis or war. It is pursuant to this constitutional mandate that the capacity and capability of the KDF is developed.

It is necessary that KDF is configured to seamlessly support the civil authorities and ultimately defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kenya in the event of external aggression. The first chapters herein give an analysis of Kenya's development in the political, social and economic spheres with the threats that may arise from each. Further chapters propose ways and means of tackling these threats.

The end state of this White Paper is to guarantee the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This will ensure that economic prosperity and socio-political integration are optimally achieved.

Amb. Raychelle Omamo, SC, EGH
Defence Cabinet Secretary

General Samson Mwathethe EGH MBS DCO 'ndc' (K) 'psc' (UK)
Chief of the Defence Forces

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This White Paper is a broad guideline from which the KDF draws the ways and means with which to carry out its obligations. The KDF subscribes to civil prerogative from which its duties and tasks emanate.

To promote economic prosperity and elevate the social status of the people of Kenya, the defence of the nation must be stoic, visionary and dynamic. In this regard therefore, KDF is enhancing its capacity in; logistics and maintenance, C4IS systems, counter-terror techniques, disaster mitigation capacities and HCA assets among others. There is a deliberate emphasis on infrastructure development, R&D and technology transfer to foster self reliance.

KDF is the last bastion of defence when the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our nation is threatened. It is a calling and duty we take with humility and unwavering loyalty. In the course of service to the nation, some of our KDF colleagues have paid the ultimate price. I humbly salute our departed heroes and acknowledge their sacrifice in the defence of our nation. Further, I salute the fortitude of their families and all Kenyans for their unflinching support.

Going forward, the lessons learnt from past engagements emphasise the need for multi-agency operations *(jointmanship)* as this will continue to enrich the doctrine and future engagements of KDF.
KDF aspires to remain a premier, credible and mission capable force deeply rooted in professionalism.

General Samson Mwathethe EGH MBS DCO 'ndc' (K) 'psc' (UK)
Chief of the Defence Forces

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In order to maintain our independence, ensure socio- economic development and security of our citizens we need a capability to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity against all forms of threats. To acquire and administer the necessary capability, we have to adopt and uphold measures that emphasize the need to minimize the use of force. However, should our interests be threatened, force will be applied to restore peace on most favourable terms in the shortest time possible.

Our political independence, the integrity of our national territory, the security and socio-economic well-being of our people comprise our basic national interests. We have a duty to safeguard these interests with all means at our disposal. In doing so, emphasis will be on political and diplomatic efforts, rather than military means as the first recourse. Kenya's foreign policy objectives aim to reduce tension and potential for conflict in our region and the world at large and to foster mutual respect and cooperation between states.

The global security environment is dynamic and unpredictable. Globalization has resulted in a smaller world, where security threats anywhere in the world cause security concerns in our country. To surmount these threats, there is need for cooperation with other Ministries, Departments and Agencies within the whole of Government approach concept. At the same time, collaboration with other international organizations and partners is critical in combating these threats including participation in Peace Support Operations.

Terrorism is and continues to be the greatest threat to international peace and security. The systematic dismantling of the Al Qaeda (AQ) terror organization by neutralization of its key leadership at the international level has seen it mutate into numerous international/ regional/local terror groups like ISIL, Al Shabaab, Boko Haram etc.

The basic role of the Defence Forces of Kenya therefore is to deal with military threats. It is responsible for the defence and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state; assist and co-operate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster and report to the National Assembly whenever deployed in such circumstances. It may also be deployed to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with approval of the National Assembly.

