

**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND  
BRITAIN FROM 1963 TO 2017**

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**DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has never been presented to any other university or institution of learning for academic credit. I have acknowledged all the information from other sources including those whom I have worked with.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this dissertation to Almighty God and to my daughter Astará.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to acknowledge my husband Alex Mumo, my nuclear family, my supervisor Mr. Martin Nguru and my lecturers at the school of Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies.

## ABSTRACT

The study critically evaluated the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain from the year 1963 to 2017. More specifically, the study focused on the political, economic and social relations between Kenya and Britain spanning through four regimes the country has been through including Kenyatta regime, Moi regime, Kibaki regime and Uhuru regime. The study was purely qualitative and relied on secondary sources of data including books, journals, articles, reports, periodicals, magazines and newspapers. The study established that Kenya's bilateral relations with Britain has greatly grown in reaps and bounds right from Kenyatta's to Moi's era, through Kibaki's era and currently, Uhuru's era. The study found that bilateral relations during the Kenyatta and Moi's era were more focused on strengthening the political relations between the two countries while during Kibaki and Uhuru's era, economic ties formed the central pillar of bilateral relations between the two countries. The study established that Kenyatta and Moi's bilateral policy was focused on the west but president Kibaki and Uhuru turned to east under what is currently dubbed as "look east policy". This has resulted in the increased presence of China as a development partner and a source of funding for large scale infrastructural development projects in Kenya including the Kenya Standard Gauge Railway that connects Mombasa and Nairobi. Besides, the study established that China has gained more credence as an investor and bilateral partner with Kenya over the Kibaki and Uhuru presidency as compared to Britain. In addition China has contributed more grants towards Kenya's infrastructural development than Britain during Kibaki and Uhuru's era. The study revealed that Britain is the leading export market for Kenyan goods, followed by the United States while Kenya's shares of exports to China are the least. Kenya's diplomatic paradigm to the east kicked off immediately after President Kibaki took over the reign of power and swore to transform Kenya into an economic hub and a more fair and equitable country. The study concluded that Kenya has had strong bilateral relations with Britain throughout the four presidents including Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki and Uhuru presidency. The study recommended that Kenya should diversify its economic relations and more specifically on balance of trade in order to avoid over dependency on either the East or West side of the aisle. This is informed by the failure of East African integration initiatives and the lack of a common regional political framework. Kenya and Britain should further collaborations and partnerships based on truth and mutual friendship and interest. Over the past few years, Kenya-Britain ties have come under sharp criticism over issuance of travel advisory which according to security experts strains the political ties between Kenya and Britain. Although there is cooperation in many spheres, there is more to be desired. All stakeholders from both Kenya and Britain need to come together and come up with cooperation agreements or joint initiatives to tackle bottlenecks such as terrorism and other forms of crime, corruption, trade imbalances, poverty, and political tension. Secondly, a lot more needs to be done to unlock the potential of British organizations in enhancing the Kenya-Britain bilateral relations. On cultural integration, the gap between the current-status and the expected or desired state can be closed through implementation of more initiatives and enhancing the current one. In the end, the researcher recommended another study to be done to examine the sustainability of bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AMISOM	African Union Mission to Somalia
CHRM	Cultural Heritage Resources Management
CIPR	Cultural Intellectual Property Rights
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DC	District Commissioner
EAC	East African Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	International Crimes Division
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICH	Indigenous Cultural Heritage
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IGAD	Inter-government Agency for Development
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-governmental Organizations
KADU	Kenya National Democratic Union

KANU	Kenya National African Union
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport
MRL	Maximum Residue Limit
MTP	Medium Term Plan
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organizations
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
OAU	Organization of African Union
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PNU	Party of National Unity
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UFD	Northern Frontier District
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

Bilateral relations between countries have existed in the entire human history. Such relationships have always been perceived in terms of political, economic and cultural ties. In the recent past, there seem to be a developing paradigm shift on how countries relate with one another. The most central issue in the changing of understanding of bilateral relations is regime change. When regimes change and new political order takes effect, there has always been a need to foster mutual understanding and mutual interest. This study examines the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain from the time Kenya gained independence in 1963 up to date. Between this period, Kenya has witnessed successful regime changes from one president to another starting with President Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978), followed by President Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002), President Mwai Kibaki (2002-2012) and President Uhuru Kenyatta (2012-to date). The study acknowledges the common reality that change of regimes come with new political interests which are likely to influence bilateral relations between two countries.

Bilateral relations comprise of political, economic, cultural and historic ties which bind two countries. Strong bilateral relations are characterized by mutual understanding and cooperation between institutions and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia and civil society. In addition, bilateral relations may constitute enhanced trade and investment partnerships, cultural exchange, as well as general knowledge, understanding and public awareness about the other country and the ties existing between them.<sup>1</sup> The evolution

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<sup>1</sup> Hamilton K. and Langhorne, R. (2011). Practice of Diplomacy: Its evolution, theory and Administration. Abingdon: Routledge

of the bilateral relations between Kenya-Britain relations dates back to the colonial era when Kenya was under the British colonial rule. During the colonial period, Britain's colonial policy towards Kenya was in the long-run focused on migrating white settlers into Kenya and making Kenya a white man's country. The British also aimed at imposing their culture, values and morals into Kenya by introducing missionary institutions whose main goal was to teach Kenya students about western culture in the name of civilization. Besides, owing to fertile lands and rich natural resources, the British imperialists aimed at introducing land policies for their own benefit.

After Kenya independence on the 12<sup>th</sup> December 1963, Britain sustained bilateral connections with Kenya afterwards. In deed there was a clear British commitment to maintain a close post-colonial relationship with Kenya and this made Kenya to stay aligned with the British's interests. These British interests comprised of mutual and supportive military ties; economic partnerships, trade and investment relationships; tourism and education. In order to realize the common interests, the British rebranded its policy-making approaches to the status of the bilateral approaches adopted by the French. This was to demonstrate a new image of the British in independent Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Kenya and Britain forged mutual close post-colonial relationships as a way of reaffirming to the world the symbolic strength of bilateral relations between the two countries. Hornsby<sup>3</sup> points out how Kenyan politics have been dominated with the desire to realize the desire of democracy, justice, economic growth and development. However, the legacies of the past four regimes have continued to undermine their achievement, making the long-term future of Kenya far from certain. Hornsby further observes that Kenya's independence has always been circumscribed by its failure

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<sup>2</sup> Poppy C. 2015. "Kenya is No Doubt a Special Case": British Policy Towards Kenya, 1960-1980, Durham Theses, Durham University.

<sup>3</sup> Hornsby C. 2012. *Kenya: A History since Independence*; IB Tauris Publishers, London

to transcend its colonial past. The decisions of the early years of independence, and the acts of its leaders in the decades from Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenya have changed the country's path in unpredictable ways. It is against this background that the study critically examines the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain since independence up to date.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

More than 50 years after gaining independence from the British, Kenya is yet to transcend its colonial past. Throughout these years, the three enemies of development-poverty, disease and ignorance have persisted and even grown bigger. This follows policies and decisions made in the early years after independence and the acts of subsequent regimes from Jomo Kenyatta era to Daniel arap Moi era through Mwai Kibaki era and now President Uhuru Kenyatta era. These four regimes have changed Kenya's trajectory path in unpredictable ways particularly in the realm of bilateral relations. Despite the significance of bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain, there is no study in Kenya which has attempted to explore the historical development of bilateral relations between the two countries. By contrast, many scholars in Kenya have concentrated on post-independence decolonization and neocolonialism thereby ignoring the fundamental aspect of bilateral evolution between Kenya and Britain. The extensive literature on British foreign policy has rarely focused on these continuities and has largely ignored relationships with former colonies after independence.

Our study comes in the wake of strained international relations between nations across the world. Today, many countries are struggling to get along with one another due to divergent political, economic and cultural interests. In Kenya, Hornsby<sup>4</sup> demonstrates not only how

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<sup>4</sup> Hornsby C. 2012. *Kenya: A History since Independence*; IB Tauris Publishers, London

independent Kenya's politics have been dominated by a struggle to promote democratic reforms, social justice, security, impartiality, efficiency and growth but also how previous regimes have shaped Kenya's bilateral relations with other countries. Further, Hornsby observes that Kenya's independence has always been circumscribed by its failure to transcend its colonial past. This study sought to fill this knowledge gap by examining the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain since independence up to date.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

This study was guided by general and specific objectives.

#### **1.3.1 Overall Objective**

The overall objective of the study was to critically examine the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain from 1963 to 2017

#### **1.3.2 Other Objectives**

1. To examine the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Kenyatta era.
2. To examine the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi era.
3. To assess the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era.
4. To assess the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain in the Uhuru era.
5. To draw conclusions and recommendations regarding the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain

## 1.4 Literature Review

The field of bilateral relations between countries is of tremendous importance particularly in aiding the understanding of the foreign policy. While significant strides have been made on the content of bilateral relations, the central issue of its management has not been addressed. And neither in the intellectual history of states foreign policy have there been discourses on the management of the foreign (i.e. diplomatic) service. This paucity of research on the twin issues of management of foreign policy and of the Foreign Service, reflect the contemporary uni-dimensional aspect of the literature on, and approach to, studying foreign policy.<sup>5</sup> In a number of countries, there is a growing need to reconcile domestic interest with external circumstances taking into account of the available means, resources, and institutions. This is informed by the understanding of the role of bilateral relations between countries.<sup>6</sup>

In Kenya, the bilateral history of Kenya and Britain dates back to the precolonial period. The colonization of Kenya like most African countries started during the scramble for Africa and the subsequent Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that outlined the principles of colonial occupation and later the partitioning of Africa into various spheres of influence.<sup>7</sup> As European countries scrambled to take hold on Africa, there arose a disagreement in 1890 between the Great Britain and German after the signing of Anglo-German Agreement commonly known as Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty that had been put forward to address complex colonial issues that arose from the colonial interests of Great Britain and Germany in Africa. The primary goal of the Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty was to iron out disputes emanating from German colonial boundaries and other

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<sup>5</sup> Mwangi, M. *The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: the Management of Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy*. p.16

<sup>6</sup> Khadiagala, G and Lyons T., 2001. *African Foreign Policies*, p.6.

<sup>7</sup> Poppy C. 2015. "Kenya is no Doubt a Special Case": British policy towards Kenya, 1960-1980, Durham theses, Durham University.

issues particularly in East Africa colonies. The treaty formalized the inclusion of two small islands of Zanzibar and Helgoland both situated in the off the coast of modern-day Tanzania into the German colonial rule.

The Anglo-German Agreement further stipulated that Britain would control the North East African countries, including Kenya and Uganda while Germany controlled the South East African Countries. This therefore meant that the treaty put Kenya under British power. More importantly, the Berlin conference was fundamental in determining the demarcation of Kenya boundaries and in developing the bilateral relations between the Kenyan people and colonial masters. Following the Berlin Conference and Helgoland treaty, Kenya was declared a Britain protectorate in 1894 and 1895. This followed demarcation of Kenya's boundaries without the consultation of Kenya's people. This move brought together more than forty ethnic communities in Kenya into a single territory under the British rule.<sup>8</sup>

The British colonial regime found a daunting task of wielding the more than forty tribes into one nation-state following fierce resistance from forces under Waiyaki wa Hinga who vehemently attacked and burnt the British station in Dagoretti in 1890, the Nandi resistance<sup>9</sup> (the most tenacious of all) led by Koitalel arap Samoei, the Bukusu resistance of 1896, Giriama resistance of 1900<sup>10</sup>, Gusii resistance 1907<sup>11</sup> and most of all, the Mau Mau rebellion which remain hallmarks of the African initial resistances to British colonial rule.

To optimize yield from Kenyan resources, the Imperial British East Africa Company constructed the Kenya- Uganda railway from Kilindini Harbour in Mombasa in 1895 to the Port Florence (current day Kisumu city) in order to facilitate movement of goods and services to Britain.

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<sup>8</sup> Ogot, B. A. 1995. "The Decisive Years 1956-63". London, pp. 48-79

<sup>9</sup> Matson A.T (1972). *The Nandi Resistance to British Rule-1890-1906*, East African, Publishing House, Nairobi.

<sup>10</sup> Bantley C. 1981. *The Giriama and colonial Resistances in Kenya, 1800-1920*. University of California Press.

<sup>11</sup> Maxon M. R., 1971. *British Rule in Gusiiland, 1907-1963*, Duke University PHD Thesis



The successful construction of the Railway line paved way for influx of more white settlers into Kenya. This was followed by the enactment of Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 which was meant to promote the sale and leasing of land to settlers.<sup>12</sup> Further Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 outlined that the crown had original title to the land and this resulted in many Kenya giving their land to white settlers. This was followed by the alienation of Kenyans from Kenya highlands through what colonialist referred to as ‘White Highlands’. The highlands were fertile and eviction of Kenyans from these areas gave the white settlers an opportunity to inhabit and engages in large scale agriculture in order to maintain their livelihoods and their economy. Ley<sup>13</sup> indicates that the British colonial administration developed itself by the way of enacting various sets of legislations all of which were geared towards protecting the interests of the state officials and those of the white settler farmers.<sup>14</sup> Some of the discriminatory legislations introduced by the British included the Kenya Order-in-Council, 1920 and the Kenya Colony Order-in-Council, 1921 that promoted the acquisition of fertile land. Under the guise of British Crown, many Kenyans were dispossessed of their land.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the legislations created the reserves where the native Kenyans were relocated in order to give way for European settlement and this gave way for the colonial administration first to control and to suppress the envisaged competition from the native African and Asian economies. Locally punitive legislations and taxation laws banning Africans from cash crop farming were introduced by the colonial authority and this led to forceful eviction of natives from their lands. As a result, many Africans were compelled to work in white settler land in order to earn a living. The Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance of 1938 gave legal effect to this dual

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<sup>12</sup> Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O. (1992). “The Politics of Constitutional Change in Kenya since Independence, 1963- 69’ *African Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 282 (1972), pp. 9-34

<sup>13</sup> Leys, C. 1975. *Under development in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo- Colonialism*. London: Heinemann Publishers.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

<sup>15</sup> Dille, M. 1966. *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, London: Frank Cass & Company.

policy of European “White Highlands” (or high potential areas) and African “Native Reserves” (or marginal lands).<sup>16</sup>

British government was involved in the political, economical and cultural affairs of Kenya and this was demonstrated through visits of the British prime ministers and other representatives of the government to Kenya. The bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain concentrated more on technocrats and civil servants such as permanent secretaries rather than politicians. The British relationships also took the approach of individual contacts with certain influential figures such as President Jomo Kenyatta and this largely influenced the policies and actions the country took considering that the opinion leaders had a huge power over people’s action and beliefs.<sup>17</sup>

The British officials forged bilateral relations with Kenya by building highly informal and person contacts with influential Kenyans. Through this approach, the British officials were able to develop personal relations with Kenyan officials and this was imperatively significant for the British to influence development of policies, regulations and legislations. However, this approach of targeting specific individual for policy making came under strong attack from liberalist who argued that informal contacts tended to favour the Kenyan elite leaving out the opinion of a vast majority of Kenyans. This prompted the development of a structured form of cooperation between Kenya and Britain following formal ministerial aid negotiations between Britain and Kenya in 1970 in which the details of the discussions were too complex to conclude. In the years following 1970, Kenya Permanent Secretary, Mr. Philip Ndegwa and the British High Commissioner, Mr. Eric Norris held a formal meeting to discuss the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain. This was an alternative way of engagement that when more formal negotiations and procedures

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<sup>16</sup> Okoth, H. 1991. *Tenants of the Crown, the evolution of agrarian law and institutions in Kenya*. Nairobi: ACTS Press.

<sup>17</sup> Poppy C. 2015. “Kenya is No Doubt a Special Case”: British policy towards Kenya, 1960-1980, Durham theses, Durham University.

were not yielding any results, then personal linkages, collaborations and partnerships could be pursued.<sup>18</sup>

President Jomo Kenyatta forged a strong mutual relationship with the Britain after independence despite his imprisonment as leader of the Mau Mau in the hands of British colonialists' in 1952. This made the British to see President Jomo Kenyatta as a guarantor of stability and British interests in Kenya. This was coupled with personal contacts with Kenyatta and a group of elite politicians around him with the purpose of perpetuating British interests through policy-making. By the year 1967, the perception among many British nationals was that President Kenyatta's era provided a perfect opportunity to foster the bilateral bond between Britain and Kenya.<sup>19</sup>

Governance in Post-independence Kenya has always been described as 'neo-patrimonial' meaning that individuals are more prominent than the offices they serve. Although the British system of government was bureaucratic, they did not find it difficult to work with the Kenyans in highly personalized ways. They engaged with Kenya's elite as individuals, often bypassing Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs or High Commission in London in preference for talking to certain people they had close relationships with. A former British High Commissioner to Nairobi once indicated that substantial matters involving Kenya and Britain did not always involve Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs but some matters passed through other channels involving powerful and influential government officials<sup>20</sup>. This is a clear example of neo-patrimonialism that was practiced during post-independence Kenya. This form of informal and personal policy-making were not as obvious or always favored as they were among French policy-makers, and

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<sup>18</sup> Ndegwa, 1971. The National Archives, Kew, OD 26/277/213.

<sup>19</sup> Peck, E. 2005. *Recollections 1915-2005*. New Delhi: Pauls Press, p. 219.

<sup>20</sup> Peck, E. 2005. *Recollections 1915-2005*. New Delhi: Pauls Press, p. 219.

French officials were often more comfortable working in this way than their British counterparts. As compared with the French, the British use of informal and personal bilateral policies resulted in striking progress among the two countries.

Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta, pursued a foreign policy that emphasized cooperation with neighboring countries, support of continental liberation movements and a mixed economy that strongly encouraged foreign investment and hence close ties with western countries. After his death in 1978, there was a smooth transition despite precarious political environment, allowing vice president Moi to become president. There were attempts to topple Moi in a coup d'état in August 1982, and later the wind of change of multiparty, democracy that blew through Kenya, but Moi was able to hold a fierce challenge and win another term of office in 1992 and again in December 1997.<sup>21</sup>

It is argued that lack of institutions in Africa and hence the emergence of personal rules. In the context of foreign policy, the most important policy formulation institutions are the presidency, often supported by the respective ministries of foreign affairs.<sup>22</sup> Kenyatta's style of leadership was reflected in his foreign policy. Kenyatta assumed the presidency at a time when he had achieved heroic status among Kenyans and condemnation as a leader's unto darkness and death by the colonial government.<sup>23</sup> At independence, Kenyatta apparently had already made up his mind about Kenya's path in foreign affairs. Subsequent policy documents such as KANU manifesto and the sessional paper no. 10 of 1965 clearly spelled out Kenyatta's wishes that Kenya would be built along the lines of free enterprise, tied to the west, and that the accumulation of foreign capital

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<sup>21</sup> Wright, S. 1999. *African foreign policies*, West view press.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Brown J., *a complete biography of Kenyatta*

would be necessary for economic growth, which led to the Foreign Investment Protection Act 1964.<sup>24</sup>

The comments put forward by Okumu and Makinda outlining various factors influencing foreign policy are partially accurate. It is the contention, here that the input by the head of state is paramount. Kenyatta at independence was the hero who brought —Uhuru (freedom, independence) but settlers and the British government had earlier been hostile. The Kenya weekly News, the Mouthpiece of the British Settler Community, described Kenyatta as being stained with the mark of the beast, and in 1958, the chief secretary of the Kenya Colonial Administration, Walter Coutts, made perhaps the most representative of British commentaries: All sensible people will know that these leaders of Mau Mau are not fit to return to civilized society much less assume the mantle of political leadership. Anyone who supports the contrary view stamps himself as a supporter of bestiality, degradation and criminal activity.<sup>25</sup> The British were quick to change their opinion of Kenyatta on realizing the extent of his domestic and international support and perhaps above all his willingness to cooperate with Britain, the settlers, and foreign investors.<sup>26</sup>

Kenyatta's personality had a strong influence on foreign policy and he maintained Kenya in a close relationship with western states. Others perceived his stance as a —wait and see policy because Kenyatta was cautious and conservative. Okumu,<sup>27</sup> best summed up foreign policy under Kenyatta: Kenya has effectively maintained a —low profile on many of the burning issues in Africa and elsewhere, a style of diplomacy that is best described as quiet diplomacy. It is a style which avoids radical aggressiveness which she cannot defend or promote. It is a diplomatic posture

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<sup>24</sup> Wright, S. 1999. *African foreign policies*, West view press.

<sup>25</sup> Ododa, H., Continuity and change in Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi government: *Journal of African studies*

<sup>26</sup> Wright, S. 1999. *African foreign policies*, West view press.

<sup>27</sup> Okumu, W. Kenya's foreign policy, p136

which recognizes that the uses and functions of foreign policy of a poor nation are to promote economic and social modernization, tasks, which require the services, of development diplomats.

President Moi took over the presidency in 1978 when the first president of the republic of Kenya Mzee Jomo Kenyatta died. President Moi emphasized what came to be known as the Nyayo philosophy, following the footsteps of Kenyatta with the objective of achieving three principles of love, peace, and unity. In regional foreign policies, Moi put the Nyayo philosophy into practice in good neighborliness, peacemaking and peacekeeping.<sup>28</sup> In Kibaki's tenure, Kenya Kenya's desire to maintain a strategic position at the regional and international levels which depended on how issues were responded to beyond her borders. Kenya's foreign policy formulation and implementation have been determined by both domestic and external variables while comparing and contrasting Kenya's foreign policy during Moi and Kibaki's era, there have been more similarities than differences. While president Moi maintained a centre stage, Kibaki maintained a low profile in matters of foreign policy.

It is argued that the main challenges for foreign policy lie in its implementation. The proper management of foreign policy and of the diplomatic service is central to the success or failure of the implementation of foreign policy. Foreign policy plus the administration of the diplomatic service and of the policy itself give rise to the implementation of foreign policy. This means that the traditional context of dividing foreign affairs into the policy and administrative aspects needs review. If not, the implementation of foreign policy will continue being held hostage to the turf wars between policy makers and administrators.<sup>29</sup> Depending on the given political circumstances, defense of state sovereignty, national independence, and the territorial integrity of a country,

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<sup>28</sup> Munene, et al, 1995. *The United States and Africa*, E.A Educational Publishers Ltd, p.100

<sup>29</sup> Mwangi, M. *The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: the Management of Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy*.

among other things, all correspond to the interests of the nation as a whole. However, in the majority of cases, foreign policy decisions are not concerned with matters directly related to such core interests or values. Rather routine foreign policy decision making tends to centre on the so called middle-range objectives, such as interstate economic, commercial and political relations, including attempts to influence the behavior of other states in desired directions.<sup>30</sup>

In the contemporary era of heightened superpower competition for spheres of influence, even so called local or regional issues, can, and often do, assume a global character as a result of superpower intervention. Territorial disputes in the Horn of Africa, the civil wars in Chad and in Nigeria and the political conflict between Libya and Egypt, have all in their turn attracted a more or less pronounced measure of superpowers intervention. Such external intervention not only bedevils the search for solutions to the issues involved, it also diminishes the capacity of the developing states concerned to influence the settlement of the issue or issues.<sup>31</sup> Africa underwent a far reaching transformation in the 1990s. Clapham<sup>32</sup> stated that the post-colonial era in Africa is now, and only now, coming to an end; and the problem confronting the continent, and those who seek to understand it, is to discern what is taking place. The cold war and apartheid ended, and with their departure, two issues that shaped much of African foreign policy were removed.

