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Abstract

Purpose: Kenya's foreign policy has largely rested with the presidency as has been shown by the analysis of the Uhuru Kenyatta Regimes. The general objective of the study was to examine diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya.

Methodology: The paper used a desk study review methodology where relevant empirical literature was reviewed to identify main themes and to extract knowledge gaps.

Findings: 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.

Recommendations: The study recommends that there is need for Kenya to 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.

Keywords: *diplomatic, relations, between, Britain, Kenya*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

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).

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 statecentered 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 6 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 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to examine diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya.

1.4 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.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical review

Two theories were found to be relevant in examining diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya. The theories that were found to best inform the research constructs are the realist theory (Morgenthau, 1978) and participation in elections theory (Feddersen ,2006).

2.1.1 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.

2.1.2 Neo-realist theory

Proposed by Waltz, (1979) 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.

2.4 Empirical Review

Mbith i,(2020) conducted a study aimed at unearthing the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. The study has explored the steps so far taken

towards East Africa integration and the precise objectives of the study are; to analyze the role(s) that the different Heads of state in Kenya have played to ensure East Africa integration, to examine the effects of Heads of state transition in Kenya on regional integration in East Africa, to establish what the current Kenyan regime can do to speed up the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region. In this study, the Hegemonic Stability theory that is based on the presence of a hegemony that ensures stability of the international system and the Structural Functionalism theory which factors in a society as a complex system that is constitutes of segments that work together with an intent of achieving a set goal will be used. Descriptive research design was used in the study. The target population for the study was the Ministry of East African Community, Labor and Social protection, Political scientists, retired and serving ambassadors. Stratified random sampling was used to obtain a sample size of 130 respondents. The data was collected by use of self-structured questionnaires which were directly administered to the respondents, as well as individual interview schedules. Analysis of the qualitative data was done by use of both the framework analysis and the thematic analysis approaches while the quantitative data was analyzed through theme coding. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration. In addition, it was revealed through this study that, although the head of state holds meetings to discuss regional integration little has been done with regard to formulation of new policies as well as establishing a concrete legal frame-work to safeguard the issues concerning regional integration. The study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is the will to put in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among member states, hence resulting to mutual benefit of these states in terms of creating opportunities for their citizens

Kimencu, (2018) conducted a study on to examine the impact of the reports to the Kenya's image. This study applied agenda setting theory of media which posits that media may not tell you what to think but it could tell you what to think about, and realism theory of international relations which argued that states relate with other states for their own selfish interests. This research relied entirely on secondary literature and adopted qualitative data collection method. The study used the explorative research design to explore media websites, review of documents, and use of audio visual materials. It used critical discourse analysis and content analysis design to analyze various media content about Kenya. The findings of this study were of relevance to the policy makers in the country on the most prudent method of engaging with the international media. Among other recommendations, the study highlighted the need for Kenya and by extension Africa to establish a giant media channel with a global command, at the level of CNN and BBC, which will be able to adequately present both negative and positive issues about the African state.

Oduor,(2015) conducted a study on representations of the postcolonial state in the childhood metaphor in selected postcolonial texts. Chapter One, titled On the Background, tracks the origins of the pathway of this study. In so doing, it provides a response to the first research objective and question on how childhood is an analytic concept in Beneath the Lion's Gaze, The God of Small Things, and Nervous Conditions as postcolonial literary texts. This is carried out in the preliminary information about this inquiry. Consequently, this chapter then proceeds to the construction of the conceptual framework. Through the conceptual framework there is an illustration of how

childhood is used as a metaphor in the post colony. Chapter Two is titled Conceptual Framework and the Literature Review. It arose out of the need to have a detailed review of literature that touches on the key elements of this study; postcoloniality, childhood and metaphor. As well it contains a literature review on the selected literary texts. It is centered on the literature review and the methodology employed in this research. The information derived from the literature review is then utilized in propping up the conceptual framework further. It also contains the limitations and scope of this inquiry. Chapter Three offers an analysis of the post-colony with recourse to the effect of childhood in the representation of the postcolonial state. Specific attention is paid in establishing to what consequence childhood has been engaged as a metaphor in Beneath the Lion's Gaze, The God of Small Things, and Nervous Conditions. The chapter also qualifies further the precolonial condition of Ethiopia within postcoloniality. In addition, the chapter has a section which deals with the (in) effectiveness of the metaphor of childhood in representation of the postcolonial state. Chapter Four, Dialectics of Globalization and Postcoloniality, offers an analysis of the metaphor of childhood as a representation of the postcolonial state with recourse to the effect of childhood in the representation of the postcolonial state. It interrogates the dialectics of postcoloniality in global interactions while exercising the metaphor of childhood with respect to the selected literary texts. This Chapter also supplies further information on the (in) effectives of the childhood metaphor as a representation of the postcolonial state. As well, the consequence of childhood as a metaphor in representation of postcoloniality is scrutinized. Chapter Five is Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations. It is a concluding section which recapitulates the findings of this research. The Chapter is a general wrap-up of the various arguments advanced in this thesis. It also suggests proposals for further studies.

