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REPUBLIC OF KENYA  
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT – FOURTH SESSION – 2025

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT  
FUND

.....

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31)  
CONSTITUENCIES

APRIL, 2025

 <b>THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PAPERS LAID</b>	
<b>DATE: 27 APR 2025</b>	
<b>DAY: TUESDAY</b>	
<b>TABLED BY:</b>	ITAY- MUIA SIRMA, MP CHAIR, NG-CDF COMMITTEE
<b>CLERK-AT THE-TABLE:</b>	IMZORU MURALE

CLERK'S CHAMBERS  
DIRECTORATE OF AUDIT, APPROPRIATIONS AND GENERAL PURPOSE  
COMMITTEES  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS  
NAIROBI

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**REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND  
COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES**

## 1.0 CHAIRPERSON'S FOREWORD

The National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committee is a Statutory Committee established under Section 50 of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Act, 2015. The Committee is mandated to amongst others, *'to consider and report to the National Assembly, with recommendations, names of persons required to be approved by the National Assembly under the Act'*

In accordance with the provisions of Regulation 5(2)(a) of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Act Regulations, 2016, the Board, *vide* circular Ref: NG-CDFB/CEO/CIRCULARS/Vol.III (002) dated November 18, 2024, initiated the constitution of constituencies' committees. In light hereof, the Board received and processed submissions from Thirty-One (31) Constituencies.

The constituencies seek to replace the appointees in the respective constituency committees following the expiry of the two year term prescribed by the Act. To address the vacancies, the said constituencies reconvened selection panels and filled the vacancies in accordance with Regulation 5 of the NG-CDF Regulations, 2016.

Based on the foregoing and in compliance with section 43(4) of the NG-CDF Act, the NG-CDF Board forwarded to the National Assembly names of nominees for consideration.

The Committee reviewed the list of nominees. Upon deliberation, it confirmed that the list complied with sections 43 (1) and (2) of the NG-CDF Act, Cap. 414A, and consequently, approved the list of nominees for the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committees for the Thirty-One (31) Constituencies.

SIGNED..........DATE..........

**HON. MUSA SIRMA CHERUTICH, EGH, MP**

**CHAIRPERSON**

**COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES**

**DEVELOPMENT FUND**

**REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES**

## 2.0 PREFACE

### 2.1 Establishment and Mandate of the Committee

1. The National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committee is a Statutory Committee established under Section 50 of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Act, CAP. 414A. The Committee is mandated to, among others, oversee, inquire into, and report all matters relating to the implementation of the Act.

### 2.2 Committee Membership

- 3 The Select Committee on National Government Constituencies Development Fund (NG-CDF) was constituted by the National Assembly on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2022 and comprises of the following Members:

#### **Chairperson**

Hon. Musa Sirma Cherutich,EGH, MP  
Eldama Ravine Constituency

#### **UDA Party**

#### **Vice-Chairperson**

Hon. Tandaza Kassim Sawa, MP  
Matuga Constituency

#### **Amani Party**

Hon. (Dr.) Ogolla Gideon Ochanda, MP  
Bondo Constituency

#### **ODM Party**

Hon. Owuor Joshua Aduma, MP  
Nyakach Constituency

#### **ODM Party**

Hon. Akujah Protus Ewesit, MP  
Loima Constituency

#### **UDA Party**

Hon. Elachi Beatrice Kadeversia, MP  
Dagoreti North Constituency

#### **ODM Party**

Hon. Mukhwana Titus Khamala, MP  
Lurambi Constituency

#### **ODM Party**

Hon. Mwalyo Joshua Mbithi, MP  
Masinga County

#### **INDEPENDENT**

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Hon. Nyamita Mark Ogolla, MP  
Uriri Constituency

**ODM Party**

Hon. Owino John Walter, MP  
Awendo Constituency

**ODM Party**

Hon. Oyula Joseph H. Maero, MP  
Butula Constituency

**ODM Party**

Hon. Wambilianga Catherine Nanjala, MP  
Bungoma (CWR)

**UDA Party**

Hon. Gisairo Clive Ombane, MP  
Kitutu Masaba Constituency

**ODM Party**

Hon. Kiprono Mutai Alfred, MP  
Kuresoi North Constituency

**UDA Party**

Hon. Machele Mohamed Soud, MP  
Mvita Constituency

**ODM Party**

Hon. Wainaina Anthony Njoroge, MP  
Kieni Constituency

**UDA Party**

Hon. Nduyo Susan Ngugi, MP  
Tharaka-Nithi (CRW)