Domestically, continued economic crisis and the collapse of the neo patrimonial post colonial state and, in response, a surge in pressures for reform, shifted political calculations. These international and domestic transformations altered the topography of power and institutional arrangements across the continent and hence, the context in which foreign policy decisions was made. In some cases, African leaders responded with strained and fragile efforts to reform their

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<sup>30</sup> Olatunde, Orwa and Utete, 1987. *African International Relations* p. 45

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

<sup>32</sup> Clapham, C. 1998. *Discerning the new Africa international affairs*, p. 263

economies and political systems in others, the pressures led to state collapse. Many states fall somewhere between these two extremes with the future still in the balance.<sup>33</sup> African foreign policy at the beginning of the twenty-first century is still dominated by overarching constraints on the survival of weak states. The imperatives of state survival, Clapham notes, force elites to use foreign policy to garner political and economic resources from the external environment.<sup>34</sup> Whether made singly or collectively, foreign policy reflects the continual attempts by elites to manage threats to domestic security and insulate their decision making from untoward external manipulation. Contemporary African elites, like their predecessors, are preoccupied with political stability, legitimacy, and economic security, issues whose importance seems to increase rather than diminish.<sup>35</sup>

Bilateral outcomes are difficult to assess with certainty in Africa mired in violent conflict and socioeconomic disintegration. The era when foreign policy was linked to strengthening African nation states has given way to a time of healthy skepticism. Building African institutions for conflict management and economic integration remains a critical foreign policy objective, but economic retrogression, the escalation of wars, and the decline of norms of interstate relationships continually cast a shadow of doubt on these efforts. The problem of outcomes is closely tied to the vital one of measuring substantive change. Although democratization has broadened the range of actors in the policy process, most have no meaningful impact on policies because the issues either are beyond their competence or are secondary in their priorities.<sup>36</sup>

The capacity of the individual African state to exert influence on the course of events tends to decline as one moves from local or regional issues to continental and global issues. This is so

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<sup>33</sup> Khadiagala, G and Lyons T., 2001. *African foreign policies*, p.6

<sup>34</sup> Clapham, C. 1998. *Discerning the new Africa international affairs*, p. 263

<sup>35</sup> Khadiagala, G and Lyons T., 2001. *African foreign policies*, p.6

<sup>36</sup> Khadiagala, G and Lyons T., 2001. *African foreign policies*.



partly, because such issues tend to be too remote from the immediate pre-occupations of the states concerned; partly because of inadequacy of the information on the basis of which policies could be formulated; partly because of lack of resources to tackle the issues involved; and partly because many other actors may by their prior or more intensive involvement have reduced the possibilities of effective African involvement.<sup>37</sup>

## **1.5 Justification of the study**

### **1.5.1 Policy Justification**

The study comes at the time when countries around the world are struggling to foster foreign policy and mutual relationships. It is a plain fact that in this century, there is no country which can succeed alone without depending on other nations either for social, economic or political support. Foreign policy is still crucial to African countries. It is critical that the challenges facing these developing countries in relation to formulation and execution of foreign policy is understood and approached through informed policy actions. This study is expected to contribute to this end by offering alternative options of how to pursue the process more effectively. For instance the study is hoped to make tremendous contributions in promoting mutual understanding and partnerships between Kenya and Britain. In the recent years, particularly between 2013 and 2015, we have witnessed a war of words between Kenyan government and British government following the decision by the British High Commission in Nairobi to issue travel advisories warning British nationals against touring some parts of the country in the wake of increased Alshabaab attacks. In retaliation, the Kenyan government threatened to shut down the British training camp in Nanyuki. This move has not only send signals of a strained diplomatic relations between the two countries but more fundamentally threatened to destroy the mutual political, economic and cultural ties the

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<sup>37</sup> Olatunde, Orwa and Utete, 1987. *African International Relations* p. 45

two countries have enjoyed since independence. The study is crucial in trying to shed more light towards this development and how similar situations can be remedied if they occur in the future. Due to increasing incidences of insecurity, especially because there is favorable environment within Africa that permits terrorist operations, diplomatic spats, including porous borders, internal conflicts, failed states, lax financial systems, poverty, corruption, and socio-cultural diversity, the continent needs an effective regulated intelligence, the findings from the study will enhance key policy makers to develop stronger policies that are driven by intelligence in Kenya; and in particular Kenya's foreign policy. In addition this study aimed to contribute to action oriented strategies by the Government and other key actors in Kenya.

### **1.5.2 Academic Justification**

This study aimed to contribute to scholarly literature on effective policy making and intelligence services in Kenya, which will strengthen intelligence information, negotiation skills and understanding of foreign policy formation areas by key stakeholders. It is expected that this study will contribute to the literature that is already available on the area of foreign policies in Africa, something that is in dire need given that the literature that is there is inadequate due to the fact that foreign policy in most countries earlier on, was not meant for public consumption. The study will add value to the field of diplomacy and international studies and therefore, provides a foundation for further research in the field of bilateral relations. The findings of this study will shed more insights to students of international relations to understand determinants of bilateral relations among countries and particularly how Kenya has strived to realistically enhance its bilateral interest with Britain and Kenya's foreign policy posture towards its neighbours like war-torn Somalia and South Sudan.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

This section presents the theory on which the current study will be anchored. Key concepts will be examined and contextualized for the current study. The study utilizes the realist and neo-realist theory of international relations, to give an analysis of the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

### **1.6.1 Classical Realist Theory of International Relations**

Classical Realist Theory was proposed by Hans Morgenthau<sup>38</sup> in his book known as the *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. According to the theory, power is a determining factor in the conduct of affairs in the international system. In other words, power influences the vital decisions while promoting bilateral ties between two countries. According to classical realist theory, the world's international relation is chaotic because it lacks morality and standards in the conduct of affairs. This is contributed by the absence of an international government whose mandate should be to sanitize the bilateral affairs among states. In this case, States are the key players in the international system and therefore they employ internal and external measures to boost their individual interests while trying to uphold mutual relations with other countries. The States also are involved in external endeavors to align or realign with other nations with hope of spearheading and protecting their own interest and maximize their power. Through this, they are able to influence the pattern of interactions that will take place including the number of states to align with each other in opposing groupings as part of a balance of power.

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<sup>38</sup> Morgenthau, H. 1978. *Politics among Nation's: The struggle for power and peace*, New York: McGraw-Hill publishers.

Morgenthau<sup>39</sup> posits that since the international arrangement is disorderly by virtue of its structure, there is need for member states and actors to rely on whatever means of arrangements they can generate to enhance their mutual interest and understanding. This system is based on the idea of mutuality. He further postulates that as structures change so does relations and alliance patterns among its members as well as the outcome that such interactions can be expected to produce.

Morgenthau<sup>40</sup> sees prosperity and stability as the basic reasons behind the development of international policies and regulations to check on country's vested interests. This is the reason why many countries around the world have taken steps to safeguard their physical, political, and territorial integrity against any external interference. According to classical realist theory, national interest is equal to national survival. In fact, it is observed that as long as the world is divided into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in world politics. Nevertheless, Morgenthau<sup>41</sup> points out that since the foreign relations are based on balance of power, countries should follow those policies considered to safeguard the status quo, attain imperialistic expansion, or to gain prestige. Kenya-Britain bilateral relations guarantee Kenya support against foreign and domestic enemies as well as her political, economic and cultural stability. For Britain, her global bilateral posture is well known across the world and beyond. In the recent past, Britain has taken key interest in Kenya as a crucial player in promoting the stability of Somalia. By having bilateral relations with Britain, therefore the study seeks to assess whether Kenya has benefited in any way in the quest to promote regional peace and integration.

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<sup>39</sup> Morgenthau, H. 1978. *Politics among Nation's: The struggle for power and peace*, New York: McGraw-Hill publishers.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

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The Classical realism theory by Morgenthau<sup>42</sup> has been faulted on the basis that it is so much centred on a State and fails to recognize the critical role played by other non-state actors in fostering international relations among two or more States. For instance, the theory downplays the role of multinationals and other non-state actors like terrorist groups in determining the bilateral relations between two countries.<sup>43</sup> Our study recognizes that terrorist groups such as Alshabaab, ISIS, Al-Qaida and Taliban have greatly influenced the growth of bilateral relations between countries as terrorist attacks promotes emergence of multilateral initiatives to avert terror. For example, the British government pledged support to Kenya following Alshabaab attack in Westgate Mall in 2013.

### **1.6.2 Non- Realism Theory of International Relations**

Neo-realism or structural realism was proposed by Kenneth Waltz<sup>44</sup> in 1979 as a build up to fill the gaps identified in classical realism theory. Waltz tries to bridge the gap between classical realism's central thesis on power and balance of power with idealism's central thesis about the role of legality and morality in international relations. Without sacrificing the balance of power thesis, neo-realists accept the role played by international law and morality in promoting international relations.

While building on Morgenthau's work, Walz<sup>45</sup> adapts the realist theory to include the idea that it was the international structure, not the deliberate willed actions of men and women, which influenced states' behavior. According to Waltz<sup>46</sup>, it is the arrangement of the international system itself that influences the behavior of states. Over the years, Walz's neo-realism, or structural

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<sup>42</sup> Morgenthau, H. 1978. *Politics among Nation's: The struggle for power and peace*, New York: McGraw-Hill publishers.

<sup>43</sup> Dougherty, J. 1990. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*.3rd Edition, New York: Harper and Row Publishers Ltd.

<sup>44</sup> Waltz, K. 1979. *Theory of International Politics Reading*, MA: Addison Wesley Publishers.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup> Waltz, K. 1979. *Theory of International Politics Reading*, MA: Addison Wesley Publishers.

realism, has been redefined and reconsidered by various scholars. For instance, the contemporary neo-classical realism today contains a number of critical debates. One of them is the discussion about offensive and defensive realists. Critics of realist theory hold a school of thought that constant bilateral relations and flow of security and power between states signifies an international system filled with countries whose aim is to benefit but forever fearful for any potential or actual competitors. On the other hand, scholars for offensive interpretation contend that countries must constantly strive to strengthen themselves and their position as opposed with other states even in times of absence of a directly perceived threat. Consequently, the behavior and interests of States are mainly informed by the view of the relative capability of other States.

Looking at the two set of opinions, it can be noted that both defensive and offensive realists expects policy-makers to act competitively, but the difference comes on the basis at which they arrive to conclusion. Classical realism deems behaviour of States as a means to evoke power-oriented policies because of statesmen regard power with highest regard and considers it the end to itself while on the other hand; neo-realism perceives the emergence of power-oriented approaches as the foundation of achieving mutual bilateral relations.

Neo-realism theory portends an un-proportional relationship between two countries. In other words, neo-realism demonstrates that a slight an increase in one State's bilateral relations decreases the bilateral relations of others. This may cause diplomatic dilemma and cold wars. For example, Kenya's shift to China for foreign investment has not augured well with Europe and America who sees China as the next economic frontier and a competitor. Another example is when Britain, USA and France acted out of their own volition and struck Syria over allegations of use of Chemical agents against harmless civilians. This is in the spirit of Neo-realism principle which suggests that two or three bipolar great powers share interests in acting to maintain the international

system, rather than to transform or transcend it. Therefore, Waltz's theory tries to provide answers questions that the classical realism does not provide.

Waltz<sup>47</sup> introduced assumptions about morality, legality, power and interest by focusing on the nature of the system-level structure. Neo-realists therefore perceive power in a different way as compared to classical realist who regards power as both a means and an end. Neo-realists found that a better guide was provided by assuming that the ultimate state interest was in security, and while gathering power often ensured that, in some cases, it merely provoked an arms race.

## **1.7 Research Hypothesis**

### **Alternative hypotheses**

**HA1:** There is a significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Kenyatta regime.

**HA2:** There is a significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Moi regime.

**HA3:** There is a significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Kibaki regime.

**HA4:** There is a significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Uhuru regime.

### **Null hypotheses**

**H01:** There is no significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Kenyatta regime.

**H02:** There is no significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Moi regime.

**H03:** There is no significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Kibaki regime.

**H04:** There is no significant relationship between Kenya and Britain bilateral ties during Uhuru regime.

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<sup>47</sup> Waltz, K. 1979. *Theory of International Politics Reading*, MA: Addison Wesley Publishers.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

The research design is the researcher's plan of enquiry that puts paradigms of interpretation into motion on how to proceed in gaining an understanding of a phenomenon in its natural setting.<sup>48</sup> This study adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches specifically concurrent Triangulation design. According to Boeije<sup>49</sup>, this design enables the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches and provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than any standalone approach. The design is deemed appropriate in an attempt to confirm or corroborate findings within a single study. Besides, phenomenological design was significant in collecting qualitative data. Ogula<sup>50</sup> defines phenomenology design as one that uses human instrument as an observer to provide an in-depth investigation of individuals, groups or sometimes institutions in their natural setting. Through phenomenological design, the researcher developed questionnaire for respondents. The design enabled the researcher to make observations and analyze the available documents on the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

### **1.8.2 Target Population**

The target population is the sum of individuals from which a sample is drawn.<sup>51</sup> For the purpose of this study, the target population included; diplomats, government officials, civil society representative and academicians.

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<sup>48</sup> Biklen, S.K. & Bogdan, R. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and practice (5th ed)*. . New york: : pearson Education,Inc.

<sup>49</sup> Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative Research*. London: SAGE publications Ltd

<sup>50</sup> Ogula, P. O. (2005). *Research Methods*. CUEA publications

<sup>51</sup> Mugenda, O. M. & Mugenda, A.G. (2012). *Research methods Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS) Press.



### **1.8.3 Description of Data Collection Instruments**

The study utilized both secondary and primary data was used in this study. Primary data was collected by using a holistic approach that encompassed various data collection techniques. The use of diverse techniques has been found necessary to reinforce and crosscheck data generated from each of the methods used with a view to enhance its validity and reliability. This method included structured questionnaire survey. Carefully selected references were reviewed and secondary data consisting of published and unpublished literature was collected from libraries, resource centres, offices and registries before, during and after the research.

### **1.8.4 Data Analysis Procedures**

Data analysis involves a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of information collected. It is the breaking down large components of research data or information to simpler easily synthesized and understood parts.<sup>52</sup> For qualitative data obtained from literature review and secondary sources, the researcher organized, categorized and coded the data while quantitative raw data which will be obtained questionnaires will be coded and analyzed using descriptive statistics involving frequencies and percentages. The statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) version 23 will be used to simplify the task.

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

The study is divided into six chapters, namely;

Chapter one lays the foundation of the study by identifying and developing research problem, reviewing the literature, and developing the development framework and the methodology of the study.

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<sup>52</sup> Mugenda, O. M and Mugenda A. G. (2009). *Research methods qualitative and quantitative Approach* Nairobi: Acts press.

Chapter two deals political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Kenyatta era

Chapter three analyses the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi era

Chapter four deals with the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Kabaki era

Chapter five examines the political, economic and cultural relations between Kenya and Britain during Uhuru era

Chapter six provides the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations towards enhancing bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain

### **1.11 Chapter Summary**

This chapter set out to lay the foundation of the study by discussing the background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and justification of the study. It has been observed in the background that the political, economic and cultural ties play a pivotal role in bolstering bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain. This chapter therefore paves way for the analysis of literature and formulation of the framework both of which are covered in subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING THE KENYATTA ERA

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter thematically reviews literature concerning the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain in the period preceding Kenya's independence under Kenyatta era. On 12<sup>th</sup> December 1963, Kenya attained independence from the British colonial rule and Jomo Kenyatta took the reins of power and became the first President of a free Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta ruled Kenya until his death in 1978. Many scholars allude that during the Kenyatta era, Kenyans witnessed a rapid political, economic and cultural stability. Notably, Kenyatta's tenure was not without controversy because it was at some point marred with ethnic tensions following the assassination of Tom Mboya in 1989. It was also during Kenyatta's tenure as president that he initiated significant constitutional reform that set the country on its path to a single party state, established the path for Kenya's economic socialist future, and worked to desegregate a stratified country into the dream of *uhuru*.<sup>53</sup>

#### 2.2 Political Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta Era

In the aftermath of Kenya's independence in 1963, Britain still maintained close political relations with Kenya. Britain upheld political ties with its former colonies primarily through the Commonwealth of Nations. Initially created as a forum between the metropole and its colonies, this institution was particularly valued by England during the World Wars as an avenue for championing economic and defense policies. Equally, being a member of the Commonwealth of Nations was one way the British used to keep Kenya focused to the west.

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<sup>53</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University.

Some scholars have argued that Britain failed to maintain its association with its former colonies. Arthur<sup>54</sup> points out that Britain moved to swap dwindling tangible assets for increased intangibles thereby failing sustain political associations with its former colonies. This is a very different interpretation from those who have argued for neo-colonialism or that Britain maintained a substantial influence in former colonial possessions. For Britain, decolonization has been portrayed as a moment of change; and although always recognizing its importance, in most studies of British decolonization and foreign policy independence marks a country's departure from the narrative.

It is argued that the end of empire as decisive by indicating that British colonial policy diminished with the passing of the colonial empire. The political bond between Britain and the independent states of the Commonwealth were then conducted.<sup>55</sup> Historians of British foreign policy have not attempted to explore the continuation of political relations between Britain and Commonwealth Countries through independence or the detail of post-colonial relationships with former colonies, and indeed why contemporary policy-makers accorded them less significance. The reason given indicates that British interests had moved on; in what has sometimes appeared a direct transition 'away from Africa and towards Brussels'.<sup>56</sup> Rather than continuing relationships with former colonies, the study of British foreign policy has typically focused on Europe and America. Following Churchill's categorization of British foreign policy based on three interlinked 'circles' – the empire-Commonwealth, American 'special relationship', and Europe – the two beyond empire seemed more significant.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Fenwick L. 2009. *British and French Styles of Influence in Colonial and Independent Africa: A Comparative Study of Kenya and Senegal*, Washington Research Consortium.

<sup>55</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University.

<sup>56</sup> Ramsden, J. 1996. *The Winds of Change: Macmillan to Heath, 1957-1975*, London.

<sup>57</sup> Aldous, R. and Lee S. 1996. "Staying in the Game": Harold Macmillan and Britain's World Role', in Richard Aldous and Sabine Lee (eds.)

The British government applied to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961 and 1967, both attempts vetoed by French President Charles de Gaulle, before succeeding in a third application and joining in 1973. The idea of an independent nuclear deterrent was a leading concern for reasons of status, strategy, and the American relationship, and ‘it was simply assumed’ that Britain would acquire these weapons. In 1963, in what appeared a testament to the ‘special relationship’ with America, the US agreed to supply Polaris missiles to Britain, jeopardizing the ‘independence’ of the nuclear deterrent, but allowing Britain to remain a nuclear. A further significant explanation for the limited historiographical engagement is that British policymaking towards Kenya occurred mostly at the level of civil servants rather than politicians.<sup>58</sup>

In any country, state departments are key players in policy-making in British politics yet have received limited scholarly attention, which has tended to focus on issues which engaged ministers. However, despite the validity of these arguments, they do not mean that relationships with former colonies did not continue or were insignificant. British relationship with Kenya reveals the diffuse way in which ‘policy’ was made through a dense network of relationships – economic, military and political. While relatively sparse, the scholarship on continuing British relations with Africa and Kenya from the British perspective does offer useful insights.<sup>59</sup>

A study by Clapham<sup>60</sup> examines the relationships between Britain and both Ghana and Ethiopia and established that Britain colonialism created political interests and linkages with Ghana which despite being of first importance, are none the less well worth maintaining. The study also highlighted cultural connections based on British language, education and institutions.

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<sup>58</sup> Arthur N. 2013. “The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

<sup>59</sup> Smith, M. J., Marsh D., and Richards D. 1993. “Central Government Departments and the Policy Process’, *Public Administration*, Vol. 71, pp. 567-594

<sup>60</sup> Clapham, C. 1977. *Third World Politics: An Introduction of Africa and the International System*: London

Ethiopia was not a former British colony but ‘even though Britain had no real direct stake in the country, Ethiopia impinged on British interests at several points, especially Addis Ababa as an African diplomatic centre and a broader interest in the Horn of Africa. Clapham<sup>61</sup> emphasis hints at aspects of continued relationships but offers minimal detail, partly because it was written before the release of British government documents. In the case of Kenya, some scholars have examined the Anglo-Kenyan relationship past 1963, but they have not tended to extend much beyond independence, certainly not into the 2018.

Hilton<sup>62</sup> while examining the early part of Kenya-Britain relationship, rightly recognizes that British ties played a significant role in the creation of the Kenyatta era and focuses on this one particular significant relationship, but misses much of the detail which made up the relationship. All of these have tended to focus on one aspect of the relationship, such as the governance, rather than recognizing the constant interplay between different interests. Britain’s post-colonial relationship with Kenya offered direct benefits for British interests and bilateral policies were made at multiple levels by civil servants, diplomats and soldiers as well as politicians, pursuing and valuing multiple aspects of the relationship. In Kenya, there was a considerable ministerial and prime ministerial involvement at certain times, as well as parliamentary and public concern over some issues. There was a degree of British political interest in Kenya, most pronounced prior to independence when colonial policy was under scrutiny. Ministers were most involved in Kenya during the colonial period. Macmillan was more directly involved in decisions regarding Kenya

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Hilton, M., 2009. “Malcolm MacDonald, Jomo Kenyatta and the Preservation of British Interests in Commonwealth Africa, 1964-68”, MPhil thesis, Trinity College Cambridge.

than later prime ministers, and Colonial Secretaries viewed Kenya as one of their priorities. After independence ministers were less involved as Kenya was typically less of a priority.<sup>63</sup>

However, on certain key issues ministers were not largely involved. Percox<sup>64</sup> while recognizing that there is little scholarship that has been produced on British policy in pursuing her political interests beyond Kenyan independence; there is substantial evidence showing that Britain's quest for continued interest in Kenya was well calculated in order to pursue African interests that go beyond Kenya's independence. Percox<sup>65</sup> points out that by Britain maintaining her strategic priorities in Kenya and cultivating the cordial political relation with Kenyatta government, surrendering unacceptable colonial army base to Kenya, keeping military camps, rights of overflying, staging and training the Kenyan military, including internal security was a strategic move by the British to sustain their political interests in Kenya.

Parsons<sup>66</sup> notes that Britain carefully continued to orchestrate talks with the Kenyatta government with the aim to ensure that the new post-independence Kenya government; would be friendly to Britain and it would protect the British interests. In order to achieve this goal, the British laid the ground to negotiate for a new constitution for Kenya that could only be described as favorable to British interests. By moving to initiate a transition to independence on terms favorable to themselves, British authorities bartered fundamental political and economic concessions for an informal promise of continuing influence in post-independent Kenya.<sup>67</sup> The British post-colonial policy in Kenya was to relinquish formal political control while retaining immense influence

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<sup>63</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

<sup>64</sup> Percox, D. 2004. *Britain, Kenya and the cold war: imperial defense, colonial security and decolonization*. London: Taukis Publishers

<sup>65</sup> Ibid

<sup>66</sup> Parsons, T. 2003. *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa; Nairobi: Praeger Publishers.*

<sup>67</sup> Miller, N. & Yeager R. 1994. *Kenya: The quest for prosperity*. London: West view Press, Colorado.

through cultural, trade, economic and more so the military links literally came in to play during the independence talks.

The retention of the British military bases was extensively discussed both in Kenya Legislative Council and British House of Commons and the British government expressed their fear on the fate and future of the white settler's population in Kenya in the post-independence period. Although Tom Mboya, for one, had consistently stated as early as 1961, that there could be no place for foreign military bases on sovereign Kenya's soil, even tabling several private Motions in Legislative Council in that regard effect, the British believed that African government would recognize the benefits of British troops in terms of external defense requirements.

Britain hoped to leave behind a political structure which would safeguard their vital interests' principal among these interests both political and military. By January 1963, the likelihood of the withdrawal of British troops from Kenya, and probable restrictions on their use after independence, forced British ministers to concede that Kenya's military had to be built up vigorously. It was arrived that Britain was to plan for the phased withdrawal of its forces, making any proposed arrangements to expand and, more importantly, to train Kenya's forces thereafter, all the more vital.<sup>68</sup>

Percox<sup>69</sup> notes that Britain public acceptance of KANU demands for closure of the military base in Kahawa suggests that it seemed expedient to remove one of the main African 'extremist' objections to the independence settlement and the diminution of sovereignty represented by a British military base in Kenya. Notable on the Lancaster House talk was the establishment of a federal system of government that was mooted as suitable for the diversity existing in Kenya.