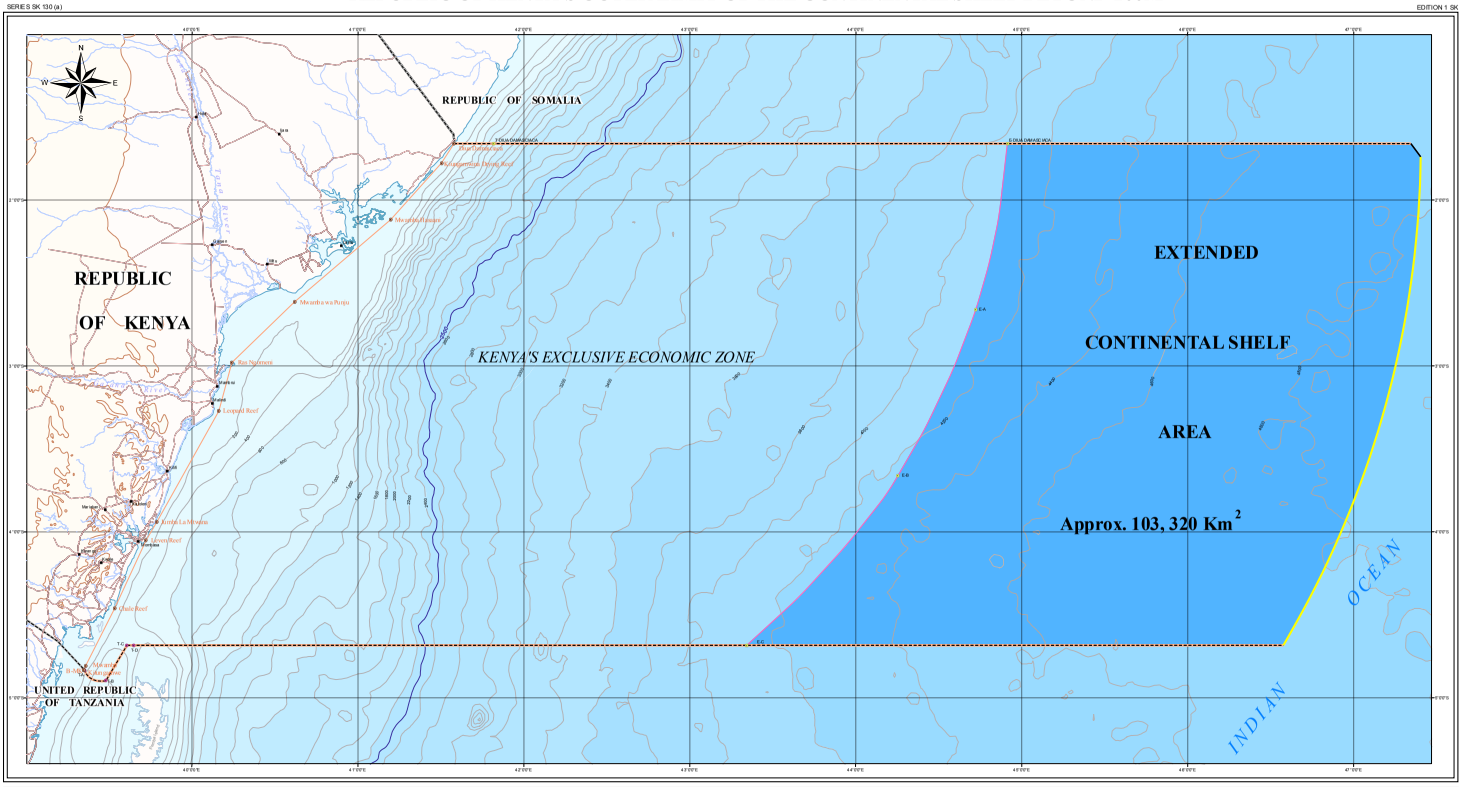
To effectively execute this mandate, self-sustenance is key. In this regard, the Ministry is proactively pursuing capacity development in support of the national industrialization process through research based technological innovations and transfer of appropriate technology in the development of Defence Industrial Capacity.

In developing its human resource, the Ministry takes cognizance of the constitutional requirement of fulfilling gender mainstreaming and making use of all available talent.

Continuous training is a major component of military capacity building. To this end, access to land for training activities and for Defence security purposes calls for clear understanding of the need to reserve land for military use. . This calls for the development of new ways of enhancing relationships between the Ministry and the devolved governments.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA'S OUTER LIMIT OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF BEYOND 200M

SERIES SK 130 (a) EDITION 1 SK



NOTES

Digitally Compiled from
East Africa 1 : 2 500 00 , Series Y 503 Sheets SA-37-15 KILIFI Edition 3-SK 1971, SB-37-3 MOMBASA Edition 4-SK 1982, KOLBIO-SA-37-8 HOLA-SA-37-7 GARSEN-SA-37-11 , LAMU-SA-37, KILIFI SA-37-15, SK76 Early Sheet Edition 6 - SK, TANGA Series Y-503 Sheet SB-37-6 & Part of SB-37-7 Edition 1 TSD, PEMBA ISLAND 1:250,000 Series Y601 Edition 3-GSGS 1965. Kenya Territorial Sea/Exclusive Economic Zone. Baselines and Boundary lines plotted in accordance with the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 1982. Baseline points from GPS Survey dated September 2004 The Outer Limit Points of the Extented Continental Shelf provided by the Task Force on Delimitation of Kenya's Outer Continental Shelf, 2009. Prepared and printed by Survey of Kenya April 2009.

