

KENYA AND BRITAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1963 TO

2017

MICHAEL MUBEA KAMAU

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Michael Mubea Kamau

Department of Security Diplomacy and Peace

C50/CTY/PT25635/2013

SUPERVISOR:

I confirm that the work reported in this project was carried out by the candidate under my supervision.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Dr. Felix Kiruthu

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to students of international relations and diplomacy and to all those working in diplomatic missions and foreign affairs ministry.

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It has taken concerted effort of several people to successfully accomplish this research project to whom I owe a debt of gratitude: First and foremost my profound gratitude goes to the almighty God for granting me the gift of physical and mental health and finances which enabled me to successfully accomplish my academic goals. Secondly, my coursework lecturers and colleagues who prepared me well and more specifically to my supervisor, Dr. Felix Kiruthu, who spent his valuable time to guide me through the painstaking task of accomplishing this project. His guidance and directions are highly appreciated. Lastly, I thank my class mates and colleagues who worked with me during the entire period of study and their encouragement. My deepest appreciation goes to my wife Susan, my children Ian, Maryanne and Abigail for their patience and prayers during the entire course of study. May the Almighty God bless you.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMC	Air Mobility Command
ATI	African Trade Insurance
BATBRITAIN	British Army Training Unit Kenya
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
DN	Daily Nation
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East African Common Services Organization
EAD	Employment Authorization Documents
ECC	European Economic Community
ECF	East Coast Fever
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GOK	Government of Kenya
HCDA	Horticultural Crops Development Authority
ICC	International Criminal Court
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport
MP	Members of Parliament
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NFD	Northern Frontier District
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODM	Overseas Development Ministry
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSAS	Overseas Service Aid Scheme
RNTT	Royal Navy Training Team
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis
TCOs	Technical Co-operation Officers
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
BRITAINEF	United Kingdom Export Finance
BRITAINPH	United Kingdom Passport Holders
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Colonization:** The action Britain took to settle among and establish control over the indigenous Kenyans
- Decolonization:** Liberation of spirit, culture, economics and politics from domination by an alien power.
- Diplomatic Relations:** The bilateral relationship or association which exists between Kenya and Britain.
- Foreign relations:** Management of foreign affairs between Kenya and Britain and includes foreign trade and diplomatic relations between the two counties.
- Interdependence:** A form of inter- state relationship where states depend on each other thereby creating a complementary and beneficial relationship between them. Interdependence among states is more defined in trade relations.
- International relations:** Relations between Britain and Kenya in the context of foreign policies
- Kenya-Britain relations:** is the bilateral association between Kenya and Britain before and after independence.
- Post- Independence:** Is the period after Kenya regained her independence from British colonial rule

ABSTRACT

Countries across the world establish diplomatic relations as a means of maintaining essential ties. The concept of diplomacy entails the employment of tact in order to gain a strategic benefit and find a suitable solution to a common challenge which is shared in a mutually and acceptable manner. This study sought to establish the continuity and change in the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1963 to 2017. Specifically, the study examined the factors that motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations with Kenya; analyzed the nature of the diplomatic relations which existed between Britain and Kenya in the period 1979 to 2002; and examined changes in the diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya in the period 2003 to 2017 and challenges encountered during this period.. The study employed descriptive research design. The study targeted the Ministry of Foreign affairs and the British High Commission offices in Nairobi where oral interviews were carried out. A purposive sampling technique was used to draw up the list of knowledgeable informants on Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations for the study. The instrument used to collect data from the field was an interview schedule. Content analysis was employed to analyze the qualitative data. This study relied on two thematic theories; classical realism and neo-realism. These two theories argue that states pursue self-interest to the extent that Britain had investments including its citizens who had decided to stay in independent Kenya. On the other hand, Kenya needed financial inflows and investors to assist it generate economic resources more specifically taxes to fund its programmes for example, education, health and eradication of poverty. Neo-realism however, takes into account the place of legality and morality in the dealings between states. The aforementioned theoretical context in applied in the study to determine whether commercial and power interests have been overriding any other interests in Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations. The study concludes that Britain established diplomatic relations with Kenya to protect and promote its investments, protect its citizens who opted to remain in independent Kenya, promote trade particularly exportation of tea and coffee from Kenya. The study also concludes that Kenya and Britain have been able to maintain diplomatic relations since the colonial days to date. It recommends that Kenya should strengthen its relations with Britain especially in the areas of economic development for it to realize vision 2030; Kenya should also ensure the British military base in Laikipia trains even the Kenyan soldiers on the military tactics utilized by Britain to ensure they improve the security within the country and across the borders; and that political relations should be used as a bench mark to ensure that Kenya has the best governance structure that will eliminate sources of corruption and ensure that leaders are accountable towards their action.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Kenya has maintained both bilateral and multilateral relations with many countries on the African continent and globally.

Kenya's relations with Uganda and Tanzania emanated from Britain's colonization of all three countries in the late 18th to early 19th century, which it referred to collectively as the British East Africa Protectorate. All three colonies later gained independence, with Tanzania (then Tanganyika) gaining independence in 1961, Uganda in 1962, and lastly Kenya, in 1963. Unlike Tanzania and Uganda, the relationship between Britain and Kenya was very unusual (Cullen, 2017). This is because Kenya was led by Jomo Kenyatta at the time of independence, a man who was famously described by Governor Patrick Renison in 1960 as "leader to darkness and death" and who had been convicted as a Mau Mau leader. He was therefore largely disliked by Britain. However, after independence, Britain warmed up to Kenyatta due to his willingness to promote the relationship between the two countries as will be discussed in more detail in this study. In contrast, Julius Nyerere, President of independent Tanganyika was described by the British in 1961 as "possessing a degree of common sense unusual in African nationalists" (Cullen, 2017), but after independence, he pursued relations with the Soviet Union, China and a variety of external partners over and above Britain thereby leading to a souring of relations between Tanganyika and Britain (Cullen, 2017). Similarly, Milton Obote, Uganda's President at independence, came to be disliked by Britain, causing it to initially

welcome Idi Amin's coup in 1971. However, Britain came to revile Idi Amin particularly after he expelled Ugandan Asians in 1972 (Cullen, 2017).

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda first established the East African Community in 1967 to promote regional integration. The members of the East African Community continue to cooperate in the regional integration milestones of customs union, common market, monetary union and political federation (official East African Community Website, www.eac.int).

Regionally, Kenya has maintained good relations with other African countries since it gained independence and joined the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 13th December 1963, which was established on 25th May 1963 to encourage political and economic integration among member states, and to eradicate colonialism and neocolonialism from the African continent, (Jaynes, 2005). Kenya has continued to work closely with the OAU's successor, the African Union (AU), in areas such as managing conflict in Africa, such as through AMISOM.

According to 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 to 2013 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, agriculture and rural development. Addressing these focal areas will allow for better trade and economic growth. Better transport is necessary for 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.

Historically, the US has been a long, stable, strong ally, and a key development partner to many African countries, and especially to Kenya. It supports various projects that aid in development and democratic space enhancement, assists in healthcare, aids in technology transfer as well as supporting infrastructure development activities, among a host of other initiatives and activities. These are aimed at improving the livelihoods and living standards of the common Kenyan populace who, to a large extent have been marked to be living according to the World Health Organization's (WHO) internationally agreed poverty line of less than a dollar per day. This aside, Kenya and the US have had long and cordial international relations, collaborating in numerous ways. For instance, soon after independence, the US set up its military base at the Port of Mombasa in the Coastal City of Mombasa. According to Jones (1990), Kenya is important strategically to the U.S. with which it signed a military agreement in April 1980 thus permitting the US Navy to use it as a liberty port for refueling and docking.

China, which became a republic in 1912, has had long standing historical and diplomatic relations with Kenya, dating back to December 14, 1963, as it was the fourth country (according to China facts and Figures 1), to open up an embassy in Kenya's capital city, Nairobi. During this event, China pledged to continue promoting a dynamic cooperation in areas such as capacity building, information technology, energy, water resources, telecommunications, culture and other areas of human endeavor. Historically, trade relations between Kenya and China dates back to the

18th century during the era of slave trade and barter trade of goods and services between the two countries. (Lawal M, 2003).

In a move seen to endear itself to African countries, China laid out its strategy in an official paper that seeks to guide its cooperation with African countries. Publicized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples' Republic of China (2005), it is known as China's African Policy and it lays down the following principles and objectives; Sincerity, friendship and equality; mutual benefit, reciprocity and common prosperity; mutual support and close coordination; learning from each other and seeking common development.

It is important to note that as at the end of 2012, Britain was the largest export partner of Kenya, accounting for more than 10% of the total export volume. It is followed by the Netherlands, Uganda, Tanzania, the US and Pakistan. Britain has been one of Kenya's largest trading allies for a long time, even before the European Union (EU) was formed (Hornsby, 2012).

According to Morgenthau (2014), international relations is referred to as the interaction that occurs in politics at the international level and which mostly involves various actors that is the state and the non-state actors. A distinction is drawn between traditional subjects of international relations, for example, the state, and new subjects such as international organizations, national liberation movements and individuals (Cassese, 2005). The state is viewed as the main traditional subject, which is why realists such as Morgenthau, Ojo, Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes created a state-centered theory (Morgenthau, 1978; Ojo et al, 1985; Machiavelli, 1985; Hobbes, 1994). For instance, Morgenthau observed that states act the way they do/relate with each other on the basis of the struggle for power. In light of Morgenthau's postulation,

it is instructive to point out that diplomatic relations are driven by the need of each state to obtain power by relating with other states in the international system. Similarly, diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain are driven by the need and desire for each country to benefit from their bilateral ties.

Kariuki (2015) focused on the Lancaster constitution process of negotiation and how it affected Kenya's foreign relations. The study stated that diplomatic relations amongst the various countries are regulated by international relations. This is mostly done by diplomatic professionals who are appointed by their respective countries and whose negotiations are focused on trade, peacemaking, economic development, human rights and war, among other issues. The study however did not address or focus on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain. Another study by Korwa and Munene (1995) on the Wilsonian Conception of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa which was retrospective and prospective, argues that the United States only supported countries that were democratic and observed the rule of law.

Njagi (2014)'s study on Kenya -Britain military relations from 1963 to 2005 established that despite the British being a "military enemy" of Kenya particularly during the Mau Mau era, they continued to use Kenya for training activities even after Kenya gained independence. This helped to shape Kenya's military relations with Britain. The study concluded that irrespective of the bitter military relations locally, the military at national level has continued to be significant between the two countries i.e. Kenya and Britain. Like kariuki (2015), Njagi did not venture into diplomatic relations as the study focused on security. Further, Percox (2004) argues that Kenya's strategic significance meant that Britain did not abandon the colony after Kenya gained independence. His study covers the period between 1945 to 1965, when Kenya transitioned from being a colony of Britain to being an independent

Republic and the relations between Kenya and Britain through this transition. Further, Nzau (2016) covers the bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain. Nevertheless, it does not clearly show how the diplomatic relations transformed from independence to 2017.

Branch (2011) conducted a study on Kenya's post-independence history and the struggles the country had to deal with including, divisive politics, ethnicity, corruption, the landless, the poor and the direction of its economic development from 1963 up to 2010. Within this scope, Branch also examined the international relations between Kenya and Britain during the Cold War and how these relations shaped Kenya's history. The study concluded that various local and international factors affected Kenya's economic and political landscape since independence, leaving them poor, unemployed and disaffected. Branch's study had a much wider scope in that it analyzed Kenya's history generally and identified many different factors impacting on Kenya's diplomatic relations with Britain.

The year 1963 was essential for this study because this is the period when Kenya gained her independence and formulated the foreign policy. The powers to formulate Kenya's foreign policy are vested in the presidency pursuant to Articles 132 (2) (e) and 132 (4) (a) and (b) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The previous Kenyan Constitution (1963) had similar provisions. The President during the independence period was the initiator, articulator and director of foreign policy. The foreign ministry's responsibility is that of, advice and execution in consultation with the President and its mandate has been to lead, coordinate and manage Kenya's foreign relations in pursuit of the country's own national interests in the ever-changing global environment (GOK 2005).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The importance and essentials of diplomatic relations cannot be understated as countries across the world need to work together to forestall consequences of strained diplomacy. The lack of diplomatic relations among various countries has been a big challenge in the establishment of international policy goals. It is in this context that this study sought to examine what informed Britain to maintain and continue to have foreign diplomatic relations with Kenya from 1963 to 2017 an area that has been under researched. It particularly focused on how diplomatic relations were transformed during the epochs as follows: Kenyatta (1963 to 1978), Moi (1978 to 2002), Kibaki (2002 to 2012) and Uhuru Kenyatta (2013 to 2017). In doing so, the study examined the nature of the diplomatic relations between these two countries in the four different regimes, the motivation for the two countries engaging in diplomacy even after colonialism as well as the policies that informed these relations up to 2017. Further the study investigated the diplomatic relations between the two countries from 2013 to 2017.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research was guided by the following objectives:

The broad goal of the study was to study the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1963 to 2017:

- i. To examine the factors that motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations with Kenya, 1963 to 1978
- ii. To analyse the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1979 to 2002

- iii. To examine changes in diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2003 to 2012
- iv. To investigate the challenges of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2013 to 2017.

1.4 Research Questions

The research sought to answer the following questions:

- i. What factors motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations with Kenya from 1963 to 1978?
- ii. What was the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1979 to 2002?
- iii. How did diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain change from 2003 to 2012?
- iv. What were the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2013 to 2017?

1.5 Research Premises

The study was based on the following research assumptions:

- i. Britain's need to protect her economic interests was the main motivating factor behind the quest for diplomatic relations with Kenya from 1963 to 1978.
- ii. There was warm diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain during the Moi era from 1978 to 2002.

- iii. Diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain were generally poor during the Kibaki era from 2003 to 2012.
- iv. Diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain during the Uhuru Kenyatta era was lukewarm from 2013 to 2017 due to Britain's support for ICC trial of the Kenyan leaders.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The study highlighted the issues, interests, motives and policies that made Kenya and Britain to engage in diplomatic relations after the latter got its independence from the former. By examining the motivations for maintaining and strengthening international diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain, the research findings will be helpful in the formulation of better foreign relations policies which Kenya will apply to upscale her influence at the international stage. Admittedly, Kenya plays a visible role at the international stage as was witnessed during the International Criminal Court trials of President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy William Ruto. Accordingly, the study adds to the existing literature on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain. The findings will empower international relations policy makers, stakeholders, public policy experts, and governments' foreign departments to make informed decisions on policy and practice.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focused on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain during the period 1963 to 2017. Kenya and Britain have a unique relationship hence the study of the two countries. These two countries have historical ties that predate independence with Britain having colonized Kenya and Kenya continues to be a member of the Commonwealth Nations. The scope of the study focused only on the diplomatic

relations and no other aspects which affect both Kenya and Britain. The time period covered by the study is essential as Kenya has come under four regimes during this period (Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta), with each regime having unique foreign policies. Therefore, the study was limited to the period 1963 to 2017.

Some of the challenges encountered while carrying out this study were: difficulty accessing information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and British High Commission as diplomatic matters are considered sensitive and sometimes classified secret and bureaucracy among Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials who made it hard to obtain data.

These challenges were surmounted through obtaining a letter from Kenyatta University, which showed that the study was being conducted for academic purposes only. The researcher invoked Article 35 of the Kenyan Constitution which gives Kenyans the right to information. The researcher obtained information that is not classified from the two governments. Information that was not provided by respondents was obtained from government policy papers and journals.

1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Factors that motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations in 1963 to 1978

In 1963 Kenya attained its independence where it acquired the obligations, privileges, and rights that focused on the international system and which were supported by the international law. In addition, Kenya inherited the governance system hitherto used by the British government. In the buildup to Kenya's independence, three constitutional conferences were held in Lancaster House, London in the years 1960, 1962 and 1963, to facilitate the process of granting independence and self-rule to Kenya by Britain.

According to Ogot (1995), during the negotiations between Kenya and Britain, there were three things that the British wanted to safeguard; the economic ties that existed between Kenya and Britain, military training base and the interest of the settlers who migrated into Kenya. Ogot's work focused on Britain's intentions with regard to Kenya during the independence period and shortly after independence, from 1940 to 1993. The study was not specific to the period after independence. The study equally did not seek to examine the motivations that informed establishment and continuity of the diplomatic relations as this study endeavored to do. The relationship between Kenya and Britain has changed significantly since 1993 due to various factors such as the change of political regimes in both countries, post-election violence of 2007 among many others thereby necessitating this study.

It is worth noting that several issues were discussed in the Lancaster House conference talks in 1962 including the destiny and the role of the British military in Kenya in the near future (Kyle 1999), the White settler population residing in the country, the Somali question and the unsuccessful search for a plebiscite in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya (an area of over 100,000 square miles) by Kenyan Somalis and its union with Somalia. It is important to note that Kyle's study covers the period between the 1890s when the British first came to Kenya and the 1960s when Kenya attained independence. It examined the political intricacies in Kenya and Britain's motivations for its actions especially during the independence period and in relation to Kenyatta.

In addition, Kyle (1999) observes that the independent government under President Kenyatta was faced with many internal and territorial challenges that may have contributed to the continued stationing of the British military presence in Kenya.

Politically, the new regime faced internal ethnic and ideological divisions particularly with secessionist movements and other neighbouring countries' expansionist policies. The aforesaid work is distinct from this study as it did not delve into motivations that informed the continuity of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain after independence up to 2017 a period when Kenya experienced several regime change and how such change impacted on the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Biwot, (1992) observes that the Ogaden Somali and the Ethiopian Haud formed a resistance movement before the colonial masters conquered Africa. The 1961 claim for the Northern Frontier District (NFD) by the Somalis on the basis of historical, cultural and racial reasons persisted even after independence. Biwot's work, unlike this study, specifically focused on the dispute between Kenya and Somali people who had migrated into the North Eastern province which occurred between 1963 and 1979 and which culminated in a serious armed conflict between the two groups. Secondly, the study noted that of all the discussions at the Lancaster House Conference, Kenya's' pre-independence talks considerably pitted KANU and KADU, the main dominant political parties in the country then and whose respective ideological divide profoundly shaped the respective Kenyan delegations to Lancaster.