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<sup>68</sup> Percox, D. 2004. *Britain, Kenya and the cold war: imperial defense, colonial security and decolonization*. London: Taukis Publishers

<sup>69</sup> Percox, D. 2004. *Britain, Kenya and the cold war: imperial defense, colonial security and decolonization*. London: Taukis Publishers



Parliament was designed after the Westminster bicameral house with lower and upper chambers. The prime minister as the head of government was to be answerable to the queen in the interim period while full autonomy was to be granted later. All these represented attempts by Britain to consolidate her military, economic and strategic interests beyond Kenya's independence. Behind these maneuvers by Britain though, there were fears that post independence Kenya would be a socialist leaning country unless great effort was made to win over the politicians to support the Western capitalist ideology.<sup>70</sup>

In the run-up to independence politics, Kenyatta quickly moved to allay the fears of the European settlers and convince them, with their knowledge and investments, to remain in Kenya. In one remarkable meeting, he told a meeting of British white settlers unsettled about their role in the future of Kenya, President Kenyatta said, "I have no intention of revenge or looking backwards! We are going to transcend the past and focus on the future. I have borne the brunt of imprisonment and detention; but that is past. Now and onwards, I am not going to remember it."<sup>71</sup>

The attainment of independence to Kenya in 1963 marked the first major political transition since its emergence as a distinct territorially circumscribed geo-political entity in the late 19th century. Kenyatta led KANU in the 1963 election victory and formed the independence government as Prime Minister on December 12th, 1963 and became Kenya's' first President in 1964 when the country attained republican status.<sup>72</sup> In November of 1964 Kenyatta convinced the rival Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and its leader, Ronald Ngala, to dissolve and join Kenyatta's Kenyan African National Union (KANU) party to form a single chambered National

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<sup>70</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

<sup>71</sup> Meredith, M. 2013. *The State of Africa: A History of the Continent Since Independence*, Simon & Schuster Pp. 368-378

<sup>72</sup> Northedge, F. S. 1974. *Descent from Power: British Foreign Policy 1945-1973*, London.

Assembly. Ngala had advocated for *Majimboism* form of government while Kenyatta's party wanted a strong central unitary government. The *Majimbo* form of government though adopted at independence in line with KADU's demands, it was however done away with in early 1965.<sup>73</sup>

The post-independence Kenya presented Kenyatta with a myriad of challenges which had deep roots in Kenya's colonial history. There was Somali secessionist threat soon after independence. With the support of the Mogadishu government, the Kenyan Somalis who had even boycotted the 1963 elections engaged the Kenyatta government in an armed confrontation, in their effort to secede from Kenya. It took Kenyatta three years of military operations against the *Shifita* to secure the area. The second problem occurred on 12th January 1964 when Kenyan African soldiers mutinied to protest unfulfilled independence dreams and the continued domination of the armed forces by British officers. It was during this time that President Kenyatta utilized the service regular British officers to neutralize the mutiny, upgrade the barrack conditions and elevate many African officers to key positions. More importantly the military mutiny of 1964 in Lanet revealed the fragility of the immediate post- independence Kenya leadership and army to control and redress the situation. Only when the British military intervened at Lanet did the gesture solidify Kenyatta's regime and reinforced Kenya's military relations with Britain. Percox<sup>74</sup> indicates that the intervention of 24 Brigade to assist in quelling the revolt demonstrated in no uncertain terms that Kenya still relied upon British military largesse. More so it solidified Kenyatta's regime and reinforced Kenya's military relations with Britain. Although Kenyatta refused to make the required public pronouncement of gratitude being fully aware of the political risks inherent in such a gesture.

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<sup>73</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

<sup>74</sup> Percox, D. 2004. *Britain, Kenya and the cold war: imperial defense, colonial security and decolonization*. London: Taukis Publishers

Edgerton<sup>75</sup> observes that Kenyatta took steps to ensure stability within the Kenya Army by infiltrating all units with intelligence personnel who would alert the government at the first hint of dissent within the ranks. Following the Lanet unrest, African officers assumed operational command of major units but a British training team still oversaw the Kenyan army many years that followed. As a result the British forces left the country and behind a military training team known as 'BATTUK' consisting of approximately British officers and Newly Commissioned Officers, the mission provided for training and logistical support for the army, navy and air force. While this was politically acceptable because the mission officers no longer occupied command positions in the Kenyan army, this reinforced Kenya's informal defense arrangement with British military support in case of a mutiny or coup de tat. In return for this aid, Kenyatta granted the British military continued access to Nairobi's Eastleigh and Embakasi airfields and port facilities at Mombasa.<sup>76</sup>

In terms of foreign policy posture, Kenyatta regime pursued a non-alignment policy. By being officially non-aligned, Kenya was seeking to participate in international politics without losing its identity. Positive neutrality required that Kenya's relations with the major powers be carefully balanced and it is on this account that the British were formally forced to close their base at Kahawa formerly known as *Templer Barracks* and Kenya pledged that its territory could not be used by either NATO or Warsaw Pact powers in any localized conflicts in which any of the part of Africa or Asia or the Middle East was involved.<sup>77</sup> In line with the KANU's Manifesto of 1961, 1963 the sentiments equally rejected ideological rigidity. Non- alignment was thus formulated to mean a policy of equidistance between East and West. Equidistance thus underscored the existence

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<sup>75</sup> Edgerton, R B. 1990. *Mau Mau: An African Crucible*. London: I. B. Tauris

<sup>76</sup> Parsons, T. 2003. *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa; Nairobi*: Praeger Publishers.

<sup>77</sup> Ochieng, R.W., 1995. *A History of Kenya*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.

of a coincidence of interests between Kenya and the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America.<sup>78</sup>

While Kenya's diplomatic history and economic relations do suggest that Kenya interacts with the former socialist countries like Soviet Union and China, its military relations, do not conform to the other two levels of relations namely; diplomatic and economic. Kenyatta remained more committed to pursue liberal capitalist agenda that has considerably shaped the quest for political reforms in the independence period. More so in 1964, Kenyatta had accepted Sir Malcolm Macdonald, the last British governor general to Kenya as the first British high commissioner to Kenya. Four years after independence over 1,700 Britons still held various state jobs in the civil service with some holding very senior important and strategic positions in the military. As a show of strengthening political ties, Kenyatta retained the services of the European officers such as Ian Henderson, the police inspector who had prepared a case against him in Kapenguria, Whitehouse, the DC who had been his gaoler at Lokitaung, a British settler Bruce Mckenzie held the strategic Ministry of Agriculture while another settler Humphrey Slade remained the speaker of the national assembly. This gesture in addition to Kenyatta's preservation of critical pillars of the colonial state all helped to reassure his commitment to British interests at least in the transition period and beyond. Whereas many critics have viewed Kenyatta, the father of nation and independence as an anti-reformer, some scholars recognize Kenyatta's efforts in promoting unity, peace and stability in Kenya.<sup>79</sup>

The main principles and strategies of Kenya's economic development strategy after independence had been laid down in the *Sessional paper no 10 of 1965* entitled "*African Socialism*

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<sup>78</sup> Orwa, K. 1989. "Foreign policy, 1963-1986", in William R. Ochieng' (ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*, London, pp. 219-244

<sup>79</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

*and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*’ where, the independent government had outlined its political and economic philosophies rejecting both Western capitalism and Eastern communism while embracing capitalism with an African spicing.<sup>80</sup> A further significant explanation political engagement is that British policymaking towards Kenya occurred mostly at the level of civil servants rather than politicians. Smith, Marsh and Richards<sup>81</sup> have highlighted that government departments are pivotal policy-making institutions in British politics yet they have received limited scholarly attention. British policy-makers did not dictate, but neither were they disinterested or without a sense of their own interests. British diplomats, politicians and soldiers offered a lot to Kenya, but they did so because they gained much in return, and, as will be highlighted throughout this thesis, the balance of advantages was something decision-makers in both countries sought to influence to their advantage.

The political relationship between Kenya and Britain can best be described as one of a common understanding and mutual benefit. Negotiation was a key part of diplomacy and an indispensable mechanism for the two countries. Policy-making was a two way process between British and Kenyan politicians, diplomats and civil servants, and interaction between ‘policy-makers’ from both countries formed the relationship. Through his reliance on the elders, Kenyatta continued political lines created during British rule. Although there was a socialist party ideal, Kenyatta relied heavily on the West for economic support, and combined with his personal style of government and his retention of colonial systems, including the civil service, education, police, and administration, led to the belief that the African elite had replaced Europeans and little had changed for the population. Given the importance British officials attached to their relationship

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<sup>80</sup> Ochieng, R.W., 1995. *A History of Kenya*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.

<sup>81</sup> Smith, M. J., Marsh D., and Richards D. 1993. ‘Central Government Departments and the Policy Process’, *Public Administration*, Vol. 71, pp. 567-594

with Kenyatta, they were highly concerned by his succession, which, especially by the 1970s, came to be the lens through which they viewed Kenyan politics. British favour for Kenyatta meant that ‘successors to Kenyatta inevitably look a puny lot. British politicians, civil servants and diplomats feared that Kenya under a future leader would be less favourable to British interests and become unstable.’<sup>82</sup>

The British were keen to ensure that Kenyatta stayed in power owing to the fact that they feared that his removal from power would jeopardize their interests. The British believed that ousting of Kenyatta from power would open a ponderous window of breakdown of law and order thereby endangering the British nationals who had stayed back after independence. As Kenyatta’s health deteriorated towards the end of his era, uncertainty was a key concern among the British despite their self belief in their own knowledge. This made the British policy-makers to be profoundly uncertain about the future after Kenyatta and this is when they started plans of succession politics in order to safeguard their interests. The British spent significant time on making succession predictions and assessing possible candidates as they hoped to recognize a successor, forge connections, and thereby protect the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

### **2.3 Economic Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta Era**

There are three main interests the British wanted to safeguard in the post-independence Kenya- economic ties to the UK, the military bases, and the interests of the immigrant populations. The independence government under Kenyatta was therefore faced with many internal and territorial problems that may have contributed to the continued stationing of the British military presence in Kenya. Politically, the new regime continued to be faced with ethnic and ideological divisions particularly with secessionist movements and other neighbour countries’ expansionist

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<sup>82</sup> Arthur N. 2013. “The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

policies. First, the Somalis in Ogaden and the Haud in Ethiopia had initiated the whole campaign by forming an irredentist movement during the pre-colonial era. The 1961 claim for the Northern Frontier District (NFD) now North Eastern Province by the Somalis on the basis of historical, cultural and racial reasons had persisted up to the post-independence period (Biwott, 1992). Of all the discussions at Lancaster House Conference, Kenya's pre-independence talks had considerably pitted KANU and KADU, the main dominant political parties in the country then and whose respective ideological divide had profoundly shaped the respective Kenyan delegations to Lancaster.<sup>83</sup>

However, Maxon<sup>84</sup> describes Kenyatta as a capitalist who guaranteed the continuation of trade with the industrial North through the protection of norms of market forces and private ownership. Maxon notes that economic policies and regulations by Kenyatta's regime promoted Kenya's export of raw materials to Europe as well created dependency on foreign capital for industries thereby enabling thriving of British interests. Even if Kenya's significance to British defense strategy did indeed diminish from the early 1970s onwards, that Britain achievement in keeping Kenya pro-Western will not have been lost on its principal ally and the fact that Britain had laid the foundation for this must surely be beyond dispute. British relations under Kenyatta regime succeeded in protecting its military interests by maintaining infrastructure on the ground. Similarly, Britain was untroubled by Kenya's diversification of its foreign relations. On his part, Kenyatta had naturally played his own part in securing his political position by first dismantling the *Majimbo* state and then forming the republic at the end of 1964 and as shown by the study his

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<sup>83</sup> Arthur N. 2013. "The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations: 1963-2005, MA thesis, Kenyatta University

<sup>84</sup> Maxon, R.M.1992. "Small-Scale and Large-Scale Agriculture since Independence" in W. R. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (eds.), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi, 1992), pp. 273-296

defense agreements with Britain in the same year only entrenched his regime allegiance to the West at a heightened Cold War period.

Ley's<sup>85</sup> explore the causes of underdevelopment in Kenya and indicate that Kenyatta regime embraced a capitalist economy model. Underdevelopment was meant to be perpetually incorporated into a permanent relationship with the aim of expanding capitalist economy. The findings from Ley's study lay the foundation to comprehend the British interests in Kenya. More importantly, the study clearly demonstrates the desire by Britain to pursue a moderate government with an ultimate agenda of championing Britain's interests in Kenya. Vital to the British interests was ways to bolster the white settler economy. Ley<sup>86</sup> shed light on the idea of British letting Kenya free as a calculated and planned transition from a monopolistic colonial economy to a neo-colonial economy which would not merely preserve the British interests. The neocolonial economy was meant to ensure a metropolitan interest that would elevate Kenya to new forms of international capitalism. Through this, the British believed that having a friendly post-independent government under the leadership of Kenyatta would promote the concept of willing buyer willing seller system of transferring land from the white settlers to Kenyan farmers.

In Kenya, a process of land transfer was a key element in this continuity of the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain. Over and above, the process of land transfer underwrote the emergence of the post-colonial relationship. In the early 1960s, the British government and others provided finance for Kenyans to buy European-owned land in a series of land settlement programmes. The concern about Europeans deserting or ruining their estates if not sold for inflated prices, or of landless Africans claiming them, drove fears of a widespread land grab at

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<sup>85</sup> Leys, C. 1975. *Under development in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo- Colonialism*. London: Heinemann Publishers.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid



independence.<sup>87</sup> Land transfer was not a way of radically altering ownership, but a means of preserving stability. Wasserman(1973) argues that land had the potential to be ‘the major hindrance to a smooth transition ensuring the stability of the nationalist regime particularly as many Kenyans equated independence with access to land ownership, expecting wide scale redistribution. Instead, settlement schemes and the principle of respect for private property were accepted by Kenya’s incoming leadership, with additional schemes implemented after independence (Branch, 2009). This decision was part of a broader choice by the elite – which will be highlighted in different contexts throughout this thesis – to continue to look towards Britain and to maintain systems and structures from the colonial era. For Britain too, the decision to aid land transfer was an important one. This was a long-term financial commitment and these contributions made up a large part of Britain’s aid to Kenya (Poppy, 2015).

Wasserman’s<sup>88</sup> comprehensive study shows that land and foreign aid was a larger ploy by the British to steer consensual decolonization. The significance in post-independent Kenya was largely recognized by the British with a purpose of developing strong economic ties with Kenya. However, Ramsden<sup>89</sup> alleges that British interests had transformed in what appeared as a direct transition away from Africa and towards Brussels. Rather than continuing relationships with former colonies, the study of British foreign policy has typically focused on Europe and America. Following Churchill’s categorization of British foreign policy based on three interlinked ‘circles’ – the empire-Commonwealth, American ‘special relationship’, and Europe – the two beyond

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<sup>87</sup> Maxon, R. 1992. “Small-Scale and Large-Scale Agriculture since Independence” in W. R. Ochieng’ and R. M. Maxon (eds.), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi, 1992), pp. 273-296

<sup>88</sup> Wasserman, G. 1973. “Continuity and Counter-Insurgency: The Role of Land Reform in Decolonizing Kenya, 1962-70”, *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 133-148

<sup>89</sup> Ramsden, J. 1996. *The Winds of Change: Macmillan to Heath, 1957-1975*, London.

empire seemed more significant.<sup>90</sup> The British government applied to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961 and 1967, both attempts vetoed by French President Charles de Gaulle, before succeeding in a third application and joining in 1973.<sup>91</sup> In 1963, in what appeared a testament to the ‘special relationship’ with America, the US agreed to supply Polaris missiles to Britain, jeopardizing the ‘independence’ of the nuclear deterrent, but allowing Britain to remain a nuclear.<sup>92</sup>

Orwa<sup>93</sup> looked at the overall Kenya’s foreign policy and development strategy from the time when Kenya gained independence and indicates Kenya’s foreign policy has been consistent and describes it as continuous and changing both under Kenyatta and Moi regimes. He points out that Kenya inherited from Britain political values, institutions and structures that conformed to the Western ideals. The British sought economic, political and military aid has been sought with Kenya as a way of strengthening its relations with Kenya. Orwa<sup>94</sup> describes Kenyatta’s foreign policy between 1963 and 1978 as one influenced by both the national and systemic variables. He sees Kenyatta’s foreign policy as one of realism in relation to East Africa region, and idealism in the wider world. However, he notes that during the Cold War, Kenya’s foreign policy posture in international affairs was that of non-alignment. This is because Kenya portrayed a less radical approach that would have disrupted the continued foreign aid support to support its economic investment activities. Moreover, Orwa asserts that when Moi succeeded Kenyatta, Kenya’s foreign policy almost didn’t change much.

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<sup>90</sup> Aldous, R. and Lee S. 1996. “‘Staying in the Game’: Harold Macmillan and Britain’s World Role”, in Richard Aldous and Sabine Lee (eds.)

<sup>91</sup> Kipkorir, B. E. 1969. “The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya African Elite 1926-1962”, PhD thesis, St John’s College Cambridge.

<sup>92</sup> Orwa, K 1989. “Foreign policy, 1963-1986”, in William R. Ochieng’ (ed.), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*, London, pp. 219-244

<sup>93</sup> Ibid

<sup>94</sup> Ibid

Shaw and Aluko<sup>95</sup> describe Kenya's foreign policy in the immediate period after independence and posit that the Kenya's economic relations can be seen in terms of political and economic moderation and its perpetual reliance on the British.

## **2.4 Cultural Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta Era**

British colonization resulted in drastic erosion of meaningful knowledge system. Kenya was not an exception. Imposition of colonialist values through Western education, administration and religion was done there was a cultural vacuum in Kenya. The unlikely assumption by colonialists was that Kenyans were primitive and had no culture of their own and therefore they required civilization. The British did not realize that indigenous African education was closely linked to the African social life and was more concerned with the progressive development of the African youth. They did not know that pre-colonial education matched the realities of pre-colonial African society. The British advanced various conventions when they colonized Kenya. Through the church, schools and administration, the British instilled the notion that African traditions and cultural beliefs were retrogressive and backwards. According to Davidson<sup>96</sup>, colonizers perceived African culture as a culture that knew black people for most part, only as the degraded objects of captive labour; a culture besides which requires for the good of society that black people should remain enslaved.

A study by Clapham<sup>97</sup> examines the relationships between Britain and both Ghana and Ethiopia and established that Britain colonialism created political interests and linkages with Ghana which despite being of first importance, are none the less well worth maintaining. The study also highlighted cultural connections based on British language, education and institutions.

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<sup>95</sup> Shaw & Aluko 1984. *Political Economy of African Foreign Policy: Comparative Analysis*, New York: Palgrave Publishers.

<sup>96</sup> Davidson, B. 1984. *The story of Africa*. London: Mitchell Reaz Company.

<sup>97</sup> Clapham, C. 1977. *Third World Politics: An Introduction of Africa and the International System*: London

Ethiopia was not a former British colony but ‘even though Britain had no real direct stake in the country, Ethiopia impinged on British interests at several points’, especially Addis Ababa as an ‘African diplomatic centre’ and a broader interest in the Horn of Africa. Clapham’s<sup>98</sup> view hints at aspects of continued relationships but offers minimal detail, partly because it was written before the release of British government documents. Considering Kenya, some scholars have examined the Anglo-Kenyan relationship past 1963, but they have not tended to extend much beyond independence, certainly not into the 1970s. A key work which highlights the potential of the sources is Parsons’ study of the 1964 East African mutinies in which he compares Kenyan, Tanganyikan and Ugandan military policies, including British connections.

The cultural imprint left by the British continued to be practiced after independence. According to Khamalwa<sup>99</sup>, the British colonial rule left a mark on Kenya’s rites of passage such as initiation and marriage. Gennep’s<sup>100</sup> writing about the traditional rites of passage gives comprehensive review of the various rites of passage that existed in pre-colonial Africa. He tackles these extensively from birth to death. However, he fails short of examining the education that emanates from British. Sifuna<sup>101</sup> indicates that African indigenous education diminished slowly with the coming of colonialists and was replaced by the Western education.

Sifuna<sup>102</sup> provides the goals and the philosophical foundation of pre-historical education and sets out the curriculum and methods of instruction that existed in traditional African society. According to him traditional, drama which was performed before the colonial era and which in many cases still is being performed. It was performed in vernacular and not written down and was

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid

<sup>99</sup> Wanyama, M.N. 2005. *Form and content of African music: A case study of Bukusu circumcision music*. South Africa: University of Pretoria.

<sup>100</sup> Gennep, A. 1960. *Rites of passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

<sup>101</sup> Sifuna, D., 1990. *Development of education in Africa*. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers.

<sup>102</sup> Sifuna, D., 1990. *Development of education in Africa*. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers.

typically based on social organization of the village and casually performed by a special society or age group often at a festival. Rodney<sup>103</sup> describes the negative consequences of colonization in Africa and also discusses the introduction of formal education before the coming of the white man to Africa. He argues that there was a formidable type of education which was related to the African environment and suited the conditions of the continent. Rodney further posits that African education was imperative because it had a close link with social life both material and spiritual sense. Traditional African education was significant owing to the fact that it was child friendly as it took into consideration the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child.<sup>104</sup>

After independence, Kenyans still embraced British cultures such as religious and conventional male circumcision. Mbiti<sup>105</sup> wrote about four rites of passage in the pre-colonial Kenyan society. He tackles initiation and puberty rites especially among the Kamba and Maasai. According to him, child must grow out of childhood and enter into adulthood physically, socially and religiously. He further postulates that initiation marks the foundation of acquiring knowledge which is otherwise not accessible to those who have not been initiated. It is a period of awakening of many things, a period of dawn to the young. Wanyama<sup>106</sup> carried out empirical research on the impact of British colonial rule on circumcision in Bukusiland and established that the British colonial rule marked the shift in form and content in the performance of circumcision. Wanyama<sup>107</sup> indicates that Bukusu circumcision music is deeply rooted in myths, taboos and beliefs that form the basic philosophical foundations of the Bukusu cultural fabric and hence its contextual specific

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<sup>103</sup> Rodney, W.1980. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

<sup>105</sup> Mbiti, S. J. 1994. *African Religions and Philosophy*- Nairobi: East African Education Publishers.

<sup>106</sup> Wanyama, M.. 2005. *Form and content of African music: A case study of Bukusu circumcision music*. South Africa: University of Pretoria.

<sup>107</sup> Wanyama, M.. 2005. *Form and content of African music: A case study of Bukusu circumcision music*. South Africa: University of Pretoria.

context – utilitarian nature. Textual repetitions serve the purpose of emphasizing the messages imbedded in the songs. He emphasizes that Bukusu circumcision rite is just a mere cutting of the foreskin of the initiate's penis. There are various virtues embodied in the form, content and performance of the music that accompanies it. Similarly, it is argued that civilization brought about gradual acceptance of clinical circumcision of males and this practice continued past Kenya's independence. The gradual institutionalization of the clinical circumcision means Kenya found additional or alternative significances of male circumcision. The shift towards clinical circumcisions based on realities of life but coupled with retention of significance of traditional circumcision which is initiation to adulthood interprets as a redefinition of male circumcision by the Kenya society. The British's cultural influence greatly impacted on traditional marriage as many Kenyans started to embrace religious marriages as opposed to polygamy. Simiyu<sup>108</sup> posits that in communities like Bukusu in Western Kenya, polygamy marriages drew legitimacy from its functional purposes and economic factors. Like in the Bukusu, Agriculture and domestic work was performed and therefore many wives and children provided the required labour. Similarly, Bukusu believed in polygamy because of the centrality of children as a guarantee to immortality as well as economic assets of labor and dowry. In the community, it was right for a man to marry more than one wife and have a large family as this simplified elevated status among the Bukusu community. In the even a wife was barren, men were allowed to marry another wife because children were regarded as a treasure and investment in the community.