© KENYA GOVERNMENT 2009

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

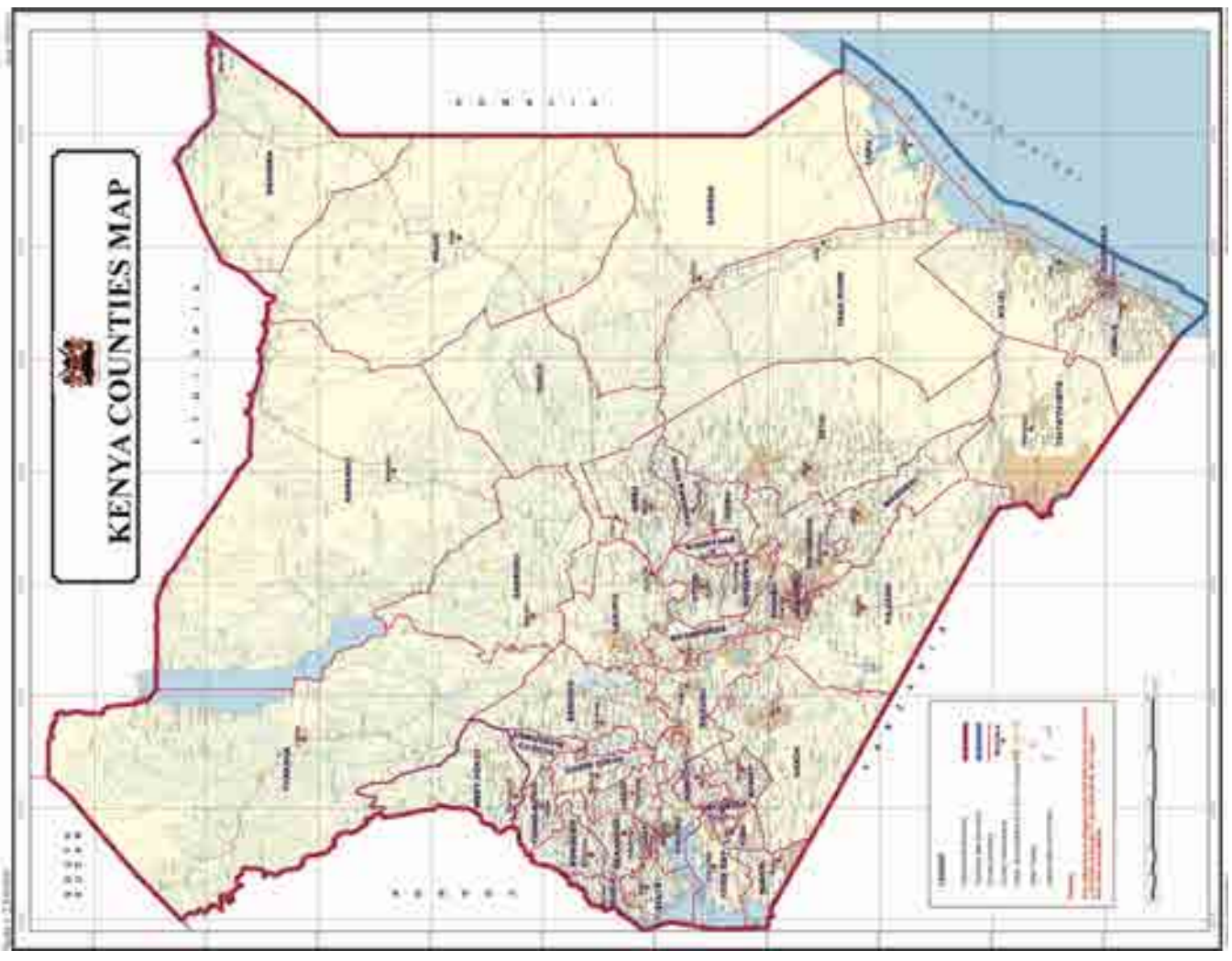
Scale 1 : 1,000,000

Datum : WGS 84

LEGEND

- BASELINE POINT
- BASELINES (LIMIT OF INTERNAL WATERS)
- OUTER LIMIT OF CONTINENTAL SHELF
- MARITIME BOUNDARY (BETWEEN STATES)
- INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
- KENYA-TANZANIA MEDIAN POINTS
- I KnFORMULA LINE (THE STATEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING)
- EXTENT OF EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE
- ISOBATHS
- EXTENDED CONTINENTAL SHELF AREA
- ROADS
- TOWN
- RIVER
- 200M

Chale Reef, T-A, KE, 200 M, Mombasa, Tana River, 200 Nautical Miles



PART I

FOUNDATIONS OF THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

Introduction

1.1 Kenya is located in Eastern Africa region on the Indian Ocean coast between Somalia and Tanzania. It covers a total area of 582,367 km^2 with land boundaries covering a total of 3,568 km with the following neighbouring countries: Ethiopia 867 km, Somalia 682 km, Tanzania 769 km, Uganda 933 km, South Sudan 317 km and 536 km coastline along the Indian Ocean. The maritime claims for Kenya are: Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 200nm (142,000 km^2) with an extended Continental Shelf of 103,320 km^2 and territorial waters of 12 nm. The population of Kenya as per the last census in 2011 was approximately 41 million. Males of the ages 16 - 49 are over 9.7 million and females of the same age bracket are over 9.4 million. Of these , a combined force of 12 million are fit for military service while about 800,000 Kenyans of both sexes attain the mandatory military service age annually.

1.2 In order to maintain our independence and ensure socio-economic development, we need the capability to defend our territory and protect our interests against all forms of threats. In the acquisition and administration of the necessary capability, we have to adopt and uphold measures that emphasize the need to minimize the use of our Defence Forces. However, should the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic be threatened, force will be applied to restore peace on terms favourable to Kenya in the shortest time possible. These measures are set out in the succeeding paragraphs and they embody Kenya's policy for defence.

They express our desire to enjoy peace and security in freedom and in keeping with the principle of good neighbourliness.

