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Dispute between Uganda and Kenya

President Amin's repeated allegations that the Kenyan Government had been in collusion with Israel both before and after the latter's commando raid on Entebbe airport-accusations which were steadfastly denied by Kenyan ministers-led to a rapid deterioration in relations between Kenya and Uganda, which had already been severely strained in the preceding months [see 27878 A].

It was, for example, stated in a Ugandan broadcast on July 7 that 30 enemy aircraft, believed to be Israeli or American" were approaching Uganda from Kenya, although this report was ridiculed in the latter country and in fact proved unfounded.

In addition to anti-Kenyan propaganda broadcasts by Uganda, however, there were in early July reports of the persecution, expulsion and killing of hundreds of Kenyans in Uganda.

Thus it was reported from Nairobi on July 11 that since July 4 a total of 245 Kenyans, including airport staff at Entebbe, had died at the hands of Ugandan military and security forces, and that several hundred had fled from Uganda in order to escape being massacred. [According to reports by refugees and other sources, most of the officials on duty at Entebbe airport on July 3-4 had been killed on the President's orders, among them Mr Peter Kalanzi, director of civil aviation, and Mr Tobias Rugambi, officer in charge of air traffic seryecs at the terminate] On July 16 the Kenyan border police estimated the number of Kenyan refugees from Uganda at about 3,000.

At the same time there were also reports of Ugandan workers being expelled from Kenya.

On July 15 the Kenyan Government was said to have ordered 150 Ugandan workers at Nairobi airport to return home and to be applying similar measures to Ugandan railway staff in Kenya. Among Ugandans arrested in Kenya were seven men reported on July 19 to have been detained near " vital installations " after the Ugandan police were said to have infiltrated secret agents into the country.

Following repeated reports of the massing of troops on either side of the two countries common border, it appeared that both sides might obtain military aid from outside.

It was confirmed on July 12 that a US P-3 Orion naval patrol aircraft had been sent to Embakasi airport from Diego García on July 3 (when a US frigate had also arrived in Mombasa) and that the six-vessel US Seventh Fleet, headed by the 60,000-ton aircraft carrier *Ranger* (normally carrying between 75 and 85 aircraft), had been ordered into the Indian Ocean after passing through the Strait of Malacca.

From London it was reported on July 16 that the British Government had received a request from Kenya for aircraft spare parts, arms and ammunition to enable it to face a possible Ugandan attack, and that the supplies asked for would be sent within the next few days.

On the other hand a report from Kampala on July 7 that Libya had replaced Uganda's destroyed MiG fighters by 20 Mirage jet fighters, as a first instalment of a total of 40 such aircraft promised by Colonel Kadhafi, was confirmed on July 18 by a Libyan Minister of State, Mr Mohammed Az-Zawi,

although a Ugandan Government spokesman had denied the report during the previous week.

The dispute between the two countries was exacerbated by an official Kenyan announcement on July 8 that as from July 22 Uganda would have to use Kenyan currency to pay for all freight and passenger services within Kenya—i.e. to and from the port of Mombasa, the principal gateway for Uganda's imports and exports.

As a result of this decision President Amin appealed on July 16 to the Governments of Rwanda, the Sudan and Zaire, among which the first-named was almost entirely, and the other two were partly, dependent on transit traffic through Uganda—to put pressure on Kenya to lift what he called "a deliberate economic blockade".

By July 16 the refusal by Kenyan lorry and train drivers to drive in Uganda and other difficulties had led to some 200 lorries and rail wagons with goods for Uganda being stranded in Kenya. As a consequence of the disruption of land communications, there was in particular a serious fuel shortage in Uganda which immobilized much of the country's transport and, as insufficient oil was available to service the generators at the Owen Falls power station on the Nile, the power supply from the hydro-electric plant to Kenya was cut off on July 23. On July 22 the Ugandan Government introduced strict petrol rationing and a ban on all private motoring.