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<sup>108</sup> Simiyu, V. 1991. *The Emergence of a Sub-Nation: A History of Babukusu to 1990*. Transafrican. Journal of History, 20: 125 – 144

Wasserman<sup>109</sup> perceives decolonization as a downward manipulation of nationalist movements that ensured continuity of the colonial political and cultural economy continues to be relevant in modern texts. His argument centres on Kenya Europeans in the Highlands, an issue that tends to be minimized in favor of native population struggles in most examinations of Kenyan independence movements. Wasserman tends to discredit the power of nationalism in indigenous populations, including the struggles of creating national identities given British land policies during the colonial period the Mau Mau rebellion that was divergent from the bulk of native populations, despite countless grievances with colonial rule. Branch<sup>110</sup> examines the *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya* and focuses on the similarities between loyalists and insurgents, as well as using the divisions and counterinsurgency as a framework for the following decolonization. Branch explores the role of the loyalists, which is largely ignored or misrepresented, and represents a crucial population in attempting to understand the Mau Mau climate. Additionally, Branch posits that Mau Mau nearly ended in civil war among the Kikuyu owing to the huge disputes involving class. Equally, Branch believes that other issues such as populations other than the Kikuyu are very significant in developing a clear understanding of decolonization.

The British played a role in establishment of state and class and ethnicity in Kenya. This is based on the emergence of Mau Mau in the 19th century owing to the direct European involvement in Kenya's colonization. Ogot and Ochieng<sup>111</sup> focused on Decolonization and Independence of Kenya and examined on whether or not the long-term goals of the nationalists, such as Africanization, have actually come to pass. According to them, Kenya's independence came with

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<sup>109</sup> Wassermann, G. 1976. *Politics of Decolonization; Kenya Europeans and the Land issue*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>110</sup> Branch, D. 2009. *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

<sup>111</sup> Ogot, B.A. & Ochieng W.R. 1995. *Decolonization & Independence in Kenya: 1940-93* Ohio: Ohio University Press

a desire to reinvent Kenya a new starting in decolonization and ending with the move to a multi-party political system.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta era. According to the findings, Kenyatta regime played a significant role in shaping the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain as well as with other countries being that the Kenyatta regime took over power after Kenyatta gained independence in the year 1963. Besides, the literature review showed that political collaboration dominated the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta era.



## CHAPTER THREE

### POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING THE MOI ERA

#### 3.1 Introduction

President Moi took over after the death of President Kenyatta in 1978. Moi then declared his bilateral relations philosophy of following in the ‘footsteps’ of Kenyatta. The major highlights from Moi’s era, is the attempted coup in 1982 and repeal of section 2 of the constitution that paved way for multiparty politics in Kenya. It was also during Moi’s tenure as president that he initiated significant education reforms that set the country on its path to a new curriculum in 1988.

#### 3.2 Political Relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi Era

Moi’s era was marked by a lot of political controversies including assassinations of prominent politicians and critics of the government. The fear of a coup de tat made Moi to build his power around smaller ethnic groups and his Kalenjin ethnic group who believed it was their turn to exploit the opportunities that come with political power. Wrong<sup>112</sup> indicates that the Kikuyu elite continued to dominate in non-political spheres such as the transport business, hotel and real estate. The Kikuyu elite blamed Moi for the economic problems in the coffee industry, tea factories and Kenya cooperative creameries in central province. They also blamed Moi’s regime for the land clashes in the Rift Valley that mainly targeted Kikuyu as ‘foreigners’ in the region. Moi’s Kalenjin ethnic group continued to prosper in education and in getting lucrative jobs in government; an airport and bullet factory were constructed in Moi’s region.

During Moi’s era, bilateral relations between Kenya-Britain was shaped by the collapse of the Somalia government in 1991, multipartyism after the ideological defeat of communism and

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<sup>112</sup> Wrong, M., 2009. *It’s Our Turn to Eat*. London: HarperCollins Publisher

the 1998 United State embassy bombing. Moi's regime portrayed an authoritarian system of governance where the government tolerated no dissent. The major powers including Britain and USA did not care what political system a country had as long as the country was on their side. But after the fall of the Berlin wall, many western nations started advocating for democracy. They deemed it as a significant step towards liberalization of the economy and strengthening of institution in the country.<sup>113</sup>

The fall of Berlin wall and the clarion call for a united world came at a time when Kenya was under a single party with Kenya African National Union (KANU) being the only political party that catered for the interest of the citizens. The international pressure led by Britain and other western powers combined with political unrest, protests and demonstrations by civil society, religious organizations and political actors compelled Moi's regime to rescind its position and accept repeal of section 2A of the constitution that paved way for multiparty politics in Kenya. It is believed that Moi bowed to pressure because he didn't want to compromise Kenya's ties with Britain because the country was dependent of foreign donations and grants to run the economy. The repeal of section A and adoption of multiparty politics in Kenya was an inspiration to other African countries as this was seen as a step towards enhancing constitutionalism and democracy in Africa. More particularly, the idea of Kenya moving from a single party democracy to an multiparty democracy became a point of reference to countries like Somalia who at the time were under the authoritarian leadership regime of Siad Barre.<sup>114</sup>

The British government aided Moi's regime Kenya build a refugee camp in Dadaab as a friendly gesture to accommodate arrival of refugees from Somalia. However, Kenya was warned to prepare on how to address challenges of having influx of refugees especially security related

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<sup>113</sup> World Bank 2005. *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics*.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

issues in a country that had become a failed state. Kenya's foreign policy came under focus after the 1998 USA embassy bombing. The attack that was perpetrated by the al Qaeda caused a lot of pain and havoc as hundreds were killed and many injured. Kenya received a multinational humanitarian support from the US, Israel and Britain in areas of evacuation and investigation. The US and UK pledged to help Kenya develop structures that are vital in confronting insecurity and terrorist groups.<sup>115</sup>

According to Orwa<sup>116</sup>, Kenya-Britain political relations during Moi era was largely a continuation of Kenyatta policies with only slight changes. This was exhibited through a strong sustained commitment to the principles of non-alignment and support to African liberation movements such as Organization of African Union which Kenyatta had strongly advocated and supported as the only way to Africa's liberation from shackles of neo-colonization and donor dependency. This gesture by Moi's regime was a clear manifestation of the need to safeguard and continue Kenyatta's legacy under the *Nyayo* philosophy.<sup>117</sup> However, despite following Kenyatta's footsteps, there are some areas where Moi took departures in national policy. Mwigiru<sup>118</sup> points out that Moi instituted some changes in foreign policy such as the increased interest in Kenya's backyard. During Moi's era, Kenya took a more active stance in conflict management amongst its neighbor's especially in Sudan, Somalia and to a smaller extent Uganda. The logic that drove this approach was to mitigate the spillover effects of conflict in these countries, which posed a threat to national security.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> World Bank 2005. *Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics*.

<sup>116</sup> Orwa, K. D 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

<sup>117</sup> Moi, D.T.A 1986. *Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles*, London: Macmillan.

<sup>118</sup> Mwigiru, M., 2000. *The Elusive Quest: Conflict, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya*.

<sup>119</sup> George, G.M 1984. *Understanding Nyayo: Principles and Policies in Contemporary Kenya*. Transafrica.

Moi's foreign policy with Britain was similar to Kenyatta's and this was reflected in the unconcealed non-involvement in territorial disputes and the taking up of foreign policy positions that would result in the alteration of national boundaries.<sup>120</sup> For instance, Kenya remained non-committal to international territorial disputes such as the perennial Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the 1982 Falklands conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina. Regionally, Kenya condemned the perceived aggressors in African conflicts that centred on territorial claims. Where the issues were intractable, Moi directly mediated in disputes for instance in Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mozambique. At the same time, Moi increased Kenya's support to African liberation movements for example the Sudan's People's Liberation Movement.<sup>121</sup>

The bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi's era signaled a posture of non-alignment and this was characterized by intensified and simultaneously increased relations with the British and the west. During Moi's era, Kenya's objectives in East Africa also remained relatively unchanged and equally, emphasis continued to be made on the preservation of territorial integrity. Equally, the Moi government forged for adherence to regional environmental conservation policies in order to enhance national economic development and political stability.<sup>122</sup>

Moi's regime like Kenyatta regime sustained support for African liberation movements through actions such recognition of Kenya's own *Mau Mau* veterans and providing sanctuary to liberation movements fighting the *apartheid* regime in South Africa and the Islamic regime in Sudan. Moi also increased Kenya's involvement in direct efforts to mediate internal conflicts such as those in Somalia and notably Sudan. The major element that differentiated Moi's approach to

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<sup>120</sup> Musambayi, C.I 1995. *The politics of regime consolidation and entrenchment: Moi's foreign policy, 1978-1994*, French Institute for Research in Africa Pp. 7

<sup>121</sup> Guarak, M.A.M. 2011. *Integration and Fragmentation of the Sudan: An African Renaissance: Author House* Pp. 439-452

<sup>122</sup> Orwa, K. D 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp.318

foreign policy from Kenyatta's was his higher levels of personal involvement. While Kenyatta was constrained from extensive official foreign travel on account of his failing health, Moi was more active and visited many countries in his presidential capacity ostensibly to secure Kenya's national interests.<sup>123</sup> Moi also broke with the Kenyatta tradition when he re-established friendly relations with Russia and China through state visits at the very beginning of his administration. Regionally, the first East African Community collapsed in 1977 just toward the end of the Kenyatta era. The impact of this collapse came to be keenly felt during Moi's administration in the early to mid 1980's when trade and non-trade barriers were reintroduced. Similarly the full-blown imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Sub-Saharan countries occurred during Moi's tenure. Kenya was therefore among a host of African countries that suffered substantial decline in their GDP not only as a result of decades of economic mismanagement but also due to dwindling trade revenues and reduced Overseas Development Assistance (ODA)<sup>124</sup>. The Kenya-Britain relations suffered a major setback following the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Sub-Saharan (SAPs) and linkage of foreign aid to democratic reforms resulted in a significant drift Kenya's relations with its traditional western partners. The imposition of SAPs limited foreign aid to Kenya after the British and other western countries demanded the regime to address the scourge of corruption thereby putting Moi under pressure to open up the democratic space. This development angered Moi who then resorted to characterizing traditional western partners such as the US, the UK, France and Multilateral bodies such as the Bretton-Woods Institutions as 'foreign masters'.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Cooper, C. (1993). *Kenya: The National Epic*. East African Publishers Pp. 285

<sup>124</sup> Orwa, K. D 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

<sup>125</sup> Orwa, D. 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

The strained relationship between the Britain and Kenya emanated from cut of foreign aid after the adoption of SAPs and Moi used this opportune opportunity to consolidate domestic sympathy and rally support for his administration. The cold bilateral relations and denial of foreign aid made Moi's regime to consider diversification its foreign policy partners and thus began making major advances to the emerging East Asian economies like China and Russia. This was followed by a section of ruling party (KANU) delegation in 1985 and 1986 to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Soon thereafter, Soviet and Chinese party officials made reciprocal visits, which may have never happened under the Kenyatta administration (Orwa, 1994). The adoption Structural Adjustment Programmes forced Moi to consider looking East due to the move by UK and USA to cut down military and foreign aid support to Kenya unless certain conditions were met including opening up the political space for more parties, addressing corruption and nepotism in government. Moi's swift response by considering the east was construed as a survival tactic by a regime that was increasingly under pressure to institute economic and political reforms by its western partners.

Clapham<sup>126</sup> indicates that initially, the British were not keen at maintaining close links with Africa but due to increased case of political unrest and coup de tats in some former colonies forced the British retain an element of immediate post-colonial responsibility. This move was informed by the need to suppress mitigate overthrow of legitimate governments such as the covert support for the federal government in the Nigerian civil war. Apart from maintaining relationships with Africa, the main focus of Britain to forge and strengthen mutual relationship with the United States

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<sup>126</sup> Clapham, C. 2014. UK-African Relations: the background to Labor's Africa policy. Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

and other European countries. Clapham<sup>127</sup> indicates that many African countries were members of the Commonwealth but largely Africa India was mostly valued by the British Empire.

According to Mutegi<sup>128</sup> Africa's initial inclinations in foreign policy were generated by forces that had their origins in the first few decades of the twentieth century. These included, the creation of common organs in several fields to serve the needs of the three East African countries under the British rule (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), the assignment by European administrative decision of an inhospitable and poor but large bloc of Somali-populated land to Kenya instead of adjacent Somalia, the establishment of sizeable European settler and Asian immigrant communities in the country; and the domination of the economy by agricultural exports, most of which were still produced by large, settler-owned farms even after independence. The assignment of the large bloc of the Somali populated land to Kenya led to the Shifta War in its north-eastern region. With this threat on its horizon, Kenya made the above principles pivotal to its regional relations.

Kaplan<sup>129</sup> raises concerns over territorial integrity and secessionism that made Kenya a leading supporter of the OAU's principle of the non-violation of territorial borders that was inherited at independence. Kenya's intelligence set up that was inherited from the British administration was still adopted by the Moi regime. This was demonstrated when president Moi was forced to call for the support of the British's Scotland Yard to investigate the assassination of the then cabinet minister Dr. Robert Ouko. The Moi regime administration maintained an intelligence system adequate to keep itself informed of all likely threats to public order and stability and of political developments whether potentially subversive or not. Thus from this early

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<sup>127</sup> Clapham, C. 2014. UK-African Relations: the background to Labor's Africa policy. Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

<sup>128</sup> Mutegi N. 1999. *New intelligence Body Will be Service Oriented*. Daily Nation, Nairobi, Kenya

<sup>129</sup> Kaplan, I. 1975. *Kenya a Country Study; Foreign area Studies*. The American University.

beginning, the aim of the colonial intelligence was to counter threat from internal groups like the Mau Mau, which the British administration termed a secret society.

### **3.3 Economic Relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi Era**

Clapham<sup>130</sup> indicates that UK-Africa ties by the late 1980s was inconsequential with only just over 3% of British exports came from Africa and less than 2% of the United Kingdom's imports came from it. The quantity of British aid to Africa was at the level of Sweden and Canada as well as one-third of Italy's, and one-sixth of France's aid to the continent. The British simply did not provide the notable mix of support and subordination that the francophone received from France. Former British colonies were big making the French to perceive themselves as not in dependent relationship like the ones for British. Large African economies had a relatively high proportion of robust and vibrant leaders at independence, including Nkrumah, Nyerere, Obote and Kaunda who were leading some Commonwealth African states.

The economic relationship between Africa and Britain was dominated by the issue of minority rule in southern Africa. Some African leaders felt that it was the British responsibility to spearhead economic growth and development in Africa. The African leaders took a chance during the commonwealth meetings to voice dissent and dissatisfaction with the British government over failure to provide leadership towards addressing the ills facing the African Continent. In the year 1997, the Blair government inherited a legacy where white minority rule in Africa had definitively ended while South Africa was in a transition. It therefore became necessary to reignite UK-African relationship as a drift away from the most damaging legacies of colonialism.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Clapham, C. 2014. UK-African Relations: the background to Labor's Africa policy. Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

<sup>131</sup> Clapham, C. 2014. UK-African Relations: the background to Labor's Africa policy. Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge



Chege<sup>132</sup> posits that despite a good start by Moi at the fall of the year 1988, Moi's regime had transformed to a dictatorship with any acts of dissent met with negative reaction from the government including arbitrary arrests and assassinations. This resulted to suppression of political competition and withering of alternative voices by the civil society and opinion leaders. The citizens were increasingly intimidated and any act of mass action or protest was banned by the state.

Moi succumbed to pressure from Britain and other western countries in 1992 and agreed for the change of the constitution to accommodate more political parties. The upsurge of multi-party politics in 1992 mounted pressure on Moi's government both locally (by political parties, religious groups and civil society organizations) and internationally (by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as by the government of the United States of America) to end one party dictatorship. These forces engineered the idea of a new constitution. The reason behind the agitation for a new constitution in Kenya was to address rampant corruption that was linked to poor governance and slow social and economic development in Kenya. However, despite the calls for enactment of a new constitution, corruption thrived in Moi's government as the regime ignored economic and political reforms. This resulted in dwindling of annual economic growth as poverty levels continued to rise.

Kenya's economic performance declined from *per capita* income of US\$271 in 1990 to US\$239 in 2002. Blame was squarely placed on Moi and his government for poor economic policies to address the runaway corruption. However, this caused a lot of discomfort in Moi's government, foot soldiers like Dr Robert Ouko was not hesitant to criticize the Moi's administration for channeling highest level of corruption, mismanagement of public resources,

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<sup>132</sup> Chege, M. (2008). Kenya: Back From the Brink? *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 125-139

nepotism and violation of basic human rights. Dr Robert's views were supported by western powers such as monetary institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who hailed Ouko's boldness in standing for truth.

Britain through its representatives in Nairobi condemned the increasing levels of corruption in the government of Moi and even threatened sanctions. Barkan<sup>133</sup> notes that formal power attributed to the President was not enough to maintain his immunity; he continued to vest in patronage politics and repression as a means to maintain his authority. The level of corruption grew steadily and toleration of corruption by Moi became a major form of investment during his presidency. In Moi's regime, those who were considered disloyal and liberal were subjected to repression in order to silence them from criticizing excesses within the governments. The political landscape in Kenya became worrisome as top officials in government threatened critics through intimidation, detention, and torture. This events added fuel to the calls for multiparty democracy escalated more particularly following the assassination of the then Foreign Minister Robert Ouko, in January 1990. Tension and fear gripped the country following Dr. Robert Ouko's death for he was known as a champion of good governance, transparency and justice<sup>134</sup>. The one party rule by Moi's regime derailed efforts for the realization of multi-party politics and a vibrant civil society. The civil society and religious groups, especially those that were deemed to be against the abuses of the ruling party were taken by surprise upon realization of the mega Goldenberg scandal that exposed Moi's most memorable scandal that resulted in loose of billions of taxpayers' money, estimated to about 10% of its GDP.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Barkan, J. D. 2011. *Kenya: Assessing risks to stability*. Center for strategic and international studies.

<sup>134</sup> Chege, M. 2008. Kenya: Back From the Brink? *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 125-139

<sup>135</sup> Cherotich, L. A. (n.d). *Corruption and Democracy in Kenya*. Constitution of Kenya.

However, Moi did not seem to bring any commitment to addressing the corruption that had plagued the Kenyatta government but instead he continued amassing power and creating safeguards of his tenure by amending the constitution to promote his immunity while in office. Moi's ruling party, KANU, aided him to centralize power around the executive personified by the President. Although Moi had succeeded in silencing any emerging opposing voices, the 1982 attempted coup de tat caught him by surprise. Nevertheless, this resulted in even tighter restrictions on political competition and effectively succeeded in the creation of a *de jure* one-party state. Moi openly sought to safeguard his power by empowering his cronies.

Wrong<sup>136</sup> points out that corruption is prevalent in Kenya because ethnic factionist believes that when a president comes from the tribe, it is their 'turn to eat'. Again, Wrong noted that Moi's KANU regime was entangled in an ethno-economic model that created an opportunity for partnership between the political class and economic patronage thereby sustaining corruption and poor governance in Kenya. Barkan<sup>137</sup> notes that it was in 1981 that Moi changed the constitution to make Kenya a *de jure* one-party state. According to Amutabi (1999) by 1991, there were 17 Kalenjin Permanent Secretaries out of the 28 in the nation, 45 Kalenjin District Commissioners (DCs) out of 66 available positions and 4 out of 8 Provincial Commissioners (PCs). According to Amutabi<sup>138</sup>, Moi rewarded the Kalenjin with resources from the public sector. These included senior positions in parastatal organizations and the administrations, as well as actual monetary benefits in the form of government loans. In addition, the political elite on several occasions and with the full knowledge of the President conspired to loot public resources. More notably, in the run-up to the first multiparty elections in Kenya, Kenya suffered a worst economic scandal that

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<sup>136</sup> Wrong, M., 2009. *It's Our Turn to Eat*. London: HarperCollins Publisher

<sup>137</sup> Barkan, J. D. 2011. *Kenya: Assessing risks to stability*. Center for strategic and international studies.

<sup>138</sup> Amutabi, M. N. 2009. Beyond imperial presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes and implications for democracy and development. *Kenya Studies Review Vol. 1, No. 1*, pp. 55-84.

resulted in the loss of a large amount of public money in Kenya. The Goldenberg Scandal was conducted by a syndicate of top and senior government officials who were close to President Moi. The Goldenberg scandal made Kenya suffer billions of money estimated to be 10% of its GDP. It involved senior Moi-regime insiders who were determined to shore up the regime's election war chest in readiness for the elections in 1992.<sup>139</sup>

The bilateral relationship between Britain and Kenya continued to dwindle because the British were against dictatorship and corruption that was perpetuated by the Moi regime. Moi always had a way of appreciating his loyal MPS as he appointed them to prominent roles of managing parastatals while others were either appointed as ministers or assistant ministers. These positions were craved for by many as they involving control and management public finances. Those who showed opposition to the regime were marginalized and their regions were denied a share of the national revenue. In the run-up to the 2002 elections, many Kenya were already tired of the institutions of political power in Kenya. They had lost trust in their leaders. Despite the fact that Moi had declared his retirement from politics, he went ahead to endorse the son of the founding president, Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor. However, majority of Kenyans perceived Uhuru's candidature as a continuation of Moi's autocratic rule and therefore many favored NARC (National Alliance Rainbow Coalition) inspired Kenyans by promising a new constitution and an end the uncontained corruption in government that had plagued the country for all its independence lifetime.<sup>140</sup>

The British push for a new constitution was intended to establish an independent judiciary, legislature, and other commissions to check the powers of electoral and human rights malpractices

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<sup>139</sup> Kirira, N. 2011. *Public finance under Kenya's new Constitution*. SID Constitutional Working Paper No. 5.

<sup>140</sup> Kimenyi, M. S., and Shughart, W. F., 2008. The political economy of constitutional choice: A study of the 2005 Kenyan Constitutional referendum. *Economics working papers*. Paper 200808

orchestrated by Moi's regime. In fact, a new constitution was the only hope of creating a more inclusive government and a real change in the governance structure. As it has been argued by Kimenyi and Shughart<sup>141</sup>, Moi's regime rejected the calls for a new constitution because they believed that this could make them lose lucrative positions in governments that they used to advance nepotism, corruption, poor economic management and widespread violations of human rights. Equally, Moi and KANU regime feared because they had failed in exercising servant leadership but instead they had resorted in accumulation power and wealth at the expense of poor Kenyans.

The distribution of power and economic resources in Kenya has remained a bone of contention. This issue is often cited as the cause of post election violence and hard political contestations. During Moi's era, centralization of power in the presidency encouraged state intervention in the economy that benefited a few political actors, while gradually eliminating political and economic competition. Ostensibly, Ochieng<sup>142</sup> indicates that unaddressed political problems affected Kenya's social and economic performance in the 1980s must be located in the history of personalized rule initiated by Kenyatta and inherited by the Moi regime.