**TSP Party**

Hon. Lelmengit Josses Kiptoo Kosgey, MP  
Emgwen Constituency

**UDA Party**

Hon. Maingi Mary, MP  
Mwea Constituency

**UDA Party**

### **2.3 Committee Secretariat**

3 The Committee is facilitated by the following staff:

Mr. Emmanuel Muyodi

**Clerk Assistant I**

Mr. Letaya Morintat

**Clerk Assistant III**

Ms. Purity Macharia

**Clerk Assistant III**

Mr. Chelang'a Maiyo

**Research Officer I**

Ms. Peninnah Simiren

**Legal Counsel II**

Mr. Murimi Mwangi

**Media Relations Officer III**

Mr. Eric Kanyi

**Fiscal Analyst I**

Mr. Bonface Mugambi

**Serjeant-At-Arms**

Ms. Mayan Gabow

**Public Communications Officer III**

Ms. Rehema Koech

**Audio Officer**

### **3.0 LIST OF NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEE FOR THE THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES**

4 Section 43 of the National Governments Constituencies Development Fund (NG-CDF) Act, Cap. 414A provides that –

- (1) *“There is established a National Government Constituency Development Fund Committee for every constituency.*
- (2) *Each Constituency Committee shall comprise of—*
  - (a) *the national government official responsible for co-ordination of national government functions;*
  - (b) *three men each nominated in accordance with subsection (3), one of whom shall be a youth at the date of appointment;*
  - (c) *three women nominated in accordance with subsection (3), one of whom shall be a youth at the date of appointment;*
  - (d) *one person with disability nominated by a registered group representing persons with disabilities in the constituency in accordance with subsection (3);*
  - (e) *deleted by Act No. 21 of 2023, s. 9;*
  - (f) *the officer of the Board seconded to the Constituency Committee by the Board who shall be an ex officio member without a vote.*
  - (g) *one member co-opted by the Board in accordance with Regulations made by the Board.*
- (3) *The seven persons referred to in subsection (2)(b), (c), (d) and (e) shall be selected in such manner and shall have such qualifications as the Board may, by Regulations, prescribe.*
- (4) *The names of the persons selected under subsection (3) shall be submitted by the Board to the National Assembly for approval before appointment and gazettelement by the Board.”*
- (5) *The Regulations made under subsection (3) shall be submitted to the National Assembly for approval before publication by the Board.*
- (6) *The first meeting of the Constituency Committee shall be convened by the officer of the Board seconded to the constituency within one hundred and twenty days from the date*

**REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES**

*of the holding of a general election as contemplated in Article 101(1) of the Constitution.*

- (7) The quorum of the Constituency Committee shall be one half of the total membership.*
- (8) The term of office of the members of the Constituency Committee shall be two years and shall be renewable but shall expire upon the appointment of a new Constituency Committee in the manner provided for in the Act, or as may be approved by the Board.*
- (9) The Fund account manager seconded by the Board to the constituency shall be the custodian of all records and equipment of the constituency during the term of Parliament and during transitions occasioned by general elections or a by-election.*
- (10) Whenever a vacancy occurs in the Constituency Committee by reason of resignation, incapacitation or demise of a member the vacancy shall be filled from the same category of persons where the vacancy has occurred within a period of one hundred and twenty days.*
- (11) The Constituency Committee shall meet at least six times in a year but the committee shall not hold more than twenty-four meetings in the same financial year, including sub-committee meetings.*
- (12) Deleted by Act No. 24 of 2022, s. 16 (c).*
- (13) A member of the Constituency Committee may be removed from office on any one or more of the following grounds—*
  - (a) lack of integrity;*
  - (b) gross misconduct;*
  - (c) embezzlement of public funds;*
  - (d) bringing the committee into disrepute through unbecoming personal public conduct;*
  - (e) promoting unethical practises;*
  - (f) causing disharmony within the committee;*
  - (g) physical or mental infirmity.*
- (14) A decision to remove a member under subsection (13) shall be made through a resolution of at least five members of the Committee and the member sought to be removed shall be given a fair hearing before the resolution is made.*

(15) A vacancy arising as a result of the removal of a member under subsection (13) shall be filled in the manner set out in subsection (10) and minutes of the meeting shall indicate the fact of the removal or appointment of a member.

- 5 In accordance with the provisions of Regulation 5(2)(a) of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Regulations, 2016, the Board issued Circular Ref: NG-CDFB/ CEO/CIRCULARS/Vol.III (002) dated November 18, 2024, setting in motion the constitution of constituencies' committees. In light hereof, the Board received and processed submissions from Thirty-One (31) Constituencies.
- 6 The Constituencies now seek to replace the appointees in the respective constituency committees following the expiry of the two year term prescribed by the Act.
- 7 To address the vacancies, the said constituencies reconvened selection panels and filled the vacancies in accordance with Regulation 5 of the NG-CDF Regulations, 2016.
- 8 In accordance with section 43(4) and (8) of the NG-CDF Act, Cap. 414A and Regulation 5(10) of the NG-CDF Regulations, 2016 which provide for National Assembly's approval of the nominees for re-appointment or fresh appointment to the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committees, prior to gazettelement by the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Board, the following names are hereby tabled for approval by the National Assembly:

#### 1. AWENDO CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Osawah Jared	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Jacob Ongango Jenga	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Alex Okello Ogwari	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Mourine Awuor Oluoch	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Zippy Aoko Ayieko	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Ivone Atieno Onyango	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Augustine Wasonga Ochola	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