Parsons (2003) has argued that Britain carefully orchestrated the Lancaster talks and the British government closely monitored these events as they unfolded. In this regard, Britain sought to ensure that the new post-independence Kenya government would be friendly to Britain and protect the British interests. To accomplish these ends, Britain sought to negotiate a constitution for Kenya on terms that can only be described as favorable to British interests. However, Parson's study also focused on

the mutinies by African soldiers in Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya in the year 1964. This was a crucial in the context of understanding the reasons why the soldiers confronted and challenged the civil authority in most of the developing countries. Parsons' work is distinct from this study as it covers the political situation in Kenya in the post-independence period, while this study analyses diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain to the year 2017.

Miller and Yeager (1994) have observed that in their attempt to facilitate independence of their colonies and ensure that the terms of independence favoured them, the British administration made a political and economic promise that it would only influence the administration of the colonies after independence in an informal manner. The British post-colonial policy in Kenya was to relinquish formal political control while retaining immense influence through cultural, trade, economic and more so military links, which came into play during the independence talks.

Kenya obtained its independence in the year 1963 when it assumed its obligations, rights and privileges, from the colonial masters (Britain). By demerit of international law, Kenya inherited the governance system (Ogot, 1995). Orwa, (1992) in his study which focused on the Kenyan foreign policy in general established that Kenya inherited political values, structures and institutions, which drew similarities with the western ideals. According to Nyunya, and Olewe (1990), Kenya-Britain trading revealed that 75% of Kenya's arms trade is with Britain, with Kenya holding a considerable percentage of British investments in the East African region. He pointed out that Kenya's politico-military cooperation with Britain guarantees Kenya's support against foreign aggression. These studies did not extend to cover the impact

of regime changes in Kenya and Britain thereby creating knowledge gap which this study seeks to fill.

According to Munene, (2013), Martin Shikuku, one of the veteran Kenyan politicians and one of the Lancaster house conference delegates during the independence talks in 1963, was of the view that retention of the British military bases was extensively discussed both in the Kenya Legislative Council and British House of Commons (Britain parliament Hansard reports 1961, 1962). The British government expressed its fears on the fate and future of the white settler's population in Kenya.

Munene further observes that Kenyatta even 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 (Munene, 2013).

Cullen (2017) acknowledges scarcity of studies of British relations with her former colonies. Cullen focuses on policy-making and the policy makers, that is, a select group of few people. The small group revolved around President Jomo Kenyatta, and from the British side, a small group working around Whitehall and Westminster. However, the study does not extend to the period 2017 neither does it examine how regime change in one country or the impacts on the diplomatic relations. The period up to 2017 is important as it covers all the regimes that ruled Kenya since

independence. The knowledge gap therefore that this study seeks to fill is not addressed by Cullen (2017).

1.8.2 Diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1979 to 2002

Mahoney (2010) has observed that despite the succession politics that ensued after President Kenyatta died on August 22, 1978, Vice-President Moi took over leadership in accordance with the constitutional provisions. While the death of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978 heralded a period of political uncertainty and tension in the country, on becoming President, Moi emphasized his loyalty as Kenyatta's close follower. He endorsed previous government policies, associated himself with the mainstream capitalist political elite and announced that he would follow Kenyatta's footsteps, popularly coined as '*Nyayo*' (Swahili for footsteps) as if to reassure the 'wailing' nation of his commitment to the founding father's vision.

Orwa (1992), on the other hand has argued that President Moi's international policy regarding economic development was an extension of the policies used by the Kenyatta government. However, whilst Kenyatta's regime had close ties with Western countries in terms of economic and diplomatic relations, Moi's regime, especially since 1988, had a strained relationship with Western countries for what Moi saw as foreign meddling in Kenya's internal affairs. Magero (2007) notes in his study that diplomatic relations with the Eastern bloc improved following the 1980 visit by President Moi to China and subsequent signing of economic and cultural agreements and this marked a significant turn in foreign policy and diplomacy.

Munene (1995) states that, in the year 1980 President Moi's government signed the Facilities Access agreement with the US, where Kenya allowed over-flights, landing rights at three airfields, and access to the Mombasa sea port in exchange for military

assistance. A notable development in this regard was the fact that the US, a major ally of Britain, was able to launch and dock its warships within Kenyan territorial waters during the 1990 to 1991 Gulf war. This meant that Kenya became entwined in the US global coalition against the late Saddam Hussein by offering the US military over-flying rights and the rights to dock their warships at the Mombasa port. This was an important foreign relations development during President's Moi era as it proved that over the years, the US policy towards Africa in general was determined by more or less the same considerations and parameters as Britain. It gave priority to geo-strategic interests over concerns for democracy in US-African policy.

Dianga (2001) posits that President Moi too faced his share of rebellions and threats to national security during his tenure as President. In the month of August 1982, some junior members of the Air Force organized a coup with the aim of toppling Moi's government and taking over power through unconstitutional means. The attempted coup led to political restrictions and curtailing of freedom of association in the country. This political development was followed by Court martial proceedings, political trials, banning of publications, and harassment of critics and suspected opponents of the regime. This way, President Moi worked to consolidate his authority and neutralize his opponents. Indeed, one of the grievances that possibly led to the abortive coup in August 1982 was the constitutional amendment that introduced section 2a, making Kenya a one party state. The coup was, therefore, a consequence rather than a cause of the amendment. Of considerable interest to the study is the comment from the then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who remarked in August 1982 during the failed Kenya Air force coup de tat, that Britain was carefully watching the situation (Miller and Yeager, 1994). This comment from the Prime

Minister of Britain was significant as it indicated that the role of British military stationed in Kenya could not be ignored.

1.8.3 Changes in diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2003 to 2012

The Presidential term of President Moi ended in the historic 2002 general election after the convergence of parties under the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) banner. The events leading to this election proved to be of pivotal significance to Kenya's history. The national security concern during this period was the subject of major scholarly inquiry (Wanyande, 2003; Throup, 1998; Kanyinga, 2003; Nasongo and Murunga, 2007). The opposition presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki won the election on a platform of change particularly the enactment of a new constitutional order. This development heralded a new historical and political landmark in Kenya.

Kaunga, (2008) observes that Amnesty International, a non-governmental organization, documented serious allegations of human rights violations against members of the British army posted to Kenya for training covering a period of over 35 years, approximately from 1965 to 2001. As such, negative civil military relations continued to cloud British army relations with Kenya amidst sustained calls by major non-governmental organizations for the closure of "colonial vestige" in the affected areas in Kenya. Anti-base sentiments were frequently prompted by the friction between the visiting forces and the local population. The foregoing study has covered the military relations between Kenya and Britain. The current study is unique in the sense that it covers diplomatic relations between the two countries in the four different regimes of government.

1.8.4 challenges of Diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2013 to 2017

Mwangi (2013) posits that Kenya and Britain have shared strong relations economically, politically and culturally and unlike before where Kenya appeared just like a dependant of Britain, the ground has tilted as elaborated by the discussions in a parliamentary session in Britain. Britain has found itself increasingly losing the grip it had on Kenya's domestic policy, facilitated by its being the former colonial master. He also argues that the 'Big Brother' role Britain played in Kenya is slowly ending as Kenya asserts itself under a trade-led foreign policy focus. Former President Mwai Kibaki punctured the relations between the two countries more when he decided to drop the West as Kenya's favoured development partner in favour of China and President Uhuru Kenyatta has continued on that trajectory. Relations took a further downward swing when President Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto defeated Britain's seemingly favoured candidate in the 2013 presidential elections, Raila Odinga. A lot has changed since then with President Kenyatta having won that election. Britain has also revised the hardline stance it had indicated should President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto win.

Parkinson (2006) argues that Kenya and Britain have a long history dating back to the 1820s when British took control of the Kenyan coast. That relationship developed into Kenya becoming a British colony. While the British in Kenya have preferred weak, pliable or unstable governments to safeguard its interests and to thrive, in contrast American interests focus on a stable government as a pre-requisite for its strategic and security interests as well as its investments in areas such as Insurance, financial markets and IT whose profitability depends on stability.

In 2007, Kenya experienced disputed presidential elections thereby sparking violence resulting in several dead and many injured. The matter ended up in the International Criminal Court where Honourable Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto among others faced charges of murder and human rights violations. This development put Kenya in bad light in the global map (Hornsby, 2012). Britain was among the countries that supported the ICC push. British policy restricted contact between government officials and ICC indictees to essential business only (ICC, 2013). This policy strained diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain and when Uhuru Kenyatta won the presidential elections in 2013, he pursued Mwai Kibaki's look-east policy.

Other developments over the period include the British exit from the European Union (EU) now famously referred to as the Brexit. This occurred in 2016 when relations between the two countries were warming up and after the then British Prime Minister David Cameron had scheduled to visit Kenya (The Daily Nation 27 January 2016). This development complicates trade for the Kenyan exporters to the EU.

1.8.5 Theoretical Framework

Although there are many contending theories of international relations, this study was anchored upon two thematic theories. These are the realist and neo-realist theories of international relations, to give an analysis of the diplomatic relations between the two nations (Kenya and Britain).

1.8.5.1 Realist Theory

The realist theory, also known as political realism in the context of international relations, encompasses within it a variety of theories and approaches that analyse international politics. It contrasts with idealism or liberalism which emphasizes cooperation. Under the realist theory, the principal actor in the international arena is

the state. It is the state which is concerned with its security and pursues national interests and the struggle for power. It has coercive power and is presumed to be rational in its dealings (Morgenthau, 1978).

The leading scholar of the realist school of thought was Hans Morgenthau (1978). Morgenthau argues that power is the key variable in the conduct of affairs in the international system. According to him, the international system is anarchic since there is no morality in the conduct of affairs and the international system does not have an international government to oversee the conduct of affairs by the states. States are the main actors in the international system and they engage in internal and external efforts to increase effective strategies and also undertake external attempts to align or realign with other states in order to propagate, protect their own interest and maximize their power. This influences the pattern of interactions that take place including the number of states that align with each other in opposing groupings as part of balance of power. Morgenthau argues that since the international system is anarchic 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 security and survival. This system is based on self-help. He argues further that as structures change so does interaction and alliance patterns among its members as well as the outcome that such interactions are expected to produce.

Morgenthau argues that stability and survival are the minimum aim of the foreign policies that most of the nations are engaged in. It is for this reason that most of the countries are advised to offer protection to their political, integrity, and physical territories against invasion by other nation that may have ill intentions. The theory states that the interest of the states is an important component that guarantees its

survival and development. Morgenthau (1978) further states that since nations around the world are divided, the phrase national interest was viewed as significant in relation to the politics of the world. Morgenthau further states that the international system is mainly based on the power balance and thus nations must follow the designed policies to ensure they maintain the status quo, which will facilitate the achievement of expansion and this will make them gain prestige. Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations guarantee the countries support for each other in development.

This theory applies to this study as it explains how Kenya and Britain have employed diplomatic relations to pursue their foreign policies, survival and stability. The theory is also relevant in explaining how Kenya and Britain engage in diplomatic relations to increase effective strategies to undertake external attempts to align or realign with other states in order to propagate and protect their own interests and maximize their power. The Cold War era period is a good example where Britain influenced Kenya to adopt a policy of non-alignment. A significant limitation of classical realism is that it focuses on the state obtaining power, to the exclusion of morality and legality. Kenya was colonized by Britain in pursuit of power as realist theory states. That states will always be rational in discharge of their duties seems to be negated by the conduct of Britain to exploit and colonize Kenya and dehumanize other human beings. This is the limitation of this theory which is mitigated by the application of the neo-realist theory.

1.8.5.2 Neo-realist theories

Neo-realism, on the other hand takes a different approach 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 in international relations by international law and morality. Building on Morgenthau's work, Waltz (2001) utilizes the neo-realist theory to add to the argument that international structure has an influence on the behavior of the states and not the wild actions of men and women. Classical realism considers that the behavior of the state evokes power-oriented strategies because of statesmen's desire for power as an end to itself, whereas neo-realism sees the rise. The offensive and the defensive realities both have the expectations that policy makers will have to act in a competitive manner but the difference depends mostly on the way the policy makers will arrive into the conclusions. Classical realism states that state behavior results into various strategies which are power oriented due to the desire of the state, whereas neo-realism has contrary arguments toward such power-oriented strategies necessitating the need to compete in the international arena.

International instruments for example trade agreements are the norm today. This theoretical context was utilized in the study to determine whether commercial and power interests have been overriding any other interests in Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations (Gariup, 2016). In addition, this theoretical context was relevant when trying to grasp the role of globalization forces which impact on diplomatic relations. The International Criminal Court (ICC) trials of Kenyans charged in that court and which is discussed in the subsequent chapters is in line with this theory. The vitality of the debate outline suggests that classical realism and neo-realism are both beneficial as important concepts that facilitate the evolvement of the international relations between Kenya and Britain.

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

Ogula (2005) states that a research design refers to a strategy of investigation that seeks to answer the research questions of a study and the variables of the study. The research design can also be termed as a framework that sets the blueprint over which the study will be conducted with a view of answering the research questions. This current study adopted a descriptive research design which was qualitative in nature. The design was used to collect data that gives a description of a person, phenomena or organizations. The study aimed at giving a description of the diplomatic relations that exist between the two countries, that is, Britain and Kenya.

1.9.2 Location of the study

The location of this study was Nairobi City County. Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya and the epicentre of Kenya's administration and commercial capital. It occupies an area of 696KMsq (Geological Department, 2013). The researcher chose Nairobi City County because it is where Kenya's Ministry of Foreign affairs and the British High commissioner offices are headquartered. Therefore, Oral interviews were possible with the relevant attaches of the two governments. The study however extended to the outskirts of Nairobi where retired and relevant diplomats settled within the country. A map of Nairobi is provided in Appendix V.

1.9.3 Target Population

According to Ogula, (2005), population refers to the people, institutions, or objects that possess similar or close characteristics. The researcher targeted Ministry of Foreign affairs, Kenya's high Commissioners to Britain and British High Commission offices in Nairobi for oral interviews with the relevant *attaches* of the two

governments. The study also targeted retired diplomats and academicians for interview.

1.9.4 Sampling Technique and Procedure

A purposive sampling technique was used to draw up the list of knowledgeable informants for the study. A purpose sampling technique is a non-probability technique which is used to gather information from respondents who have particular insights about a subject matter. Specifically the study targeted persons handling matters between Kenya and Britain both at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and British High Commissioners Offices. The study also targeted diplomats serving and retired (Ambassadors to Britain from Kenya and British High Commissioners to Kenya, and their officials) and also academicians of diplomacy in universities (lecturers). The researcher narrowed his sample size to 45 respondents because of the scope of the study, time limits and resources available, who were thereafter considered and were willing to participate in the field research. These included Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials 10, retired British High Commissioners and their officials 10, retired Kenyan Ambassadors to Britain and their officials 10, International Law experts including lawyers 5, Academicians (lecturers) 10.

1.9.5 Data collection procedures

Before the start of data collection, the researcher sought for authorization to facilitate the process. The researcher sought the letter of introduction from Kenyatta University which was used to get clearance and authorization from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI Appendix IV) to proceed to the field. The researcher also sought audience with the sampled population with the aim of offering clarification on the aim of the study. Once the researcher got clearance for

data collection, the researcher interviewed the sampled respondents. During the distribution process the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the respondents.

1.9.6 Data collection methods

The study collected both primary and secondary data. The instrument used to collect data from the field was an interview guide. Primary data was gathered from oral interviews which were conducted in Nairobi City County. The aim was to identify first level stakeholders and their first-hand information pertaining to diplomatic relations, as well as assess the local impacts of the same. The researcher visited the Ministry of Foreign affairs specifically the Britain-Kenya relations section and the British High Commission offices in Nairobi for oral interviews with the relevant attaches of the two governments. This is because diplomats attached to the two countries are in a unique position to provide information on diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The study also benefited from archival data from the Kenya National Archives including de-classified information in the form of treaties, intelligence reports, agreements and protocols both bilateral and multilateral entered by the two countries that the researcher found relevant to the study. Archival sources were significant because they helped in the study of people and events from earlier times in history as well as to study behaviour and attitudes across long time spans. This is the most appropriate method as the study investigated events that took place over five decades earlier. The Kenya National Archives and Documentation Centre were the key sources of archival data. The secondary data was obtained from the Kenyatta University library City Campus among others. From this library, the researcher

accessed journals which informed the study. The researcher also accessed journal articles, and other secondary sources online.

1.9.7 Data Analysis

Primary and secondary data generated from both the key informant interviews (List of Interviewees Appendix III) and documents were analysed qualitatively using the content analysis method. The data was corroborated, organised by research questions, presented in a narrative form and themes in accordance with the research questions. The researcher used MS Word to transcribe digitally recorded interviews in English. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was employed to analyse the data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

1.9.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher explained the purpose of the study to the respondents. The researcher emphasized that the data collected was to be utilized for academic purposes only. Further, the researcher explained to the respondents that their participation in the study was voluntary and no one was compelled to do so. The respondents gave consent on whether to take part in the study or not. The respondents were guaranteed privacy and confidentiality during data collection. The respondent consent form is attached as in Appendix II.

While carrying out the study, the researcher was extremely careful to ensure that all the sources of information were cited to avoid plagiarism. The researcher also worked with his supervisor in order to meet all the requirements of the university such as obtaining research authorization from NACOSTI, ensuring that his Project proposal was approved before proceeding, and properly defending his project before a panel of lecturers as required.

CHAPTER TWO

FACTORS THAT MOTIVATED ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN 1963 to 1978

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the factors that motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations with Kenya in the post-independence period. Under the realist theory, states pursue self-interest. Consequently, Britain had investments to protect, alongside its citizens who had decided to stay in independent Kenya. On the other hand, the young nation Kenya needed financial inflows and investors to assist it generate economic resources, more specifically, taxes to fund its programs such as, education, health and eradication of poverty. This chapter therefore explores the factors that motivated the establishment of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain during the period 1963 to 1978.

2.2. Background to British Colonial Interests in Kenya

In order to understand post independent Kenya diplomatic relations with Britain, it is imperative to examine how and why Kenya came under British colonialism. British foreign policy in the late 1960s typically represented a time of changing abilities and emphasis, with the decision to leave East of Suez and move away from the Commonwealth towards Europe (Harlow, 1996). The country also moved its focus away from global to European perspective (Parr, 2005). The wind of change had swept Africa and the Cold War posed security concerns (Hornsby 2013). Britain's colonization of Kenya was a gradual and incremental process that started in the later part of the nineteenth century. The desire for commercial penetration of the region led to increased immigration of merchants and British settlers into Kenya (Sorrenson

1967). Following the partitioning of Africa in the Berlin conference of 1884 to 1885, Kenya came under the British and over time became part of East African protectorate in 1895. Kenya was maintained as part of that Protectorate (a British sphere of influence), until 1920 when it officially became a British colony (Sorrenson, 1967).