### **3.4 Cultural Relations between Kenya and Britain during Moi Era**

Moi's regime continued to benefit from cultural relations with Britain including support of athletics, soccer and importation of arts and crafts to the United Kingdom. To support Kenyan culture and heritage, China extended economic aid to Kenya in excess of KES 300 million, the bulk of which went towards the development of the Kasarani Sports Complex and other facilities. The expenditure of these funds on the sporting complex and the 1988 all Africa Games was mired

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid

<sup>142</sup> Ochieng, R.W., (1995). *A History of Kenya*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.

in controversy and allegations of corruption that tarnished the reputation Moi government and Kenya's image abroad.<sup>143</sup>

Moi's era led to the emergence of key element in creating a new relationship between Africa and British and wider global consciousness as the major site of humanitarian concern. More importantly, it resulted many to consider Africa as a source of moral responsibility. In mid-1990s, an opportunity arose to create newer relationship between UK and Africa as well as from those that had existed in the post-colonial, Cold War, pre-famine, apartheid era. This was the foundation that laid the basis for relations between Africa and the outside world in the three decades after African independence. The new relationship was largely cognizant of independent of traditional drivers of foreign policy, such as culture, heritage, strategic and economic self-interest, and that was expressed notably in the NGO phenomenon, by BandAid, War-on-Want, Oxfam, Amnesty, and similar organizations.<sup>144</sup>

During Moi's era, cultural ties between Kenya and Britain were exhibited through intermarriages. Marriage and particularly family is the primary unit of the social life in any society. Intermarriages between the white settlers and British fostered the growth of social and moral values in Kenya. It also resulted in growth of extended families that is where nuclear family functions within the extended family. The cultural foundation stipulated that children had rights and obligations to obey and respect their parents while parents were expected to show love, care and support to their children. Equally, a man had set of duties and privileges as the provider and the head of the family. A woman was expected to be submissive to her husband as well as help in nurturing children according to the community ideals and values. This meant that marriage was

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<sup>143</sup> Orwa, D. 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

<sup>144</sup> Orwa, D. 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi, W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

the most fundamental institution development of family. Marriage was one of the rites of passage and it was observed by various communities. In the traditional Kenyan community, virginity was attached to high value and dignity and attracted respect and honour to her parents.<sup>145</sup>

Britain continued rewarding hardworking students to study in overseas through scholarships and grants. This made many Kenyans to appreciate hard work. According to Magesa<sup>146</sup>, Africans who are hard working makes persistent efforts regardless of failures and setbacks. However, the irony is that Lazy Africans became the first victims of slave trade. Apart from children of prominent people such as politicians, kings and nobles, the industrious young men and women were almost the last in receiving Western education at the inception of Christian missions and colonialism. It not logical that parents considered sending only lazy children to school as hardworking remained at home doing domestic jobs. Work is seen as a remedy to cure for poverty. In the traditional society, nobody desired to associate with indolent people. Many lazy people ended up not getting married or unable to execute social responsibility required by the family and community.

The British influenced Kenya's way of life and more particularly on how to create wealth and build institutions. According to Khapoya<sup>147</sup>, wealth creation requires persistent hard work, dedication and commitment. During Moi's era, many white settlers returned vast of land to the natives and Kenyans were encouraged to adopt modern forms of farming in order to create wealth. Moi's era remained with the bureaucratic structure of the British where the President or high ranking official had the final seal of approval or disapproval of any decision, but based on collective agreement. In spite of the various political structures, leadership value was essential to

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<sup>145</sup> Khapoya, V.B 1998. *The African Experience: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

<sup>146</sup> Magesa, L. 1997. *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.

<sup>147</sup> Khapoya, V.B 1998. *The African Experience: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Africans, highly religious and morally demanding. The political leader was required to possess some traits that could engender.

Britain continued to promote their economic and religious values. This is evident in economic exploitation and socio-religious vitrification that characterized the colonial period. However, apart from the economic exploitative agenda, colonialism expressed “the ethnocentric belief that the morals and values of the colonizer were superior to those of the colonized”<sup>148</sup>. Moi’s era saw a continuation of British form of education and establishment of more schools whose curricula were tailored to achieve the goals of the British rather than train the colonized to be independent, and the missionary ventures, which helped a great deal in vitrifying the religious concept and inclination of the colonized. This scenario naturally created two classes, one being the superogatory and the other the subordinatory, with deliberate administrative structure that favored the former.

Britain’s colonial rule had eroded Kenya’s traditional values, culture and religion by introducing classroom learning, monogamous marriages, Christianity and modern form of male circumcision. It is believed that Moi’s regime viewed Britain’s values as more superior than the traditional African values and openly discouraged Female Genital Mutilation and traditional male circumcision. The Moi’s era witnessed an increase in the number of schools, religion and a drastic decline in polygamous marriages and female circumcision since many Kenyans had adopted British’s form of Christianity that encouraged monogamous marriages and shunned FGM. African cosmos became a victim of extraneous ideology which it has continued to grapple with, with little or no success. For instance, as part of the erosion of the African cultural values, Africans now bear at least a European or Christian name. This means that African names, arts, music, religion, etc.

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<sup>148</sup> Khapoya, V.B 1998. *The African Experience: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.



are inferior of pagan in orientation and value. The acceptance of this by the Africans has continued to have serious negative effects on the postcolonial Africa and its values.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era. According to the findings, like Kenyatta's regime, Moi's regime continued to foster the political and economic relation between Kenya and Britain. In other words, Moi's regime maintained "look west" bilateral policy just like his predecessor. Unlike Kenyatta, Moi took a keen in state visits to other countries as a way of enhancing the bilateral relations between Kenya and other countries. The Moi regime promoted the development of a new education curriculum and enhancement of cultural ties between Kenya and Britain.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING THE KIBAKI ERA**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Kibaki's regime was ushered in during 2002 marking the end of Moi's 24 year rule. The election of Kibaki as the president renewed hope and enthusiasm among many Kenyans and it was seen as major step towards addressing runaway corruption, ethnicity and economic decline which had taken root during Moi's regime. The major highlight of Kibaki tenure was his drift from the tradition set by his two predecessors (Kenyatta and Moi) and shifts Kenya's trade interest towards the East.

#### **4.2 Political Relations between Kenya and Britain during Kibaki Era**

The political relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era was informed by both new threats and opportunities that came with it. More importantly, the election of Kibaki as president received a worldwide rejuvenation and support as this was seen as a significant step towards addressing the ills such as corruption and social justice. However, Kibaki's regime was came under sharp criticism following the disputed 2007/2008 presidential elections which resulted in death, destruction of property and displacement of thousands of people. Britain and key powers like the US were central in advocating for peace and reconciliation, efforts that saw the creation of a coalition government and signing of a peace deal.

Kibaki's era was threatened by terrorism and insecurity especially the one emanating from the neighbouring Somalia. During Kibaki's era, Kenya send its forces into Somalia to neutralize the outlawed Alshabaab militia who had threatened Kenya's peace by orchestrating abductions

and killings of Kenyan and British nationals. Serumaga<sup>149</sup> indicates that when dealing with counterterrorism policies one need to be careful not to create animosity and backing for the terrorist groups. It is argued that creating a conflict economy state and smuggling syndicate groups that does not go in line with the country security agenda. If the government fails to deter Alshabaab especially in Somalia, a protracted war might occur if Kenya stays in Somalia for an extended period.

Kenya-Britain relations had been influenced by Moi and Kenyatta regimes and incrementally it has been forced to adapt to new global phenomena that has occurred. Kenya stood to gain more if it implemented fully all the policies it had come up with and ensuring that those policies has the full support from majority of the actors. The gradual implementation of constitutional reforms that facilitated a return to multi-party politics ushered in the Kibaki regime and with it, a revision in Kenya's foreign policy.<sup>150</sup> The traditional four pillars were revamped and expanded to incorporate a new, fifth pillar that responded to new concerns such as environmental management, cultural advantages such as sports and recognition of the potential of the Kenyan community in the Diaspora. Whilst traditional political diplomacy lost none of its appeal, the Kibaki administration fully embraced economic aspects of diplomacy. Kenya's foreign policy now rested on five interlinked pillars; economic diplomacy, peace diplomacy, environmental diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and Diaspora diplomacy.<sup>151</sup> Regionally, Kenya's foreign policy during Kibaki's tenure adopted a more robust stance in response to an evolving geo-strategic environment. The 9/11 attacks in the United States provoked it into declaring a 'war on terror'. This was in spite of similar attacks targeting American interests in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

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<sup>149</sup> Serumaga, K. 2016. *New African. Terrorism in Africa is no longer somebody else's war*, pp. 34-37

<sup>150</sup> Meredith, M. 2013. *The State of Africa: A History of the Continent Since Independence*, Simon & Schuster Pp. 368-378

<sup>151</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya 2009. *Foreign Policy Framework*, Republic of Kenya.

As a result, Kenya's threat awareness of terrorist formations on its borders was heightened. In 2011, Kenya for the first time launched a direct military intervention on a neighbouring country. The deployment of the KDF into Southern Somalia was foreshadowed by a series of events that convinced the Kibaki administration that Kenya's vital security interests were under threat. A number of recurrent raids by Ethiopian armed groups in Turkana, a standoff with Uganda over the Migingo Island in Lake Victoria, subsequent derision of Kenya's military by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and finally, cross border abductions in Lamu and in Dadaab by the *Al Shabab* terrorist group triggered a robust military reaction by Kenya. In the wake of Kenya's intervention in Southern Somalia, it can be argued that Kenya took a more assertive approach to regional issues. More extreme interpretations hold that Kenya begun militarizing its foreign policy.<sup>152</sup>

During Kibaki's tenure, there was a misconception that Kenya was militarily weak in comparison to its more martially active neighbours such as Uganda was popularized. This is one of the factors in Kenya's foreign policy that led to its miscasting as a reluctant regional power. It is therefore in the context of the political and security imperatives required to achieve the regional and global competitiveness as outlined in Vision 2030 that Kenya's foreign policy was retooled under Kibaki. Criticism of Kenya's perceived unilateralism in the incursion into Somalia and allegations of partisanship of the KDF prompted the re-hatting of Kenyan troops to come under the auspices of the larger AMISOM intervention force.<sup>153</sup> The Kibaki administration acceded to the view that the Somalia conflict had regional and international ramifications and foreign troops

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<sup>152</sup> Kagwanja, P. 2013. Assertive turn for Kenya's diplomacy. Available at <http://mobile.nation.co.ke/blogs/Assertive-turn-for-Kenyas-diplomacy-/-/1949942/2127868/-/format/xhtml/-/y5fwwnz/-/index.html>

<sup>153</sup> Warner, L.A 2014. *In Somalia, Kenya Risks Death by a Thousand Cuts*, Prism 3 No. 3 Pg. 113 available at [http://cco.dodlive.mil/files/2014/02/prism105-118\\_warner.pdf](http://cco.dodlive.mil/files/2014/02/prism105-118_warner.pdf)

present in the country were therefore required to operate under a unified coordination, command and control structure.

According to Ndiwimana<sup>154</sup>, the Kibaki regime after persuasions from Britain conceded to have KDF fall under AMISOM command in order to not only create the synergy that would enhance effectiveness in stabilizing Somalia as requested by the AU Peace and Security Council but also to reduce Kenya's political exposure in Somalia Kenya's foreign policy in this context did not fully shift to a reliance on hard power to achieve national objectives in Somalia. Kenya's participation in the overarching political strategy fronted by IGAD and the AU advocates for the creation of credible governance structures at the local and regional levels even as AMISOM troops enforce the peace is evidence of the application of soft power as well.

The discovery of viable oil and possible gas deposits in Turkana Kenya and the wider region demanded the establishment of a stable security atmosphere that would make it amenable for foreign direct investment and the laying of critical infrastructure for the extractive industries for instance, the Lamu Port-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) project.<sup>155</sup> These dynamics raise the stakes in the geopolitical engagements of both regional and international actors and were the considerations that informed the Kibaki government to engage in preventative diplomacy that animates military options to combat international terrorism, organized crime and proliferation of small arms whilst supporting post-conflict reconstruction and development<sup>156</sup>. One of the most notable features of Kenya's foreign policy under the Kibaki regime therefore is the increased emphasis on Kenya's role in the socio-economic development of the region. This led to

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<sup>154</sup> Ndiwimana, D. 2013. *AMISOM in Somalia: A Ray of Hope?* Occasional Paper No.4 Series 4, International Peace Support Training Centre, Pp. 28

<sup>155</sup> Savage, E. 2014. *Build your way to 'middle-income' status?: Lamu Port and the Lamu – South Sudan- Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET)*

<sup>156</sup> Moon, B. 2010. *Preventive diplomacy is key to peace.*

intensified engagement and participation in the activities of the Regional Economic and Security bodies such as East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Inter Governmental Agency for Development (IGAD), and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR).

According to Kegley<sup>157</sup>, the geo-political location of a state is one of the external determinants on its foreign policy. Some of the aspects looked at include; the location where the country is situated on the globe, the country's natural frontiers, whether the country is protected by oceans, high mountains and deserts or whether a country is territorially large, populous, affluent, and well-governed. For instance, Kenya's foreign policy in the region has been shaped by factors such as the presence of overlapping ethnic communities across borders and being a littoral state of the Indian Ocean and this has played a significant role in shaping the relations between Kenya and landlocked neighbors such as Uganda, Ethiopia and South Sudan.

Britain continued to increase its direct foreign investment during Kibaki's era. The FDI not only provided Kenya with much needed capital for domestic investment, but also created employment opportunities, helped transfer of managerial skills and technology, all of which contributed to economic development. Recognizing that FDI can contribute a lot to economic development, Kenya government under Kibaki embraced it. During Kibaki's era, Kenya paid close attention to liberal policy frameworks as a way of attracting FDI by focusing more attention on interventions that actively facilitate foreign policy relations. Otubanjo<sup>158</sup> states that to attain its set goals and interests in foreign policy, any state continue to seek effective strategies in its approach to foreign policy depending on its power, objectives and leadership. The objective to promote economic development mainly influences any state's approach to foreign policy while maintaining

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<sup>157</sup> Kegley, A. (2008) *World Politics*. London. 11<sup>th</sup> edition

<sup>158</sup> Otubanjo, F. (1990). *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Unpublished Thesis

its traditional core principles and norms of non-alignment, non-interference in internal affairs of other states, good neighborliness and peaceful settlement of disputes. Kenya has traditionally maintained a low profile on contentious issues within the African continent. The lack of aggression makes the country seem neutral but all other countries interrelate well with the country. Hence, Kenya has a high position when it comes to the diplomatic relations of the continent. Maintenance of a low profile amongst the African countries and a rather peaceful sociopolitical climate is advantageous to Kenya when it comes to pursuing its international economic desires. Kenya's diplomacy during Kibaki's era was powerful because of its continental reputation

The political relations between Kenya and Britain was implemented by a set of state actors, supplemented by input from non-state actors, with the aim of achieving complex domestic and international agendas. Political relations encompass a series of steps where political actors play a significant role. Foreign policies mostly are formulated through partnerships involving domestic and international actors and groups with the aim of addressing a certain gap. For instance, examining the nature of decision making made by presidents one would discover that the motivating factors are political in nature<sup>159</sup> Some factors of influence include the leader's own personality and cognition, degree of rationality, domestic politics and international and domestic interest group.<sup>160</sup>

#### **4.3 Economic Relations between Kenya and Britain during Kibaki Era**

The Kibaki regime revised its economic development interests and domiciled them within economic diplomacy. Within this revised pillar, the Kibaki government pursued various foreign policy strategies in the economic interests of the country *inter alia*, increased FDI and aid flows

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<sup>159</sup> Savage, E. 2014. *Build your way to 'middle-income' status?: Lamu Port and the Lamu – South Sudan- Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET)*

<sup>160</sup> Moon, B. 2010. *Preventive diplomacy is key to peace.*

through engagement with alternative non-traditional partners as well as expansion into new markets for Kenya's goods and services especially in Latin America, the Middle East and most importantly Asia. Critics argue that the eastern focus was in response to the disillusionment of the traditional western partners and the dim view they took of the allegations of rampant corruption that rocked the Kibaki government as early as 2004. In this, a collection of questionable defense contracts worth USD 750 Million were revealed in a scandal dubbed "Anglo-leasing" that prompted sharp and coordinated criticism from both the UK and US envoys to Kenya.<sup>161</sup>

The dramatic shift to the East by the Kibaki regime was believed by some as a spurn to the west is an oversimplification. It is true that Kenya's relations with traditional western partners did not improve significantly during Kibaki's tenure and actually worsened in the shadow of the 2007 post election violence that presaged his second term of office. However, at the same time China and the other rising eastern economies were making significant inroads into Africa as part of a long-term foreign policy strategy they had initiated in the 1990s. For instance, by 2000, trade volumes between Africa and China had grown to over USD 10 billion. By 2010, trade volumes had grown tenfold to over USD 115 billion and Foreign Direct Investment had multiplied from less than USD 0.5 billion in 2003 to over USD 9 billion in 2010 (Mwagiru, 2006). This was occurring even as western nations grappled with an economic crisis that threatened to collapse their own financial systems. The lack of conditions on human rights, economic and political reforms by the eastern partner's captivated embattled administrations across Africa including Kibaki's to embrace a 'look east' attitude in their foreign policy. Kibaki perceived an opportunity to secure Kenya's economic future by seeking alternative sources of affordable technology, many of which were to be found in Asian countries.

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<sup>161</sup> Mwagiru, M., 2000. *The Elusive Quest: Conflict, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya*.



The shift to bilateral trade between Kenya and countries like China brought a fresh dimension to Kenya's foreign policy and it marked a new era in the country's foreign relations. According to Mwangiri<sup>162</sup>, the idea of 'look east' was considered as a significant development in the foreign policy orientation for the country but by no means an unexpected one. Mwangiri urges scholars to adopt a bifurcated perspective, taking into account both the inward and outward-looking standpoints. Inwardly, the states of the Asia-Pacific region have positioned themselves to respond to the changing foreign policies of African States. He elaborates further that the outward looking perspective is where the states of the Asia-Pacific region have positioned themselves to provide an alternative focus for the diplomacy and foreign policy for other states, especially those in Africa. He concludes that the bottom line is the construction of a worldview that seeks to shift the diplomatic centre for African states from the traditional western anchorage to eastern ports of call.

Kibaki's move to trade with the east came as good gesture to a mixed track record Kenya had with South and East Asian Countries. Formal relations with China, India and Pakistan can be traced back virtually to Kenya's Independence Day on 12th December 1963. China was the fourth country to establish relations with Kenya after Germany, the Russian Federation and Ethiopia. The principal conditionality governing Kenya's relations with China is that Kenya subscribes to the 'One China' policy and acknowledges that Taiwan is part of the People's Republic of China. India's relations with independent Kenya commenced with Indira Gandhi attendance of Kenya's Independence celebrations in 1963 just three years before she assumed the premiership. Bilateral relations with both South Korea and Japan were established a year later in 1964. Thailand has maintained a royal embassy in Nairobi from as far back as 1967 but Kenya has only recently made

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<sup>162</sup> Mwangiri, M., 2000. *The Elusive Quest: Conflict, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya*.

enhanced overtures to Bangkok with the upgrading of the consulate that existed in Bangkok since 1992 to a fully-fledged embassy in 2006. Relations with the Philippines were established in 1975 when it opened an embassy in Nairobi but Kenya is yet to reciprocate. In the same year the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal also established a presence in Kenya through an honorary consulate, the lowest level of formal diplomatic engagement. Kenya's forays into Malaysia on the other hand precede Kuala Lumpur's with Kenya establishing a diplomatic mission there in 1996. Malaysia made its official entry into Kenya's diplomatic community in 2005. However, Kenya's ties to Indonesia are still tenuous compared to those of the other South East Asian countries. In 1995, post-communist Vietnam established bilateral relations with Kenya but relations with Bangladesh appear to be one-sided with Dhaka having opened a high commission in Nairobi for which Kenya is yet to reciprocate. The relationship between Kenya and its main traditional multilateral donors like EU, the World Bank, and the African Development Bank, while its main bilateral partners are the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, France, the Nordic countries, Italy, and China was sustained during Kibaki's era.<sup>163</sup>

It is reported that Kenya had a foreign policy before attaining independence in 1963 whose major drafters were the British. After gaining independence in 1963, Kenya was declared a sovereign state and this necessitated effort for formulation of a new foreign policy that conforms to international norms and principles. In order to understand Kenya's foreign relations in the post-independence, Makinda<sup>164</sup> indicates that Kenya's foreign policy development was meant to attract foreign investors, sustain economic ties, and promote security of the borders as well as consolidate domestic power. This was important for Kenya as the country depends on external grants and

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<sup>163</sup> Kimenyi, M. S., and Shughart, W. F., 2008. The political economy of constitutional choice: A study of the 2005 Kenyan Constitutional referendum. *Economics working papers*. Paper 200808

<sup>164</sup> Makinda, S.M. (1983). From quiet diplomacy to cold war politics: Kenya's foreign policy. *Third World Quarterly*

investments to finance its development projects. This implies that Kenya's economic dependence on the Western states shaped the direction of foreign policy behaviour. It is also true that Kenya has enlarged its relations towards the Arab states for the sake of oil.

The Kenya's relations with Britain during Kibaki era was handled with a great deal of caution uncharacteristic of many African governments whose activities in the external affairs have been aggressive on issues concerning decolonization, non-alignment and liberation of African territories under the racists regimes during the first years of independence. Oduogo<sup>165</sup> indicates that Kenya adopted an extremely moderate and indeed a cautious stance in handling her external affairs. In other words, Kenya maintained a very low profile and remained silent on Africa's salient issues. Howell<sup>166</sup> asserts that Kenya's foreign policy rotated between the theory of realism, which he calls conservative, and the theory of idealism, which he calls radical. He saw two distinct foreign policies in Kenya; the policy of realism operated with respect to Kenya's objectives in Eastern Africa while continentally and internationally, Kenya was guided by idealism. In this approach, national variables were seen to affect Kenya's foreign policy in East Africa only, while systemic variables affected the country's posture on continental and international issues.

Adar<sup>167</sup> advanced a similar argument when he wrote on Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia. He argues that continuity in Kenya's foreign policy could be clearly interpreted in its behaviour towards Somalia that is portrayed in the adherence to the doctrine of territorial integrity. Adar's study implies that national security threats were key in shaping Kenya's foreign policy towards other countries. Before invasion of Somalia, Kenya was clearly exposed and vulnerable

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<sup>165</sup> Oduogo C. (2012). *Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations*. Lecture Notes

<sup>166</sup> Howell, J. (1968). Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy. *Journal of Modern African studies*, Vol. 6 (1).

<sup>167</sup> Adar G. K. 1994. *The significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the Modal determinant of Relations: A case study of Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia 1963-1983*(Lanham: University Press of America

to real threats Alshabaab that had claimed parts the North-Eastern province of Kenya. While Adar shows how the province was critical to the survival of the new state, the study did not go further to explain how Kenya's foreign policy towards other countries outside Africa was aimed at preempting expansionist policies and the spread of irredentist interests. Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel was closely associated with the issue of territorial.

The study by Orwa<sup>168</sup> established that the previous regimes of Kenyatta and Moi's were guided by the same foreign policies of territorial integrity, national security, good neighborliness, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and non-alignment. However, there was some form o continuity and this had a historical underpinnings. Although it has been argued elsewhere that regime type/change does not matter in foreign policy, Orwa argues that this cannot be the case for a developing state such as Kenya. Having been independent for only four decades, the country could not be said to have established a tradition of continuity in foreign policy.

Kenya's non-alignment provided some meaning to efforts to find a place for Africa outside the Cold War, but as a policy it was impossible to fully implement, essentially because of economic weakness and alignment. One foreign policy strategy was to play off the superpowers against each other, but it is arguable whether many states truly had the capability to do that. Most states, such as Kenya, simply became aligned to one or another superpower in terms of foreign aid and military assistance. Tanzania was outspokenly nonaligned" and "socialist," but in reality it was little of the sort. President Kibaki embarked on several bilateral and multilateral initiatives that reopened doors to donor confidence in Kenyan's foreign policy formulation. Like for the Moi presidency, the introduction of multi-party system in Kenya was also as a result from external pressure from

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<sup>168</sup> Orwa, D. 1994. *Continuity and change; Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. Oyugi , W. (ed.) East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi Pp. 318

donor agencies like Britain whom he assigned for donor conditionality's in which the end results interfered with the internal policies of the country as a result a trickle effect to the foreign policy behavior during his reign.