## 2. BARINGO NORTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Elijah Yator Rotich	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Fredrick Kiprop Kiptoo	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Noel Chelimo	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Rodah Jesire Kangogo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Jeniffer Chemjor	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Cherutoi Brenda Jemuge	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Robert Koech Charles Chepkuto	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 3. BUMULA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Mark Agala Wafula Weloba	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Joseph Shikuku Watula	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Powell Wangila Silisisi	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Elizabeth Nabwile Wabomba	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Susan Nafula Wasike	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Nancy Jesang Chirchir	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Wilfred Mayende Wamalwa	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 4. CHANGAMWE CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Khalidi Ali Kabanda	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

2.	Patrick Ochieng Okeyo	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Fadhili Abdallah Iddy	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Khalida Hussein Mwinyi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Hannington Damaris Wandoe	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Fatuma Mohamed Ramadhan	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Sarah Mueni Odhiambo	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 5. EMUHAYA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Makanga Enos Marindi	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Ongaya Kelvin Etalia	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Hillary Mahindu Amahwa	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Mariam Nyarotso Ekambi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Sophia Mical Analo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Ahono Josephine Omukhango	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Wellington Ekhuya Ingati	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 6. FAFI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Mohamed Aden Dubow	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Abdirahman Yussuf Ibrahim	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Abdi Aden Ahmed	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Zeinab Moulid Abdi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

5.	Sahara Abdullahi Abdi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Hodhan Noor Bare	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Abdirahman Mohamed Gure	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 7. GARSEN CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Dandy Annar Gayoye	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Hashako Mohamed Abdi	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Daudi Dube Mukulo	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Warda Mohamed Mbwana	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Mariam Saida Kokane	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Amran Juweria Sheikh	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Yusuf Salim Barisa	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 8. HAMISI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Isaiah Kipsang Rotich	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Owen Kasiera Majani	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Bilventure Amulavu	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Grace Espirah Tsimbagi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Sharon Beru Likhagasi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Barbrah Natolo Shisanya	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Josphat Musagame Chingara	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

### 9. I GEMBE CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Reuben Kaberia Bariu	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Meeme Isaac Mutembei	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Raphael Kiramana Thiaine	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Jane Karimbi Murungi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Rose Mwari Kaumbuthu	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Mutuma Gladys Makena	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Charles Mwenda Alaine	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

### 10. KACHELIBA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Anthony Kibet Mayech	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Lopusingiro Korunon Paul	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Peter Rionongole	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Rebecca Tinyang Nariwo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Irene Cheptoo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Alice Chelimo Kiran	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Joseph Loitamar Lopakale	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

### 11. KIAMBU TOWN CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Joseph Kariuki Karanja	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Peter Wangai Muindo	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

3.	Gabriel Kaberia Karanja	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Lucy Wambui Nyota	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Veronica Wanjiru Wambui	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Margaret Nyagathu Nduta	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Francis Ndungu Mbugua	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 12. KIPIPIRI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Patrick Ngotho Chege	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Isaac Maina	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Stephen Maina Kariuki	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Mary Karungari Njiriri	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Mary Waithiegeni Mwangi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Maria Wangeci Kinuthia	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Moses Macharia Kamau	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 13. KISUMU CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	William Oduori Otaya	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Silas Omondi Diang'a	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Ahamed Siyat Muhumed	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Millicent Atieno Omollo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Judith Adhiambo Onyango	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

6.	Ann Adhiambo Ochieng	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Pius Otieno Ochieng	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 14. KISUMU EAST CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Jackton Odhiambo Achola	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Titus Omondi Nyaguti	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
3.	Susan Awiti Nunda	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
4.	Lilian Adhiambo Aloys	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Mercy Akoth Odhiambo	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	George Omondi Pete	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 15. KITUI EAST CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Vincent Kyalo Mwandia	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Paul Kimeu Kitutu	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	John Kilonzo	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Joyce Mueni Mumo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Bretta Mbesa Simba	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Ruth Mbeti Mulatya	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

#### 16. KITUI SOUTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Kenneth Musee Kitonyo	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

2.	Peter Mwangangi Mbiti	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Jonathan Mawioo Muthangya	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Florence Mbesa Martin	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Evelyn Syombua Mutua	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Lesley Sherinah Kineene	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Christopher Mwanja Ngumbi	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 17. KITUTU CHACHE NORTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Mose Simeon Mbaka	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Kennedy Nyarunda Bosire	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Asuma Alfred Mayieka	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Betty Mong'ina Orina	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Mareleana Kerubo Nyamboga	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Maorine Orega Michieka	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Onchieku Henry Amemo	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 18. KITUTU CHACHE SOUTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Onsongo Omae Alphonse	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Walter Nyakundi Kiyondi	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Brian Guto Ogoro	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Perez Anyango Aomo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