In connexion with the holding up of supplies, President Amin declared on July 16 : "The Central Intelligence Agency use some exiles to bring problems to Uganda.... The British and the Americans have put pressure on Kenya and this has resulted in an embargo on petrol and other goods coming to Uganda." At the same time he accused Mr John Odonkara, his former police commander, of working with the CIA to overthrow him.

However, on July 17 a trainload with some 4,000 gallons of petrol crossed into Uganda after it had been paid for in foreign currency.

A new development in the internal Ugandan situation occurred on July 20, when it was reported from Nairobi that some 2,000 men in Uganda's Army, stationed at Mubende and Mbombo (both near Kampala) had mutinied, the Army not having been paid for four months. On July 22 the mutiny was said to have spread to 11,000 troops, also confronted the Government with a five-point reform plan to restructure both the Army and the Government.

At the same time, a more conciliatory Ugandan attitude towards Kenya became apparent.

Whereas on July 17 Radio Uganda had declared "It is not difficult to destroy [President Kenyatta's residence at] Nakura from the air, and we are capable of reaching Mombasa and back", President Amin stated in a broadcast on July 20 that despite the current tension he would never attack Kenya, whose people were "our brothers in blood", even though President Kenyatta was working "in close co-operation with the enemies of Mrica... notably the imperialists, Zionists and South Africans". [In this same speech President Amin said that, when the "current problems " were settled, he would visit Israel, where he hoped to meet Mr Rabin General Moshe Dayan, Mrs Golda Meir and Colonel Bar-Lev; he also expressed " friendship " for Mr Callghau, the British Prime Minister, for his " calm handling " of relatins between British and Uganda.]

In a telegram to President Kenyatta, broadcast on July 21, the Ugandan President said : "I wish to request that we forget our differences and to assure you that from now on you will not hear any

propaganda against you and your Government from Uganda.... I now consider what happened in the past weeks since the Israeli invasion as history to be forgotten completely."

This more conciliatory approach by Uganda, however, met with no positive response from Kenya, and President Amin on July 25 sent messages to Dr Waldheim and Mr William Eteki Mboumoua (the OAU Secretary-General) accusing Kenya of halting the flow of oil to his country and declaring that he might be forced to "desperate action" in order to survive. He asked both the United Nations and the OAU to send missions to investigate the situation which, he said, was a threat to peace and order.

Mr Kassim Mwamzandi, Kenyan Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, bad on July 23 turned down a mediation offer by the Kuwaiti charge d'affaires in Nairobi and asserted that President Amin could no longer be trusted and that Uganda was continuing to confiscate food and fuel in transit to the Sudan, northern Zaire and Rwanda.

Dr Waiyaki, the Kenyan Foreign Minister, in a statement to diplomats and journalists in Nairobi on July 27, set out seven conditions for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

These conditions were that Uganda must (i) remove its troops from Kenya's border: (ii) stop laying claim to Kenyan territory [see 27873 A]: (iii) stop killing Kenyans in Uganda and guarantee their safety there : (iv) cease threatening the use of force against Kenya: (v) stop the "hate and smear" campaign against Kenya: (vi) pay for goods and services received or to be received from Kenya (the amount due to Kenya being given as £26,000,000): and (vii) stop confiscating goods passing through Uganda on their way to the neighbouring states of Burundi, Rwanda, the Sudan and Zaire.

Dr Waiyaki reiterated that Kenya had not closed its border with Uganda; that Uganda was free to buy oil and other goods from Kenya; that Uganda had used the Entebbe events, alleging Kenyan collusion with Israel, to justify "premeditated aggression" against Kenya; that the latter had no hostility against Uganda, or any other country, and no motive for territorial expansion, but would not allow an inch of its soil to be taken; and that it wished for "peace and prosperity in our region".

Deterioration in Relations between Britain and Uganda - Severance of Diplomatic Relations by Britain

Following the Israeli raid on Entebbe airport, relations between the British and Ugandan Governments underwent a severe deterioration. [An improvement in relations in 1975 had been marked by the appointment of a UK high commissioners to Uganda (Mr James Hennessy) in December of that year—see 27873] This deterioration followed the disappearance in Kampala of one of the hostages, who had dual British and Israeli nationality, and allegations by President Amin that the British deputy high commissioner (Mr James Brian Horrocks) had been implicated in the Israeli action.