There are many reasons which scholars have fronted to explain colonization (Ndege, 2008). However, of interest to this study is the strategic consideration linked to Britain's interest to safeguard the Nile, in order to enhance commerce and trade (Kanyinga, 2000). This consideration created geopolitical tension which continued to influence national security policy of Kenya well after independence.

The idea the British had in 1896 was to acquire Mombasa as a sea port and create linkage with the interior of Kenya up to Lake Victoria, the source of the Nile, hence control the Nile from its source, which is the lifeline of Egypt (Chiriyankandath, 2007). Once the control of Egypt was established, specific interest lay on the control of the Suez Canal. The control of Suez Canal would grant the British the means to control trade in the Middle East with Europe, as well as the control of trade routes through the canal to the Indian Ocean. Thus, Kenya was partly colonized because of this strategic consideration (Miller and Norman, 1984).

Kenya is seen to have become effectively part of the states' whose policy considerations in the utility of the Lake Victoria waters would become tied to the interests of the Nile's riparian states particularly Egypt from then henceforth (Ogot, 2000). The consideration later led to the Nile Agreement of 1929 between Egypt and the British government. This agreement created two fundamental security concerns. The agreement gave Egypt monopolistic access to the Nile with little obligation to other riparian states which is considered a situation of potential conflict. Following

independence, Kenya, accepted with stipulations all bilateral treaties, which were signed by Britain on her behalf and did not specifically challenge the Nile Agreement (Kieya, 2007). However, the resentment of Egypt's monopolistic use of the Nile has led to more recent demands by other riparian states for a re-negotiation and a revision of the Nile Agreement.

The real reasons for the scramble for Africa and the subsequent partitioning and colonization were economic, and not exclusively strategic as has been argued by some scholars; land, an important aspect of the agro-industrial economy of the time, was top on the list of the Imperial agenda (Kanchory, 2006).

Prior to the arrival of the colonialists, land was an important factor for all communities in Kenya. Although the population was relatively low and land expansive, the population was rising in most areas especially in the central highlands, the rift valley and western Kenya and therefore land was gradually being transformed from communal to private or controlled within family units. Most communities had little commercial activities and were dependent mainly on land for their livelihood through peasant farming or as pastoralists (Wakhungu, Nyukuri and Huggins 2008).

Communities such as the Agikuyu and the Miji Kenda developed agricultural economies. Others, including the Maasai and the Samburu practiced pastoralist forms of production. The majority such as the Luo and the Abagusii engaged in both crop cultivation and livestock keeping, while other communities like the Ogiek thrived on hunting and gathering. Production was primarily for collective subsistence rather than individual accumulation. The kinship system was the basis of ownership of factors of production which included land, livestock and labor (Ndege, 2009).

Therefore, when the colonialists arrived in 1888 and started displacing these communities from their land, their system of sustenance was disrupted and their means of livelihood threatened. The British imperial ambitions engendered a process of violent enclosures beginning in the 1890s in which large tracks of fertile land covering eight million acres was carved out from the native land. The process involved alienating African land for European settlers and for the colonial administration as well. The process saw many communities mainly in Central Kenya and the Rift Valley like the Kikuyu, Masaai, and Nandi among others lose their land (Njogu, 2010).

Parkinson, (2006) captures this process in the “History of Kenya”, and states that, with the completion of the railway line in 1901, the headquarters of the colonial administration was moved from Mombasa to the cooler highlands of Nairobi and the white settlers began to occupy the fertile highlands north of Nairobi. In the process, their interests clashed with those of the Maasai whose traditional grazing land was established to be fertile and ideal for agricultural farming by the settlers. In 1904, the Laibon of the Maasai together with some representatives of his community were prevailed upon to consent to an agreement on behalf of his community to vacate part of the land and be regrouped to two areas on condition that the agreement would remain in force as long as the Maasai remained as a race. The agreement lasted seven years and before its expiry and replacement in 1911, the settlers were agitating for its abrogation and the Maasai moved again (Ghai and McAuslan, 1970).

The alienation of Lake Magadi, (formerly the Southern Maasai Reserve) from the Maasai community by the British colonialist and subsequent exploitation of the soda deposits by foreign companies is also one of the many long standing grievances by the

community in addition to land. The alienation was purportedly founded on a clause in the 1911 Maasai agreement but there is compelling historical evidence which suggest that the agreement did not confer such rights (Hughes, 2008).

While Sorrenson, (1967) provides detailed accounts of how the Kikuyu community was at the forefront of social and political developments in Kenya, Hughes (2008) accounts of how the Maasai were dispossessed of their land gives a more accurate perspective from previous literature. Mungeam (1966) who was among the earliest writers of colonization in Kenya, offered stereo type accounts of early explorers to East Africa and therefore did not reflect on the general perspective as perceived by the Maasai. According to Hughes (2006), this forced move occasioned the displacement of over twenty thousand people and two and a half million livestock to create room for more European settlement.

The forced movement had psychological, social, and economic impacts on the general lives of the Maasai community. The Southern Reserve was cold and infested with East Coast Fever (ECF) which killed their livestock in the thousands. This rendered many families poor and dependent on the goodwill of the local Maasai who lived in the Reserve. The climate was cold and many people died out of pneumonia as they crossed the Mau ranges towards the warmer southern slopes of the Mau and the Loita plains where most of the Purko settled. The community's social fabric that provided a means of social support was severed and collectively performed traditional and religious rites could no longer be held at the now-inaccessible shrines (Hughes, 2006).

Other motives that necessitated the move included the need for an elaborate taxation system which was only possible if the Maasai community was concentrated in one manageable geographical area and the need to protect the European settlers' imported

livestock from being infected by diseases from the indigenous stock that the Maasai kept (Hughes, 2006).

Land alienation extended into the Kikuyu land as well. Although the Maasai suffered the worst land annexation, the Kikuyu community around Mount Kenya and the Aberdares equally lost a lot of land and grievances against the British due to their alienation from their land intensified (Parkinson, 2006).

The issue of land became the rallying point for colonial resistance. The displacement caused the Kikuyu community which was already becoming land scarce to move further to the Rift Valley. The white settlers expropriated the best farm lands from the Kikuyu community (Gellar, 1987). In Rift Valley, mainly populated by the Kalenjin and the Maasai, who had also been displaced by the settlers, the incursion by the Kikuyu not only displaced them more but also created enmity that would become volatile in the post-independence period when it got embedded with politics resulting in ethnic clashes.

Colonial economic development favored certain regions and therefore at independence some areas were more developed than others (Wunyambari, 1996). The road network and general infrastructure were developed mainly in areas where the white settlements were, while other areas were largely neglected. These developments gave advantage to the communities that lived in these areas as it gave them better chances for economic and social advancement. The net effect made Kenya a state with many communities sharply divided along tribal lines to the extent that inter-tribal enmity exceeded inter-tribal cooperation. This conflictual relation would become a security challenge, as soon as after independence; inter-tribal enmity undermined

national security, cohesion and therefore slowed the general economic and developmental agenda.

2.2.1 Squatter Factor

Faced with labour shortage and the impracticability of the settlers cultivating the substantial land holding they had accumulated, some settlers as early as 1904 introduced “Kaffir farming”. This was an arrangement where the settlers allowed the natives to squat on the now settler owned farms on a crop sharing basis. They contributed labour to the owner of the Land in return for the occupation. Although this was inconsistent with the Labour Commission of 1913, it however offered a solution to the challenge of labour scarcity (Ghai and McAuslan, 1970).

Consequently, this was legitimized through enactment of the Resident Native (Squatters) Ordinance of 1918. The Ordinance introduced a publicly supervised agreement of agricultural labour whereby the Squatter had to work for 180 days on the farm and in return the natives together with their families could live and have an area for their own farming. The main object of this ordinance was to ensure that landlord and tenant relationship did not exist (Ghai and McAuslan, 1970). A tenant enjoys certain land rights which the colonial administration could not grant to the natives.

By 1930, squatters had become the main source of labour on settler farms and estates, and the total number of squatters was estimated to be around 120,000 people. They occupied at least 20% of settler land. Many of the early squatters were actually the original inhabitants of the land taken by the settlers. Some came from the reserves to escape the restrictions of reserve life and particularly conscription during the war, and the rigors and abuses of communal labour after the war. Food shortages in the

reserves also played a role in pushing Kenyans to become squatters, as did the desire to escape the education and religion brought by missionaries, which were more in the reserves than on settler farms (Zezeza, 1992).

By 1918, a squatter had to work for a settler for three months, but this increased to six months in 1925 and eight months in March 1944. After the second World War the labor requirement increased still further to nine months and squatter plots grew yet smaller (Zezeza). Squatters were also not allowed to raise cattle because the white settlers were eager to protect their imported, exotic herds from diseases (Alam, 2007). In some areas squatters were barred from keeping any livestock at all and where livestock was allowed they were restricted to an average of only 15 sheep. Although they were usually allowed to cultivate between one and a half to two acres of land, with increased labour demands (ranging from a minimum of 240 to 270 days) and with no wage increases, it would appear that their subordination was virtually complete. But the settlers still continued to press for further restrictions (Kanogo, 1987).

The existence and availability of squatters to the British settlers at this time was beneficial as they provided cheap labour in the settler farms, which labour was fundamental to the agro-industrial economy of the time. In 1939, the colonial government purchased a large amount of land to relocate evicted squatters. The land was of poor quality, and the Kikuyus, who constituted the majority of the squatters, refused to move to them. Thus, in 1939, there were more than 30,000 evicted, landless squatters. At the time of Kenya's independence, squatter labor accounted for 4% of agricultural employment (Zezeza, 1992).

Ghai and McAuslan, (1970) posits that the alienation of land from the Africans and the availability of squatters allowed the British to develop a vibrant agro-industry in Kenya. Large farms were demarcated and cultivated and a diverse array of crops such as tea, coffee, maize, wheat and others were grown. Some of the largest farms estates are located in Kericho, Rift Valley where tea is grown. The Kericho tea estates cover 10,000 hectares and produces 30 million kilos of tea annually (Hornsby 2012). They were one of the biggest tea estate establishments in the White Highlands. Kericho is home to the Kenya Tea Development Authority and hosts Kenya's large-scale tea farming operations that include Finlays, Williamson and Unilever. It is a region known worldwide for its production of high quality black tea prized for its brightness, appealing color, brisk flavor and fragrant leaves (Hornsby, 2012).

The establishment of large farms by the British, such as the ones described above and their extremely considerable investments in the areas of farming, industry and exports meant that they continue to have economic interests in the country.

2.2.2 Political Independence of Kenya from Britain and Diplomatic Relations

Kenya's independence from Britain, its colonial master was preceded by several events, conflict and armed resistance mainly by the Africans, the most notable being the Mau Mau revolt of 1952 to 1956. Although the Mau Mau revolt was neutralized, the country's decolonization was accelerated particularly in 1960 to 1963. The settlers who owned land were not at ease especially because of the anti-colonial wind blowing in Africa. This was exacerbated by the cold war security concerns. The colonial government worked towards ensuring that Kenya was inherited at independence by institutions and individuals who had British inclination. The potential political

leadership had to comprise leaders who were educated and shared British view of the world system (Hornsby, 2012).

The political temperature prior to independence was rather interesting, with the British pushing for moderate African leaders such as Ronald Ngala and Tom Mboya rather than the ones they considered radical such as Jomo Kenyatta, who was believed to have masterminded the Mau Mau (Hornsby, 2012). There was also concern among the British and Kenyan colonial governments about the spread of Soviet and Chinese influence, which they felt would weaken Western influence and threaten Kenya's prosperity. This concern caused the British to steer African nationalist opinion towards moderation and against radicalism such as that practiced by Oginga Odinga (Hornsby, 2012). Calls for Kenyatta to be released had however reached fever pitch by 1960, with Odinga, and the James Gichuru led Kenya African National Union (KANU) (formed on 14th May 1960) calling for his release before any consensus could be reached with the British. The Ronald Ngala led Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), also formed in 1960, similarly though reluctantly campaigned for the release of Kenyatta. KADU, however, had European backing since it appeared more willing to grant the European settlers protection than KANU.

Jomo Kenyatta was identified by Britain as the best person would offer continuity. When it became apparent that they had succeeded to have Kenyatta, to at least some degree, ensuring that Kenyatta remained a 'friend' of Britain was their overriding objective (Percox, 2004) British decision-makers hoped for a positive relationship where Kenya would remain favourable and beneficial to Britain (Henderson, 2009). A general positive atmosphere was more significant than any single tangible outcome.

In 1963 Jomo Kenyatta was appointed the first African Prime Minister of Kenya under the government of Her Majesty the queen (Kisiang'ani, 2004). On 12th December 1963 Kenya attained its independence and Jomo Kenyatta assumed the position of the President of the Republic of Kenya in 1964 and Oginga Odinga his Vice President albeit for a short stint before they fell out. President Jomo Kenyatta leaned towards capitalism while Oginga Odinga leaned towards communism (Kieya, 2007). Britain was uncomfortable with the communist inclining Odinga particularly because of Tanzania and Ethiopia who wholly identified with communist Russia (Orwa, 1989).

As Ellis (2002) has observed, independence, while significant, did not always mark the radical break with the past that many observers once took for granted'. Independent states were the 'successors to the colonial regime and, as Burton and Jennings (2007) have argued, continuities are not surprising and therefore should not be condemned. African economies, built up under colonial rule, were Western export oriented. They still relied on foreign investment and development aid during the decades after independence and so continued policies of extraversion. Cooper has characterized these as 'gatekeeper states' (Cooper, 2002).

The above literature therefore explains why the colonial legacy was a major factor that ensured continuity of the diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya as the new independent state was only a reflection of its colonial master. Kenya's foreign policy posture in international affairs was that of non-alignment. Non alignment meant a less radical posture that would not have threatened the continued inflow of external capital as well as development aid Kenya needed for its economic growth. This policy focused on neutrality within the Cold War (Murumbi, 1965). Non-

alignment did not preclude involvement with economic and military partners and donors, but offered African states the opportunity to bargain for support (Clapham, 1996). However, the prominence of Britain within Kenya's foreign relations has been widely acknowledged. Kyle (1999) has argued that the policies of Kenyatta's Government, officially non-aligned, possessed a quite definite tilt towards the west. Even within this, as Hornsby has recognized, relationships with Britain were the cornerstone of Kenya's foreign policy (Hornsby, 2012).

Related to this was the ideology of African socialism contained in Sessional paper No. 10 which ensured that Kenya's nominally uncommitted domestic economic policy remained pro-Western, and more specifically, pro-British. African Socialism encouraged foreign investment, stating that Kenya would borrow technological knowledge and proven economic methods from any country (CAB, 1965). Orwa argues that one aim was selling Kenya to potential foreign private entrepreneurs, of whom the British were key candidates (Orwa, 1992). African Socialism was also partly intended by its authors for consumption abroad as a statement of intent to the international community. This domestic economic doctrine was a roundabout way of distancing Kenya from radicalism, and therefore from Soviet influence.

That Kenyatta preferred to work through individuals rather than institutions is clearly visible in Kenyan interaction with British civil servants, diplomats and politicians. Kenya established a High Commission in London, one of only eight until 1968 (Greene, 1992). Establishing relationships was a key role of British diplomats posted to Nairobi. MacDonald argued that friendly and trustful personal relations between the Ministers of different countries are at least half the battle in the struggle for peaceful and constructive coexistence. McKenzie in 1970 raised the importance of

personal connections, stating that this was not always recognized: British policy-makers certainly looked to identify these key individuals, and were keen to locate those who might be influential in future, looking for ‘ways in which we can cultivate the next generation of leading politicians’, with visits to London a key part of this (Dawbarn and Allinson, 1973). This explains why two key people who were close to Kenyatta, McKenzie and Njonjo were so favoured by the British (Hornsby, 2012).

Upon independence, Kenya joined the Commonwealth, United Nations and the Organization of African Union (OAU) later renamed African Union among many other international bodies in discharge of its role in the global politics. It also established diplomatic relations with several countries including Britain, United States of America. .

2.2.3 The Limuru Conference And Pressure From London: Throwing The ‘Leftists’ Out

The Limuru conference and the Lancaster discussions were the major events that preceded the declaration of independence in Kenya.

In the build-up to Kenya’s independence, three constitutional conferences were held in Lancaster House, London in the years 1960, 1962 and 1963 to facilitate the process of granting independence and self-rule to Kenya by the British. Ogot (1995) observes that there were three main interests the British wanted to safeguard during these negotiations: their military bases, Kenya’s economic ties to Britain, and the interests of the immigrant populations.

It’s worth noting that several other issues were also discussed in the Lancaster House conference talks in 1962 including the fate of the future role of the British military in

Kenya (Kyle 1999), the White settler population residing in the country, the Somali question and the unsuccessful search for a plebiscite in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya (an area of over 100,000 square miles) by Kenyan Somalis and its union with Somalia.

In 1966, there was tremendous pressure from the British government and the United States to suppress individuals whose preference for ties with the East was a threat to the Western governments (Okumu, 1983). By this time, Kenya found herself trapped in a debate which was increasingly ideological in tone, with Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya leading the radical and conservative groupings respectively (African South of Sahara, 1974). The radicals (also variously referred to as the leftists, socialists or pro-East) attacked class differentiation among Africans and called for more nationalizations; the conservatives (capitalists or pro-West) believed Kenya's highly developed export sector was too fragile to survive such treatment, a caution stigmatized by their critics as deference to neo-colonialism.

The pressure from the two governments (Britain and the U.S.) came about because Odinga was suspected of receiving cash and arms from communist sources. In order to do away with the radicals, the government orchestrated the famous Limuru Conference held from 11 to 13 March, 1966 (The Standard, March 13, 1966). The Conference successfully rooted out of the ruling party, the socialists or the KANU left wing that subsequently quit the ruling party and formed a new socialist political party, the Kenya Peoples Union.