5.	Alice Kemunto Moogi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Nancy Gesare Nyamweya	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Julius Reuben Maobe	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 19. KURESOI SOUTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Wilson Kipsigei Bii	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	David Kiprono Langat	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Kiplangat Japhet	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Rael Chepkoech Keter	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Betty Jebet Kemboi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Chepkurui Mercy	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Lenox Kimutai Koech	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 20. LUNGALUNGA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Thomas Mwachenda Chaniro	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Sabastian Kombeti Jeremiah	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Abdul Malik Saidi Mwalim	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Beatrice Wavinya Mbindyo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Selina Santo Nambula	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Zuhura Ali Kombo	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

## 21. MACHAKOS TOWN CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Joseph Mbola Mathew	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Francis Muli Nzomo	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Martin Kiio Mwanja	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Judith Mwendu Ngute	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Theresia Ngina Peter	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Rose Chebet Ndunge	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Francis Mutinda Kanyambu	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 22. MALINDI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Sammy Kazungu Kaingu	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Ibrahim Rashid Rocha	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Emmanuel Wanje Ziro	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Irene David Bomu	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Beatrice Sidi Kahindi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Charity Sanita Katana	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Elijah Odhiambo Ochoo	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 23. MANYATTA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Raphael Ngari Njiru	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)

2.	Fredrick Fundi Mutua	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Eliphaz Murimi Ileri	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Lucy Njoki Nicholas	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Caroline Njeri Ndwiga	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Kauthar Nyawira Aziz	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Boniface Mugendi Muriithi	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 24. NAROK EAST CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Tapaiya Olingashar Punyua	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	John Salaton Swakei	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Oropi Ole Matuyia Meshuko	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Pilale Ene Kashanga Kisotu	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Gladys Wanjiru Soitara	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Hanah Naishipae Kusero	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Leshinka Mututua	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 25. NAROK NORTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Sankok Jackson Kipiri Ole	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Metekai Ole Kool	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Shadrack Ndelai Makoi	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Lilian Sambo Kariankei	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)

5.	Kimaren Masikonte	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Nelly Sintoyia Kamaamia	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Joseph Kasaine Masikonde	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 26. NAVAKHOLO CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Kennedy Ngao Barasa	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Chripino Ndombi Makokha	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Antony Makuto Siminyu	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Hellane Namwaya Nanjakululu	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Jackline Khavetsa Omurunga	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Naomi Nafuna Mutebi	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Annah Mwenyekombo	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 27. TIGANIA EAST CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	George Kalera Munyi	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Gerald Tulatia Naituli	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Mathew Mwenda Igweta	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Hellen Kanana Joel	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Irene Gatumwa	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Ruth Gacheri Muciri	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Priscilla Mithika	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 28. UGENYA CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Alfred Opondo Adala	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	George Otieno Onyango	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Clinton Odhiambo Okoth	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Diana Awino Odhiambo	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Everlyne Awuor Omondi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Tecline Awuor Madara	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Emma Atieno Opondo	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 29. URIRI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Joseph Opiyo Mica	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Harison Obado Owuodho	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Onyando Odindo Ambrose	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Joyce Mukiza Ngusare	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Pamela Atieno Owino	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Jane Anyango Okeyo	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Charles Oloo Nyariaro	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

## 30. WAJIR NORTH CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Noor Ali Omar	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Ali Mohamed S Salat	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

3.	Adanur Hassan Hussein	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Habiba Abdiladif Abdullahi	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Isnina Bishar Alasow	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Suleka Kulow Nurow	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Suleiman Gosar Mohamed	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

### 31. WUNDANYI CONSTITUENCY

No.	Name	Category	Statutory Provision Under NG-CDF Act
1.	Kennedy Mwanyange Mwashako	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
2.	Patrick Soghona Zighani	Male Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(b)
3.	Charles Kilelu Mwawasi	Male Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(b)
4.	Evelyn Sambo Mwakandu	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
5.	Janellizah Chungu Ngereri	Female Adult Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
6.	Josephine Chao Righa	Female Youth Representative	Appointment, pursuant to Sec.43(2)(c)
7.	Clemence Mambori Toto	Representative of Persons Living with Disability	Appointment, pursuant to Sec. 43(2)(d)

#### 4.0 COMMITTEE OBSERVATION

9. Having considered the list of nominees for the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committee for the Thirty-One (31) Constituencies, the Committee observed that, the list conforms to section 43 (1) and (2) of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund (NG-CDF) Act, Cap. 414A.


#### 5.0 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATION

10. Arising from the observation, the Committee hereby recommends the **APPROVAL** of the list of nominees to the National Government Constituencies Development Fund Committees for the Thirty-One (31) Constituencies by the House.

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES

SIGNED.....*Alc*.....DATE.....*17/4/2025*.....