1.3 A growing economy is essential for maintenance of defence capability and provides ability to respond quickly to the demands of crisis or war. Kenya's economy must therefore continue to grow in order to support the capability needed for national security. National security on the other hand, ensures that Kenya conducts her affairs in peace and freedom and guarantees a conducive environment for economic growth and development. The Kenya Defence Forces, safeguards the country against all aggression, hence ensuring a peaceful environment necessary for economic growth.

National Interests

1.4 Our political independence, the integrity of our national territory, and the security and socio-economic well-being of our people comprise our basic national interests. We have a duty to safeguard these interests with all the means at our disposal. In doing this, emphasis will be on political, rather than military means as a first recourse. This is the general thrust of our grand strategy on which this White Paper is anchored.

1.5 The Defence White Paper is informed by our national interests, values and principles. Our interests are to be protected, advanced and promoted at all times as they pertain to the survival of Kenya as a strong and stable state. Kenya's interests include the following:

a. Sovereignty and territorial integrity.
b. National security.
c. Economic prosperity and well-being of Kenyans.
d. National prestige.

National Security and Foreign Policy

1.6 Kenya's National Security objectives are aimed at safeguarding the country's independence and promoting the security and welfare of all citizens. The attainment of this is based on a credible national defence, democratic civil institutions, a consistent foreign policy as well as active participation in regional and international peace and security activities. National security therefore plays a critical role in the national economy by creating an enabling environment upon which all economic activities take place. It is a prerequisite for restoring economic growth, macro-economic stability, equity and poverty reduction.

1.7 Kenya's Foreign Policy on the other hand aims at reducing tension and potential for conflict in our region and the world at large. It further fosters mutual respect and cooperation between states. The Foreign Policy revolves around the increasingly important role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as critical tools for regional integration. The overarching objective being improvement of Kenya's competitiveness for foreign direct investments and that of its export products.

Kenya's Foreign Policy Objectives

1.8 Kenya's foreign policy seeks to pursue the following national objectives:

a. Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
b. Promote sub-regional and regional integration and co-operation.
c. Enhance regional and global peace and security.
d. Advance the economic prosperity of Kenya and her people.
e. Project Kenya's image and prestige.
f. Promote international cooperation and multilateralism.
g. Promote and protect the interests of Kenyans abroad.
h. Enhance partnership with the Kenya Diaspora and descendants.

The Guiding Principles

1.9 The execution of Kenya's Foreign Policy and the conduct of her international relations are guided by the following principles:

a. Sanctity of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kenya.
b. Peaceful co-existence with neighbours and other nations.
c. Resolution of conflicts by peaceful means.
d. Promotion of regional integration.
e. Respect for the equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states.
f. Respect for international norms, customs and laws.

1.10 Whereas we endeavor to remain loyal to the spirit of these principles, it would be naïve to believe that our security can depend on the goodwill of others. We must develop and maintain the physical ability to deter foreign interference in our national affairs and to enforce respect for our sovereignty and the integrity of our territory. Our commitment and resolve to use force to ensure security should therefore be visible and credible.

National Responsibility for Defense

1.11 The inherent right of the people of Kenya to defend their country is unanimous and resolute. The Government will maintain and enhance effective Defence Forces at a level that secures and guarantees internal security and integrity of our borders. Specifically the Kenya Army, the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy will stay tuned and equipped to defend Kenya against any external aggression. Our armed strength exists for the sole purpose of defending and protecting the people and their will shall therefore be upheld.

1.12 A potential aggressor would aim at depriving Kenyans of their sovereignty and territorial integrity which anchors their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity as guaranteed in the

Constitution at Article 238. This calls for a comprehensive and decisive response that must not be confined to military measures alone, but must include participation by other national authorities and the nation as a whole. There must be conscious and universal support for the maintenance of our freedom and way of life and the Government has made the propagation of this awareness one of its major objectives as it was very clearly propagated by the founding President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta in his speech during the 1965 Madaraka Day celebrations ***"The safety and security of our people and the integrity of our country comprise the first responsibility of the Government…(But)…Let me remind you that the defence of this country will depend on the loyalty and devotion of all our people, just as much as on the uniformed Services".***

1.13 The task of defending our nation would be incomplete if we did not appreciate the need to keep other national activities running simultaneously with military ones. Some of these activities do not only contribute to the overall defence effort but also directly to the military mission as well. When planning for defence, we must therefore include measures that will ensure that other national activities continue to run. These include but not limited to the following:

a. Maintenance of law and order.
b. Protection of the civil population.
c. Continued functioning of civil authorities and essential national and devolved institutions.
d. Support of the Defence Forces and the civil population with supplies and other necessary amenities and services.

1.14 The effort of maintaining these activities calls for a deliberate co-ordination and interoperability between civil and military authorities. This is the concept of overall defence which we have adopted and whose basic responsibility rests with the civil authorities. In order to ensure co-ordination and liaison and achieve interoperability between the civil and military authorities, an efficient means of communication between the two is essential.

d1.15 This document articulates the Government's position on the aims and objectives of Kenya's National Security interests and provides a framework for the employment of our Defence Forces. The White Paper is based on the assessment of Kenya's security situation in line with global, regional and internal issues and thereafter establishes the role of the Kenya Defence Forces in the defence of the country's security interests. In developing this document, the following principles have been considered:

a. Kenya's security environment and the actions recommended are those that best serve the country's interests.
b. Kenya's Foreign Policy as relates to national security interests.
c. The roles of the Kenya Defence Forces as provided for in the Constitution.
d. Cooperation with other nations in the search for regional and international peace and security.