It is significant to note that this otherwise expensive conference was financed by the British and the U.S. Governments (Okumu, 1983). The outcome of this conference, it can be argued, was a further manifestation of Kenya's foreign policy of compliance

with Britain on salient areas. The government's decision and ability to effectively contain the socialist minded politicians, was in the interest of Britain and generally the West. With respect to the Conference, Okumu argues quite convincingly that:

Potential Russian influence was a threat to the entrenched British farming, commercial and industrial interests which control the country's economy and determine the direction of its development especially in the private sector. The urge, the desire to protect British interests in Kenya is stated to be an integral part of the golden handshake, a set of agreement that together constituted the price of independence (Okumu, 1983).

Kenya's pre-occupation with her economic difficulties at home and the need to solve them increasingly came to dictate her approach and her foreign policy towards Britain. In order to maintain the British support in Kenya's economic development, it was necessary to silence any critic of British capitalism which had pervaded every sector of the Kenyan economy.

The next colonial feature is the structure and functioning of the administrative system and its relation to future security systems. The colonial state was administered as an extension of the colonizing state. It was the intent and motives of colonization that informed the structure of the administration. According to Gellar (1987), the colonial state was not meant to lay a foundation for the development of a modern African nation state. It had more modest goals: to maintain law and order, to foster obedience and loyalty to the colonial authorities and to defend and promote the political and economic interest of the colonizing state. This could explain why even after independence the British still wanted to benefit from their former colonies, including Kenya.

Hornsby (2012) posits that during the duration of the Cold War, Kenya policy of non-alignment was guardedly pro-western. Britain was controlling much of the civil service and quietly worked to ensure that Kenya started on a path of stability which in their view was only possible on a non-communist policy. Britain was at the forefront of the cold war in Kenya and committed troops to Kenya to protect their man President Kenyatta from any communist trouble.

2.2.4 The UDI Question and Diplomatic Relations

In 1965, Kenya's foreign policy of co-operation and compliance with British interests, owing largely to dependency, was again clearly demonstrated. This followed Ian Smith's illegal Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Southern Rhodesia (and now Zimbabwe) on 11th November 1965 (Good, 1973). The declaration obviously vested power in the hands of the white minority, implying perpetuation of colonialism in Southern Rhodesia. On the same day, the then Kenyan Vice-President Oginga Odinga moved a motion of adjournment in Parliament to allow the House to discuss the Rhodesian question (Kenya, House of Representatives Debate, 1965). Rejecting and condemning the illegal regime, the government declared its strong support for the resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU and of the General Assembly which had been passed in anticipation of the illegal declaration of independence.

The OAU resolution in question was passed at Accra in October 1965, and by it, the OAU members agreed to use all possible means including the use of force against an illegally constituted regime in Rhodesia. Making his contributions in Parliament, one Member of Parliament, Z. Anyieni, asserted that they would not be satisfied with the government statements in denouncing the racialist regime. In his view, they wanted

action taken and although such an action could not be taken unilaterally, the Kenya Government could take the lead and encourage other African states to join. Answering criticisms from the M.P.s, the government assured the members that it felt strongly as them but the question of Rhodesia was not only a Kenya problem but that of Africa and therefore Kenya was obliged to work with the other African nations. The government observed that:

We need to know what other nations in Africa want us to do, so that we can do it together. We want the action that is going to be taken to be fast and effective. Kenya has declared right from the beginning that we are ready to take action, whatever the OAU decides, we are prepared to go with the OAU, up until the very bitter end.

Kenya refused to sever diplomatic relations with Britain as demanded by the OAU Resolution of its member states, despite their seeming commitment to the OAU as demonstrated by the government's statement set out above. The resolution followed the fact that the British government not only recognised Smith's U.D.I., but equally supported it. This action by Britain ran counter to the OAU Charter (Amate, 1986), Inside the OAU which advocated for total eradication of colonialism in Africa through concerted effort.

Interestingly, Kenya as a member of the OAU had committed itself in the KANU Constitution and Manifestos that the country would work with the other nationalist democratic movements in Africa and other continents to eradicate imperialism, colonialism, racialism and all other forms of national or racial foreign oppression (Kenya African National Union Constitution, 1960).

Following the declaration of U.D.I. by Rhodesia in November, the OAU held an emergency meeting in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia, on December 3, 1965. It is in this

meeting that a resolution calling for an ultimatum to Britain to end U.D.I. by December 15, or have the OAU states break relations with her, was passed. Joseph Murumbi, then Kenya's Foreign Affairs Minister, voted for the resolution on behalf of Kenya. He felt that for political and emotional reasons, he could follow no other course (Robert, 1973).

President Kenyatta however, felt that for reasons that were nonetheless also political and economic, his government could not go along with Murumbi's action. Kenyatta thus promptly disowned the action, as did a number of other African leaders. Only 9 countries among them Tanzania and Zambia - finally broke relations with Britain (Rothschild, 1966).

On December 9, 1965, the government was asked by Parliament to declare its stand on the OAU resolution. Pushed to state whether it was going to break off diplomatic relations with Britain in tune with the OAU resolution, the government responded that Kenya was an independent sovereign state and as such, would not be rushed into a decision by anybody (Kenya Presidential Statement, 1965)."

On December 10, while addressing Parliament on the government's stand on Rhodesia and defending the government for not breaking diplomatic relations with Britain, President Kenyatta pledged his government's support for the OAU resolution and promised that the government would remain a faithful member of the organization. He added that it was however, obvious, since the resolution was announced, that there had been conflicting reactions by various African States. This meant that action taken would not be effective and could in fact be abortive (Ibid).

Despite Kenya's spirited but disguised defence of her position, her refusal to comply with the call by the OAU to act against Britain, in the researcher's opinion, further demonstrated her foreign policy of co-operation and compliance with Britain. By exhibiting non-compliance with the OAU call, Kenya was instead transferring that compliance to Britain. Kenya declined to follow other countries such as Tanzania which promptly severed relations with Britain and even more than that, pulled out of the Commonwealth of Nations. Though it had been the Kenya Government's policy to implement the OAU's resolutions on colonialism and racialism, the Government made it clear that it did not consider that political differences between independent states could be resolved through severing diplomatic relations. Kenya's policy with respect to Britain reflected the importance it attached to the maintenance and expansion of British assistance to her as well as mutual trade between the two countries.

Kenya believed that it was in the mutual interest of both countries that differences with respect to the political situation in Southern Africa not be allowed to affect the bilateral relations between her and Britain. It is for this reason that it is argued in this study that one predictable result of this officially sponsored campaign to promote and maintain co-operation and compliance with Britain is the seeming close British involvement in promoting the Republic's economic interests. This process had advanced to the point where Kenya could not sever relations with Britain. Maintenance of bilateral relations with Britain is a prerequisite for Kenya's continued economic benefits. The bilateral tie maintained through active diplomacy is therefore a salient issue in Anglo- Kenya relations.

Okumu (1977) attributes Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain (on the U.D.I. issue) which he rightly calls "quiet diplomacy" to historical factors. However, I would like to argue that historical circumstances alone could not have made Kenya to behave in the way she did. If that was the case, then how do we explain the fact that Tanzania, which achieved her independence from Britain decided to break off diplomatic ties with Britain? How do we explain the steady worsening in relations between Zambia and Britain in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the former's more militant and critical approach to the British policies in Southern Africa (Legum,1969), at a time when Kenya remained less militant and watchful? Are historical factors lacking in Tanzania-British relations, for example?

It is the argument of this study that Kenya's foreign policy of cooperation and compliance with Britain is not influenced by historical factors alone. As has been demonstrated, this influence is greatly attributed to economic (as well as military) considerations. Compared with Tanzania for example, Kenya received more assistance from Britain. Logically therefore, she could not behave in a similar manner like Tanzania, which in any case was steadily going socialist (John, 1984). Kenya realised that conflictive foreign policy towards Britain could endanger her economy. Moreover, in 1965, Kenya had not effectively diversified her economy with the other powers and so her dependence on Britain was quite great. Breaking diplomatic relations with Britain at a time when Kenya needed her most was not in the best interest of Kenya. It was never lost to the Kenyan leadership that internal political stability which the country was trying to build up greatly depended on sound economic base. This was only possible by maintaining cordial bilateral relations with Britain as a major donor. The leadership therefore felt that cooperation and compliance was desirable. It is the argument of this study that if one wants to appraise

Kenya's compliance in Kenya's case-with Britain, particularly on the U.D.I. issue, then questions of economics and politics must be of paramount importance. Essential is the realization that underlying compliance in Kenya's case is the need for faster development. Indeed the level of Kenya's development could not be where it was at independence and after, without British economic support. The relevance of Kenya's compliance has to be understood in the context of the quest for this development which was affirmed in the 1963 KANU Manifesto.

2.2.5 Racial Accommodation: Integrating British Citizens

The period around 1961 was particularly uncertain for Kenya's Asian and European populations as they came face to face with Kenya's imminent independence. The security forces and the 61,000-strong white communities were concerned for their future especially in light of the violence experienced in Congo in 1960 after Belgium's withdrawal (Hornsby, 2012). This uncertainty caused thousands of Europeans to flee between 1961 and 1963. The economy was adversely affected by this political uncertainty. It was therefore of utmost importance to the British during this period to ensure that a future African-led government would respect the rights and interests of British citizens who chose to remain. The issue of European land was key, with Blundell pushing for a programme of land purchase and African settlement that would either buy out the white settlers entirely or permit them to continue farming safely after independence.

It is not surprising therefore that at independence; Kenya adopted the policy of racial accommodation. This policy augured well for Europeans and Asians most of whom were British citizens. This was in line with her foreign policy towards Britain which was calculated to avoid any kind of entanglements. President Kenyatta made it clear

that so long as Britain recognised Kenya's sovereignty, Kenya would continue to co-operate (and comply) with her for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two nations. This led to his famous exhortation to all the people of all races to forgive the past and pool their efforts together for more rapid development (The Standard, December 13, 1963). This policy has continued to tighten the ties between a once repressive colonial power and a people it once treated with brutality and racial contempt. The policy was cautiously adopted by the Kenya Government as one way of furthering co-operation between the two governments. At this time, already a British loan of substantial amount was being used in the land scheme, besides other financial, technical and military assistance to Kenya. A continuation of these undertakings by Britain unquestionably required co-operation and compliance from the Kenya Government.

In 1964, Africa Diary reported that it was increasingly accepted in Nairobi that Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta was determined to submerge the racial bitterness of the past and to assure whites of a place in 'nation building'. This was something none of the whites ever offered him. Kenyatta extended the same assurances to the country's settlers (Africa Diary, op. cit., p. 1530, 1964). Kenyatta's words are worth quoting here. He said:

We are all human beings. We all make mistakes. But we can all forgive. That is what we need to learn in Kenya. Where I have harmed you, I ask forgiveness. We must put the past behind us. The only settlers who will not be wanted are those who consider themselves 'bwanas' (Kiswahili word for masters), who look down at Africans as boys. Anyone who still wants to be called 'bwana' should pack up and go, but others who are prepared to live under our flag, are invited to remain (Government Booklet op.cit., p. 80).

The policy of racial equality adopted by the Kenyan government while extending to all races in the world became more meaningful in her foreign relations with Britain.

This is because most of the Asians and white settlers in Kenya were British citizens. Such a policy therefore ensured continued co-operation with Britain. In this respect, it can be argued that Kenya realised that the conduct of her foreign policy towards Britain was going to be more effective only if the domestic racial agenda was tackled imaginatively as it did. Kenya's poverty and Britain's economic strength, no doubt, had a big role to play in adopting the policy of racial equality, at a time when public opinion was against it due to bitter colonial experience. This extension of olive branch to Asians with British citizenship was of significant salience to Britain. But as long as it ensured that British economic assistance to Kenya was forthcoming, this foreign policy posture was also in Kenya's national interest.

2.2.6 Military Relations

The secessionist movement in northern Kenya and the army mutiny of January 1964 galvanised the defence arrangement between Britain and Kenya. During the negotiation process prior to independence, the Secretary of State, Duncan Sandys, had negotiated with the Kenya government for a phased withdrawal of British forces based in Kenya over a period of twelve months from the date of independence on 12 December 1963. At independence, the main component of the 24 Infantry Brigade and certain of its support units had been transferred to Aden (Buszynski, 1986). The Brigade Headquarters, two battalions (the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards and 1st Battalion Staffordshire Regiment both at Kahawa), plus 3rd Regiment Royal Horse Artillery and 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders at Gilgil, remained awaiting to be moved to Aden at the end of October 1964. After his visit to Kenya, Sandys appeared before the British Cabinet on 12 March 1964, and reported that the Kenya government was anxious to strengthen their armed forces and to improve their arrangement for maintaining internal security (Percox, 2004). The Lanet mutiny had impelled

Kenyatta to follow the British blueprint closely in rebuilding the Kenya Army, which meant using the British military in training and equipping the armed forces (Parsons, 1964).

Discussions on the Anglo-Kenyan military cooperation continued for three months and were concluded on 3 June 1964 with the signing of a formal defence agreement (Hornsby, 2012). The agreement provided that Britain would withdraw all troops stationed in the country by the end of 1964 as had earlier been stated and transfer rights to most of its properties that included equipment and accommodation to the Kenya forces. It would also help build Kenya Rifles into a national army, train and equip a new Kenya Air Force, and create and equip a small navy. In addition, it would commit USD 40 million to Kenya's defence programme and write off military debts of £6 million spanning from September 1954 to March 1960. In exchange, the Kenya government would grant overflying and staging rights for the British military, including naval facilities in Mombasa that included an armament depot serving the logistic requirements of the British forces in the Middle East (Percox, 2004). British military units could visit Kenya at intervals for training and exercises. The agreement also provided that Britain would make, as much as possible, the troops stationed in Kenya available to —deal with internal disturbances (Percox, 2004).

The agreement was immediately implemented resulting in high visibility of British presence in the military. Kenyatta wanted a British model of a well-trained, well-equipped professional non-political army recruited from traditional sources. British military trainers were issued with Kenya Army uniforms and deployed with troops around the country (Parsons, 2003). These personnel were in addition to other senior officers who were in various positions. For example, Maj. Gen. Ian H. Freeland had

taken command of the new Kenya Army following conversion from KAR and had handed over to Brigadier A. J. Hardy on 1 May 1964. In June 1964, the Kenya Air Force was established using British crafts and British equipment and troops involved in non-combat operations in the north eastern conflict under the command of Group Cpt Ian Stockwell (Parsons, 2003). The Kenya Navy was later inaugurated in December 1964 under Commander A.M.C. Walker of the Royal Navy using facilities at the former Royal Naval Armament Depot and training by the Royal Navy Training Team (RNTT). With the expanded formations of the armed forces, Kenyatta appointed Maj. Gen. Robert Penfold the first Chief of General Staff in 1966(Ibid). Thus, the British government provided technical expertise, extensive funding and donation of weapons and equipment, as well as training opportunities in the Ron and Sandhurst facilities, to the Kenyan military (Parsons, 2003).

The British got all they wanted in the agreement. They were particularly keen to use their military facilities to minimize communist penetration in Kenya. The facilities would also provide a fall back option now that Aden, Cyprus, Egypt, Libya, Malaya and Singapore were no longer available as a haven for the British military (Ibid). The Labour Party, which took over government on 8 October 1964 with Harold Wilson as Prime Minister, continued with the commitment to the Defence Agreement, especially helping to maintain independent Kenya's internal security and keeping Kenyatta in power. In the event of Kenyatta's death or incapacity, they would also help pick and maintain a moderate successor (Ibid).

The later utterances and actions by such politicians as Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Fredrick Oduya Oprong and Paul Ngei gave the British government a wider field of play of involving the British Army ostensibly to help in the maintenance of internal

security. This not only assured the protection of British nationals and investment, but also had implications on the transformation of Kenya's armed forces and determination of the country's position in respect of the Cold War politics.

In 1974, two aspects of the Anglo-Kenyan military relationship were considered, one emphasizing continuities, the other a change which would come to characterize British policy towards Kenya thereafter. The first was the renewal of the Bamburi Understanding under the second Wilson government in 1974. In July 1974, Duff reported a request for Njonjo and McKenzie to be received by the Prime Minister (Berman, 1992). As they had been so many times before, these two men were the key figures. One official noted that they would not have wished to trouble the Prime Minister with that matter were it not for the fact that President Kenyatta insisted that sensitive business be handled in that way (Furedi, 1991). The Understanding was linked by McKenzie and Njonjo to the threat to Kenya and the supply of defence equipment, which they also wanted to discuss (Kyle, 1999). Duff recognised that the Kenyan Government was increasingly anxious about being surrounded by countries which are better equipped militarily, whose intentions are uncertain, and who were under apparently increasing Soviet or Chinese influence (Lonsdale, 1990). As Okumu has argued, Kenya felt threatened by what it perceived as socialist encirclement (Butler, 2002). Ewans considered that the Kenyan fears were unduly alarmist, but commissioned a joint Intelligence Chiefs' reassessment of the threat (Darwin, 2000). The Kenyans again raised the suggestion of turning to other suppliers and Duff considered this, unusually, a realistic threat: it may have begun as an ill-considered suggestion, and/or as a possible negotiating tactic, but he felt that in Kenyan eyes it was becoming a genuine option (Ibid).

McKenzie met Wilson on 5 August 1974 and passed on Kenyatta's request for confirmation of the Bamburi Understanding (Stockwell and Butler, 1995). Wilson said he hoped that there was no possibility of any shock decisions on the expulsion of Asians from Kenya; again, different issues were being linked with the implicit suggestion that this could influence the British response (Hyam, 2006). Internally, the British government appreciated the different interpretations placed on the Understanding and stated:

It may be that the Kenyans have come to read more into the Understanding than it contains. We see no advantage however in spelling out its limited nature. On the other hand, any suggestion that we intended to water down the 1967 commitment could have a seriously prejudicial effect on our relations with Kenya (Bennett and Rosberg, 1964)

The British government was keen to maintain the benefits this offered in the relationship with Kenyatta himself, who was thought to value this particularly highly. There is little doubt that President Kenyatta regarded the Understanding as a touchstone of Kenya's special relationship with Britain (Porter and Stockwell, 2004). From the perspective of British officials, this was also an easy part of the exchange which made up the relationship: it was not too difficult to agree to something which only committed them to consultation (Darwin, 2000). Wilson sent a formal letter to Kenyatta, stating categorically that he and his colleagues stood by the assurance (Hopkins, 1997).