HON. MUSA SIRMA CHERUTICH, EGH, MP  
CHAIRPERSON  
COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES  
DEVELOPMENT FUND

 <b>THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PAPERS LAID</b>	
DATE: <b>27 APR 2025</b>	
DAY: <b>TUESDAY</b>	
TABLED BY:	HON. MUSA SIRMA, MP CHAIR, MG-COF COMMITTEE
CLERK-AT THE-TABLE:	IMZOU MWALU

REPORT ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND  
COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31) CONSTITUENCIES



**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**  
**THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**  
**13<sup>TH</sup> PARLIAMENT – FOURTH SESSION – 2025**  
**DIRECTORATE OF AUDIT, APPROPRIATIONS AND GENERAL PURPOSE COMMITTEES**  
**ADOPTION SCHEDULE**  
**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSTITUENCIES**  
**DEVELOPMENT FUND ON THE NOMINEES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
**CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND COMMITTEES FOR THIRTY-ONE (31)**  
**CONSTITUENCIES**

DATE: 17/4/2025

	NAMES	SIGNATURE
1.	The Hon. Musa Sirma Cherutich, E.G.H, MP - (Chairperson)	
2.	The Hon. Eng. Tandaza Kassim Sawa, MP - (Vice-Chairperson)	Virtual
3.	The Hon. (Dr.) Ogolla Gideon Ochanda, MP	
4.	The Hon Elachi Beatrice Kadeversia CBS, MP	
5.	The Hon. Owuor Joshua Aduma, MP	
6.	The Hon Akuja Protus Ewesit, MP	
7.	The Hon. Mukhwana Titus Khamala, MP	Virtual
8.	The Hon. Mwalyo Joshua Mbithi, MP	
9.	The Hon. Nyamita Mark Ogolla, MP	
10.	The Hon. Owino John Walter, MP	
11.	The Hon Oyula Joseph H. Maero, MP	
12.	The Hon. Wambilianga Catherine Nanjala, MP	
13.	The Hon. Gisairo Clive Ombane, MP	
14.	The Hon. Kiprono Mutai Alfred, MP	
15.	The Hon. Machele Mohamed Soud, MP	
16.	The Hon. Nduyo Susan Ngugi, MP	
17.	The Hon Wainaina Antony Njoroge, MP	
18.	The Hon. Lelmengit Josses Kiptoo Kosgey, MP	
19.	The Hon. Maingi Mary, MP	

**MINUTES OF THE 11<sup>TH</sup> SITTING OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
CONSTITUENCIES DEVELOPMENT FUND (NG-CDF) COMMITTEE  
HELD IN THE NG-CDF BOARDROOM, HARAMBEE SACCO BUILDINGS ON  
THURSDAY, 17<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2025 AT 12:00 PM**

---

**PRESENT**

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| <b>1. Hon. Musa Sirma Cherutich, EGH, MP</b> | <b>Chairperson</b>      |
| <b>2. Hon. Eng. Kassim Sawa Tandaza, MP</b>  | <b>Vice-Chairperson</b> |
| 3. Hon. Owuor Joshua Aduma, MP               |                         |
| 4. Hon. Elachi Beatrice Kadeversia, MP       |                         |
| 5. Hon. Mukhwana Titus Khamala, MP           |                         |
| 6. Hon. Oyula Joseph H. Maero, MP            |                         |
| 7. Hon. Owino John Walter, MP                |                         |
| 8. Hon. Gisairo Clive Ombane, MP             |                         |
| 9. Hon. Antony Njoroge Wainaina, MP          |                         |
| 10. Hon. Lelmengit Josses Kiptoo Kosgey, MP. |                         |
| 11. Hon. Maingi Mary, MP                     |                         |

**APOLOGIES**

1. Hon. Dr Ogolla Gideon Ochanda, MP
2. Hon. Protus Ewesit Akuja, MP
3. Hon. Joshua Mbithi Mwalyo, MP
4. Hon. Nyamita Mark Ogolla, MP
5. Hon. Wambilianga Catherine Nanjala, MP
6. Hon. Alfred Mutai Kiprono, MP
7. Hon. Machele Mohamed Soud, MP
8. Hon. Susan Ngugi Nduyo, MP

## IN ATTENDANCE

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Mr. Emmanuel Muyodi  | Clerk Assistant I   |
| 2. Mr. Letaya Morintat  | Clerk Assistant III |
| 3. Ms. Purity Macharia  | Clerk Assistant III |
| 4. Ms. Penina Simiren   | Legal Counsel II    |
| 5. Mr. Danton Kimutai   | Audio Officer       |
| 6. Mr. Boniface Mugambi | Serjeant At Arms    |

## AGENDA

1. Prayers
2. Preliminaries
  - i. Introductions
  - ii. Adoption of the Agenda
  - iii. Confirmation of the previous minutes
3. Matters Arising
4. **Consideration and Adoption of the report on nominees to the NG-CDFC's for 31 constituencies**
5. Any Other Business
6. Adjournment

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/079**

**PRELIMINARIES**

The Chairperson called the meeting to order at 12:12 p.m., led the Members in a word of prayer, and invited introductions.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/080**

**ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA**

The agenda was adopted after being proposed by Hon. Owino John Walter, MP and seconded by Hon. Dr Ogolla Gideon Ochanda, MP.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/081**

**CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES**

The Minutes of the following sittings were confirmed as accurate reflections of the proceedings:

**1. 9<sup>th</sup> Sitting held on Thursday, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2025:**

Proposed by Hon. Dr Ogolla Gideon Ochanda, MP, and seconded by Hon. Owino John Walter, MP.