The adoption of Kenya's foreign policy document during Kibaki era brought three inter-linked pillars: environmental diplomacy, peace diplomacy and economic diplomacy. This marks a departure from the traditional emphasis on political issues into strategic concerns that address the current issues in international relations. The orientation toward environmental issues emanates from recognition of Kenya's enormous stake in the management of its own resources, those of the region and the world as well as the recognition of the impact of contemporary environmental problems such as climate change, ozone depletion, ocean and air pollution and resource degradation. Since 2002 the Kibaki administration had been keen on expanding the pool of international partners. China was one such available partner. With China's policy of not interfering or taking clear positions on human rights and status of its development thereby making the influence of traditional western allies gotten rid off or curbed. Fundamentally, this aspect explains Kenya's foreign policy decision and the dynamic structures of the international system.<sup>169</sup> Kibaki's foreign policy shifted to the East. This, among many other similar initiatives by African heads of state, has sparked what many analyst must see as a throw-back to the competition between the U.S and USSR but only this time it is the Chinese

The relations between Kenya and Britain came under a major threat after the naming of ICC's six suspects who were alleged to have masterminded the post-election violence in 2007/2008. In the run-up to the 2013 general election, Kibaki's regime through the then vice president, Kalonzo Musyoka led a shuttle diplomacy drive calling for foreign countries' support

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<sup>169</sup> Mbirimi, I. (2003). *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision making and Negotiations in International Economic Relations*. Farnham; United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing

towards Kenya's ICC cases. Britain and the UK opened warned Kenyans against electing leaders with integrity issues. Notwithstanding his personal predicament at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, Uhuru Kenyatta was elected as President Kenyatta in the year 2013. department and elocution to his peers was the most intense and forceful performance by a Kenyan Head of State on foreign policy. Besides, in Kibaki's era, Kenya was attacked several times by terrorists attack several times following the deployment of Kenyan military to Somalia. As international terrorism evolves into one of the biggest threats to global security, foreign policy has to devise new approaches for harnessing global cooperation to deal with it.

Kenya has advanced technologically, financially, commercially and monetarily is dependent on Britain as well as with other European countries, the United States of America, Japan and, increasingly, China. Kenya has diversified its exports since the independence and this has protected the country from being over dependent on grants or foreign aid. However, the country's balance of payment remains low as income inequality and poverty bites a large population of Kenyans.<sup>170</sup> It has been argued by scholars that colonialism had its fair share in promoting the gap between the rich and the poor as it promoted rural-urban as well as regional and class differences in development.

According to Howell<sup>171</sup> two distinct policies have been guiding Kenya's actions in the international system. In global terms, he argues that external policy has been characterized by a strong sense of morality and idealism, while in East African affairs, Kenya's policy has been governed by a rather more conservative and legitimist thinking. This has results in more accentuation on economic growth development as well as safeguarding of territorial integrity.

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<sup>170</sup> Ndege, P. O. (2008). "An Assessment of Poverty Reduction Strategies in Kenya", Organization for Social Science, Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), *Assessment of Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Kenya*, Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

<sup>171</sup> Howell, J. (1968). Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy. *Journal of Modern African studies*, Vol. 6 (1).

Howell argues that Kenya's conservatism can be exhibited in its unbowed quest to pacify Somalia. Equally, Kibaki's era experienced a diplomatic dispute over the ownership of Migingo island.

Kibaki's regime promised a better economy that would improve people's lives focus towards generating economic growth, combating corruption, improving education and rewriting its constitution. This change in leadership also led to the reorientation of Kenya's foreign policy. Kibaki's administration had been keen on expanding the pool of international partners. China was one such available partner. With China's policy of not interfering or taking clear positions on human rights and status of its development. Along these lines, the customary western partners were either being ejected or their effect on the inside running of the administration controlled. This point piercingly associates Kenya's remote strategy choice to the developing nature and structure of the worldwide framework Kibaki's foreign policy shifted to the East. This, among many other similar initiatives by African heads of state, has sparked what many analysts must see as a throw-back to the competition between the U.S and USSR but only this time it is the Chinese (instead of the Russians), who though communist in the political structure have embraced the capitalistic thirst for competition.

In December 2002, Kibaki was overwhelmingly elected as the third president of the republic of Kenya and he came with a promise to deliver a new constitution and end impunity that had torn the country apart. For Kibaki regime, the new constitution was a tool to address the power inequalities that had derailed Kenya's social and economic development since independence. The Kibaki presidency under the party of The National Rainbow Coalition Government (NARC) ushered with excitement and hope across the country as many Kenyans celebrated the end of Moi's authoritarian governance. However, the memorandum of understanding that bound the NARC coalition was vital but the only challenge is that it was not reflected in the constitution. It was

hoped that the incoming regime was to be more consultative because of the nature of the parties that had rallied together to form the NARC government. However, this did not last as the coalition disintegrated only three years into the presidency. In part, Ndegwa<sup>172</sup> noted that there was hope that the NARC government could deliver the country from the plague of economic mismanagement and extreme corruption. The presidential elections of 2002 will remain historical as more than 67 per cent of voters voted for regime change from KANU government to new NARC government. KANU under President Moi has ruled for more than four decades and it is during this era that the country witnessed the worst forms of corruption and KANU showed little effort in ending the vice. Partly, this is what triggered million of Kenyans to come out in large number and cast their votes with a view of ending the blatant culture of impunity and corruption that was directly linked to the person of the president.

Chege<sup>173</sup> indicates that there was hope among the Kenyan people that the Kibaki regime would end the era of corruption. This made Kibaki to be elected in 2002 on a platform of zero-tolerance for corruption. More shockingly, Kibaki who had vowed to tackle corruption and impunity with the urgency it required turned out as more reluctant in combating major corruption scandals particularly those involving high ranking officials. One of the positive gestures from the Kibaki administration in fighting corruption was a move to create a commission of inquiry to investigate Goldenberg Scandal (multi-million Moi-era scam involving government's rebates for fake diamond exports) with an aim of naming and convicting those implicated in these embezzlements. As noted by Chege, the findings of the commission were released, implicating top

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<sup>172</sup> Ndegwa, 1971. The National Archives, Kew, OD 26/277/213.

<sup>173</sup> Chege, M. 2008. Kenya: Back From the Brink? *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 125- 139.



leaders in government and in the opposition, including the late Minister, George Saitoti – and yet nobody was convicted or jailed. According to Biau and Biau<sup>174</sup>, the election of President Mwai Kibaki of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in 2002 restored hopes of political reform.

Kenya-Britain ties soared after the election of Mwai Kibaki in 2002 who was received with optimism and renewed hopes for a better economy that would improve people's lives. Under his presidency, the ruling coalition promised to focus its efforts on generating economic growth, combating corruption, improving education and rewriting its constitution. This change in leadership also led to the reorientation in Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's foreign policy focused on foreign issues with economic lenses than before. This was marked by the new-look east policy was aimed at expanding the country's access to new markets, appropriate and affordable technologies, foreign direct investments and development assistance from China, India and other emerging global economic powers. There are many factors that influenced foreign relations, in addition to the role of leadership; there is also the rapid change on the global environment in the 21st century. The rise of non-state actors, combine with many other new emerging issues.

Economic diplomacy became one of the pillars of Kenya's foreign policy during the Kibaki regime that predominantly focused on trade with other states. Among the other pillars, the ones that were integrated into vision 2030, which is the blue-print of catapulting Kenya into a middle-income state by the year 2030. In Kibaki's administration, trade was considered as a big component economic growth and development. Thus, economic diplomacy describes how foreign policy can be used to define domestic policy objectives. Additionally, foreign policy also encompasses

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<sup>174</sup> Biau, C. and Biau, J. 2008. Governmental Reform in Developing Countries: External Conditionality versus Peer Pressure. The Case of Kenya. *Reinvention: a Journal of Undergraduate Research*, Volume 1, Issue 1.

aspects of peace, culture, environment and Diaspora community. The ultimate goal any foreign agenda is to foster the growth of the Kenyan economy.<sup>175</sup>

According to Biau and Biau,<sup>176</sup> Moi inherited a relatively healthy government with strong institutional framework in 1978, but ironically when he handed over the power to President Kibaki in 2002, the country was riddled with various forms of corruption as well as a collapsing economy. At the time, Kenya had a poor fiscal management system, ineffective government investment system as well as public distrust. This was as a result of poor governance, corruption and poorly coordinated government actions. Worst still, Kenya's economic growth rate in the run-up to the 2002 presidential election was the lowest of the post- independence era and stood at 0.3%.

Arguably the most defining moment of Kibaki's tenure is the Anglo Leasing scandal in 2005. According to Chege (2008), the Anglo Leasing Scandal involved a series of security contracts with official payoffs that were in part intended to finance the 2005 constitutional referendum and 2007 Party of National Unity's (PNU) campaign. The scandal was uncovered by the then permanent secretary for governance and ethics, Mr. John Githongo. The exposé indicted top members of the government as being the main perpetrators in the scandal. Two ministers who were largely cited in the scandal resigned but they were late reappointed. No convictions have been made to date about the Anglo Leasing scandal. Glinz<sup>177</sup> indicates that within a short period, corruption found its way back into Kibaki government. The whistleblower, Mr. Githongo ran to exile in Britain following threats over his life. Soon afterwards, corruption and malpractices went on unperturbed during Kibaki's tenure. The lack of assertiveness from president Kibaki's regime

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<sup>175</sup> Oduogo C. (2012). *Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations*. Lecture Notes

<sup>176</sup> Biau, C. and Biau, J. 2008. Governmental Reform in Developing Countries: External Conditionality versus Peer Pressure. The Case of Kenya. *Reinvention: a Journal of Undergraduate Research*, Volume 1, Issue 1.

<sup>177</sup> Glinz, C. (2010). Kenya's new Constitution. Nairobi: National Council for Law Reporting.

to address the grand corruption scandals proved that there was either negation or lack of political will to address corruption.

Kenya's foreign policy under Kibaki focused on foreign issues with economic lenses than before. This has been marked by the new-look east policy which is aimed at expanding the country's access to new markets, appropriate and affordable technologies, foreign direct investments and development assistance from China, India and other emerging global economic powers. There are many factors that influence foreign relations, in addition to the role of leadership; there is also the rapid change on the global environment in the 21st Century. The rise of non-state actors changes on the global environment in the 21st Century. The rise of non-state actors, combined with many other new emerging issues. President Kibaki embarked on several bilateral and multilateral initiatives that reopened doors to donor confidence in Kenyan's foreign policy formulation.<sup>178</sup>

Like for the Moi presidency, the introduction of the multi-party system in Kenya was also as a result of external pressure from donor organizations whom he doled out for giver contingency's in which the final products meddled with the inside strategies of the nation subsequently a stream impact to the remote approach conduct amid his rule. According to the current foreign policy document, Kenya's foreign policy rests on three inter-linked pillars: environmental diplomacy, peace diplomacy, and diplomacy. This marks a departure from the traditional emphasis on political issues into strategic concerns that address the current issues in international relations. The orientation toward environmental topics emanates from recognition of Kenya's enormous stake in the management of its resources, those of the region and the world as well as the recognition of

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<sup>178</sup> Oduogo C. (2012). *Kenya's Foreign Policy/Relations*. Lecture Notes

the impact of environmental problems like climate change, ozone depletion, ocean and air pollution and resource degradation.

#### **4.4 Cultural Relations between Kenya and Britain during Kibaki Era**

The British continued to promote Kenya's cultural heritage through sports, tourism and music. Kibaki's era recorded some of the highest arrivals of tourists in the coastal region and in Kenya's tourist attraction sites like the Maasai Mara National Park, Nairobi National Park and the Tsavo National Park. According to UNESCO<sup>179</sup>, cultural heritage has its basis in communities and the continuing activities of members who possess specific knowledge of traditions, skills and customs of these communities. As such, Kenya can be classified as rich in cultural heritage and in order to safeguard such intangible wealth.

Cultural relations between Kenya and Britain are significant in determining Kenya's identity in the global sphere. The identity is a construction, a consequence of a process of interaction between people, institutions and practices. This position embodies the ideas of change, flexibility, fluidity, and negotiation of identity in relation to social change and dominant cultural elements. As such, every reality generates its own ontology and, therefore, ontologically speaking, identities in Kenya are hybrid because of biological and cultural mixing over the years. A critical review of Kenyans' identities would reveal that various agents have produced, engaged in, and are still embodied in the process of shaping Kenya as a nation over a period ranging from the precolonial, to the colonial and post-colonial eras. The British values and respects individuals, groups, institutions as well as the state and the socio- structural in Kenya. These forces have been instrumental in forging the identity of Kenya as a nation. In addition, the activities, affiliations, celebrations, emblems, names, idioms, institutions, memories, monuments, representations,

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<sup>179</sup> UNESCO, 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris

statues, symbols and texts that embody and engender culture are critical in portraying Kenyans' identities.<sup>180</sup>

The appreciation of African culture and particularly the Kenyan culture make Kenya unique and different. UNESCO<sup>181</sup> states that intangible cultural heritage makes people and communities distinguishable in term of their history, nationalities, languages, ideology and values. It is to be noted that heritage as a source of identity is a seal that sets people apart as nations and communities. The preservation of cultural heritage, including indigenous knowledge, helps to preserve the self- identification of people and can ensure the continuous existence of indigenous and traditional peoples. The discovery of the two- million- year- old fossilized.<sup>182</sup>

The British were instrumental in development Kenyan national flag that is a source of identity and tells us much about the history of Kenya. The national anthem, monuments such as those of Dedan Kamahi (Leader of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army and the Mau Mau uprising), Tom Mboya (Kenyan trade unionist, Pan- Africanist, freedom fighter and one of the founding father of the republic of Kenya) on the streets of Nairobi; the street names, the clothing, etc., all give Kenya her identity and meaning in time and space. This creates a sense of belonging as it espouses the common experiences in Kenya. The natural heritage has also created a sense of identity: the Kaya forest along the coast and the Kakamega forest in western Kenya, for instance, have been used to identify and tell more about the Mijikenda ('the nine tribes', the Bantu ethnic groups inhabiting the coast of Kenya) and the Luhya (*Luhya* refers to both the people and their

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<sup>180</sup> Okumu, O. 2016. Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: The concept of intangible cultural heritage in Kenya: UCL Press.

<sup>181</sup> UNESCO, 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris

<sup>182</sup> Ibid

language from the Western province of Kenya), respectively, hence providing a reason for their conservation.<sup>183</sup>

The cultural relations between Britain and Kenya were significant in shaping Kenya's way of farming. Adopted from the British, many Kenyans adopted mechanized farming and practiced agribusiness during Kibaki's era. There exists a link between intangible cultural heritage and farming societies in Kenya. He sees this link as made up of material and immaterial components which are related to a wide variety of fields, including history, architecture, arts, culture (languages, songs, stories, music, dance), techniques, food processing skills, the environment, the fauna and flora as well as natural and built landscape. He further notes that the erosion of cultural heritage is likely to have a direct negative impact, not only on people's history, culture and identity, but also on their food production means and methods, their culinary habits, as well as their environmental conservation methods. In Kenya, for instance, the traditional foodways of the Isukha farmers (Luhya tribe), their language, environment and ceremonies clearly brand them and distinguish them from the Maasai who are pastoralists. The erosion of ICH from either or both groups would contribute to culture and identity loss. Kenyans have not fully appreciated and acknowledged intangible cultural heritage.<sup>184</sup>

It is believed that there is no static culture in history but ever changing cultures, beliefs and tradios. Cultures are created according to the locations and environments in which people live and serve at any particular time and circumstance. In retrospect, it is evident that African nations, Kenya included, have to live with the consequences of this development. Cultural policy therefore, offers the African continent not only the chance to make its contributions to the global village, but

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<sup>183</sup> UNESCO, 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris

<sup>184</sup> Okumu, O. 2016. Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: The concept of intangible cultural heritage in Kenya: UCL Press.

also the challenge to rethink itself and its cultural personality. It offers Kenya possibilities to distance herself from the habit of ‘lamenting over our past predicament’ by taking action and shaping the global village with its unique distribution and diversity of culture. According to Okumu<sup>185</sup> cultural heritage plays an essential role in national and international development. It enhances tolerance and harmonious interactions between cultures in the era of globalization. As such, no society can flourish without culture and no development can be sustainable without it.<sup>186</sup> Upholding cultural heritage holds answers to many of the challenges that societies face today. Awareness of the connection between culture and development underscores the critical importance of intangible cultural heritage to the development process.

Kibaki’s regime advanced the cultural relations between Kenya and Britain with the adoption of Kenya Vision 2030, the blueprint for development in Kenya, aims at making the country a globally competitive and prosperous nation through enhanced security, peace building, conflict management, participatory governance, legal reforms and inculcation of a culture of respect for sanctity of human life. Kenya’s cultural diversity and rich heritage and use these as a tool for attaining Vision 2030. As such, the contribution of heritage, both tangible and intangible, to development in Kenya cannot be underestimated.<sup>187</sup> Though it is not very aggressive in using cultural heritage for development, Kenya has used artistic heritage to promote tourism through oral literature such as songs, traditional dances, poems and even cuisines. Kenyan culture has also been embodied in various artistic materials sold in small curio shops to tourists as souvenirs during their visits. Though such ventures are small scale, they have provided income and employment opportunities to Kenyans. Kenya has also had an increase in trade related to traditional cultural

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid

<sup>186</sup> UNESCO, 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris

<sup>187</sup> Okumu, O. 2016. Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: The concept of intangible cultural heritage in Kenya: UCL Press.

knowledge and expressions. These include tourism related to activities such as traditional songs and dance, cultural artifacts such as wood and soft stones, carvings and traditional baskets such as Kiondo. In addition, the marketing and economic earnings from artistic heritage in Kenya help communities to strengthen their cultural identity and to contribute to cultural diversity.<sup>188</sup>

In Kenya, as in other African countries, indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) were used to administer peace, harmony, and order amongst people and their physical environment. The knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous people and local communities are a show of their cultures. Therefore, protection of peoples' cultures entails preserving the link between people and natural features, including plants and animals. Protection of indigenous traditional knowledge can, therefore, help to conserve the environment and promote sustainable agriculture and food security. The preservation of the Kaya forests in Kenya is a good example. Kaya forests are rich in biodiversity and are believed to be home to some of the rarest flora with important medicinal value, courtesy of the Mijikenda IKSs. It is estimated that about 50% of Kenya's rare plant species are found within the coastal ecosystem, most of which lies in the Kaya forests, thus making these forests great repositories of plants species.<sup>189</sup>

In Kenya, attempts have been made to safeguard the wisdom in traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions. This is evidenced by various policies, such as the National Policy on Traditional Knowledge, Genetic Resources and Traditional Cultural Expressions, the National Policy on Culture and Heritage, the Policy on Traditional Medicine and Medicinal Plants and the Constitution of Kenya (2010), all of which recognize the centrality of culture and ICH in human development, and the need to preserve culture. In a bid to safeguard ICH, the National Museums

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<sup>189</sup> Okumu, O. 2016. Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: The concept of intangible cultural heritage in Kenya: UCL Press.



and other bodies have digitized some of Kenya's ICH and TCH, including the Isukha food ways, the Kaya forests and other vital stories and monuments on Kenyan heritage.

There are more than 6,000 languages in the world and it is believed that half of them are likely to die in the next century. It is estimated that one elderly man or woman with full command of a particular dialect does every two weeks or so. At that rate, as many as 2,500 native languages will have become extinct by the year 2100. The scenario painted above indicates how clear and quick measures need to be taken in order to maintain the linguistic diversity of the world, and thereby preserve global cultural diversity. Of the world's 6,000 languages, one third of them (2,000) are in Africa, a significant number of which are endangered. Notably, Kenya, whose linguistic diversity numbers several endangered languages, becomes a fertile ground for language preservation, specially endangered languages.<sup>190</sup>

Due to urbanization, industrialization, climate change, large-scale immigration, mass tourism and armed conflicts, this conservation approach is increasingly taken into consideration by heritage professionals and local authorities responsible for the conservation of national heritage. In Kenya, digital media is still not the best since it has challenges, some of which include low community participation, low technical knowhow, inadequate policy about intellectual property rights and insufficient commitment from stakeholders. These and other limitations could slow down or impede the rate of digitization, but as of now, Kenya is fast moving towards digitization of culture and heritage. Though the Kenya National Archives has reported over 13 million digitized documents, it remains difficult to establish the number of digitized records across different fields and departments within the nation. While the aims of digitization are to preserve and disseminate intangible heritage, and to promote nation-building and appreciation of cultural diversity through

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid

an understanding of the history and culture of a particular group, there are a number of ethical pitfalls associated with such projects.<sup>191</sup>

#### **4.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era. According to the findings, Kibaki's regime played a vital role in revamping the economy and strengthening Kenya's institutions. Kibaki's regime drifted away from the "look west" policy to a "look east" policy which focused on trade ties with China and other countries. Britain played a vital role in supporting Kenya during invasion of Somalia and in promoting peace and reconciliation following the post-election violence that occurred in the year 2007/2008.

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<sup>191</sup> Okumu, O. 2016. Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: The concept of intangible cultural heritage in Kenya: UCL Press.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING THE UHURU ERA

#### 5.1 Introduction

President Uhuru Kenyatta was elected in the year 2013 taking over from retired president Mwai Kibaki. The Uhuru regime continued to foster political, economic and cultural relations with Britain founded on mutual interest and cooperation. Kenya and Britain treat each other as independent and sovereign states and seek to foster bilateral interactions including collaborations, agreements and partnerships. This chapter dissects the contemporary state of the Kenya-Britain ties and discusses the nature of the bilateral agreements between the two countries as well as the collaboration, partnership and potential gaps such as trade imbalances.

#### 5.2 Political Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru Era

Uhuru's era marked a major milestone in Kenya's bilateral policy after the enactment of Foreign policy<sup>192</sup> framework in the year 2014. The foreign policy framework became the first written foreign policy since independence. The policy is significant because it lays down Kenya's foreign relations and diplomatic engagements in the ever evolving and modernized world. Kenya's foreign policy describes the development of bilateral relations and engagements with various countries over a period of time and streamlines the bilateral compass in order to ensure the realization of the collective dreams and desires of all Kenyans keeping in mind the vital role bilateral relations play in the achievement of national priorities.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014

<sup>193</sup> Ibid

Uhuru's regime believes that the enactment of the foreign policy framework is an essential step towards promoting political relations with other nations. The foreign policy spells out ways of ensuring that political ties between Kenya and other countries such as Britain yields a more peaceful, prosperous and competitive Kenya in the world. The ultimate goal of enactment of a foreign policy is to speed up Kenya's efforts towards national unity, adherence to the rule of law and attainment of short-term and long-term development goals such as Kenya's Vision 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG).<sup>194</sup>

The implementation of the foreign policy seeks to foster Kenya's bilateral bond with Britain and this will mark a significant step towards safeguarding the national, regional and international peace and security as well as protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity between the two countries. The policy also lays the found for Britain to support Kenya's efforts in finding lasting peace in Somalia and South Sudan. Through political policy, Kenya will deepen its engagement and partnerships Britain and champion the interests of Kenyans living in UK in order to leverage and harness their skills and expertise for national development.<sup>195</sup>

The Uhuru regime recognizes that political policy with Britain is essential in promoting Kenya's interaction and engagement. The policy empowers Kenya to vouch mutual political relations through a coherent and cross-sectoral approach and a coordinated response involving important sectors such as different levels of government, private sector and other non-state actors will improve Kenya's image at the international level. Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Uhuru's regime seeks to protect, promote and project Kenya's nation's interests abroad. Through Kenya's Policy Uhuru's regime aims to promote: political; economic; peace; environmental; cultural and Diaspora. Uhuru's regime seeks to build a robust and sustained economic

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<sup>194</sup> Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014

<sup>195</sup> Ibid

transformation and more importantly raise Kenya's social economic development and prosperity in line with the goals and aspirations of the Kenya Vision 2030. During Uhuru's era, Britain has been a mutual partner in Kenya's efforts to foster and consolidate Kenya's legacy in promoting peace and stability as necessary conditions for development and prosperity in countries within the region. Equally, Kenya and Britain recognizes the threat of climate change and therefore recognizes the enormous stake in promoting, sustaining and managing natural resources, both regionally and globally. Similarly, Kenya and Britain continues to use culture as a vital tool in international relations especially through the use of cultural heritage and endowments as the pedestals of our foreign engagement. Additionally, Kenya and Britain understands the importance of harnessing the diverse skills, expertise and potential of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating their integration into the national development agenda. Therefore, political relations forms the pillar in championing priorities and strategies for Kenya's bilateral and multilateral engagement so as to strengthen relationships, enhance cooperation and promote national interests.<sup>196</sup>

Uhuru's regime has used political policy to further the important belief that Kenya's future is inextricably linked to the success of its citizens. And to achieve this, there is need to foster stability and security regionally because this forms the foundation for promoting bilateral relations among countries. Similarly, Uhuru's regime continues to stick to fundamental legal frameworks and conventions which are essential in scaling up leader's decision making in building sustainable foreign relations since independence. Uhuru's era has seen a tremendous growth and development of Kenya's foreign policy in the wake of emerging that threaten the development of peace and stability around the globe. Fundamental shifts have occurred in the configuration and realignment of global power relations with the emergence of a multi-polar world order and the increasing

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<sup>196</sup> Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014

influence of emerging economies in global affairs. More importantly, the elevation of Organization of African Unity into the African Union has shaped new opportunities for Africa thereby strengthening the bilateral bond among African countries. Another significant development has been fundamental reforms in the field of governance, peace and security architecture and this has contributed to the stability of the continent as well as created an enabling environment for sustainable development.<sup>197</sup>

Uhuru's regime has put great emphasis on cooperation, collaboration and building partnerships with Britain. Through Kenya's Foreign Policy, Uhuru's regime gears towards improving and enhancing mutually beneficial bilateral networks and multilateral relations with other regions of the world. The relationships will ensure Kenya's national interests are guaranteed in order to secure Kenya's sociopolitical priorities. The promulgation of Kenya's foreign policy was a step forward towards national liberation. What Kenya's founding fathers believed is that for Kenya to prosper and succeed the ideals of national independence and humanity's larger freedom, equity and the inalienable right to a shared heritage must be observed.