Mrs Dora Bloch (74), who had been taken to a hospital in Kampala before the Israeli operation took place, was last seen at the hospital on July 4 by Mr Peter Chadley, second secretary at the British high commission, but when he returned to the hospital an hour later he was refused admission. The Ugandan Ministry of Health claimed on July 7 that Mrs Bloch had been discharged from hospital and had rejoined the other hostages before the Israeli raid, but it was later established that she had been taken away by Ugandan security guards and had been killed, according to reliable diplomatic sources quoted in the Western press, by being suffocated.

Following a discussion between President Amin and Mr Hennessy, the Ugandan President on July 9

ordered an inquiry into Mrs Bloch's disappearance. However, in a note to the British high commission on the following day the Ugandan Government stated that Mrs Bloch's whereabouts were "completely unknown" and that "Israel shoulders the responsibility for the missing hostages, including Mrs Bloch". The UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office rejected this reply on July 11 as "totally unacceptable" and recalled Mr Hennessy for a report. After seeing the high commissioner in London, Mr Edward Rowlands, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, announced in the House of Commons on July 12 that there was "little doubt" that Mrs Bloch was dead. He added, however, that Britain should do nothing to jeopardize the welfare of some 500 British citizens still living in Uganda. Mr Callaghan the Prime Minister, added in the House on July 15 : "I would say to the British citizens [in Uganda]: 'You know the risks, you know the limitations on our capacity to assist you when you are dispersed throughout the country. Please assess those risks as much as you can and take your own decision [Whether to stay in or to leave Uganda]."

Mr Chadley (the British second secretary) was expelled from Uganda on July 12 after President Amin had alleged that he had rejoiced in the death of 20 Ugandan soldiers and the Palestinian guerrillas". On the following day (July 13) the President also ordered the expulsion of Mr Horrocks on the grounds that he had had advance knowledge of the Israeli operation-an allegation which was officially denied by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (Mr Horrocks had been stopped and detained while on his way to Entebbe airport to investigate the explosions during the Israeli raid.)

After Mr Horrocks's expulsion the British Government appointed Mr Eustace Gibbs as acting high commissioner on July 15. Although he was properly introduced as such and the Ugandan Government was formally notified of his appointment, the Ugandan Defence Council claimed on July 22 that the Ugandan Government had no knowledge of his presence and had not been informed of his appointment.

Mr Anthony Crosland, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, announced in the House of Commons on July 28 that the UK Government had decided to break off its diplomatic relations with Uganda.

Referring to a "long and troubled history" of relations between the two countries, Mr Crosland said "The events of recent weeks have demonstrated that it is not possible for our high commission effectively to discharge their normal duties." After adding that the Government had been "advising the British community in Uganda that they should seriously consider leaving", he stated : "My best estimate is that all but some 200-plus have now left." Mr Crosland also disclosed that the French Government had agreed that its embassy in Kampala should take charge of British interests in Uganda, and that there would be a British interests section attached to that embassy.

The Ugandan high commission in London was closed on the same day. Britain's rupture of relations was reported to be the first such action taken by it with a Commonwealth country, and the first with any country for 30 years, although on occasions (notably in 1966 in connexion with the Rhodesian question and—most recently—in 1976 over the fisheries dispute with Iceland) diplomatic relations had been severed on the initiative of other countries.-(Times - Daily Telegraph -Financial Times - Guardian - Sunday Times - Observer -International Herald Tribune - Le Monde - Neue Zürcher Zeitung - BBC Summary of World Broadcasts - UN Information Centre, London)(*Prev. rep. Pro-Palestinian Guerrilla Action against OPEC Representatives, 27873 A; British-Ugandan and Kenyan-Uganda Relations, 27873 A; OAU 27884 A*)

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