**2. 10<sup>th</sup> Sitting held on Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> April 2025:**

Proposed by Hon. Owino John Walter, MP, and seconded by Hon. Eng. Kassim Sawa Tandaza, MP.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/082**

**MATTERS ARISING**

There were no matters arising.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/083**

**CONSIDERATION AND  
ADOPTION OF THE REPORT  
ON THE NOMINEES TO THE  
NG-CDF'S FOR 31  
CONSTITUENCIES**

The Report on the nominees to the NG-CDF Committees for the thirty-one (31) Constituencies was confirmed and adopted, having been proposed by Hon. Elachi Beatrice Kadeversia, MP, and seconded by Hon. Gisairo Clive Ombane, MP.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/084**

**ANY OTHER BUSINESS**

- i. The Chairman informed the Members that the Committee will jointly consider the Constitution Amendment Bill regarding the entrenchment of NG-CDF in the Constitution.
- ii. Additionally, Members were informed that the regional meetings with fund account managers was rescheduled to the second week of May 2025.

**MIN NO. NA/DAA&GPC/NG-CDF/2025/085**

**ADJOURNMENT**

There being no other business, the meeting was adjourned at 12:50 pm. The next meeting will be held on notice.

**SIGNED:**



**HON. MUSA CHERUTICH SIRMA, EGH, MP  
CHAIRPERSON**

**DATE:**

17/4/2025

### **C. Group of Twenty (G20)**

The Group of Twenty (G20) is designated a premier forum for international economic cooperation. The G20 includes a mix of BRICS and G7 states and thus plays an important role in shaping and strengthening global architecture and governance on all major international economic issues. The African Union with the European Union are permanent members of G20. The G20 members represent around 85% of the global GDP and over 75% of the global trade. Excluding the EU and the African Union, all member states of G20 host around 4.69 billion people, translating into about two-thirds of the world population. Kenya will leverage the AU membership to G20 to navigate geopolitical concerns including reforms of international economic financial institutions and systems, and UN reforms as well as climate change financing. Kenya appreciates the G20 expanded agenda which goes beyond broad macroeconomic issues to include sustainable development, health, agriculture, energy, environment, climate change, and anti-corruption.

#### **2.2.1 The formation of Kenya as a UN state and financial hub**

Nairobi has emerged as a key financial and multilateral hub in Africa owing to the strategic location, backed by a strong banking sector, vibrant stock exchange, well-established infrastructure, diverse economy and well educated and skilled human resource. Nairobi is home to many international organizations and United Nations, its funds, programmes and agencies, hosts headquarters to UNEP and HABITAT, global humanitarian logistics hub making it an ideal hub for global cooperation. The United Nations Office at Nairobi is the 3rd largest UN Secretariat duty station and serves as the only Headquarters in Africa and the Global South. As a leading financial centre in the region, it hosts the IMF, the African Development Bank and the largest World Bank station outside Washington.

Nairobi's combination of global connectivity, strong financial systems, and hosting multilateral institutions cements its role as a leading financial and diplomatic hub in Africa. Kenya's continued investment in infrastructure, governance and innovation is poised to expand its influence in global and regional arena. This policy will therefore focus to enhance Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub through prioritising a more enabling privileges and immunities framework and predictable tax, property and security regime. The consolidation of the international character of the Reserved United Nations Development Area (RUNDA) with a "UN Diplomatic city", will be pursued through additional institutional and regulatory measures and partnerships. A cost benefit assessment of UN operations in Nairobi shall inform the design of such measures.

Correspondingly, the Ministry will actively promote Kenya's international candidatures. The Government of the Republic of Kenya is keen to secure elective positions in strategic policy organs and decision-making bodies of regional and international organizations, at both country and individual levels. The Ministry will continuously publicise international jobs for Kenyans through its online portal and other channels to enhance transparency and competitive access to these jobs for our citizens.

## CHAPTER 4: KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE FOCUS AREAS

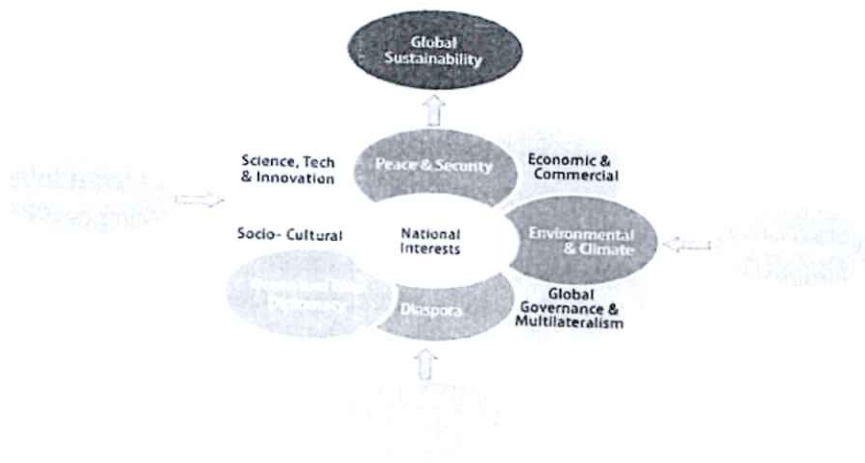
### 4.1 Focus Areas of Kenya's Foreign Policy