Since Kenya assumed its role as a sovereign state and a major player in matters of international relations in 1963, Kenya has strengthened its efforts in safeguarding the country's future because success of a nation cannot be separated from stability and environmental safety as the basic source of national survival and prosperity. The threshold that guides Kenya's relations with other countries is aligned with international standards that seek to address the turbulent and ever changing world. The heroic history of Kenya's liberation struggle has drawn pride and recognition over the years it risks playing into the East-West ideological divide. Therefore, there is need for a pragmatic approach that is bound by informed principles in strengthening Kenya's

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<sup>197</sup> <sup>197</sup> Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014

foreign policy. This approach is pivotal in enabling Kenya to successfully forges mutually beneficial alliances with the West while constructively engaging the East through its policy of positive economic and political non-alignment.<sup>198</sup>

Rapid globalization has led to the emergence of global network of social and economic systems that have had both positive and negative impact on foreign policy. The desire to urgently respond to the emerging needs of globalization fueled reform of Kenya's foreign policy orientation. While globalization comes with new economic opportunities particularly in the fields of science, technology and communication, it has resulted in competition and shrinking of market access and economic marginalization especially among third world countries. Kenya too has witnessed the direct impact of globalization with rising cases of organized crime, terrorism, piracy, drug and human trafficking, proliferation of small arms and weapons, and money laundering. These emerging threats have forced Kenya to forge partnerships with allies in order to address these issues pertaining foreign relations. For instance, the terrorism threat posed by the Alshabaab has made Kenya to seek support of Europe, particularly Britain. Kenya has made significant steps in addressing issues affecting environmental conservations such ban of plastic bags, protection of riparian land, ban of logging, eviction of human population from forests and water catchment areas, pollutions, the buildup of greenhouse gases, emission of toxic chemicals, and pesticides. Through this, Kenya has in response promoted its environmental agenda into one of its foreign policy pillars.<sup>199</sup>

Under Uhuru's regime, Kenya-Britain political relations are spearheaded by ambassadors, politicians, technocrats and diplomats whose main goal is to enhance political cooperation between the two countries. The political relations between Kenya and Britain seek to

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<sup>198</sup> Kenya Foreign Policy, 2014

<sup>199</sup> Ibid

foster political and economic engagements, promote trade, social interactions through tourism, sports cooperation, direct flights, among others. Britain is a strategic country to Kenya because it is the founding member of the European Union, a founder of NATO and a member of the G7 as well as an economic power in the manufacturing, fashion and cuisine, among other sectors. A number of Britain humanitarian organizations such as OXFAM and UKAID have their offices in Nairobi city. On the other hand, Kenya's location is strategic to Britain because it is the gateway to the East and Central African region and the Horn of Africa. More importantly, Kenya is one of the strongest economies in Africa, a leading contributor to peace building missions and a recognized sporting nation. Nairobi hosts several multinationals and regional bodies.<sup>200</sup>

The political relations between Kenya and Britain have seen Kenya play a significant role in bolstering regional peace and integration. The European Union works with Kenya to secure peace in Somalia, and to enhance maritime security. The Regional Maritime Capacity Building Mission in the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean EUCAP Nestor as well the EU support to African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and its comprehensive strategy towards the Horn of Africa provides a significant foundation for Kenya-Britain relations. In the year 2013, a delegation of EU members comprising of 8 member States (Germany, France, the Netherlands, the UK, Denmark, Sweden, Britain and Finland) carried out a mapping of the development sectors it intended to cover. All EU Member States represented in Kenya endorsed the development projects in December 2013 and earmarked guiding principles on joint programming related to the division of labour, the use of country systems, joint monitoring and joint evaluation.<sup>201</sup>

The Joint Programming initiative aimed to lead as a final output to a Joint EU assistance response to the second Medium Term Plan 2013-2017. It was agreed that the EU Member States

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<sup>200</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

<sup>201</sup> Ibid



and the EU Delegation will jointly explore the potential for joint analysis, joint programming and joint implementation modalities in the form of Task Teams designed to cover the following sectors: agriculture and resilience, energy, infrastructure (incl. transport), election, justice and democratic governance joined with devolution, environment and climate change, water & sanitation, health and gender.<sup>202</sup>

The Kenya's Constitution that was promulgated in 2010 not only promised better political relations between Kenya and Britain, but more importantly, it raised the hope and expectations among Kenyans for a new Kenya. The new constitution was perceived by many as the best hope of addressing social inequalities, promoting equal distribution of resources, addressing the scourge of ethnicity and inclusivity in the government. The new constitution ushered a new era of governance with the introduction of devolution as a mechanism to enhance public decision-making, accountability, service delivery and more equitable distribution of public resources across the country. In addition, the new constitution provided for transparency in the management of public resources, fair representation of all Kenyans across their diverse ethnic alignments, and effective checks and balances applying to all arms of the State. This provided a perfect foundation to break from the past era that was marred with ethnic profiling, corruption, uneven distribution of resources and blatant violation of human rights. In other words, the new constitution sought to break the boundaries of the past and usher a new era of political renewal.<sup>203</sup> However, more than eight years since the passage of the new Constitution, Kenya is still held back by poor governance, ignorance and disease. The legislature has not been able to completely facilitate transfer some functions to the county governments while the attainment of the third gender rule still remains a

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<sup>202</sup> Kiamba A.& Bachmann, V. 2015. Kenya-EU Relations: Perspectives and Expectations. In: Bachmann V., Müller M. (eds) Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. Europe in a Global Context. Palgrave Macmillan, London

<sup>203</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

mirage in Kenya. With the help of international community, more specifically the British, Kenya has made great strides in smooth transfer of health and agriculture functions from central institutions to the forty seven County governments.<sup>204</sup>

Britain continues to play a pivotal role in enhancing Kenya's democratic space. During the 2013 general elections, Britain and the EU played a significant role in the electoral observation process and their report formed the basis of electoral improvements in the year 2018. Besides, the EU has been vocal in urging the Kenyan government to address the issue of corruption. The vice of corruption and embezzlement of funds still remain high and poses a threat to the attainment of Kenya's sustainable development goals. Additionally, graft also has become even more challenging when combined to the emerging disputes on the benefits of extractive industries (Turkana, Coast). Kenya's EITI (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) membership would go a long way in enhancing the transparency on re-distribution of the fiscal benefits of extractive industries in the country (National Indicative Programme, 2014).

The European Union has raised a lot of questions concerning Kenya's failure to end impunity in Kenya and delay in the implementation of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) report whose aim is to address past cases of human rights violations, corruption and land grabbing. The possible establishment of an International Crime Division (ICD) at the High Court of Kenya was another important measure in the development of national capacities for the fight against impunity, especially if it is done in accordance with the principles laid out in the EU Joint Staff Working Document on Advancing the Principle of Complementarity.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Kiamba A.& Bachmann, V. 2015. Kenya-EU Relations: Perspectives and Expectations. In: Bachmann V., Müller M. (eds) Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. Europe in a Global Context. Palgrave Macmillan, London

<sup>205</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

Kenya and the EU have continued to partner in order to empower the central and devolved units of government in order to optimize the benefits to the public. However, there is need for continued reforms to enhance public institutions operate efficiently and transparently and effectively implement public policies in Kenya. The partnership called for strengthening of accountability mechanisms in line with the new Constitution that will assist the government realizing its objectives. The Kenyan constitution provides for accountability mechanisms as well as intergovernmental relations between central and county level and also between county authorities and the local communities. The European Union has been in the front line in helping Kenya to enhance the justice system through aid and enjoyment of all citizen's rights irrespective of their social, religious or ethnic background. The EU has also been very instrumental in promoting transparent, peaceful and credible elections in Kenya after every 5 years.<sup>206</sup>

Kenya ratified the National Indicative Program 2014-2020 whereby the European Union pledged to support all three conduits for the increased accountability of public institutions in Kenya, relying also on civil society organizations to strengthen the demand side of governance, especially with regards to legal aid services. This is in conformity with the Kenyan Constitution as well as the second national Medium Term Plan (MTP II) both of which emphasizes on accountability of all public officials to Kenyan citizens. Election assistance and devolution reforms towards Kenya are largely considered in the Foundations for National Transformation but also in the Political Pillar of MTP II and this is why proposals by the EU Election Observation Mission of 2014 provide a valuable basis for the improvement of the electoral process in Kenya.<sup>207</sup>

The radical Electoral reforms that took place with the adoption of the Constitution and the experience of the 2013 Elections call for a consolidation of the gains obtained in this democratic

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<sup>206</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

<sup>207</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

exercise, with a specific need to further build the capacity of the Electoral Commission to ensure it delivers its mandate with the confidence of the public, critical safeguards for future credible and peaceful Elections. Foreign policies are tools aimed at structuring the existing, negotiating and future relationship with the country to country or regions on matters to which of the country parties do hold in practice and practice.<sup>208</sup>

A key feature of political dialogue is the exchange of high-level visits. The visit by President Kenyatta to Britain in the wake of increased terrorist attacks in Kenya and *operation linda nchi* in Somalia whereby the UK leadership expressed solidarity and recognized the significant role played by Kenya in the pacification of Somalia is an indicator of strong political ties between Kenya and Britain. Other high-level visits include visit by President Uhuru to Britain on April 2018 where he met with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II as well as Prime minister, Theresa May. Equally, during the visit, President Uhuru was invited to deliver a public lecture at the Royal Institute of International Affairs. President Uhuru's invitation is a clear indication that Kenya has played a leading role in Africa's transformation, and therefore the invitation of the Kenyan President to speak on matters of governance is a clear statement that Kenya is on the rise.<sup>209</sup>

The Kenyan and British governments have also collaborated to fight organized international crimes such as drug trade and money laundering. The collaboration has seen individuals suspected of engaging in these crimes deported to Britain for prosecution. The two countries have bilateral legal agreements that allow legal assistance be granted and received in

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<sup>208</sup> Hill, C and Smith, M. 2005. International Relations and the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 49.

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>

relation to investigations, prosecutions and judicial proceedings on criminal matters through the Central Authority of the Government of Kenya.<sup>210</sup>

The political relations between Kenya and Britain has been promoted by interactions held between Kenya and Britain on the progress made by the Government of Kenya since the enactment of Kenyan constitution as well as exploring more areas of sustained engagement on criminal and civil justice reforms between the two Governments' jurisdictions. These legislative agreements show extensive cooperation between the two countries and are legally binding between the two countries.<sup>211</sup> Britain recognizes Kenya as a strategically positioned natural commercial hub for economic and social development in East Africa. In the Regional Integration, Kenya is a member of COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) and EAC (East African Community). Among the EAC, a special process of regional integration characterized by customs union is in the course of being realized as well as the future monetary union. The inclusions and observations of the same present the State decision on what levels and interest arguments they present in the relationship with other countries. Most countries have common, categorical and specific foreign policies that guide their interaction with other countries.<sup>212</sup>

Kenya has an embassy in London as does Britain in Nairobi. Kenya and Britain have had bilateral relations since 1963. The British government and organizations have contributed to promote the independence of Kenyan institutions and the processes governance and democracy. These include electoral processes, peace building processes, and governance institutions. The embassy has also contributed to the peace building process in Kenya through sponsoring of Peace campaign advertisements. The British government has also been of great importance to Kenya by

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<sup>210</sup> National Indicative Programme, 2014. EU-Kenya Cooperation. 11<sup>th</sup> Europe Development Fund

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>

<sup>212</sup> Ibid

offering grants to the electoral commission of Kenya in order to conduct just, fair and credible elections. The British government contributed more than 100 million shillings to the IEBC electoral body. Through these actions the relations between Kenya and Britain are strengthened.<sup>213</sup>

The presence of a Kenyan embassy in Britain shows a diplomatic representation of Kenya. The Kenyan Embassy informs the government of the relevant political, social, economic and military events is happening in Britain. The embassies of both countries provide visas to allow movement between Kenya and Britain in the spirit of promoting trade and cultural cohesion. They can be obtained through the embassy website in Britain or through the government portal, e-citizen, in Kenya. The British have played a key role to offer protection for its co-nationals from terrorists attacks through constant issuance of travel advisories. Britain has also been keen in addressing the policies made by the government. The case of ICC saw the international and local media focus on the country's politics and to a large extent these events have somehow shaped the country's foreign policy.<sup>214</sup> Further to this, events of media and foreign policy shift in Kenya is well espoused a public outcry on human abuse by a popular African musician who publicly hit a woman. This sparked outrage in the media especially the new media which led to the government executing a deportation order of the musician and cancellation of a music concert.

Britain and Kenya represent two set of states where Britain is a developed state while Kenya is a developing state. This very fact means the media in these two countries have different abilities to influencing foreign policy decisions. Developed states Media have higher capabilities in production and transmission and also have a higher ability to affect the conduct of the state's

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<sup>213</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>

<sup>214</sup> Aluanga-Delvaux, L. 2013. How ICC cases are shaping up Kenya's foreign policy as UhuRuto fight back. *The Standard Digital*. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000097825/how-icc-cases-are-shaping-up-kenya-s-foreign-policy-as-uhuruto-fight-back>

foreign policy.<sup>215</sup> The direct influence upon governments or indirect influence though affecting public opinion which in turn effects governmental decisions regarding foreign policy represents an informational revolution.<sup>216</sup>

### **5.3 Economic Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru Era**

There are long standing trade relationships between Kenya and the UK. There was a steady increase in the value of exports from 2001 to 2007. However, since 2008, exports to the UK have decreased in value terms. In contrast, imports from the UK were on the rise, increasing sharply between 2010 and 2013, after which they began to fall considerably. There are at least three reasons behind the decrease in Kenyan exports to the UK. The first is the change in maximum residue limit (MRL) regulations. The European Union reduced the MRLs of certain types of pesticides applied to fruit and vegetables in 2009. Kenya violated this protocol and was banned from selling to European markets and given until September 2014, until they adjusted their practices. Despite meeting EU MRL requirements horticulture exports of beans continue to fall (over 40% between 2012-2016). The second reason for the fall in exports is because, UK has started importing flowers from Ethiopia and Colombia and coffee from Cote d'Ivoire, thus impinging on Kenyan export earnings. The third reason relates to the volatile and depreciating Kenyan Shilling, which eroded significant value. The trade balance between Kenya and the UK remained positive between 2001 and 2010, after which it turned negative.<sup>217</sup>

Gross Domestic Product [GDP] of any country is comprised of three main sectors that make up the economy; Agriculture, Industry/Manufacturing, and Services. The service sector was

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<sup>215</sup> Robinson, P. 1999. 'The CNN Effect: can the news media drive foreign policy', *Review of International Studies* 25(2): 301-9.

<sup>216</sup> Hulme, S. J. 2001. *The modern media: the impact on foreign policy*. Army Command and General Staff Coll Fort Leavenworth Ks.

<sup>217</sup> Krishnan, A. Velde D.W & Were A. 2018. Kenya-UK Trade and investment relations: Taking stock and promoting exports to the UK. Supporting Economic Transformation (SET)

the largest contributor to Kenya's GDP accounting for approximately 51 percent of GDP. In second place in terms of contribution is the Agricultural sector which contributed approximately 30 percent to the country's GDP but in turn provides employment to more than 70 percent of the total working/employed population in the country. In terms of agricultural sector, Kenya's produce that are majorly for export includes the following; Tea, Coffee, Pyrethrum, and Flowers. Others are Wheat, Vegetables and Sugarcane. The hindrances to adequate and quality production of these and many more produce in this sector are due to lack of capacity to carry out research as well as inadequate funding for the same purpose. In the recent past, this has been improved but implementation has not been achieved in the scale at which it will give yield to better farming practices for majority of farmers thereby making the vast majority of them still reliant on traditional methods of farming which has many disadvantages.<sup>218</sup>

The European Union is a mutual trade partner for Kenya because it contributes 31% of Kenya's imports as well as 26% of Kenya's exports. This is why Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between Kenya and EU is an important step owing to the importance of EU as a major market for Kenya's exports. Besides, EU development partners have embarked on Joint Programming in Kenya. It is important to note that in 2014, a combination of the service and the industrial sectors provided employment to 25% of the total working population in Kenya. The major industries in the latter sector include horticulture, oil refining, cement production, and small-scale consumer goods manufacturing. These are supported by various service industries which include advertising, transport and storage services.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Omolo M. Jairo, S & Wanja, R. (2016). Comparative study of Kenya, US, UK and China Trade and investment Relations. Institute of Economic Affairs

<sup>219</sup> Krishnan, A. Velde D.W & Were A. 2018. Kenya-UK Trade and investment relations: Taking stock and promoting exports to the UK. Supporting Economic Transformation (SET)



Bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain have developed in leaps and bounds as more economic ties continues to expand. This has marked a major milestone as mutual progress has been made by both countries in the areas of electric power, communications, investment and project contract. Assessment of Kenya's exports to UK reveal that the total exports of Kenyan goods have increased despite the fact that the value and share of those destined to the UK has declined markedly over the last two decades. Data also show that Kenyan exports to the UK dropped from 16% in 2001 to 7% by 2014. The drop was attributed to decrease in Kenyan horticulture exports because of Kenya's non compliance of EU maximum residue limit (MRL) requirements, for instance within the beans category (Kenya's largest fresh vegetable export earner) exports fell by 26% between 2012 to 2014. The reason is the UK diversified fresh flower imports to Ethiopia and Colombia and coffee imports from Cote d'Ivoire. Most Kenyan exports to the UK are categorized as raw materials, while there is a high content of imports of intermediate and capital goods from the UK.

Over the last decade (2006-2016) on an average 86% of Kenya's income from exports to the UK came from only 20 products. These include high-value horticulture (which includes fresh vegetables, flowers and fruit) and beverages (coffee and tea). A disaggregated product analysis suggests there has not been a major change in export diversity across harmonized system (HS) chapters, but that there has been some diversification within HS chapters. The dependence on the 'fresh' horticulture, loose tea and coffee export categories often involves low value addition. Unless upgrading occurs, this may lead to a race to the bottom, with few increased opportunities to substantially benefit the Kenyan population in the long run.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Krishnan, A. Velde D.W & Were A. 2018. Kenya-UK Trade and investment relations: Taking stock and promoting exports to the UK. Supporting Economic Transformation (SET)

Kenya is losing market share in the UK. For example, Kenya's 20 major exports to the UK have declined by half from 26.7% in 2001 to 13.5% in 2016. Especially in areas of black tea and fresh roses that form Kenya's main foreign exchange earners. Kenya is facing significant competition in the UK from other East African countries: Rwanda, Ethiopia and Tanzania. This implies that Kenya either has to improve marketing of its existing products or diversify. There are severe data limitations on trade in services, but the data that do exist suggest service exports to the UK increased 3.6 times in value terms between 2001 and 2012. Transportation and travel services make up the largest share of exports (almost 86% of the total) of services to the UK, followed by insurance and then financial and government services, respectively. The growth rate of financial and insurance services, software, and hardware Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is swiftly overtaking transportation and travel.<sup>221</sup>

Kenya has a relatively small share in the stock of UK foreign direct investment (FDI) to Africa, which itself is only 2% of the total UK FDI stock. Conversely, when looking at Kenya's inward flows of FDI, the UK is a major source, contributing 40% of Kenya's total FDI inward flows in 2012. As the world continues to change, so do trade patterns and variety of trade partners also change in the process. Non-tariff and tariff barriers persist despite efforts by Kenya to abolish them. On the other hand often remain in place or even increase. It has been suggested that the best way to address trade barriers and enhance trade facilitation is to internationalize the process of diplomatic relations. Every government often has interest when dealing with other countries in areas of foreign trade, taxation, employment and foreign investment.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid

<sup>222</sup> Naray, O. 2010. What a Good Commercial Diplomat has to Know and be Capable of. Exchange *The Magazine for International Business and Diplomacy*. Commercial Diplomats in the context of International Business. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 6, (2010b)121-148

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, economic relations has emerged as a major a foreign policy priority in many governments. The significant activities while promoting economic ties among countries encompass business development. More countries around the world are pulling together concerning economic diplomacy and as a result, various trade agreements have been development whose main aim is to ease the cost of doing business between the cooperating countries as well as remove barriers that impede smooth international business environment. The field of economic diplomacy keeps on changing and therefore Kenya should always refine its policies, regulations as well as institutions in order to harness the world opportunities. Foreign trade succeeds when countries put in place diplomatic infrastructures to promote successful operation and sustain inability.