Objectives of the Defence Policy

1.16 Kenya's Defence Policy aims at achieving the following:

a. Quick response to varying degrees of threat without risking escalation of the level of conflict.
b. In peacetime, a balance of power that does not encourage an arms race and a defence capability that is convincing enough to deter coercion or aggression.
c. In time of crisis, a readiness for effective defence that is easily and immediately demonstrated in order to solve crises without resorting to the use of lethal force.

PART II

THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The Global Environment

2.1 The prevailing strategic security environment is characterised by social, economic and environmental concerns. From a social perspective, the world is faced with a population explosion estimated to rise to 10 billion by 2050 according to UN projections. The implication will be increased competition over diminishing resources resulting in an increase of conflicts. The failure of the MDGs to attain all of its objectives has partly contributed to the current causes of conflicts. However, the international community has recognized these shortcomings and has come up with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with a pledge to end poverty everywhere permanently by 2030. It is expected that these will lead to an improved global security environment.

2.2 The global economic outlook is on the decline with resultant effect on markets hence a reduction in security budgets across the globe at a time of increased insecurity. The continued strengthening of the Sino-Africa relationship while hailed as positive to African economies has the potential of straining international relations with traditional allies. This calls for innovative ways of designing or developing security strategies.

2.3 The current wave of religious extremism and armed conflicts sweeping through Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya has had a ripple effect contributing to insecurity in Sub Saharan Africa with the potential of destabilizing states in the extremists' quest to create a Caliphate.

2.4 Terrorism continues to be a challenge to Global Peace and Security. The systematic dismantling of the Al Qaeda (AQ) terror organization by the neutralization of its key leadership at the international level has seen it mutate into numerous regional/local terror groups with or without mainstream AQ support. Some of these terror groups like Al Shabaab and its off shoots like Jesh Ayman, Boko Haram and ISIL are difficult to predict and continue to terrorize innocent civilians despite international armed efforts to neutralize them.

2.5 The recent massive flocking of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa to Europe and USA has posed new security challenges not witnessed before in these countries. Increased cases of terror attacks in Europe especially Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, Russia and USA have been attributed to the upsurge of refugees from these regions. These terror incidents have a ripple effect of hurting the tourism sector in Kenya through travel advisories issued by these countries who contribute over 70% of tourists annually.

2.6 The escalating global warming resulting in climate change has exacerbated environmental related conflicts across the globe.

Regional Security Environment

2.7 The continental security overview is one characterised by challenges and opportunities. The establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) within the AU, with its institutional mechanisms to mitigate continental peace and security, has had a positive impact in conflict resolution. Since the inception of APSA more than a decade ago, the continent has been proactive in the efforts to resolve conflicts in Comoros, Burundi, South Sudan, Mali, DR Congo, Central Africa Republic and Somalia amongst others. This effort has been reinforced through the establishment of a ten member Eastern Africa Standby Force (EASF) as part of APSA framework whose mandate is to respond to the multidimensional security threats in the region. The EASF which attained Full Operational Capability (FOC) in December 2014 comprises ten (10) Member States namely; Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. On the downside however, the continental full ownership of the mechanism through funding and capacity building remains a key challenge.

2.8 The EAC cooperation on peace and security has played a key role in promoting and developing collective security mechanisms among the Member States. The signing of the Defence Pact by the EAC Partner States has re-emphasized the importance of cooperation on matters of foreign relations and security. The Pact recognizes the need for peace and security as prerequisites for successful integration. The potential for enlarged cooperation will be realized with the acceptance of the Republic of Sudan and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia as members.

2.9 Boko Haram in West Africa and Al Shabaab in East Africa have openly declared allegiance to the ISIL extremist group. This will continue posing regional and continental security challenges if these terror groups are allowed to grow. In the Eastern African region, AU and IGAD have been at the forefront in finding solutions to conflicts in Burundi, South Sudan, The Sudan and Somalia.

The National Security Environment

The Geostrategic Environment

2.10 The end of the last century saw drastic geo-political changes in our region. Some of our neighbours have undergone complete ideological realignment and revolution, while nearly all underwent changes of political leadership through violence. There have been wars and insurrections as well as deteriorating economic conditions fuelled mostly by corruption and mismanagement of public resources that have aggravated the situation. These developments have created a state of instability in the region, giving rise to suspicion and loss of mutual trust. In the midst of the turmoil within the region, our national security has been constantly threatened by the various conflicts spilling

over the borders thereby burdening our social services through influx of refugees, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and disruption of social order.

2.11 The international threat posed by ISIL with its training cells in neighbouring Somalia poses one of the key external security challenges for Kenya. The country continues to be a target for international terrorism mainly due to its cordial relationship with the West. At the regional level, the Al-Shabaab operatives affiliated to ISIL in Somalia continue to propagate Somali irredentism across the Horn of Africa, while they masquerade as Islamists.