This Chapter highlights the focus areas of Kenya's Foreign Policy, and the objectives and expectations of each area. The focus areas are interlinked, mutually inclusive and reinforce each other. The focus areas are:

- (i) Peace and Security diplomacy;
- (ii) Economic and Commercial diplomacy;
- (iii) Oceans and Blue diplomacy
- (iv) Global Governance and Multilateral diplomacy
- (v) Environmental and Climate Change diplomacy;
- (vi) Science, Technology and Innovation diplomacy;
- (vii) Diaspora diplomacy; and,
- (viii) Socio-Cultural diplomacy.

In seeking to maximize the interlinkages between the focus areas, both internal and external dynamics will be critical towards enhancing competitiveness and realizing Kenya's envisioned status of "a newly industrialized, middle-income country that provides a high quality of life to its citizens by 2030". In the implementation of the Foreign Policy, a 'Whole-of-Government/Society Approach' will be adopted to ensure inter-operability. Figure 2 below, illustrates the nexus between the focus areas of the foreign policy.

Figure 2: Kenya Foreign Policy Architecture



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

#### 4.2 Peace and Security Diplomacy

The ultimate goal of Kenya's peace and security diplomacy is to safeguard the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, preserve democracy and fundamental human rights, and ensure the prosperity and well-being of Kenyans. This focus area derives, primarily, from the principle of maintenance of international peace and security as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and is further reiterated in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Treaty Establishing the East African Community and other international treaties, conventions and agreements on peace and security. Since independence, Kenya has dutifully upheld this tenet through its peace and security-related activities and in regional and international fora.

Some of the engagements include; serving as a non - permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for three terms (1973-1974; 1997-1998 and 2021-2022); participating in over 43 regional and international peace keeping and peace support missions as a Troop Contributing Country (TCC); coordinating and participating in regional and international peace and security conferences; coordinating and successfully facilitating over fifteen (15) peace processes, hosting of over 700,000 refugees as well as, contributing towards humanitarian support and disaster response after various environmental crises, disease outbreaks and conflicts.

Under the Socio-economic Hubs for Integrated Refugee Inclusion in Kenya (Shirika) Plan, the country's innovative refugee programme, we aim to transform refugee camps into integrated settlements, setting a global standard for sustainable and affirmative humanitarian responses. These services have elevated Kenya's standing as a champion for regional stability as well as international peace and security.

Furthermore, the Kenyan diaspora can contribute to peacebuilding through remittances geared towards community stabilization, lobbying for Kenya's peacekeeping missions, and engaging in advocacy roles within international organizations. A focus on empowering diaspora communities as ambassadors of Kenya's peace agenda is critical. This could include establishing diaspora peace councils or forums to connect with host countries' diplomatic initiatives.

##### 4.2.1 The Imperative of Peace and Security for Kenya

Peace and security remain essential preconditions for Kenya's sustainable development and prosperity. The country will therefore deploy appropriate tools to secure its national interests and survival. Consequently, Peace and Security diplomacy is Kenya's indispensable tool for navigating the volatile, uncertain, complex and evolving regional and global security landscape.

Kenya's pragmatic approach will be orchestrated through a robust framework that aligns with international norms and regional commitments.

In a world that is turbulent, uncertain and interconnected, the need for strategic anticipation and foresight has never been greater. This requires a thorough

understanding of the past and present security dynamics and inferring what they posit for the future. Kenya will thus continue to adopt a security posture anchored on strategic anticipation and foresight.

Figure 3: Kenya's Peace Keeping Missions



Source: Ministry of Defence

#### Objectives of Peace and Security Diplomacy

1. Secure and protect Kenya's territorial integrity;
2. Provide strategic leadership and expertise on peace and security;
3. Enhance regional capacity for conflict, mediation and negotiations;
4. Promote conflict resolution including mediation, post conflict peace building and reconstruction;
5. Promote and expand Kenya's peacekeeping and enforcement role globally;
6. Deepen partnerships with regional organizations including AU, IGAD, EAC, ICGLR;
7. Promote the crucial role of women in peace and security; and,
8. Promote realization of national food and nutrition security.