The Jubilee regime led by president Uhuru Kenyatta consider China as an important trade partner and the foreign relations between the two countries has grown more rapidly than one set by the previous regimes, foreign relations with China have continued from the pace set by the previous government. In 2013, Kenya and China advanced their relations to a comprehensive partnership and signed eight documents to boost up the cooperation, as both leaders met for the first time since they came into office. The agreements covered several sectors such as economic cooperation, the infrastructure, people-to-people exchanges, the finance, environmental protection and the new energy.<sup>223</sup> Uhuru clearly stated that Kenya is dedicated to realizing industrialization as well as improving people's livelihood. China remains Kenya's biggest source of foreign direct investment as well as the largest source of Kenya's public debt. In June 2013, China's cumulative direct investment in Kenya reached \$474 million worth. In deed Kenya has built tremendous cooperation with China and the entire Africa and as result, China has earned itself a number of

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<sup>223</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015

infrastructural contracts in Africa. Infrastructural development is key in promoting Africa's, trade, security, peace and prosperity.<sup>224</sup>

Uhuru's choice of Beijing, which has become his country's biggest economic engine, speaks volumes about China's growing existence in Kenya. The sustainability of Kenya-China cooperation will be significant in the long run but the greatest threat is regime change. Kenya is one of the fastest developing states in Africa and has strong growth in many sectors, mostly in industry and agriculture. This places Kenya at pedestal of furthering its bilateral relations with China. For China, the location in Kenya is very important in the African region, wit Kenya having one of the best airline companies in the African region. Cooperating with Kenya has facilitated Chinese investors into entering a much bigger market in East Africa.<sup>225</sup>

As Kenya continues to implement a “Look East” policy underlined largely by economic considerations, the shift in policy is built on the strengthening of the existing ties with traditional partners like Japan. Japan is indeed Kenya’s valued development partner, and has been a major source of investment and the largest donor of assistance to Kenya. Owing to its strategic significance in Japan’s diplomatic relations in the Eastern Africa as an entryway to the region, Kenya has remained the largest recipient in Africa of Official Development Assistance (ODA) from Japan since 1986.<sup>226</sup>

Kenya drifted from trading with the West but its relations with America remain strong and it focuses on aspects ranging from political, strategic to economic. There are a number of events and policies that have been an outcome to the gradual development of a special kind of relationship between the US and Kenya. First, this can be attributed to the remarkable granting of student visas

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid

<sup>225</sup> Ministry of Finance, 2015

<sup>226</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015

by the U.S. government to Kenyans to go to colleges and universities in the United States of America. The welcoming nature of the 'Kenyan children' by the US government to study abroad has for a long time worn the hearts of the Kenyan community. For example in the year 2001/2002, a number of 37,724 African students enrolled in universities and colleges in the United States, with the Kenyan students comprising 7,097.90.<sup>227</sup> Kenya shares common borders with states in the southern Horn of African such as Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia, comes out as a rather stable state in a volatile and violent African sub-region. The new current global context thus adds a aspect to the U.S.-Kenya bilateral relationship in that the United States almost definitely look to Kenya for improved cooperation and assistance in its countering terrorism, and therefore the Kenyan government turns to the United States for financial support as well as referral by the US to the international financial institutions.<sup>228</sup>

After independence, Kenyan foreign policy was aimed at reducing British influence and settler control of the government and economy. The new government continued Africanization of sectors. For example, the enactment of Trade Licensing Act of 1967 permitted Kenyan citizens only to trade in non-urban areas. This was aimed at tapping Kenyan entrepreneurial skills and promotion of domestic trade. Also, the pace of Africanization was considered not quick especially among government officials. Apart from economic interests, Britain was more passionate towards protecting its interests and more particularly on military. This is why Britain continued to collaborate with the Kenyan government through trainings and joint exercises was guaranteed in 1964 agreements.<sup>229</sup> Kenya's partnership with Great Britain saw Britain maintain air force and

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<sup>227</sup> Okoth, K 2003. 'Kenya: What Role for Diaspora in Development?' Migration Information Source. Published by the Migration Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A

<sup>228</sup> *ibid*

<sup>229</sup> Gitelson, SA 1977. 'Policy Options for Small States: Kenya and Tanzania Reconsidered.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 12, no. 2, pp. 29-57.

naval facilities and in return, Kenyan air force received aircrafts (British and Canadian aircrafts). East African governments also called on British troops to protect their regimes against army mutinies in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya in 1964. This mutually beneficial military cooperation was only possible with continued good will between the governments.<sup>230</sup>

It is important to note that as at the end of 2012, the United Kingdom (UK) was the largest export partner of Kenya, accounting for more than 10% of the total export volumes. Other export destination for Kenyan goods include; Netherlands, Uganda, Tanzania, the US and Pakistan respectively.<sup>231</sup> In the recent past, the United Kingdom has been one of Kenya's largest trading allies for a long time, even before the European Union (EU) was formed. According the EU Strategy for Africa developed in 2008, there are numerous initiatives that have been put in place to aid sub-Saharan countries, Kenya being one of them. The EU and Kenya signed a Country Strategy Paper in December 2007 for the period 2008–13 with a budget of US \$521 million (€ 399), written under the 10th European Development Fund. The strategy paper highlights the need for greater regional economic integration with a focus on transport infrastructure and agriculture and rural development. Addressing these focal areas will allow for better trade and economic growth. Better transport is necessary for the continued economic development, both nationally and regionally, as well as helping to contribute to poverty reduction. Improvements in agriculture and rural development will allow for increased living standards for those whose livelihoods depend on agriculture by working to put into place sustainable development practices.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Meredith, M. *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. New York: Public Affairs, 2005.

<sup>231</sup> Krishnan, A. Velde D.W & Were A. 2018. Kenya-UK Trade and investment relations: Taking stock and promoting exports to the UK. Supporting Economic Transformation (SET)

<sup>232</sup> Krishnan, A. Velde D.W & Were A. 2018. Kenya-UK Trade and investment relations: Taking stock and promoting exports to the UK. Supporting Economic Transformation (SET)

## 5.4 Cultural Relations between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru Era

Cultural relations bolster human interactions. In other words, cultural bonds enhance religious beliefs, sports, language, educational exchanges, trade and other interactions. Cultural relations involve the spread and exchange inclusion of one party's culture with another relating party's culture.<sup>233</sup> Kenya and Britain cultural ties have advanced through creation of cultural institutes, resource centers, and art galleries. Kenya and Britain also promote their cultures through broadcast materials such as radio, televisions, and newspapers to promote the cultural connections and bond with the existing, new and prospective interested parties. International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and religious organizations have also bolstered interactions between countries. Kenya and Britain have shown their cultural integration through religious beliefs, through cultural centers, through student scholarship programs, and through tourism.<sup>234</sup>

The Kenya Tourism Board has rated Britain as one of best tourism market. Many British tourists tour Kenya and even some live in Kenya. Since then a sizable number of British have settled in the country, especially in Nairobi, Central Kenya and Mombasa. Britain is among the major European countries present in Kenya.<sup>235</sup> Today the British community in Kenya is the largest foreign community in Kenya. The British Ambassador to Kenya says that the number of enrolled Britons is close to 2,500. In addition, Kenya, which is famous for safari activities, attracts more than 60,000 British annually. The Kenyan embassy in Britain promotes Kenyan agricultural products in Britain through exhibits and fairs, and also promotes tourism through showcases and art galleries that glimpse into the wildlife of Kenya to maintain close and mutually beneficial

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<sup>233</sup> <http://www.cultural-diplomacy>

<sup>234</sup> Arnold, G. (2017). Cultural Integration: Definition & Examples. *Study.com*. Retrieved from <http://study.com/academy/lesson/cultural-integration-definitionexamples.html>

<sup>235</sup> Ministry of Tourism, 2015

collaboration with Britain through the United Nations system in Britain. Therefore, one of the Mission's mandates is to maintain and strengthen bilateral and multilateral ties.<sup>236</sup>

Britain's culture has left an imprint of Kenya's way of life from Kenya's education system to spoken language, judiciary system and governance systems to ways of worship. Britain, as a developed country, has been contributing to this achievement. Kenya and Britain have continued to cooperate mutually to enhance cultural heritage. The main cultural cooperation aspects included the promotion of educational institutes in the country and in Britain.<sup>94</sup> The British government continues to offer scholarships to students with the main aim of cultural integration. The students scholarships are a show of good international relationships between the two countries.<sup>237</sup>

The students get exposed to the traditional British beliefs, British cuisines and alcohol, and the British way of life. The presence of a British Institute of Culture in Nairobi is also another evidence of cultural integration between the two countries. The institute provides courses that teach the British language. Other cultural cooperation projects involve artists from both countries in the fields of performing arts, music, and visual arts. As part of its function as a window to the British culture abroad, the Institute hosts exhibits, shows, concerts and conferences annually to showcase the British way of life and culture. The Embassy's cultural office is also another form of resource center for cultural integration. The Institute handles procedures regarding the Declaration of Academic Eligibility and Suitability and identifies academic certificates issued by Kenyan educational authorities and universities. It is equipped with a rich library, a newspaper library and a multi-media library that is connected by satellite with Rai International, the British global television network broadcaster.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>

<sup>237</sup> Ibid

<sup>238</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>



The British fashion is widely popular in Kenya. The Men's suits are typically imported to Kenya, and they have affected the cultural dressing of Kenyans. This is an indicator of how the British fashion sense has trickled to the Kenyan fashion market and the cultural influence of the British. British Institute of Culture organized an exhibition showcasing British fashion designs, where she displayed it next to Kenya's most widely known fashion accessory, the bag hand-painted. This is one of the cultural exchange projects initiated by the British government to increase cultural cooperation between Kenya and Britain.<sup>239</sup>

The British culture has left an imprint on Kenyan language, food, hotels, casinos and even flights. It is where the British have created a home away from home. They have set up businesses and built their hotels to put their roots in Kenya. The presence of the British towns has attracted tourists to come to the shores of Kenya and in doing so has solidified the relations between Kenya and Britain. Up until 1985, Britain was a state religion of the Roman Catholic. The church has been working side by side with the British government. The coming of the Catholic Church helped in the cultural integration of the British government through the religious aspects. The Catholic Churches in Kenya are as old as the Kenya-British relations and it was through this that there have been events related to the Catholic Church. The British are well known for their belief in the Catholic Church. They believe in the Pope as the ruler of the Church and its work in the world. Scholars, writers, and ordinary people have tried to distinguish a Catholic family from the European model family. The British families are remarkably close and stay in the vicinity to each other. Their relationships are a cultural truism, and their family meal on Sunday is regarded as a sacrosanct.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid

<sup>240</sup> <sup>240</sup> <http://www.kenyahighcom.org.uk>

In Kenya, through the Catholic Church, British NGOs have supported charitable work in areas such as health, education, community development and environmental conservation. There are several Catholic run schools in Kenya. This includes the early mission schools that were started by Catholic missionaries in during the precolonial period. Schools are a testament to the religious integration in the Kenyan community. They show the strong bilateral historical ties between Kenya and Britain. Britain's media has been able to influence foreign policy on several occasions. For instance the coverage on the Arab nations such as Libya swung the government which became preoccupied fully by these events. The British government reactions to events such as the 1988 bombing of a Pan American aircraft over Lockerbie, Scotland shifted Britain's foreign policy. Another media attention was the Afghanistan war where over 10,000 Britons were involved and the central focus by the Media made this war a serious national affair.<sup>241</sup>

In the Kenyan case, the media has also been argued to play a pivotal role in foreign policy and cultural promotion. The Kenyan media echoes the media in the international arena in that if well and strategically used, it can help to influence world policy debates and, more importantly, influence positions on major issues. This is largely supported by the fact that in Kenya, the government as well as a number of institutions has made media relations part of their most invested in departments. It is however important to note that while powerful and influential nations use the media to set the global agenda, and thus influence global thinking, the media in Kenya and our foreign policy managers are very often at loggerheads.<sup>242</sup>

In the contemporary Kenya society, globalization, the opening of China and Africa to the international markets, the expansion of new technologies and the rise of regional conflicts are

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<sup>241</sup> Harris, R. 2011. *Problems in British Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C: Heritage Foundation

<sup>242</sup> Bwire, V. 2015. Diplomats, media must work together. Daily Nation. Retrieved from <http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/MediaGovernment-Diplomacy/-/440808/2841558/-/qrahdk/-/index.html>

critical milestones that have also affected society as well as a society's relationship to its heritage, its value and its preservation. In Kenya, cultural and natural heritage has a particular value as the country's pre- historic heritage not only tells the story of man's origin and evolution, but it has also contributed to the understanding of the earth's history. Fossils and artifacts spanning over 27 million years have been discovered and conserved by the National Museums of Kenya (NMK). This heritage inspires a sense of belonging and is a source of pride for Kenyans but also for all citizens of the world.<sup>243</sup>

While Kenya does have a formal cultural heritage policy, decisions on cultural heritage affairs are informed, in large measure, by the National Museums and Heritage Act (CAP 216)<sup>244</sup> of 2006, which extends authority for the management of Kenya's cultural patrimony to the National Museums of Kenya (NMK). Kyule<sup>245</sup> uncovers contradictions between and within these legal instruments and recommends the development of a cultural heritage policy that respects local ownership and compares with international standards. He examines the Cultural Heritage Resources Management (CHRM) framework guides the administration, study, protection, conservation and use of a nation's cultural heritage as well as its preservation in order to benefit of present and future generations. Kenya's cultural heritage is described in the forms of archaeological resources, cultural sites and landscapes, monuments, ecofacts and artifacts, and oral traditions. Ethnic laws, customs and customary laws, indigenous knowledge, history and historical evidence as found in art, music, records, museum catalogues and academic studies are discussed within the framework of CHRM and their potential in the enactment of new legal instruments are

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<sup>243</sup> Abungu, L. 2005. Museums and communities in Africa: facing the new challenges. *Public Archaeology*, 4(2– 3), 151– 4.

<sup>244</sup> NMHA (National Museums and Heritage Act) (2006). *Kenya Gazette Supplement*, No. 63 (Acts No. 6). Nairobi: Government Printer.

<sup>245</sup> Kyule, M. (1993). Hyrax Hill: 50 years of archaeological research. *Kenya Past and Present* 25, 47–53.

discussed. Effective CHRM policy necessarily requires legal tools that are designed to overcome the challenges posed by the quest for Cultural Intellectual Property Rights (CIPR), the recognition of indigenous peoples' ownership and the just compensation for use of cultural heritage.<sup>246</sup>

The cultural links between Kenya and Britain dates back to the colonial times during which Christian missionaries from Europe made a huge impact on religious beliefs in Kenya. The colonialists also left an imprint on the Masai traditional Shuka textiles design. In the contemporary society, traditional forms of culture in Kenya have attracted growing interest. A significant number of Kenyan authors have delved in the area of cultural interaction and diversity. Some of the notable names include; Marjorie Oludhe Macgoye, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Koigi wa Wamwere. Celebration of culture is evident in Kenyan music, theatre, art and cinema including Bomas of Kenya displays where exhibitions of traditional folk buildings from Kenya's 42 tribes are displayed as well as regular performances of traditional dance.<sup>247</sup>

Contemporary Kenyan and European cultural events are promoted in Nairobi by the cultural institutes of four European countries: the Alliance Française, the Goethe Institute, the British Institute of Culture, and the British Council. The European diplomatic missions organize several film festivals every year, including the European Film Festival which is held in Nairobi in May every year. The efforts to bolster Kenya-Britain cultural relations are also demonstrated by a number of Britons who own animal ranches and orphanages in Kenya as way

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<sup>246</sup> Greaves, T. 1996. Tribal rights. In S. Brush & S. Stabinsky (eds), *Valuing Local Knowledge: Indigenous People and Intellectual Property Rights*. New York: Island Press, 25–40.

<sup>247</sup> Bouchenaki, M. (2003). The interdependency of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In C. Sevilla, & M. Grywnow (eds), *ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium: Place, Memory, Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites*, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27– 31 October. Paris: ICOMOS, 9– 14.

of not only conserving the environment, but more importantly, perpetuating Kenya's cultural heritage.<sup>248</sup>

## **5.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the uhuru era. Like his predecessor, Uhuru continues to collaborate with China on matters of economy and infrastructural development. The key highlight of Uhuru's first term in office was the enactment of a formal foreign policy document that gives a guideline on how Kenya should engage with other countries including Britain.

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<sup>248</sup> Bouchenaki, M. (2003). The interdependency of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In C. Sevilla, & M. Grynow (eds), ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium: Place, Memory, Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27– 31 October. Paris: ICOMOS, 9– 14.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary findings, conclusion, and recommendations of the study on bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain since independence. Lastly, it gives recommendations for future research on this topic and the implications of the findings.

#### **6.2 Summary of Findings**

The study established that Kenya's bilateral relations with Britain has greatly transformed throughout the four presidents the country has been through, that is under presidents Kenyatta, Moi, and Kibaki, and finally Uhuru. The study found that bilateral relations during the Kenyatta and Moi's era were more focused on strengthening the political relations between the two countries while during Kibaki and Uhuru's era, economic ties formed the central pillar of bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain

The study established that Kenyatta and Moi's bilateral policy was focused on the west but president Kibaki and Uhuru turned to east under what is currently dubbed as "look east policy". This has resulted in the increased presence of China as a development partner and a source of funding for large scale infrastructural development projects in Kenya including the Kenya Standard Gauge Railway that connects Mombasa and Nairobi. Besides, the study established that China has gained more credence as an investor and bilateral partner with Kenya over the Kibaki and Uhuru presidency as compared to Britain. In addition China has contributed more grants towards Kenya's infrastructural development than Britain during Kibaki and Uhuru's era.

The study revealed that Britain is the leading export market for Kenyan goods, followed by the United States while Kenya's shares of exports to China are the least. Kenya's diplomatic

paradigm to the east kicked off immediately after President Kibaki took over the reign of power and promised to transform Kenya into an economic hub and a more fair and equitable country. It was during Kibaki's reign that the country witnessed an upsurge of development projects and infrastructure development such as the construction of the Thika Superhighway. Equally, Uhuru continued his predecessor's legacy of looking east. In his final term, president Uhuru Kenya continues to vouch economic, political and social ties with all countries including Britain for the betterment of the country. Britain has been a partner and source of support to Kenya particularly in supporting Kenya's move to pacify Somalia and eliminate security threats. However, the study established that Kenya-Britain bilateral ties have not always been smooth especially when the Kenyan government accused the British High Commission in Nairobi over issuance of travel advisories to its nationals which according to the Kenyan government were unfounded and portrayed Kenya as an insecure country thereby scaring potential tourists. The recent development in Kenya's foreign policy with Britain will be strengthened following an announcement that British Prime Minister, Teresa May will be visiting Kenya in Late August this year and will have a meeting with president Uhuru Kenyatta at statehouse Nairobi.

The study established that Kenya has undergone through a drastic shift from political to economic diplomacy. The Uhuru regime has strengthened the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and has also entrenched the pillars of economic diplomacy in its foreign policy. However, despite the changes, the country still needs a more centralized foreign policy approach especially in promoting external trade. Therefore it is important to make economic diplomacy a profession and encourage innovations. The study observes that economic diplomacy viewed as an investment who aim is to tap to the economic potential of a country rather than a cost that overburden the taxpayers. The study revealed that a good foreign policy is the one that projects a business focus

and value to its partner's state. Studies have revealed that economic diplomacy is significant when it comes to foreign direct investment. However, Kenya has not capitalized on economic diplomacy activities thereby leaving a space for more economic activities to be explored.

The study showed that economic relations between Kenya and Britain bring about balance of trade which is not necessarily beneficial to Kenya but UK. The study revealed that Kenya's diplomatic missions abroad and particularly in UK plays a pivotal role in promoting economic relation between the two countries by developing trade agreements, investments and international business partnerships.

The study revealed that the contemporary bilateral relations have undergone through tremendous transformation and that many foreign ministries are confronted with a wide variety of impediments beyond their conventional span of control. This is, among others, due to the increasing economic and political globalization processes now taking place in the world that have a profound impact on the organizational aspects of the foreign ministry of a country. A number of diplomatic missions around the world have introduced reforms in order to promote bilateral relations as well as conform to their respective countries' needs. One of such example is Kenyan foreign ministry that has reorganized the international and regional directorates in order to match Kenyan national interests, be it, political, economic or even cultural.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Based on the research findings, the study deduces that bilateral relations are conduits through Kenya drives its economic, political and social interests. Kenya should optimize not only the economic ties but also strengthen the political and cultural bond in order to achieve national development goals and objectives. The study established that regime change is an important



determinant of bilateral ties among countries and therefore by Kenya bolstering its political affairs will help the country advance its economic, cultural and political interests in the region.

It can also be concluded from the study that there is a rising need for Kenya to expand its economic ties by not solely relying on one particular country in the east or west. In this case, Kenya should be on the forefront in improving and increasing its manufactured products and improve the quality of its products that circulate in East Africa. Lastly, the researcher observes that there is an urgent need for Kenya to foster and preserve its cultural heritage. Therefore the relevant ministries should work together in promoting rich and acceptable traditions and cultures which have always been Kenya's source of pride and belonging.

#### **6.4 Recommendations**

Following the findings, the study makes the following recommendations that are hoped to be of great help and significance to the members of the diplomatic core, policy makers and other stakeholders in promoting the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain:

Kenya should diversify its economic relations and more specifically on balance of trade in order to avoid over dependency on either the East or West side of the aisle. This is informed by the failure of East African integration initiatives and the lack of a common regional political framework.

Kenya and Britain should further collaborations and partnerships based on truth and mutual friendship and interest. Over the past few years, Kenya-Britain ties have come under sharp criticism over issuance of travel advisory which according to security experts strains the political ties between Kenya and Britain. Although there is cooperation in many spheres, there is more to be desired. All stakeholders from both Kenya and Britain need to come together and come up with cooperation agreements or joint initiatives to tackle bottlenecks such as terrorism and other forms

of crime, corruption, trade imbalances, poverty, and political tension. Secondly, a lot more needs to be done to unlock the potential of British organizations in enhancing the Kenya-Britain bilateral relations.

On cultural integration, the gap between the current-status and the expected or desired state can be closed through implementation of more initiatives and enhancing the current one. For instance, more initiatives need to be developed to increase cultural integration through sports. In addition, the British government needs to increase the number of scholarships given to Kenyan students to study in British universities. In addition, more exchange programs between Kenyan universities and British Universities need to be rolled out to encourage more cultural exchange among students from both Kenya and Britain. On trade, the tariffs charged on imports especially by Britain need to be reduced in order to lower the current trade imbalance between the two countries. In addition, the British government should open its market to more Kenyan goods to enhance trade.

The Kenyan government should also put in place more measures to improve the ease of doing business in Kenya in order to attract more Foreign Direct Investment from developed countries like Britain.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Future Research**

Due to limited time and resources, the study didn't exhaust the subject on the bilateral between Kenya and Britain since Kenya gained independence. The study was not able to factor all factors influencing bilateral relations nor did it take into account other bilateral impediments such as legal and environmental factors that might have prevailed during the period of the study. Therefore, since bilateral relations are two-way, this study recommends that future research can also be done to evaluate the sustainability of bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

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## Appendix: Questionnaire

### Dear Respondent,

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. My name is Sheila Mwende and I am a student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a master's degree in diplomacy and international studies. As part of the requirement for my course, I am undertaking a survey on the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain between 1963 to 2017. Please note that this is an academic study and whatever information you will provide will be treated with total confidentiality and used for academic purposes only. The questionnaire is quite brief and would not take more than 30 minutes. Thank you for your time.

Do you wish to participate in this study? Yes [  ] No [  ]

Kindly read each question keenly and respond to it the best of your ability and where necessary mark [] the boxes provided. There are no accurate or inaccurate responses; your answers are crucial to the study. All replies to this survey are completely confidential. All identifying information if any will be removed during the data entry and analysis; however, you are advised to respond anonymously.

### SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Gender

Male (  ) Female (  )

2. Marital status

Married (  ) Single (  ) Divorced (  ) Widowed (  ) Separated (  )

3. Check your appropriate age group

18-25 years (  ) 26-35 years (  ) 36-45 years (  ) 46-55 years (  ) 56-65 years (  ) over 65 years (  )

4. What is your highest academic qualification?

Doctorate degree ( ) Master's degree ( ) Bachelor's degree ( ) Diploma ( ) others specify

.....

5. What is your occupation?

Diplomat ( ) Government official ( ) Academician ( ) Civil society representative ( )

6. What is your working experience?

1-5 years ( ) 6-10 years ( ) 11-15 years ( ) 16-20 years ( ) Over 20 years ( )

**SECTION A: BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING KENYATTA ERA**

7. How would you describe the extent of bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kenyatta era?

<b>Bilateral relation</b>	<b>Very strong</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Very weak</b>
Political relation					
Economic relation					
Cultural relation					

8. What were major political achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during Kenyatta era?

.....  
.....

9. What were major economic achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during Kenyatta era?

.....

.....

10. What were major cultural achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during Kenyatta era?

.....

.....

**SECTION B: BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING MOI ERA**

11. How would you rate the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era?

<b>Bilateral relation</b>	<b>Very strong</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Very weak</b>
Political relation					
Economic relation					
Cultural relation					

12. What were major political achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era?

.....

.....

13. What were major economic achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era?

.....

.....



14. What were major cultural achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era?

.....

.....

**SECTION C: BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN DURING KIBAKI ERA**

15. How would you rate the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era?

<b>Bilateral relation</b>	<b>Very strong</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Very weak</b>
Political relation					
Economic relation					
Cultural relation					

16. What were major political achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era?

.....

.....

17. What were major economic achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era?

.....

.....

18. What were major cultural achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki era?

.....  
.....

**SECTION D: BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN  
DURING UHURU ERA**

19. How would you rate the bilateral relationship between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru era?

<b>Bilateral relation</b>	<b>Very strong</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Very weak</b>
Political relation					
Economic relation					
Cultural relation					

20. What are the major political achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during in the Uhuru era?

.....  
.....

21. What are the major economic achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru era?

.....  
.....

22. What are the major cultural achievements and challenges between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru era?

.....  
.....  
23. Suggest ways of enhancing bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain

.....  
END. THANK YOU