2.12 Besides sowing the seeds of potential socio-political conflict, the turmoil of the 1970's encouraged growth of large military forces in the region and in recent times, many of these forces have been re-organized and modernized. The sizes and capabilities of these forces exceed the needs of legitimate defence. Some are engaged in the internal security duties of their respective countries, while others have found use outside national borders. The continued presence of these forces should be of concern to us.

2.13 In the spirit of good neighbourliness, we believe in peaceful co-existence with our neighbours, and we have no undue reason to doubt the sincerity of our neighbours' intentions to live in peace with us. Nonetheless Kenya reserves the sovereign right to resort to the use of force to protect her interests.

The National Environment

2.14 National cohesion and economic advancement of our people are vital national objectives as they are the key territorial determinants of national security as was stated by Rtd President Daniel Arap Moi in his speech during the opening of Parliament on 12th March 2002 that ***"We in Kenya have always recognised that our strength as a nation lies in our unity of purpose. I urge honourable members and all leaders …. to pursue peace and unity for the success and prosperity of our nation".***

Kenya's national environment has been threatened by ethnic and political tensions, which have resulted in tribal clashes and other related conflicts. Other internal security threats include terrorism, radicalization, religious intolerance, banditry, drug trafficking, alcohol and drug abuse, corruption, youth unemployment, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, HIV/AIDs, poverty, environmental degradation, disasters (man-made and natural), organized crime among others.

2.15 Kenya's national security environment is influenced by its geopolitical location in the greater Horn of Africa (HOA) and Western Indian Ocean. With five neighbours and a relatively long coastline, Kenya's security should be viewed in relation to its geopolitical location and her neighbours, some of whom are fragile states. Since independence, Kenya has enjoyed relative calm and peace in a turbulent region. However, the internal security environment is characterized by sporadic internal conflicts over resources.

2.16 The terrorist and extremist group Al Shabaab, which is being engaged by AMISOM in Somalia, remains one of the key internal and external security challenges for the country. This threat has increased due to Al Shabaab's collaboration with local criminal organizations. This White Paper seeks to address the existential threats to national security.

2.17 The recent discovery of oil in Turkana County presents economic opportunities in regions which have previously been perceived as disadvantaged as the country progresses towards a middle income status by 2030. This is one of the many Flagship Projects identified through the Kenya Vision 2030 Strategy articulated by Rtd President Mwai Kibaki during his speech at the launch of Vision 2030 on 30th October 2006 that "We cannot afford to allow certain areas of our country to lag behind in development; we must also ensure that all sections of our society participate fully in the development of our country". This strategy coincides with the SDGs of the UN. On the downside, however, these opportunities have the potential to create new security challenges.

2.18 The territorial integrity of the country is threatened because the borders that were inherited at independence are yet to be conclusively delineated and demarcated.

PART III

FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

Dealing with Military Threats

3.1 The basic role of the Kenya Defence Forces is the defence and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic. Further, KDF is mandated to assist and co-operate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster, and report to the National Assembly whenever deployed in such circumstances. It may also be deployed to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with approval of the National Assembly.

3.2 In dealing with external threats, Kenya adheres to the concept that diplomacy is the first line of defence and will ensure strategic monitoring, intelligence gathering to include cyber security and implementation of confidence-building and conflict prevention. During times of crisis or conflict, the Kenya Defence Forces will respond in consistency with the decisions of the National Military Authority and with resources sufficient to achieve national objectives. Appropriate rules of engagement will be formulated and implemented, reflective of our international obligations.

Terrorism

3.3 Kenya's strategic position within the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region and its proximity to Somalia has exposed it to terrorism. Terrorist groups including Al Shabaab, ISIL and their affiliates continue to threaten national security. KDF in conjunction with other National Security Agencies and International Security Organisations and Partners will continue to take robust measures to counter these threats.

Regional and International Peace and Security

3.4 As United Nations member number 112 since 16th December 1963, Kenya has continued to contribute to international peace and security through peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN and AU. The Ministry of Defence through KDF will continue to build appropriate capacity in support of these efforts through personnel, equipment as well as applied research in peace support operations.

Cyber Threats

3.5 Information technology, web based communication and use of electronic devices for storage predisposes sensitive Government information to organized cyber attacks which can undermine state security. The Ministry of Defence in collaboration with other stakeholders must develop appropriate capacity and institute measures to safeguard Information systems infrastructure.

National Health Security Threats

3.6 Emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases including haemorrhagic fevers like Ebola, Marbug Fever, Avian Flu and the scourge of HIV and AIDS including threats posed by potential use of HAZMAT such as Nuclear, Biological and Chemical (NBC) agents in terrorist attacks poses security challenge. The upsurge of lifestyle diseases such as cancer, diabetes, hypertension, etc are all health threats to national security. Effective control requires strengthening national surveillance and response systems. The Ministry in collaboration with both local and international healthcare agencies and research institutions will develop appropriate capacity for intervention.