At his prime ministerial meeting, McKenzie also asked, rather than for expensive military equipment, for the British Government to send two military advisers (in civilian clothes) to Kenya to advise the Kenyan Government (Porter and Stockwell, 2004). McKenzie and Kenyatta still looked to Britain for this kind of support, and

British policy-makers encouraged the request. As had been the case immediately after independence, they recognised the influence they would gain by being in a position to advise on the direction of Kenya's military future. A two-man team, led by Major General Rowley Mans, came in September 1974. The terms stipulated that the MOD team would not be engaged on a sales drive and though Britain naturally hoped that the final recommendations would involve the sale of British equipment, the prime object of the exercise was to assist the Kenyans in planning a sensible re-equipment programme and to reassure them that HMG is actively concerned in helping to improve their military capability (Hyam, 2006).

The advisor was to work from the Kenyan Ministry of Defence, not the British High Commission (Chikeka, 1992). Mans' report concluded that Kenya's Defence Force (KDF) was not capable of deterring an overt Somali attack. He therefore recommended that Kenya strengthen her armed force (Mamdani, 1984). He recommended a three-phase, nine-year plan, costing between £38M and £55M at 1974 prices (Rodney, 1972). This was clearly a very different recommendation from a decade earlier, when a more limited Kenyan military had been encouraged to potentially rely on British intervention if necessary. The British financial and military ability to provide this kind of intervention was no longer assured, nor would the international climate encourage it. This was also about getting the Kenyans to pay more for their own defence: an expanded Kenyan military would encourage the Kenyans to resist Somalia themselves rather than relying on Britain. Encouraging a Kenyan arms build-up, as Mans' report did, was now the British approach to Kenyan military policy. It is the argument of this study as has been from the evidence gathered here that Kenyan Britain military relationship has obtained to date and has contributed to continued diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In fact, the British military enjoys a string of military bases in Kenya under the Status of Foreign Forces Agreement signed by the two countries where Kenya permitted the British military to use its hinterlands for military training.

2.2.7 The Army Mutiny: British Action Defended

Kenya's cordial foreign policy towards Britain was again illustrated very clearly in 1964. On 24th to 25th January 1964 the Lanet Incident occurred, when *askaris* of the 11th battalion of the Kenya African Rifles organized a mutiny against President Kenyatta's government. The said *askaris* of the 11th Kenya Rifles wanted the Kenyatta government to match the pay increases that had been implemented in the Tanganyika and Ugandan armies and also demanded africanization of the Kenyan army, which they felt was being undermined by the presence of expatriate British officers in the army (Parsons, 2007). When they realized that the wage increase was not forthcoming, the *askaris* became insubordinate and a group of them broke into the Lanet armory and dragged the rest of the battalion out of bed to join the protest (Parsons, 2007). British forces attached to the 3rd Regiment of the Royal Horse Artillery disarmed the rebellious African *askaris* with ease and helped restore order. The said British forces were personally authorized to do so by Kenyatta. This incident subsequently led to the promotion of African officers such as Joe Ndolo and Jackson Mulinge in the army, but also led to increased suspicion between Kenyatta and his then left-leaning Minister for Home Affairs, Oginga Odinga, who the British, through their intelligence reports, and Kenyatta, suspected of being behind the unrest in the military (Parsons, 2007). It is telling that Kenyatta still retained a British general as army commander-in-chief for the next two years, and allowed 160 British army officers to remain attached to the Kenyan army in an advisory and training capacity for several more years, despite making efforts to Africanize the army (Parsons, 2007).

On January 31, 1964, immediately after the Lanet incident, Kenya's then Home Affairs Minister, Oginga Odinga launched a scathing attack on Britain, blaming her for the Zanzibar revolution and the army mutinies in Tanganyika and Uganda. In a statement issued by the Kenya Government press office in Nairobi, Odinga said that the imperialist press had attempted to place the whole responsibility for the events in Zanzibar on communists and those whom they regarded as communist sympathizers (Africa Diary op.cit., p. 1530 1964).

Referring to mutinous events in Uganda and Tanganyika, Odinga said that Kenya should take them as a serious warning. He charged that:

“British staff employed in responsible places by those governments failed to train Africans so that they could fill their places. Instead they used their privileged positions to suppress Africans below them, thereby creating an explosive situation. Kenya must learn from these events and make adjustments accordingly Africa Diary.o p. 1530 1964.

Odinga's stipulated position could have had serious repercussions on Kenya- British relations if it had the blessings of the government. However, the government moved fast and distanced itself from Odinga's statement. That Prime Minister Kenyatta took it upon himself to put the government's position straight and highlighted its determination to maintain Kenya's cordial foreign policy of co-operation and compliance with Britain on issues salient to the latter.

Kenyatta categorically rebuffed his Home Affairs Minister's statement that had exonerated communists of all blame for East Africa troubles. The statement which came as a sensation in East Africa was the first time that Kenyatta had openly disagreed with his leading lieutenant (Ibid., p. 1531). It greatly helped to cool down temperatures in London. In an effort to please the British capitalists with vested

interests in Kenya, as well as those from other western nations. Kenyatta, an avowed capitalist decided to adopt a hard stance against communist China, which was thought to be supporting Odinga. It was believed that the British government had expressed concern at the growing Chinese influence and requested the Kenya government to act on it (Financial Times. February 3, 1964. p. 8).

Chinese hopes of opening a large embassy in Kenya were accordingly halted by the Government's decision to limit the strength of all foreign embassies to ten (Africa Diary, op.cit.. p. 1638, 1964). An official government spokesman explained on February 3rd, that similar limitations existed in Tanganyika and Uganda. Following this decision, six Chinese nationalists were refused permission to enter Kenya and had to be flown back to Tanganyika. The spokesman added perhaps not surprisingly, that the restriction on the number of diplomats was not applicable to Commonwealth countries (Ibid). This was evidently another sign of cooperation and compliance that the Kenya government undertook in her foreign policy towards Britain. It is significant to realise that in 1964, Chinese assistance to Kenya was still very minimal while trading links were yet to be established. This contrasted sharply with British assistance to Kenya which was very high and strong trading links that had long been established.

Following the investigation which Kenyatta had ordered to find out the extent of communist influence trying to undermine the Government's authority and which resulted in the above order, he was outraged at the Chinese propaganda attempt to portray the British as re-occupying East Africa with military forces, while ignoring the fact that the British troops had arrived in the three East African states at the specific request of the heads of state of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda (Ibid). This

way, the Kenya government lent credence to the fact that her foreign policy towards Britain entailed co-operation and compliance. This foreign policy of co-operation and compliance was perhaps more of reciprocity than could otherwise be thought.

The 1964 January mutiny by the Kenya Army was quickly suppressed with British military aid at the request of Kenya government (Africa South of the Sahara. 1974 edition, p. 415). This act of assistance on the part of the British, alongside economic assistance, explains why the Kenya government had to restrict the size of the Chinese embassy in Nairobi, when it was evident that the British were getting alarmed at the speed with which China was trying to gain influence in Kenya (Commentary". Independent Newspaper, February 1, 1964). Significantly, this was the period when the cold war was at its zenith.

Kenya's policy option of co-operation and compliance with Britain was serving her national interest well. In the above incident, Kenya used her foreign policy to provide a framework and an atmosphere of physical security which had been threatened by the mutiny. Her tough stance against China was of course a pleasant outcome to the British, who in 1964, were being relied upon considerably for skilled manpower, foreign exchange and capital.

It can be argued that Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain reflected a realist approach, in so far as it recognised that then, Kenya's economic structure demanded close political understanding with the West and with Britain in particular (Africa South. Ibid. p. 415, 1971). Kenyatta's condemnation of Odinga came as no surprise. While the former was pro-Western and therefore capitalist minded, the latter was pro-Eastern. His action was seen as a victory for the West particularly Britain, and as long as he remained in power, it could be assumed that the British were victorious.

Kenya's spirited defence of Britain against what it called "communist propaganda" is at least partially supportive of the proposition that asymmetrical economic dependence has foreign policy implications. Kenya's policy can best be understood within the theoretical framework of dependency mold. At any rate, stemming the growth and influence of Chinese communism or any other communist country like the Soviet Union was of great importance to Britain which was incidentally an American ally.

Britain had cause to worry about such communist influence, having invested heavily in Kenya. Nevertheless, Kenya's dependency on Britain for trade investments, financial and technical assistance as well as military assistance inevitably made her adopt compliant and conflictive foreign policy towards Britain. Significant to this study is the dependency view that the accompanying economic vulnerability has profound political ramifications, including loss of dependency control over her own foreign policy a situation that inevitably brings about compliance.

2.3. Summary

In this chapter the researcher has examined the factors that motivated Britain and Kenya to establish diplomatic relations after independence. Britain had economic interests to protect alongside its citizenry who had opted to stay in independent Kenya. Kenya on the other hand, needed investments to fund its programs particularly in health education and eradication of poverty. Upon independence the new nation assumed its privileges and obligations in the international political system and joined international bodies such as the Commonwealth and the United Nations in 1964. It also established diplomatic relations with other countries and adopted the policy of non-alignment during the cold war which was largely influenced by Britain. Kenya

entered into a military agreement with Britain which meant that diplomatic relations between the two countries was necessary and for mutual benefit. It is generally accepted that Kenya did not change much ideologically after independence, nor did it make any structural break from the colonial state and that all that changed was the color of the leaders and an expansion of the same state system with new faces. Therefore, the new state borrowed substantially from the features of the colonial state. The study employed both the realist and neo-realist theories. Theory to explain how diplomatic relations influenced Kenya and Britain.

CHAPTER THREE

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN, 1979 to 2002

3.1. Introduction

As Kenyatta's successor, President Daniel Arap Moi pursued the same foreign policy template with minor variations in a rapidly evolving policy environment. He succeeded the late President Kenyatta in 1978, and immediately devised a political motto - "Nyayo" (meaning footsteps). Through this motto, he affirmed a continuation of past policies, and expressed determination to follow Kenyatta's successful road to political stability and economic development. He took a more active role in Kenya's foreign policy unlike Kenyatta who left the conduct of foreign relations to his Minister for Foreign Affairs (Chikeka, 1990). This was because President Kenyatta never travelled outside the country. By the time President Moi handed over power in 2002, he had made several trips to Britain and the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited Kenya. Kenya and Britain enjoyed good relations despite tempestuous moments as shown in the study. This chapter therefore analyses the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1979 to 2002.

In his desire to strengthen co-operation and compliance with Britain, Moi as well as senior Kenya Government officials made a number of visits to Britain and continuously made efforts to maintain structural and functional relations with the latter even under very difficult circumstances. Under his watch, Kenya's foreign policy, especially on the international arena was publicly pro-West as he wore his Christian and pro-capitalist credentials as a badge of honour. In 1981, while replying to critics who complained of Kenya's foreign policy as being too pro-British and

generally pro-west, President Moi explained that Kenya was not in any way subject to commands from anyone (Clapman, 1996).

3.2. Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Britain after Kenyatta's departure

After the death of President Kenyatta in August 22, 1978, Vice-President Moi took over leadership in accordance with the constitutional provisions. While the death of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978 heralded a period of political uncertainty and tension in the country, President Moi, as Kenyatta's loyal follower, endorsed previous government policies. He associated himself with the capitalist political elite and assured the nation of his commitment to the founding father's vision, foreign policy and economic development(Mahoney, 2010).

While there were fears that Kenya's foreign policy would change with regime changes, which happened in subsequent regimes as later discussed in this study, British foreign policy mainly remained the same. The consistency in Britain's foreign policy towards Kenya may be attributed to the fact, as argued by Cullen (2017), that British policy-making occurred at the official level of the civil service and not simply at ministerial level. This position was supported by Smith, Marsh and Richards, as cited by Cullen (2017) who stated that "government departments are the key policy-making institutions in British politics". Pursuant to the foregoing, this study will focus on the changes in diplomatic relations that came with changes in regimes in Kenya, as there was very little change in diplomatic relations that occurred due to changes in regime in Britain.

In line with Kenya's foreign policy of co-operation and compliance towards Britain, President Moi's first overseas visit since occupying the presidency was to the United Kingdom in 1978. Significantly it was also the first visit by a Kenyan president to

Britain (Kipyego, 1990). This heralded a series of subsequent tours to Britain in the spirit of co-operation and political compliance. That Moi's first overseas visit should have been to the Britain was not an accident but a demonstration of how important Britain was to Kenya.

The visit was therefore very beneficial to Kenya. Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, while paying the highest tribute to Kenya during Moi's visit to London, assured the President of continued British aid to Kenya (Branch and Cheeseman, 2006). But this assurance, we presuppose was made on the assumption that Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain would remain unchanged. Thatcher's assurance came only hours after a group of leading bankers and industrialists outlined plans for new investment in Kenya which was running into millions of pounds. Thatcher said that she was glad that British substantial aid programmes would play a full part in support of Kenya's own development plans (Kipyego, 1990).

Moi, while thanking Britain for her assistance to Kenya observed that British support would be of significant value to Kenya if it was conducted beyond merely the bilateral stage, with Britain offering Kenya support before bodies such as the World Bank and other institutions of the European Economic Community (Ochieng and Maxon, 1992).

In reference to special Kenya-Britain ties, Moi underscored the special relationship in his own speech when he spoke of the friendship without patronage nowhere tinged by exploitation between the two countries and to the interdependence which he said pays many human dividends in practice. Moi added that Kenya's growth since independence in 1963 was part of a joint effort or partnership endeavour between the two countries (Branch, 2009).

However, Moi's assertion that Kenya-British friendship is without patronage is doubtful since as this study has argued, British economic assistance to Kenya can be and indeed has been used as an instrument of patronage in foreign policy matters, albeit silently. What was certain in Moi's speech, however, is that Kenya's policy of cooperation and compliance with Britain basically springs from the latter's role in the implementation of Kenya's national development programmes. The good Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations was further visible when Margaret Thatcher, then Prime Minister of Britain visited Kenya in 1988 and specifically made a tour of President's Moi native town of Eldoret where Moi University Margaret Thatcher Library was developed (Miller and Yeager, 1994).

This analysis reveals that throughout the earlier part of Moi's regime, Kenya was always willing to exhibit co-operation and compliance in her dealings with Britain. Perhaps the only area where there was constant non-compliance was on the question of whether or not economic sanctions be imposed on South Africa, a position that Britain vehemently opposed but which Kenya supported (Magero, 2007). However, Kenya's position was understandable given the fact that their different interpretations of the South African question did not affect her relations with Britain (Burton, and Jennings, 2007). In any case the South African question assumed a multilateral dimension and not a bilateral one; this was to Kenya's advantage. Because of this, the study argues that when it came to salient issues that could directly threaten the cordial bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain, Kenya was always cautious and preferred co-operation, if not, compliance.

3.2.1. Relations with Britain in the 1980s

Chabal and Daloz (1992) states that between 1980 and 1988, the Kenyan government under the leadership of President Moi, continued to use foreign policy as the avenue for attracting the vital resources needed for economic development from Britain as well as from other Western nations. These resources included financial and technical assistance, foreign investments as well as trade links. The government's uppermost commitment remained largely the same; namely that of raising the living standards of Kenyans. In turn, this ensured that Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain, which consistently remained the leading bilateral donor, remained the same: It mostly exhibited compliance. In other words, there was consistency in Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain, during Kenyatta's as well as Moi's regimes. As Kenya's principal sources of aid, as well as its main trading partners, the Western community's ties with Kenya remained close.

This study argues that Kenya was acknowledging the reality of an underdeveloped economy at home, so it had to grant the force of events beyond its control in its relations with Britain. One device was to concentrate on mundane trade and political relations (Cooper, 2002). The reality behind co-operation and compliance was that Britain, besides other Western nations, was doing a lot to help Kenya solve her economic problems. Indeed there was little doubt that for reasons of national interest, Moi was advancing rather than diminishing Kenya's pro-British orientation.

3.2.2. The Njonjo Affair in Kenya-British Relations

One major development within Kenya which had major diplomatic repercussions in Kenya-British foreign relations was President Moi's charge that "unnamed 'foreign powers' were plotting to replace him with an unnamed Kenyan" (Ray 1995). This

shock announcement was pointed directly to Britain (Ochieng and Maxon, 1992). The unnamed individual who was henceforth referred to as “the traitor” was named as Charles Njonjo in parliament by Elijah Mwangale, then Minister for Tourism. Njonjo was by then Kenya’s Minister for Constitutional Affairs and as independent Kenya’s first Attorney General, he was immensely powerful in his own right. Njonjo’s visits to Britain and his contacts there became the subject of frequent gossip (Cooper, 2002). He was known to be friendly with senior members of the British Foreign Office and with many Right-Wing British politicians. Before Mwangale named Njonjo, politicians claiming to be close to the President were supplying their own elaborations of the story, implying that the traitor was a cabinet minister, with others making pointed references to the man in the ‘three-piece suit’ - Njonjo’s way of dressing (Hill,2003).

Since Moi had never appointed any Marxist, or even Leftist politicians in his several Cabinets, speculation excluded the Communist nations as being behind the plot (Oluoch, 2009). Instead, many Kenyans began looking at Western nations as the culprits, especially at Britain because of Njonjo’s long-standing and intimate links with certain British politicians and businessmen. Suspicious fingers were also pointed at South Africa and Israel, which were British allies. Njonjo had long favoured President Banda of Malawi’s policy of having links with Pretoria, and he was known to be well-disposed to the Israelis (Ibid).

With regard to President Moi’s private assurance to the British High Commissioner that Britain was not suspect in the eyes of his government, it is argued here that this assurance was a display of political compliance undertaken implicitly to ensure the continuation of cooperation between the two countries. However, this study observes

that this act of political compliance was not a matter of choice. Most appropriately it was one of necessity. Our contention arises from the difficulty in understanding the disparity between President Moi's private assurances on the one hand, and the continued attack on, if not serious accusations against Britain by none other than his own cabinet ministers (Ellis, 2002). The disparity becomes even more glaring when we realize that Moi did not call upon his ministers after meeting the High Commissioner to stop their attacks on Britain. When all the facts concerning the Njonjo-British affair are logically analyzed, we can then see clearly how the weaker states like Kenya can find their hands tied up in a situation of dependency where the dominant state (in this case Britain) can afford to play the game of "the carrot and the stick".

This study concurs with Okello's (1994) assessment of the dynamics of the relationship between Kenya and Britain in the post-independence period as is evident from the two countries' handling of the Njonjo affair as described above. This reinforces the study's argument that diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain were shaped by the strength of Britain's economic interests in Kenya even after independence which interests were recognized by the Moi regime.