Mutunga ,(2015) conducted an investigation on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films. The movies selected are those produced, directed, and acted by Kenyan people in Kenya. Three Kenyan movies were analysed; Zeinabu Rudi Nyumbani (2008) by Billy Mbilikimo, Chasing Moses (2009) by Alexander Konstantaras and The Village Cassanova (20 10) by Simon Nduti. In order to establish the parameters under which Kenyan drama films could be critiqued, the study sought to analyse dramatic aspects of the selected drama films, establish the peculiarities of its aesthetics and investigate the socio-cultural aspects embedded in the selected drama films. Two theories were used in this study. The formalist film theory popularly advocated by the Russian formalists like Tynyanov emphasises on the aesthetic value of film and argues that the meaning of a film can be deciphered from the aesthetic elements employed by the film maker. The postmodernism theory emphasises the reworking of existing ideas and styles as typified by the techniques of pastiche and intertextuality. In this respect, the styles in the films may not necessarily be complete innovations of the directors but rather a reworking of existing film styles to suit their own artistic expression depending on the intent ofthe films they produce. The methodology that was used for research is the descriptive case study design where selected films were analysed after watching them. The films provided the primary data to be used in the analysis while secondary data was attained from the internet, journals and books. This study involved an analysis of the specific films' aesthetic elements after which a conclusion of the findings was done to ascertain the fact that Kenyan drama films have their own aesthetics which characterise them. It was clear that the various filmmaking techniques employed by the filmmakers created dramatic effect and worked together to make the films communicate and appeal to the audience in a particular way.

The various social cultural aspects embedded in the films reflect the society's beliefs and values in relation to religion, family, wealth, morality and alcohol

Njagi,(2014) conducted a study to examine the nature and rationale of the evolution of Kenya-British military relations in the independence period, to evaluate their impacts on Kenya's foreign policy relations with other states and third, examine the impacts of these relations on Kenya's national security in the independence period. The study employs the realist school of thought in tracing the continuous British military presence in Kenya while igniting debate on Kenya's decolonization experience. For the investigative aim of this thesis, the study focuses on the colonial legacy in Kenya-British military relations within the independence period regimes of Kenyatta (1963-1978) Moi (1978-2002) and Kibaki (2002- up to 2005). Nevertheless the three regimes simply provide in terms of their institutional transition an attempt by the study, a modest evaluation of the present Kenya-British military relations. Primary and secondary sources of data were used in this study. Secondary sources included mainly written sources. The study found out that the British Army in spite of being an 'enemy' military during the Mau Mau War of independence and the ongoing Mau Mau atrocities cases against the British government, the same army continues to use the Kenyan hinterlands as military training areas long after Kenya's independence thereby shaping Kenya's military relations with its former colonial master. The study concludes that in spite of negative civil-military relations at the local level, the relations at national level have proved beneficial to both countries. More so the study informs that military relations between states have largely played a major role in determining the subsequent trajectory of economic, trade, diplomatic and political relations between the co-operating nations. It thus affirms the argument advanced by the study that the trajectory of development in Kenya continues to be determined and shaped not only by the conjuncture of precolonial, colonial and post-colonial socio-political and economic structures but also by the military linkage

2.5 Research gaps

Geographical gap is a knowledge gap that considers, the untapped potential or missing/limited research literature, in the geographical area that has not yet been explored or is under-explored. For instance Mbithi ,(2020) conducted a study aimed at unearthing the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. Descriptive research design was used in the study. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration. The studies presented a geographical gap as they were conducted in East African while our current study focus on examining diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya.

Methodological gap is the gap that is presented as a result in limitations in the methods and techniques used in the research (explains the situation as it is, avoids bias, positivism, etc.). Kimencu, (2018) conducted a study on to examine the impact of the reports to the Kenya's image. The study used the explorative research design to explore media websites, review of documents, and use of audio visual materials.The findings of this study were of relevance to the policy makers in the country on the most prudent method of engaging with the international media. The studies presented a methodological gap as it used explorative research design while our current study adopted a desktop literature review method

Conceptual gap arises because of some difference between the user's mental model of the application and how the application actually works. Mutunga ,(2015) conducted an investigation on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films. The methodology that was used for research is the descriptive case study design where selected films were analyzed after watching them.The study found out that the various social cultural aspects embedded in the films reflect the society's beliefs and values in relation to religion, family, wealth, morality and alcohol. The study focused on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films, while the current study examining diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a desktop literature review method (desk study). This involved an in-depth review of studies related to diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya.Three sorting stages were implemented on the subject under study in order to determine the viability of the subject for research.This is the first stage that comprised the initial identification of all articles that were based on diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya from various data bases. The search was done generally by searching the articles in the article title, abstract, keywords. A second search involved fully available publications on the subject on diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya. The third step involved the selection of fully accessible publications. Reduction of the literature to only fully accessible publications yielded specificity and allowed the researcher to focus on the articles that related to diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya which was split into top key words. After an in-depth search into the top key words (diplomatic, relations, between, Britain, Kenya), the researcher arrived at 5 articles that were suitable for analysis. The 5 articles were findings from has in ensuring the unification the East African region. Descriptive research design was used in the study.This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration.

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4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION FOR FURTHER STUDY

4.1 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.

4.2 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.

4.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that there is need for Kenya to 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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