Exploitation of the EEZ

3.7 The Kenyan Exclusive Economic Zone is 142,000 km2 with an extended Continental Shelf of 103,320 km2. Maritime security therefore is imperative considering the enormous potential in the Blue Economy. Kenya Navy in conjunction with other security agencies will continue to secure maritime resources from illegal exploitation.

Environmental Degradation

3.8 Climate change and environmental degradation have a distinct connection to resource based conflicts. Erratic climate patterns resulting in scarcity of resources such as water and pasture will continue to escalate internal conflicts. Military activities should aim at minimizing the destruction of environment and degradation of the habitat for both wildlife and human habitation.

National Economic Development Activities

3.9 The Defence Forces will continue to be involved in development activities that contribute to poverty alleviation through projects such as borehole drilling, dam construction and desilting, road and bridge construction and participate in provision of medical and veterinary services.

3.10 The capabilities of the Kenya Defence Forces that can be directly applied to economic development include the Kenya Army Corps of Engineers, Medical, Air, Transport and Maritime resources. Improvement of social infrastructure is one of the ways of nurturing sustainable peace and addressing destructive cultures such as cattle rustling. Such development activities are geared towards poverty reduction and improvement of the lives of the communities living in the affected regions. They will continue being achieved through increasing collaboration between the defence forces and other Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies.

National and Defence Industrial Development Activities

3.11 In line with Kenya Vision 2030, the Ministry of Defence continues to support National Industrialization Process through research based technological innovations and transfer of appropriate technology in the development of Defence Industrial Capacity. The Defence Industrial Capacity will include but not limited to military equipment, food processing and clothing for self-sustenance and spurring of economic growth through utilization of local resources.

Space Science and Defence Research and Development (R&D)

3.12 The Ministry of Defence recognizes Space Science, Research and Development as key components of technological advancement. The National Space Agency which is domiciled in the Ministry continues to partner with other National and International Institutions to explore opportunities available in the space arena. To this end, KDF will continue to support activities in Space Science, Research and Development linking it to industry in support of defence operational capability.

Resource Management

3.13 Treasury has over the years been the only source of funds for the defence activities. Resources allocated must therefore, be used prudently. The well-being of the country depends on how well the country is protected; hence the Kenyan people expect returns in form of delivery of defence and protection. It must be understood that Force capabilities and preparedness are tied up to availability of resources.

3.14 The present financial and material resources management will be reviewed regularly for efficiency. Emphasis will be on three areas; cost-effectiveness, prioritization and best practices in resource management. The objective of our resource management is the judicious and efficient use of limited resources.

Transparency and accountability should characterize all the resource management activities of the Defence Forces.

Human Resource Development

3.15 Recruitment will continue being voluntary but measures will be taken to reflect regional balance in accordance with the national demographic outlook and gender mainstreaming. Recruitment shall be programmed to enlist youth with requisite qualifications.

3.16 The effective defence of our country rests on the quality of our regular fighting force and the mobilized force. The focus of defence in human resource development is twofold:

a. To be able to attract and retain quality personnel.
b. To enhance the professionalism of personnel.

3.17 The objective of Human Resource Development is to be able to put the right soldier, airman or sailor in the right job at the right time and place, supported by a component of civilian work Force. It forms part of a coherent approach intended to meet our long term quality of service. The focus will be to leverage on skills and competences that will serve our institutions. Human Resource Development efforts will centre on the following:

a. Development of a highly professional strategically minded military and civilian leadership through a combination of education and training, professional assignments and self development programmes.
b. Enhancement of managerial and technical expertise particularly in the fields of research and development and systems acquisition.
c. Enhancement of competence and merit-based human resource management systems that reflect justice and fairness in all its spheres.

Building Capacity for the Civilian Component

3.18 Civilian personnel in the Ministry plays a critical role in the delivery of Defence to the nation. In this regard, it is necessary to continuously build competences in the areas of administration, finance, human resource, policy and strategy and defence diplomacy.

Gender Mainstreaming

3.19 The Ministry of Defence takes cognizance of the constitutional requirement of gender mainstreaming and making use of all available talent. This provision is progressively being fulfilled taking into consideration the peculiarity of the military profession through recruitment, training, promotions and appointments.

Land for Military Use

3.20 Competition over access to land for economic activities and for Defence and Security purposes calls for the need to reserve land for security activities. In this regard, the Ministry of Defence will create mechanisms and structures to engage all stakeholders both at the National and County levels to safeguard this valuable resource for effective operations and training.

PART IV

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE

Roles and Structures of the Defence Forces

4.1 Kenya's Defence Forces are the military instruments of national power available for the defence of the country and have a primarily defensive posture. They consist of the Kenya Army, the Kenya Air Force and the Kenya Navy. They are established under Article 241 of the Constitution and the Kenya Defence Forces Act (No 44 of 2016) Sec 8 (1).