3.2.3 Effect of Kenya Political Exiles in London on Diplomatic Relations

President Moi embarked on repressing perceived political dissidents after the attempted coup of 1982. Police brutality, arbitrary arrests and long detentions without trial, torture in the infamous Nyayo House basement cells and sham trials where the accused were sentenced to jail became common. This period was also characterized by the fleeing of such perceived political dissidents to escape the persecution that would be inflicted on them by the Moi regime. A notable example of the perceived

dissidents who went into self-exile during this period is Professor Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Adar and Munyae, 2001).

Many political observers believed that the presence of Kenyan exiles in London, at a time when Kenya had launched a full scale crackdown against 'dissidents' everywhere would lead to low relations between the two countries. The British High Commission took the initiative once again to explain to the Kenya government that exiles in Britain were protected under the United Nations Human Rights laws of which Britain was a signatory (The Standard August 5, 1982). The Kenya government therefore did not ask for their extradition after consultations with the British High Commission, even though it showed a lot of concern over the issue.

What is important in this study is that Kenya played down these otherwise disturbing incidents. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, while maintaining a pragmatic approach to foreign policy matters, did not issue any serious criticism against Britain (The Standard May 14, 1988). The assumption underlying this foreign policy option being that in the long run, Kenya would continue to receive the much needed British assistance to develop her economy. This was consistent with her national interest.

3.3. Maintenance of Defence Arrangements with Britain

One of Kenya's pro-British and U.S. policy critic was Oginga Odinga, Kenya's first Vice-President. Odinga and other 'radical' politicians in 1981 particularly singled out Kenya's permission to British troops to discontinue enjoying naval and military training facilities in Kenya. Odinga charged that the British military presence in Kenya was a clear manifestation of the continuation of neocolonialism and called for an end to this "dangerous British imperialism. The Kenya government, without

mentioning Odinga warned its detractors to watch out and made it clear that her policy of allowing the British troops the right to carry out military training on Kenyan soil, and which was made in 1964, would continue to be guaranteed. The government observed that the military arrangement with Britain was not a threat to national and regional security (Mcgowen and Gottwald, 1975).

The above position by the Kenya government as regards allowing the British troops the freedom to train in Kenya is a true reflection of co-operation and political compliance with issues of salience to Britain. Maintaining training ground in Kenya ensured that British investments and interests in the East Africa region were secure. For students of international relations as well as those familiar with the workings of international politics, this study has argued that this kind of foreign policy exhibited by Kenya is hardly surprising. This is more so against the background that Kenya continues to be the single largest recipient of British overseas aid. So, on the basis of a realpolitik approach analysis, there was logic in the government's policy, or so, it appeared.

This study will advance the argument that compliance, however remote, manifests Kenya's inability to react to forces of imperialism and to those structures created to continue the links and perpetuate the relationship, just as Odinga Odinga's criticism of Kenya's compliance with British interests did. International relations are largely economic and all other relations are dependent on the economic order that is operative. This study further argues that as long as Kenya's national interest of economic development received British assistance, the government could not be swayed by her pro-British policy critics like Odinga (Percox, 2001).

President Jomo Kenyatta had granted the British Army, under the aegis of the British Army Training Liaison Staff Kenya, a 15-year contract to carry out training in Kenya, and in 1988 President Moi renewed it for a period of 10 years (Nasong'o, 2007). However, when the British government joined other Western countries in demanding a more democratic space in Kenya, the Moi government reduced the contract period to five years and then subsequently three years. This move by president Moi is significant to the study as the said period coincided with the clamor for multiparty politics in Kenya when all Western countries pushed forth the repeal of the constitution to allow for multiparty politics in the country (Murunga and Nasong'o 2007). More so at a time when the Moi government had been accused by Western countries of having an appalling human rights record instituted with systematic terror against political opponents (Chege 2008).

3.4. Summary

This study has examined consistency with respect to Kenya's foreign policy towards Britain during the Moi Era, based on economic dependency. It has been established that Kenya consistently and persistently pursued the same policy vis-a-vis Britain on issues of salience to the latter. The chapter examined the effect of Kenya's dependency on Britain, for her foreign policy. President Moi upon assuming office visited Britain which was a powerful statement that Britain was important to Kenya. In the same vein and as stated earlier in the chapter Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher equally visited Nairobi to buttress this importance. When Moi encountered subtle threat to his power during 1982 coup attempt, Margaret Thatcher was quick to state that Britain was closely following the events. This may be interpreted to mean that the British Army in Kenya would not merely watch the situation in the event that the situation deteriorated.

It has been shown that, that there is a linkage between Kenya's foreign policy of co-operation and compliance towards Britain, and her quest for economic development. Since economic assistance was forthcoming from Britain, Kenya opted for a cooperative and compliant working relationship with Britain. This was best exemplified when Moi faced harsh criticism from the western countries over human rights violations but he could not openly criticize Britain when Kenyan dissidents sought safe haven in Britain. He could not openly attack Britain even after the Njonjo affair. Under such circumstances, Kenya pursued a foreign policy of co-operation and compliance with Britain. Although critics may point out that such a domestic policy was never successfully pursued, that is not the focus of this study. The discussion in this Chapter gives credence to the realist theory of international relations in that Kenya, in cooperating with Britain, was pursuing its national interests such as economic development. It recognized that Britain was instrumental to her economic development by virtue of economic assistance and therefore aligned with it to protect its own interests.

CHAPTER FOUR
CHANGES IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND
BRITAIN, 2003 TO 2012

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2003 to 2012. The presidential term of President Moi ended in the historic 2002 general elections after the convergence of opposition political parties under the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) banner. This was the beginning of the Kibaki regime whose tenure was from 2003 to 2012. The change in the regime meant a change in the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain. This affected not only military and economic co-operation but also the sociocultural co-operation.

4.2. Nature of Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Britain from 2002 to 2012

Mwai Kibaki won the election on a platform of change particularly following the ushering in of a new constitutional order (as was later to be achieved in the constitutional referendum of 27th August, 2010). Kibaki campaigned on an anti-corruption platform, pledging that the new government would be transparent and accountable to the people of Kenya. President Kibaki's administration committed itself to reforms and change, particularly to the desire to shift from the old corrupt networks and traditions that had characterized the former bureaucracy and regime of President Moi (Murunga,2007).

In the spirit of reforms and change, Kibaki's government delayed to renew the annual permit allowing British military training exercises in Kenya, partly due to Britain's slow progress in investigating the 694 claims of human rights violation

and rape by its servicemen, stretching back to 30 years. An official close to the British High commission in Nairobi was quoted expressing frustrations when he said, "Kenya has been ideal for a long time, but it is not without parallel" (Daily Telegraph 6/12/2005). However the British military never really pulled out of Kenyan soil. Amnesty International a non-governmental organization, documented serious allegations on human rights violation against members of the British Army posted to Kenya for training covering a period of over 35 years, approximately from 1965 to 2001. Nevertheless, negative civil military relations continued to cloud the British Army relations with Kenya with sustained calls by major non-governmental organizations for the close of "colonial vestige" in the affected areas in Kenya. Anti-base sentiments have frequently been prompted by the friction between the visiting forces and the local population (Kaunga, 2008).

4.2.1. Economic Relations

Ikiara (2014) states that President Mwai Kibaki who was elected on the platform of reforms under the NARC government focused on ushering in a new constitution, liberalization of the economy, fighting corruption and investing in free primary education and health care. The gradual implementation of constitutional reforms facilitated a return to multi-party politics and with it, a revision in Kenya's foreign policy. 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 of diplomacy; economic, peace, environmental, cultural and diaspora diplomacy (Hofmann, 2007). The Oral

Respondent 001 in this study confirmed that there was indeed a shift in focus during Kibaki's regime from political diplomacy to economic diplomacy, which shift was a positive thing, as Kenya focused on economic development (Oral Respondent, 001(2018)).

The older pillar of economic development was revised to economic diplomacy. Within this revised pillar, the Kibaki government pursued various foreign policy strategies in the economic interests of the country inter alia, increased Foreign Domestic Inflows (FDI) and aid flows 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 (Morillas, 2011). Oral Respondent, 002, 2018 in this study confirmed that Kenya at this time was being more assertive in its foreign policy, with a view to attracting more trading partners and not just Britain. Critics argue that the eastern focus was in response to the disillusionment of Britain 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 defence contracts worth USD 750 Million were revealed in a scandal dubbed "Anglo-leasing" that prompted sharp and coordinated criticism from British envoys to Kenya (Morillas, 2011).

However, the notion that Kibaki began to engage alternative non-traditional partners just to spite Britain and other western powers is an oversimplification. It is the argument of this study that Kenya's relations with Britain 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 (MFA, 2009). 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 (Ibid). 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 (Servant, 2014).

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 exploited the opportunity to secure Kenya's economic future by seeking alternative sources of affordable technology, most of which was to be found in Asian countries (Tull, 2006).

Kenya's main multilateral donors have traditionally been the 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 now China (Chege, 2008). The improved political environment between the two countries (Kenya and China) was as result of Kenya's stagnant economic growth throughout the 1990s, and of course China's capability to fill in the vacuum left by Western donors (Chege, 2008).

With difficult economic prospects and a turbulent political environment, Kenyan political incumbents found economic involvement with China to be more palatable than they had in the 1960s and 1970s (Korwa, and Munene, 1995). President Kibaki's delegation visit to Shanghai, and discussions with its mayor Han Zheng, on the functioning of special export industrial zones gave Kenyan business delegations the

opportunity to explore prospects in tourism, joint ventures in power generation, and machinery (Chege, 2008). As a consequence trade between Kenya and China increased exponentially from the paltry \$5.4 million in 1966 to \$475 million in 2005, and is expected to continue increasing (Ibid). Twelve bilateral trade agreements between China and Kenya were signed between 2004 and 2006 alone (Crilly, 2005). China's emergence as one of the major non-Western sources of development finance to Kenya has not only seen the decline in future prospects for British assistance and relations, but the same has seen the loosening of the political and economic leverage traditionally exerted by Britain.

Kenya's affiliation to China and other eastern countries during the Kibaki regime was reiterated by the Oral Respondent, 003(2018). He stated that the said look east policy caused relations between Kenya and Britain to deteriorate, as tenders that the British had monopolized since 1963, were in 2003 awarded to Japanese, Korean, Portuguese and Spanish firms.

These developments increasingly soured relations with Western countries and more so Britain, as China increasingly stamped its presence in the region (Hornsby, 2012). It is worth mentioning that China was accused by Western countries including Britain of dumping counterfeit goods in Africa and these strangled multinational and small local companies' operations (Ibid). For instance Eveready East Africa, the British American owned battery company operating in East Africa lost 70% of the market share to counterfeit batteries coming from China (DN 19/5/2010).

Hornsby, (2012), states that in April 2006, the Chinese President, Hu Jintao visited Kenya in his tour of five African countries. While in Nairobi he witnessed the signing of a billion-dollar oil exploration agreement for oil drilling near Isiolo (in Northern

Kenya), as well as off the northern coast, which was expected to last 20 years. In the same trip, Hu donated half a billion shillings towards malaria prevention programme, and gave Kenya a Kshs. 1billion grant and a Kshs 5billion loan facility (Ibid). Notably in 2006, the Chinese defense Minister Liang Guangli pledged to help modernize the Kenyan Army. Twelve bilateral trade agreements between China and Kenya were signed between 2004 and 2006 alone (Crilly, 2005).

The Chinese, in addition to the above, and as a manifestation of their policy of mutual economic benefit, pledged to undertake a Chinese sponsored construction of the Lamu Port in Kenya, and to construct a road connecting Kenya to Ethiopia in order to boost interior access to Ethiopia; popularly referred to as the LAPSSET project. These developments raised Kenya's profile in the region once again,

4.2.2. Military Relations

During the Moi regime, the British military enjoyed a string of military bases in Kenya under the Status of Foreign Forces Agreement signed by the two countries where Kenya permitted the British military to use its hinterlands for military training. With the presence of British military forces on her majesty's service within Kenya's territory, the debate has been focused on Kenya's autonomy long after the end of formal colonialism. Before British army recruits are sent to the frontline, they normally undertake live ammunition drills at the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) on artillery ranges spread across Kenya's dusty and barren northern rangelands of Samburu, DoIDol and Archers Post often with Kenyan military participation (Branch, 2011).

However, during the Kibaki regime, there was a delay in the renewal of the annual permit allowing British military training exercises in Kenya, partly due to Britain's slow progress in investigating the 694 claims of human rights violation and rape by its service men; stretching back to 30 years and British High Commission office was getting frustrated (Musau, 2015).

In spite of these frustrations the British military never really pulled out of Kenyan soil. Amnesty International, a non-governmental organization, documented serious allegations of human rights violations against members of the British army posted to Kenya for training covering a period of over 35 years, approximately from 1965 to 2001. Nevertheless, negative civil- military relations continued to cloud the British army relations with Kenya with sustained calls by major non-governmental organizations for the close of “colonial vestige” in the affected areas in Kenya. Anti-base sentiments have frequently been prompted by the friction between the visiting forces and the local population (David, 2005).

The fact that the training of British soldiers in Kenya is followed by deployment in trouble spots around the world including the Middle East, Iraq and Afghanistan, strained Kenya's relations with these countries. Locally, these developments impacted heavily on the Muslim population in the country that was seen as a suspect community in the war against terrorism by the US, coming after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the US (Hornsby, 2012). Kenya too had been exposed to terrorist attacks before specifically in the 1998 US embassy bombings in Nairobi and the same had made Kenya a vulnerable target of new terrorism associated with the late Osama bin Laden, due to its close relationship with the West especially Britain

and the United States, and because of the perceived connection between Israel and the latter.

Since gaining independence, Kenya had sourced its military equipment from Britain (Korwa, 1990). While Kenya has been offered alternative arms sourcing from China, its continuous military relations with Britain can be seen as a hindrance to exploiting this alternative market of sourcing from the Chinese market. Despite the fact that Chinese entry in Kenya has seen the Chinese government also profit from arms and military trade with Kenya, Kenya did not turn fully to Chinese-manufactured arms as often as other African nations such as Namibia, Sudan, or Zimbabwe (Kanogo, 1987). However, Kenya has begun using China as an alternate arms exporter for its military vehicles and equipment. This includes a fleet of four Chinese made Z9WE attack helicopters which are manufactured by Harbin Aircraft Industry Group, a China Aviation Industry Corporation owned company (Wezerman, 2009).

4.2.3. Britain's response to 2007/2008 post-election violence

The post-election violence in Kenya of 2007 to 2008 posed a political, economic, and humanitarian crisis that erupted in Kenya after former President Mwai Kibaki was declared the winner of the presidential election held in December 27, 2007. About 300,000 people were internally displaced and more than one thousand one hundred (1,100) lives were lost. Several ambassadors, including those from Britain, Germany, Netherlands, and US, tried unsuccessfully to get the commission to hold off on announcing the results to permit a recount (Throup 2008). The then British High Commissioner, Adam Wood, was reported to have met the then ECK Chairman Samuel Kivuitu (deceased) twice to urge him to conduct an investigation before declaring a winner (Guardian, 31 December 2007). Odinga's Orange Democratic

Movement (ODM) requested a meeting with the Western ambassadors to discuss suspending the announcement until the suspicious results in 40 constituencies were sorted out. Kivuitu was agreeable to the suggestion, as long as all parties agreed, but Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) refused (Ibid).

The announcement of the presidential election results was followed by widespread violence in various parts of the country. A joint statement by the then US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Britain's Foreign Secretary David Miliband on 2nd January called for an end to violence and for political compromise (US Department of State 2008). The US sought to pressure Kibaki and Odinga to arrive at a compromise, widely understood to involve some form of power sharing where Kibaki would remain president and Odinga would be appointed to the newly created post of prime minister.

Britain, Kenya's second-largest donor, was the first to advocate power sharing. The then British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, reached out to both Kibaki and Odinga on 31 December to ask them to negotiate a coalition government (Guardian, 1 January 2008), but neither side was willing to renounce its claim to unilateral victory. The British Foreign Secretary explicitly called for the 'sharing of political power' (UK in Kenya 2008). On 7th January, he stated that 'Kenya's immediate and medium term future required the sharing of power (Guardian, 8th January 2008). The pressure from the international community spearheaded by both US and Britain and mediated by Kofi Annan led to the power sharing agreement of 2008 (Guardian, 4th April 2008). Britain was also involved in Early Recovery Programme of the violence victims. These programmes included: three interventions by World Vision (WV), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Save the Children UK (SC UK) in Rift

Valley Province directly supporting internally displaced households (Nicholson, 2009).

4.2.4. Britain's Involvement in Free Primary Education (FPE)

Free Primary Education (FPE) programme in Kenya was reintroduced by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government under President Kibaki. Top-level dynamic political initiatives triggered FPE implementation, driven by a social contract with the electorate (Avenstrup *et al.*, 2004). The donor community received the FPE policy with enthusiasm and supported the initiative. Through the Ministry of Education the World Bank gave a grant of Kshs. 3.7 billion, while the British government through the Department for International Development gave Kshs. 1.6 billion towards the program (Republic of Kenya, 2006).

4.2.5. Diplomatic Rows between Kenya and Britain

In early 2004 while Sir Edward Clay was the British High Commissioner to Kenya, allegations of rampant corruption rocked the Kibaki government, despite the fact that Kibaki's administration came to power in late 2002 on an anti-graft ticket. A collection of questionable defence contracts worth USD 750 Million were revealed in a scandal dubbed "Anglo-leasing" that prompted sharp and coordinated criticism from British envoys to Kenya, led by Clay (Morillas, 2011). Clay, in a 2014 article titled "Terrorism and Graft, Debt and Credit" published in an online publication known as "Africa Arguments", condemned the actions of Kenyan politicians in subverting Kenyan procurement for private gain on a huge scale during the Kibaki regime, cloaked under secrecy deemed necessary for such security-related equipment. He stated that grand corruption in Kenya had become institutionalized. Clay was particularly affronted by the actions of the Kenyan government as exposed in the

Anglo-leasing scandals as he believed that the Kenyan government could not get out of paying for those fraudulent contracts.