4.2 The need to direct and control application of force cannot be over emphasized. In order to ensure that the committed Force achieves the desired objectives, specific Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs) and Rules of Engagement (ROEs) will be issued to cover all operations and activities of the Defence forces. In the conduct of operations, the Kenya Defence Forces shall adhere to the International Law of Armed Conflict. In discharging their mission and other assigned duties, the Defence forces shall be a balanced, modern and technologically advanced military Force capable of executing its tasks effectively and efficiently. The Defence Forces will play specific roles in peacetime, crisis and war. These roles are:

a. **Peacetime.** The task of the Defence Forces in war determines their structure and activities in peacetime. Their primary task is training of personnel and the maintenance of their equipment to ensure the highest operational readiness for deployment in the event of war, which contributes to deterrence.

b. **In Crisis.** The Defence Forces may be required to assist in the management of crisis. In such an event, they will robustly demonstrate their immediate readiness to execute the assigned tasks.

c. **In war.** During war, the role of KDF will be to defend the citizens, and Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, against external threats. The KDF will restore and maintain peace and security on terms most favourable to Kenya's interests.

4.3 In order to comprehensively address the respective tasks in the overall defence mandate, individual Services of Land, Air and Naval Forces are assigned specific roles. Each Service may discharge its specific roles independently, jointly or in support of the others as may be determined by the appropriate authority.

The Kenya Army

4.4 The Kenya Army is mandated with the defence and protection of the sovereignty of the Republic against land based threats. Further it will assist and cooperate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster. Additionally, the Army may be called upon to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with the approval of the National Assembly.

The Kenya Air Force

4.5 The Kenya Air Force is mandated to defend the Republic against external air aggression, provide support to sister Services in their pursuance of national objectives; and assist and cooperate with other government authorities in situations of emergency or disaster. Additionally, the Air Force may be called upon to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with the approval of the National Assembly.

The Kenya Navy

4.6 The Kenya Navy is mandated to defend the Republic against all armed threats from the sea. In accomplishing this mandate, the Navy's role is to engage and destroy forces before they reach our shores, keep maritime approaches to our ports secure and open to commercial shipping. The Kenya Navy also protects Kenya's economic resources, facilities and activities at sea from illegal interference and render aid to civil authorities in the maintenance of order in civil emergencies. Additionally, the Navy may be called upon to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with the approval of the National Assembly.

Multi-Agency Cooperation

4.7 To effectively meet our defence responsibilities, the Defence Forces must be able to operate in a combined, joint and in a multi-agency role. Through the Ministry, KDF will cooperate and coordinate its activities with Ministries, Departments and Agencies as part of the whole of government approach concept.

Reserve Forces

4.8 Reserve Forces are those Forces which are not immediately committed in any military duty but are readily available to do so at a short notice on call-up. Reserve Forces may be Regular, Volunteer or Auxiliary as provided for in the KDF Act.

The Need for Reserve Forces

4.9 The need for cost-effectiveness dictates that a large portion of our country's military strength is kept in reserve. Reserve Forces provide pre-trained manpower which can quickly integrate with Regular Forces without recourse to initial training. They improve national deterrence capacity and provide qualified civilian professionals who may be needed for specialized military tasks at critical times. In wartime, Reserves will be deployed to provide replacements for combat losses. They can also be used to form new units and formations to augment the Regular Forces. In addition, reservists may undertake tasks such as garrison duties, manning air defences, internal security and guarding of key points such as supply depots thus freeing up regular troops. In peacetime, reservists can also be deployed in internal security duties and disaster relief thus reducing reliance on the Regular Forces.

The Role of National Security Agencies

4.10 The Kenya Defence Forces maintains continuous relationship with other security agencies through the following committees:

a. **National Security Council (NSC).** The NSC is the top most security coordination committee chaired by the Commander-in-Chief as constituted in Article 240 (2) of the Constitution.

b. **National Security Advisory Committee (NSAC).** This is an inter-ministerial security committee under the auspices of the Office of the President that provides national operational guidance and general direction in the employment of available resources and efforts.

c. **The Kenya Intelligence Committee.** This committee coordinates all national intelligence matters and Defence Forces are represented by the CDF.

d. **County Security Intelligence Committee (CSIC).** The Defence Forces will have permanent membership in some County security Intelligence Committees, where our units are based/deployed.

CONCLUSION

4.11 The Kenya Defence Forces will remain a crucial element of our national power with capacity to respond to threats to our national interests. The tasks they will be required to undertake range from combat operations, counter terrorism, peace support operations, and HCA activities demand that our Forces must be flexible, agile and responsive enough to achieve the desired outcomes. This policy document provides the Kenya Defence Forces with the direction they require to carry out duty to the nation in the dynamic and unpredictable security environment. The Defence White Paper has set out to explain to the people of Kenya, the expectations and aspirations for defence. Our national defence requires every citizen to be aware of our national approach to provide effective defence of the country, to deter aggression and to support the socio-economic programmes of the Government as well as to promote regional and international peace and security.

All written correspondence should be addressed to:

The Principal Secretary
Ministry of Defence
Ulinzi House, Lenana Road
P.O Box 40668-00100, Nairobi
Fax: 2737322

or

Chief of the Defence Forces
Defence Headquarters
Ulinzi House, Lenana Road
P.O Box 40668-00100, Nairobi