Following Britain's vocal condemnation of the rampant corruption within the Kenya Government, Joshua Kulei was declined a visa to visit Britain in 2004, a privilege he had hitherto regarded as a right. Mr. Kulei was a personal assistant to the former President Moi. The British Higher Commissioner, Mr. Clay was of the view that the policy of excluding a couple of dozen luminaries of a corrupt elite had and continued to have a useful effect in that it helped to disrupt the corruption networks. It dented their confidence that they could rely on entry to Britain as a safe haven if life ever got too hot. It also signaled to Kenya's long-suffering citizens that Britain was on the side of the anti-graft movement. Britain's interests, like theirs, are in a government which is effective in service-delivery and especially in combating insecurity.

During the Kibaki regime (2005) the then Kenyan transport minister Chris Murungaru was banned from Britain over suspected corruption. Clay, who was still Britain's High Commission in Nairobi at the time, released a statement stating that Britain had banned Kenya's transport minister from travel to or through Britain amid speculation over suspected corruption. In a short edict titled "Airline Alert" sent to all carriers flying between Kenya and Britain, including British Airways, the High Commission said Chris Murungaru's visa had been revoked and he was therefore not allowed to travel to or through Britain.

Mr. Murungaru's former department, national security, was regularly under fire amid allegations of grand corruption during his tenure as minister. He was demoted to transport in February, soon after Britain's outspoken then High Commissioner, Clay, handed anti-corruption authorities a dossier of 20 allegedly questionable deals he said

warranted investigated (Pflanz,2005). More than half were centered on the security department. Mr. Murungaru was never charged with any corruption-linked offence. The minister hit back at the time, dismissing the claims as "bizarre" and the product of sour grapes because British firms which were losing government contracts to newcomers from the Far East.

4.3. Summary

President Kibaki was known for maintaining a low profile in the management of Kenya's foreign policy formulation by involving other departments and parties like the ministry of foreign affairs and the Vice President in the diplomatic negotiation of Kenya's foreign policy implementation and formulation with the British Government. Unlike his predecessor, Kibaki's state visits were limited to only summits and international conferences with most level, with most of his state visits being left in the hands of either the Prime Minister Raila Odinga or the Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka who were involved in most of the diplomatic state visits and missions. Remarkably, under Kibaki there was rationalization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enable the country to manage its foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is Kenya's face to the rest of the world. The drafting of the foreign policy documents went on to give Kenyan foreign policy direction in order to avoid ad hoc and personalization of foreign policy and diplomatic service, a significant departure from the foreign policy approach of previous regimes. The foregoing does not mean, however, that it was smooth sailing for Kibaki in the diplomatic relations sector throughout his regime. The large-scale grand corruption discovered to be rampant in his administration, and the post-election violence that rocked the nation in 2007-2008 following his contentious re-election as President, proved to be great challenges to diplomatic relations with Britain and other donors. This notwithstanding Britain

continued to support the Kibaki administration and retained its diplomatic relations with Kenya. It is the argument of this study that Britain was keen to maintain the diplomatic relations in order to protect its economic interest in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND BRITAIN, 2013 to 2017

5.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2013 to 2017 during the Uhuru Kenyatta presidency. Upon the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as President of the Republic of Kenya, Britain sought to distance itself diplomatically from Kenya, as President Kenyatta had been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes during the post-election violence of 2007/2008. The then High Commissioner of Britain, Christian Turner, stated that Britain would only deal with Kenya on essential business. However, in 2014, President Kenyatta's case in the ICC was dropped. With this development, Britain changed its hard line stand.

5.2. Foreign Policy during the First term of President Uhuru Kenyatta's Presidency

Mihai and Thatcher (2014) postulate that during President Uhuru Kenyatta's inauguration in 2013, he called for reciprocity from Kenya's foreign partners as the cornerstone of Kenya's foreign relations and engagement with the international community. He reiterated the same with vigour, drive, energy and determination to project a different foreign policy desire at the Extraordinary Session of African Heads of States and Governments in Addis Ababa in October 2013.

President Kenyatta's speech to his peers was the most intense and forceful performance by a Kenyan Head of State on foreign policy. Notwithstanding Kenya's hitherto traditional pro-western foreign policy posture, President Uhuru Kenyatta left

few doubts that Kenya would seek: a drastic and dramatic new foreign policy engagement with its traditional allies; an intensified drive for regional and continental cooperation, and would not be held hostage by historical linkages and traditions be they strategic, economic, military or cultural ties (Munene 2013). President Uhuru Kenyatta sent a clear and unambiguous message; that the Jubilee Coalition leadership was intent on pursuing a more forceful and driven foreign policy.

The existence of a driven Foreign Policy during President Uhuru Kenyatta's government was confirmed by Oral Respondent 004 (2018) who stated there was a foreign policy in Kenya which did influence diplomatic relations, not just between Kenya and Britain, but between Kenya and other countries, and between other countries themselves as well. Kenya's foreign policy was said to include Kenya's vision 2030 and its medium term plans, sessional papers, manifestos of the ruling parties, executive pronouncement and circulars. The policy focuses on multilateral and bilateral engagements. The pillars of the foreign policy include peace, the economy, diaspora, the environment and culture.

The Respondents were convinced that some notable tenets and consequences of Kenya's current foreign policy are: the warning by Kenya to Britain to ensure that Kenyan citizens are not harmed by the presence of its troops in the country; neocolonialism; the fact that Kenya continues to be influenced and exploited by Britain; and the enhancement of Kenya's national security interest by having military relations with Britain.

5.2.1. Kenya and the ICC

Following the adoption by parliament of the recommendations by the Commission of Inquiry into Post- Election Violence (CIPEV), also known as the Waki Commission (CIPEV, 2008), Honourable Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, among others, were charged with murder and human rights violations at the ICC. In its report, the Commission called for further investigations and the prosecution of the masterminds of the atrocities committed in the wake of the disputed elections in 2007 by a special tribunal mirroring a hybrid court composed of local and international judges; failing which the ICC would then take up the matter (Republic of Kenya 2008). Justice Philip Waki, Chair of the Commission, separately handed over an envelope to Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, containing the names of people suspected of organizing and funding the violence. Annan was head of an African Union sponsored mediation team of African Eminent Personalities that brokered a power-sharing pact among the protagonists of the post-election violence. Until the Waki Report recommended prosecution of the masterminds of post-election violence, no senior government official or politician had been brought to justice, despite many being adversely mentioned in previous official reports in connection with the ethnic clashes that afflicted Kenya following its return to multiparty politics in 1991 (Brown and Sriram 2012; Human Rights Watch 2011).

After a divided parliament opted for The Hague by defeating a motion of amendment for a Kenya Bill meant to pave the way for a Special Tribunal and to anchor the tribunal in the Constitution, Kenyan MPs did not set up the special tribunal to prosecute the masterminds of the atrocities committed in the aftermath of the disputed elections (The Star 2011). Despite strict time lines given by the Waki Commission,

Annan gave a grace period to parliament to set up the special tribunal and to address post-election violence atrocities locally, but this extension period lapsed. In 2009, it compelled him to hand over the envelope to the then ICC Chief Prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, together with preliminary evidence gathered by the CIPEV. Ocampo launched investigations in Kenya under the ICC power of *proprio motu* (latin phrase meaning “on its own motion”), which allows the prosecutor to start investigations on the basis of information obtained from any source (Politi 2001) and, following permission from the Pre-trial Chamber. This culminated in the naming of six suspects on 15 December 2010 (BBC News 2010). Uhuru Kenyatta, Francis Muthaura, and Mohammed Hussein Ali were from the Kibaki government side, while William Ruto, Henry Kosgey and Joshua Sang were from Odinga’s side. After the confirmation of charges hearings in September 2011, Uhuru Kenyatta, Francis Muthaura, William Ruto and Joshua Sang were indicted. Charges against Mohammed Hussein Ali and Henry Kosgey were not confirmed for lack of evidence (ICC, 2011). Kenyatta and co-accused formed case one, while Ruto and co-accused formed case two. Following the collapse of the case against Muthaura and Kenyatta, Ruto and Sang remained the only individuals facing trial in connection with atrocities committed during the post-election violence in the Rift Valley region whereby they were accused of orchestrating an “organizational policy” to violently drive out members of the Kikuyu tribe from the Rift Valley region (ICC 2012a; ICC 2012b).

The situation at the ICC polarised the country in the lead up to, during, and after the 2013 elections. Initially, the near countrywide support for the ICC stemmed from Kenyans’ hope that the court would serve as a deterrent against impunity, deliver elusive justice for victims of post-election atrocities, and act as a catalyst for accountability. In 2013, President Uhuru Kenyatta won the election despite being

accused by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court of helping to direct the violence that followed Kenya's last polls in 2007. Out of this, the British policy restricted any contact between Government officials and ICC indictees to "essential business" only (ICC, 2013).

Upon the election of President Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto, British government in a statement to the House of Lord Committee, the Minister in charge of Foreign and Commonwealth office Baroness Warsi said that Britain would maintain normal diplomatic relations with Kenya (*Business Daily* 23 May 2013). This was a reversal of its earlier statement that it would maintain only essential contact with President Kenyatta administration (*ibid*). The minister in his address explained that Britain had taken a pragmatic approach to the Kenyan situation because of the two countries close business relationship, humanitarian and security ties. Lord Chidgey a peer in the House of Lords had put a strong case for continued normal diplomatic relationship citing deep historical and commercial ties (*ibid*). Christian Turner, the then High Commissioner in Nairobi, struggled to reconcile this position with preserving relations with Kenya, which served as a vital partner in counter-terrorism and provided a training area for the British Army.

Britain soon thereafter changed tact but not without suffering a huge toll on its engagement with Kenya. President Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto, both of whom have since had their ICC cases terminated, told off the West at the time and turned to the East, especially China, which became Kenya's main development partner. Kenya would go ahead to seal mega deals with China in arms, infrastructure projects and allowing import of Chinese machinery, electronics and household goods.

In 2013 for instance, Kenya bought Sh7.9 billion worth of arms from China (Njagi, 2014).

Oral Respondent, 006 (2018) in this study agreed that Kenya's interaction with the ICC as a result of the 2007/2008 post-election violence strained the relationship between Britain and Kenya, but enabled Kenya to trade with China, Germany, Russia and other Eastern states, but stated that the relationship improved towards the end of President Uhuru Kenyatta's first term. It is the argument of this study that Britain's change of position is consistent with the realist theory where States pursue self-interest.

5.2.2 Economic Relations

As at the time of this study, it was confirmed by Oral Respondent, 004, (2018) that Britain is the largest European foreign investor in Kenya. There are about 100 British investment companies operating in Kenya, worth more than STG £2.0 billion. The companies include Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, GlaxoSmithKline, ACTIS (formerly CDC Capital Partners), De La Rue and Unilever among others.

On tourism, it was recorded by Oral Respondent 007, (2018) that Britain is the 6th major tourist destination in the world and currently, the largest source market for Kenya's tourism. In 2017, more than 98,000 visitors arrived in the Kenyan coast. With the advent of globalization and liberalization, the country's external relations have been governed more and more by the need to promote a favourable environment for trade and investment. The Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1997 on Industrial Transformation to the year 2020 and also as a blueprint for the Vision 2030 clearly defines Kenya's approach to regional integration arrangements (GoK, 1997). Oral

Respondent, 008(2018) identified institutional and legal framework as pre-requisites to fostering bilateral relations between Kenya and Britain.

In the same vein, Oral Respondent, 009 (2018) indicated that Kenya is a great importer of manufactured goods and an exporter of tea, coffee and other agricultural produce to Britain. In the area of education, it was confirmed by Oral Respondent 004, (2018) that Britain offers the Kenyan government scholarships in several areas to train professional and technical experts.

The above described good economic bilateral relations are facilitated by the diplomats of the two countries who ensure smooth business transactions between the two countries. They also where necessary intervene in trade disputes through negotiation. The diplomats arrange for seminars through their respective governments where investors are exposed to potential opportunities for investment. This takes place in London and Nairobi. The engagement is not only confined to investments but to other matters that affect both countries for instance the London summit of 2015 on global co-operation in anti-corruption campaign where Kenya among others was invited.

Further, it was revealed by Oral Respondent, 010 (2018) that the pro-active and participatory role of Britain in the economic and trade dynamics in the region is geared towards fighting poverty and improving the welfare of the citizens of Kenya. The new global context thus adds a dimension to the US-Kenya- Britain bilateral relationship whereby both the US and Britain have almost certainly looked to Kenya for enhanced cooperation and assistance especially in counter-terrorism and anti-piracy efforts.

5.2.3 Aid Policies

Britain heightened its charm offensive on Kenya, three years after relations between London and Nairobi soured. British officials in Nairobi were pushing for increased participation of British firms in Kenya's economic activities before the meeting of the two leaders. The efforts aimed at restoring Britain's position as Kenya's top trading partner reached a climax when President Uhuru Kenyatta and British Prime Minister David Cameron met in London in May 2013. David Cameron, the former British Prime Minister, was scheduled to visit Nairobi soon thereafter. However, the loss of the Brexit referendum forced him to resign and the envisaged visit to Nairobi failed to materialize. Daily Nation 27 January (2016)

To stem the tide of Chinese influence, Britain signed a deal to boost British firms' exports to Kenya. The UK Export Finance (UKEF), an export credit agency, signed a deal with the African Trade Insurance (ATI) that will see the agency, which offers payment guarantees to British exporters, gain access to information about opportunities for its clients as well as local knowledge of firms and projects (Musau, 2015). ATI also gives a platform to raise awareness among project sponsors and investors in African countries. In February, Britain also announced a Sh74 billion fund to help Kenyans import goods from Britain.

5.3. Changes in Diplomatic Relation between Kenya and Britain during Uhuru's Regime

Enhancement of Kenya-Britain ties is coming at the time when balance of trade continues to grow in favour of Kenya. According to 2017 data by the Central Bank of Kenya, Kenya exported goods worth Sh32.28 billion to Britain in the period between January and October 2017, but imported goods worth Sh24.34 billion during the same

period. Britain is Kenya's second most important export destination in Europe after the Netherlands which imported goods worth Sh36.56 billion from Kenya between January and October 2017. Kenya accounts for 27 per cent of the fresh produce and 56 per cent of the black tea market in Britain. Although China has in recent times dethroned Britain and the US as the biggest source of foreign direct investment for Kenya, Britain still accounts for 40 per cent of Kenya's FDI from Europe. The foregoing was confirmed by the Interview Respondents in this study as discussed in previous chapters (The Star, 2018).

According to the 2017, Foreign Investment Survey by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), at least 100 British based firms operate in Kenya, bringing in Sh15 billion in 2015 (KNBS, 2017). France, Sweden, and Netherlands brought in Sh11.2 billion, Sh4.6 billion, and Sh2.3 billion respectively.

Britain's push to come out of the EU is a blessing in disguise for Kenya's fresh produce exporters who are finding it hard to sell their goods in Europe due to strict health standards. According to Horticultural Crops Development Authority (HCDA), horticultural exports from Kenya to the EU were intercepted 29 times, reducing the country's chances of being removed from the EU's quality watch list. In 2012, the EU made changes to its legislation, allowing more inspections to verify exporters' compliance with quality standards (Ruto, 2018)

As at 2017 British investments in Kenya are estimated to be worth more than £4 billion (Sh.510 billion) and half of the top 10 taxpaying companies in Kenya are British owned. By stationing a military base in Kenya Britain foresaw the need to secure their vital interests in case of unforeseen upheavals and the security of foreign investments to them was paramount. Throughout Kenya's colonial history, Britain's

wider interests and global competition and its administrative and political structures were secured by the buildup of security forces and the occasional resort to arms (Lang'at, 2018).

On 23rd June 2016, British citizens voted to withdraw from the EU and this impacted on the world markets and the economic environment not only in the EU (Hunt and Wheeler, 2018). Kenyan exports comprising horticultural and flowers worth 1 Billion sterling pounds were subjected to tariffs unless the Economic Trade Agreement is signed by the East African countries (*ibid*). However Tanzania and Uganda declined to sign the same citing need for further negotiations. Kenya is not classified as among the least developed countries unlike her neighbours and who have nothing to lose or gain from the agreement Kenya risks paying a Sh10 billion tax per year for its exports to the European Union, once Britain leaves the European Union as per the terms of the Brexit deal, if her neighbours fail to sign the agreement. This is because Kenya is the only country in the region that is regarded as a developing nation by the EU hence qualifies to be charged Sh10 billion annually in export tax (*Financial Times* 14-7-2016, *The Standard* 22-11-2016).

Britain Brexit plans also provide Kenya with a chance to cushion itself from the EU's Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) demands that have not been welcomed by other East Africa countries especially Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania. The EPA is intended to guarantee the East African Community (EAC) traders duty-and-quota free access to the EU market in exchange for a gradual opening of up to 80 per cent of the region's market to European products. Failure by the EAC countries to sign the EPA agreement exposes the Kenyan exports to potential prohibitive taxes in the EU market. The row in East Africa over the agreement is yet to be resolved.

5.4. Summary

In summary the chapter illustrates that the post-independent period conduct of Kenya's foreign policy has largely rested with the presidency as has been shown by the analysis of the Uhuru Kenyatta Regime. Under the Kenyatta's regime, the country's foreign policy with respect to Britain remained the same albeit economic look east policy specifically to china has been maintained. The ICC challenge was surmounted and normal diplomatic relations between the two countries are normal. Britain's change of political stand after the election of President Kenyatta was informed of its economic and security interest in Kenya while Kenya was equally keen to continue benefiting from Britain. This is in line with the realist theory.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses in summary the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1963 to 2017. It examines the factors that motivated Britain to establish diplomatic relations with Kenya from 1963 to 1978, it analyzed the nature of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1979 to 2002, it examined changes in diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2003 to 2012 and the challenges of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 2013 to 2017. In a bid to meet the objectives of this study, the Researcher made use of oral interviews on knowledgeable informants/respondents, as a tool for collecting data.

6.2. Summary

Kenya and Britain have historical relations dating back to the 19th century. Between 1824 and 1826 the Kenyan port city of Mombasa was under British occupation. In 1887 a 16-kilometre-wide strip in the Kenyan coast was leased by the British (UNESCO, 2015). In 1895, Kenya became part of the East Africa Protectorate. Kenya achieved independence from Britain in 1963 and was thus a colony of Britain between 1895 and 1963 (68 years). During the colonial period, as discussed in more detail in previous chapters of this study, Britain took part in systematic land alienation from the Africans in favour of the white settlers, and exploited the African population, enabling the British to establish a thriving agrarian industry in Kenya. Following the establishment of the said industry, Britain also heavily invested in Kenya's economy which translated into extensive bilateral relations in areas covering trade, investments,

tourism, and co-operation in areas of defence and security, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism, climate change, among others, between the two countries.

Soon after independence in 1963, Kenya and Britain established diplomatic relations with representation in Nairobi and London respectively. Each country needed to protect and promote its economic, political and military interests, in line with Morgenthau's theory of realism. Since then, and through all four presidential regimes as discussed in more detail in this study, there have been well-established bilateral ties between the two countries.

As shown herein, between 1963 and 1978, during President Kenyatta's regime, Britain was anxious to maintain links with her former colonies including Kenya with a view to continuing to gain economically and strategically and to protect the white settler population which was made up primarily of British citizens. Kenyatta supported these relations as he was a more conservative leader than his fellow African leaders including Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. He remained more committed to pursue liberal capitalist agenda that considerably shaped the quest for political reforms in the independence period. More so in 1964, Kenyatta accepted Sir Malcolm Macdonald, the last British governor general to Kenya as the first British high commissioner to Kenya. Four years after Uhuru, 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 (Ogot, 1995).

Between 1979 and 2002, during Moi's regime, diplomatic relations with Britain continued overall to be warm as he adopted the '*Nyayo*' political motto through which he affirmed a continuation of past policies, which allowed him to follow in the footsteps of Kenyatta.

In the 1980s Moi continued to use foreign policy as the avenue for attracting the vital resources needed for economic development including financial and technical assistance, foreign investments and trade links, just as Kenyatta had done before him. To this end, he adopted a policy of co-operation and compliance with Britain even in matters where Kenya did not wholly agree with Britain.

Some examples of the above are: with regard to the Njonjo affair, Moi made accusations that an unnamed foreign power (implicitly Britain) was plotting to replace him with Njonjo, which accusations continued to be propagated by his Cabinet Ministers, but at the same time made private assurances to the then British High Commissioner that Britain was not suspect in the eyes of his government.

Similarly, after the 1982 attempted coup when the Moi regime began a crackdown on perceived 'dissidents' including Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who fled to and were harboured by Britain, the British government refused to extradite 'dissident' Kenyans in London, or at least, to put a stop to their activities there including restricting their access to the press. Upon being informed by the British government through its High Commission in Nairobi that the so called dissidents could not be legally extradited to Kenya, and neither could the British government restrict their access to the press, the Kenya government simply backed down and did not pursue the matter any further.

In relation to whether economic sanctions should have been placed on the South African apartheid regime, Britain opposed economic sanction but Kenya quietly supported them. Here, however, Kenya's position was understandable given the fact that their different interpretations of the South African question did not affect her relations with Britain (Burton, and Jennings, 2007).

From the foregoing, it may be observed that it seemed more important to the Moi regime to co-operate and comply with Britain in order to receive various forms of assistance from it, than for Kenya to observe independence in its foreign policy. However, Kenya's best efforts to comply with Britain did not stop the diplomatic relations between the two countries from becoming strained towards the end of Moi's regime when allegations of grand corruption marred the Moi government. Britain responded by implementing visa bans against some key persons in the Moi government such as Kulei.

During Kibaki's regime, Kenya's foreign policy was revised. The traditional pillars were revamped and expanded in recognition of new concerns including environmental management, cultural advantages such as sports and the Kenyan community in the diaspora. Kenya's foreign policy now rested on five interlinked pillars of economic diplomacy, peace diplomacy, environmental diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and diaspora diplomacy, as further discussed in previous chapters herein. Relations between Kenya and Britain, though cordial experienced changes and challenges.

Firstly, Kibaki adopted a "look-east" policy where he began to entertain China and other eastern states and began considering them an important ally in the areas of infrastructural development, industry, affordable technology, trade and manufacturing. The foregoing was caused by the revision of the older pillar of Economic development allowing the Kibaki government to pursue increased Foreign Domestic Investments (FDI) and aid flows 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. It is also argued that the eastern focus was in response to the disillusionment of Britain and

the dim view they took of the allegations of rampant corruption that rocked the Kibaki government as early as 2004, and as a result of the 2007 post-election violence that presaged his second term of office. 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, while western nations grappled with an economic crisis that threatened to collapse their own financial systems.

Secondly, during Kibaki's 2nd term, his administration was troubled by the yoke of the Post-Election violence that occurred in Kenya in 2007 to 2008, following his contested re-election as President.

Britain – Kenya's former colonizer and currently its second-largest donor – was the first to advocate power sharing. The then British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, telephoned both Kibaki and Odinga on 31 December to ask them to negotiate a coalition government (Guardian, 1 January 2008), but neither side was yet willing to renounce its claim to unilateral victory. The British Foreign Secretary began explicitly calling for the 'sharing of political power' on 5 January (UK in Kenya 2008). On 7 January, he stated that 'Kenya's immediate and medium term future requires the sharing of power' (Guardian, 8 January 2008).

Thirdly, Kibaki's government was plagued by allegations of large scale grand corruption in scandals such as the Anglo-leasing scandal, which Britain and other Western countries loudly condemned. Britain, through its then British High Commissioner, Sir Edward Clay, was extremely vocal in its criticism of the Kibaki government. This condemnation led to further visa bans against important Kenyan personalities such as Chris Murungaru, a powerful minister in Kibaki government.

The military relations between Kenya and Britain also began to sour as there were allegations that British officers had raped local women over the years in their training areas such as Samburu. Britain's slow progress in investigating the 694 claims of human rights violation and rape by its service men; stretching back to 30 years, which had been documented by Amnesty International, meant that the renewal of the British military's annual training permit was delayed. Negative civil- military relations continued to cloud the British army's relations with Kenya with sustained calls by major non-governmental organizations for the close of "colonial vestige" in the affected areas in Kenya, although the said British Army still never really pulled out of Kenyan soil.

Kenya's close links with the British Army and the fact that the training of British soldiers in Kenya is followed by their subsequent deployment in trouble spots in the world including the Middle East, Iraq and Afghanistan, strained Kenya's relations with these countries, and made Kenya a vulnerable target of new terrorism associated with the late Osama bin Laden. Its close relationship with the United States and Israel also further aggravated matters.

From the foregoing, and as discussed further in previous chapters, it is very clear that diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain during the Kibaki regime were at an all-time low.

President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime began on a troubled note in 2013, due to the International Criminal Court (ICC) cases brought against him and his deputy, William Ruto over the post-election violence of 2007/2008. These cases caused Britain to begin to distance itself from Kenya as it supported the trial of the two leaders and their compatriots before that Court for the role they were alleged to have played in the

2007 to 2008 post-election violence. However, after dismissal of the cases against the President and his Deputy, relations between Kenya and Britain significantly improved. The Interview Respondents in this study commented extensively on the impact of the ICC cases in the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain as discussed in previous chapters herein.

In terms of travel advisories Britain joined US in issuing travel warning to its citizens over the ongoing presidential petitions whose ruling was set to be delivered on Saturday, March 30, 2013. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) advised against all, but essential travel to within 60 kilometers of the Kenya-Somali border, Kiwayu and coastal areas north of Pate Island, Garissa, Eastleigh area of Nairobi and to low income areas of Nairobi, including all townships or slum areas. The statement said tensions may remain high in the lead up to the ruling of the presidential election petition (Standard Digital, 2013).

The US and British governments warned Kenyans that it would not be business as usual if Mr. Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto, facing similar charges, were elected. The Americans warned "choices have consequences" while the British cautioned that relations with Kenya would be scaled back to "minimal contact (BBC News November, 2017).

The then British High Commissioner, Christian Turner, too weighed in and said, "We cannot meet ICC indictees, except for essential business", underscoring the diplomatic conundrum that was at the time thought to face Kenya in the event of the ICC duo winning the elections (IWPR, 2013).

President Kenyatta made clear that he was departing from Kenya's hitherto traditional pro-western foreign policy posture, and has left few doubts that Kenya seeks a drastic and dramatic new foreign policy engagement with its traditional allies; an intensified drive for regional and continental cooperation, and will not be held hostage by historical linkages and traditions be they strategic, economic, military or cultural ties. As such, President Uhuru Kenyatta has embraced bilateral ties with both the East, continuing the legacy of his predecessor Mwai Kibaki, and the more traditional West.

6.3 Conclusion and recommendations

6.3.1. Conclusion

The study concludes that Kenya and Britain established diplomatic relations in pursuit of their respective interests in line with the Realist tradition. The diplomatic relations led to the two countries signing treaties and conventions as provided for in Article 2(6) of the constitution. Both countries keep defining and redefining their national interest. Public officers have benefited from training in Britain including doctors who have acquired specialized medical training and skills that have benefited Kenya. Military relations between these two countries have played a role in determining economic, trade, diplomatic and political relations. It was also revealed that Britain has maintained its economic interests since the colonial period to date.

The study established that Kenya and Britain diplomatic relations impacted Kenya's foreign policy where the differences between Kenya and Tanzania were as a result of Kenya's good relations with Britain. Tanzania inclined towards communism while Kenya leaned towards capitalism. Uganda's relationship with Britain was lukewarm during the regime of Milton Obote and the same was replicated in Kenya.

The study also concludes that the diplomatic relations between the two countries experienced challenges over the period due to democratic and economic interests hence the look east policy where tenders the British hitherto monopolized were awarded to Japanese, Korean, Portuguese and Spanish firms.

6.3.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations were made:

Kenya should strengthen its relations with Britain especially in the areas of economic development as Britain is one of the key investors and trading partners of Kenya. This would be achieved by the country's Foreign Ministry negotiating deals that will benefit the country.

Kenya should also ensure that the British military base in Laikipia trains Kenyan soldiers on the military tactics applied by Britain to ensure they improve the security within the Country and across the borders. This would ensure they minimize the terrorist threats that the country faces.

The political relations should be used as a bench mark to ensure that Kenya has the best governance structure that will promote ethical leadership, eliminate corruption and compel the leaders to be accountable to the citizenry. This will ensure that resources are channeled and used in the right sectors for development.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Schedule

Dear Sir/Madam

The researcher is conducting a research for Master of Arts project entitled ***KENYA-BRITAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1963- 2017***. The interview guide will be to help the researcher in obtaining your views on the impacts of diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain from 1963 to 2017. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated. Kindly respond to the questions as deemed appropriate. I guarantee total confidentiality of your response and the use for no other purposes except for this academic research.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Section A: General Information

(i) Name(ii) Age..... (iii) Sex

(iv) Locality.....(v) Occupation.....

(vi) Marital status.....(vii) Religious affiliations

Section B: Main issues

1. What has been the impact of the Kenya-British diplomatic relations from 1963 to 2017?

.....
.....
.....

2. What has been the nature of activities conducted by the diplomats of these two countries (Kenya-Britain)?

.....

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.....

.....

3. How has Kenya and or Britain Benefited through the Existing diplomatic Relations?

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.....

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.....

4. Does Kenya have a foreign policy in place? If so has it been influenced by the diplomatic relations?

.....

.....

.....

5. What has been Kenya diplomatic development strategy if any since independence?

.....

.....

.....

.....

6. How has Kenyan diplomats gained by having diplomatic relations with Britain?

.....

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.....

7. Has Kenya been ranked as the fourth largest trade partner in the list of BRITAIN's market of its arms trade?

.....

.....

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.....

8. Has the Kenya-British diplomatic relations impacted upon Kenya's foreign policy with other states?

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9. How has Britain personnel gained through diplomatic relations with Kenya?

.....

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.....

.....

10. What are changes that have taken place between Britain and Kenya from 1963-2017?

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. To what extent has the diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya from 1963-2017 changed?

.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATION

Appendix II: Consent Form For Respondents

Serial number of questionnaire

|_|_|_|_|

Site number

|_|_|

CONSENT FORM

Hello Sir,

My name is Michael Mubea Kamau, a master's student at Kenyatta University. I am conducting a study on the **KENYA-BRITAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1963- 2017** in Nairobi City County, Kenya. I will now give you information on what the study is about. Afterwards, I will invite you to be a study participant. Once I have shared this information, you can decide whether or not you will participate in the study. Please feel free to stop me as we go through the information and I will take time to explain any queries or concerns you may have.

May we proceed? ___Yes ___No

Kenya acquired its independence from Britain in December 1963, and diplomatic relations, were established between the two countries. England maintained 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 in the coordination of economic and defense policies and Membership within the Commonwealth of Nations was one way to keep these

states oriented to the West. Through revelations, it is important to establish the diplomatic relations between these two countries.

You've been selected randomly and I wish, with your permission, to interview you. Any details related to your privacy will be kept confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone without your knowledge or permission. Your participation in this study is very important and I rely on you to provide me with accurate information that will help us to develop effective policies to implement to improve on diplomatic relations between Kenya and Britain. The interview will take approximately 20-30 minutes but with your cooperation it can take a shorter period.

May I have your permission to proceed with this interview?

Yes No

If you do not want to participate, please tell me why:

.....
.....
.....

Name and signature of the interviewer that a verbal consent was obtained:

Name of interviewer

_____ / _____ / 2017

Signature of the interviewer

Date (dd/mm/yyyy) _____

Appendix III: List of Informants

1. Hon. Lazarus O. Amayo - OI: June 2018, Nairobi [001]
2. Dr. Patrick Muthengi MalBritaini - OI: June 2018, Nairobi[002]
3. Amb. Philip Richard Owade- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[003]
4. Joyce Hiribae - OI: June 2018, Nairobi[004]
5. Dr. Maurice Barasa- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[005]
6. Dr. Martin Odhiambo Ouma- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[006]
7. Masinde Mwangale- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[007]
8. Modester Achieng- OI: June 2018, Nairobi [008]
9. Evans Ochengo- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[009]
10. Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[010]
11. Dr. Ikiara- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[011]
12. Achieng Anne Stella- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[012]
13. Ambassador Monica Juma- OI: June 2018, Nairobi[013]

Appendix IV: NACOSTI Research Permit



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: 320 404 7000,
0713 788787, 0735 404245
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dp@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30625-00101
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/53990/21309**

Date: **20th February, 2018**

Michael Mubea Kamau
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Kenya-Britain diplomatic relations, 1965- 2017*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **20th February, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

G.P. Kalerwa

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. MICHAEL MUBEKA KAMAU
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 61130-200
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nairobi County*

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/53990/21309
Date Of Issue : 20th February, 2018
Fee Received : Ksh 1000

on the topic: *KENYA-BRITAIN*
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1963- 2017

for the period ending:
20th February, 2019

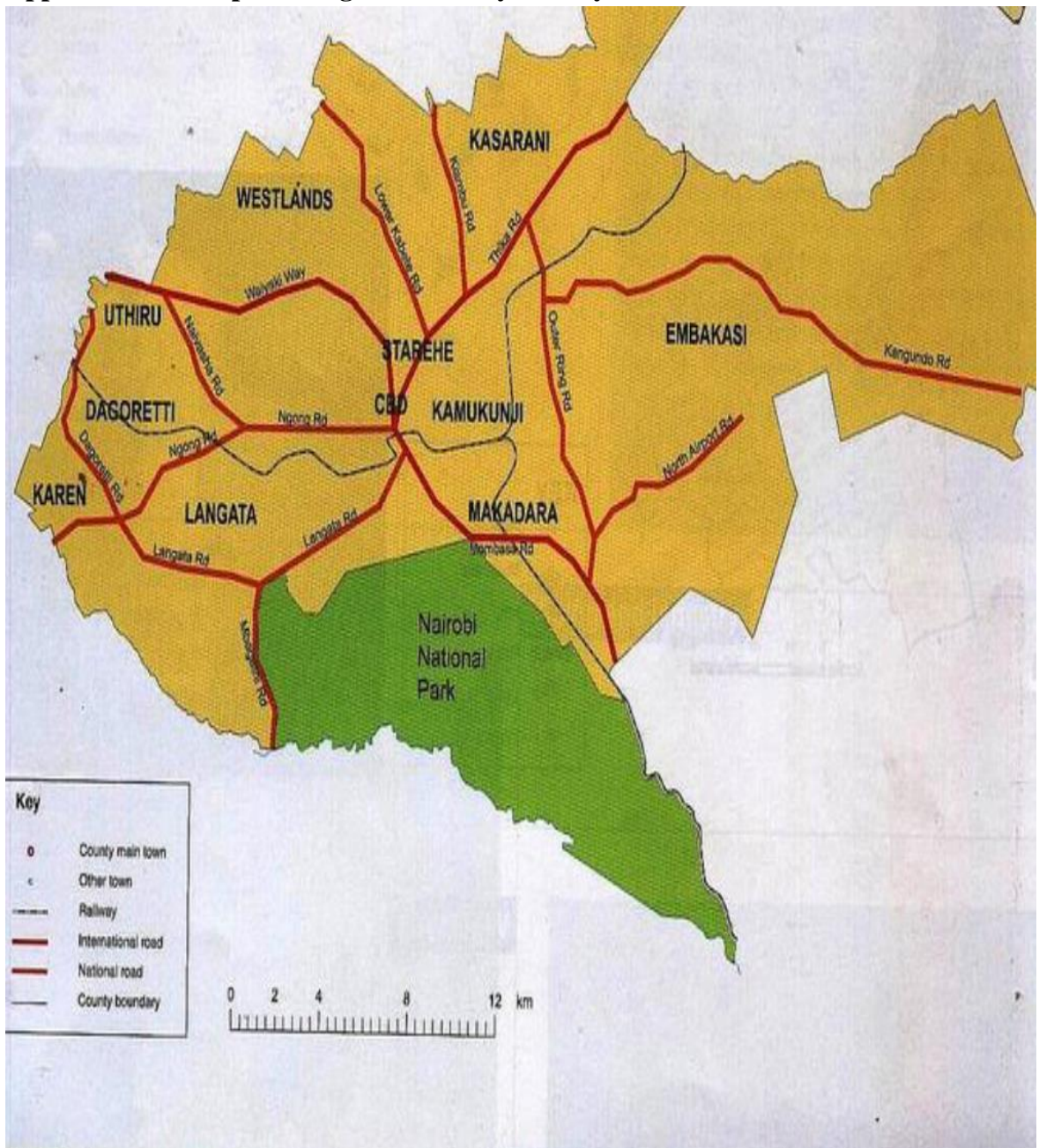


J. J. Kalewa

.....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

[Handwritten Signature]
.....
Applicant's
Signature

Appendix V: A map showing Nairobi City County



Source: Geological Department (2013)