#### 4.3 Economic and Commercial Diplomacy

Economic and Commercial Diplomacy is a crucial component of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Diplomatic efforts will therefore continue to be deployed to promote economic growth and development through beneficial engagements. These engagements shall target both state and non-state actors at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Central to Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy, is the promotion of the county's economic growth, empowerment of women, the youth, differently abled people and minority groups. Special efforts will be made to support and facilitate their access to domestic, regional and international markets and development finance. Kenya's commitment to open new pathways for employment and

create job opportunities for qualified Kenyans internationally, will ensure that Kenyans are well represented in the global work force.

In addition, the social dimension of trade, which includes recognition and respect for labour rights will be actively pursued. A key focus of Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy is on growing the country's industrial and manufacturing capacity to transform the country into an export driven globally competitive economy. This entails promotion of Agro-processing, increasing the Public-Private Partnerships and engaging the private sector nationally and globally. The diaspora's role in enhancing Kenya's economic prospects is exemplified by leveraging remittances for investment, establishing incentives for diaspora entrepreneurship, and engaging in technology transfer. This will also include developing policies that promote diaspora savings and remittance-driven investments through diaspora bonds or real estate partnerships.

Under this focus area priority will be accorded to trade and investment; technology; the creative economy; tourism; blue economy; development finance; development cooperation and conferencing as outlined below:

#### 4.3.1 Trade and Investment

Kenya will continue to promote an open and competitive economy in order to increase market access for trade in goods and services. It also aims to attract increased Foreign Direct Investments (FDI); technology transfer, and enhanced development cooperation through bilateral, regional and multilateral frameworks.

The Government will strengthen measures to promote, attract, facilitate and retain FDI by improving the investment climate and business environment. Kenya's foreign policy underscores and promotes Kenya as a premier investment destination and the country will ramp up initiatives to attract capital from emerging markets, including tapping into sovereign wealth funds. Measures will be put in place to enjoin global value chains for increased productivity and competitiveness of Kenyan products including the promotion of Counties as viable investment hubs for FDI. Kenya continues to ensure that the SME and MSME sectors are supported to expand their businesses beyond national borders including through E-commerce platforms. Cooperatives and MSMEs will be prioritised as essential players in Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy. Kenyan missions abroad will be actively involved in promoting cooperative and MSME products through trade fairs, exhibitions, and cultural events.

The country is committed to fostering intra-Africa trade and enhancing integration through regional and continental economic blocks (EAC, COMESA, NEPAD, AfCFTA and the Tripartite Free Trade Area), including implementing the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System to facilitate free movement of goods and people.

The country will continue to pursue and implement other trade cooperation frameworks to increase market access for its goods and services and efforts will be enhanced to address the major impediments to trade, notably the Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs). Through bilateral cooperation, Kenya endeavours to enter appropriate cooperation frameworks that maximize its economic gains. Efforts will also be made to support the development, harmonization and institutionalization of common trade and commercial policies in the East African Community and enhancing connectivity and ease of movement of people, labour, goods and services within the region.

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) presents an important market for Kenyan goods and services. Kenya's commitment and continued participation in COMESA provides a platform to collaborate with other Member States on common issues, such as trade policies, economic development and regional security. The country will continue to champion the full implementation of the Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) whose overarching objective is to create a single market for goods and services, facilitated by the movement of persons in order to deepen the economic integration of the continent. Through the AfCFTA, Kenya will diversify and widen the market destination to the other regions of Africa where it has no preferential access. This will also facilitate enhanced diversification of the country's exports, create jobs, increase foreign exchange earnings and support the country's balance of payments.

At the multilateral level, Kenya will continue to actively pursue and support fair and equitable rule-based international trading and financial systems. This will be achieved through effective participation and articulation of Kenya's Foreign Policy priorities in multilateral fora including in the World Trade Organization, United Nations System and in Bretton Woods Institutions, among others.

Kenya will continue to advance its interests within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) by pursuing agreements aimed at eliminating trade barriers, unfair international trade practices related to dumping and subsidized imports.

**Objectives of Trade and Investment Diplomacy**

1. Refocus Kenya Missions Abroad as Economic and Commercial Hubs;
2. Promote Kenya as a premier investment destination in Africa for Foreign Direct Investments and tap into sovereign wealth funds;
3. Strengthen Kenya's manufacturing and agricultural base and leverage global value chains to increase productivity and competitiveness of Kenyan products and produce;
4. Strengthen strategic alliances within regional and international frameworks towards promoting Intra-African and global trade;
5. Promote and support open and fair rule-based multilateral trading system;
6. Foster international partnerships and attract investments to support affordable and sustainable housing and other BETA initiatives.

Figure 4: Kenya's Global Rankings in Various Sectors



Sources: Ministry of Investment, Trade and Industry

Kenya Vision 2030

**The objectives of Tourism diplomacy**

1. Promote Kenya as a tourism destination;
2. Leverage on diaspora and goodwill ambassadors to promote Kenya as a tourist destination;
3. Market and promote meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions internationally through conference tourism;
4. Strengthen ties with neighboring countries to develop joint tourism initiatives and cross - border tourism; and,
5. Promote tourism cultural heritage and sustainable eco-tourism.

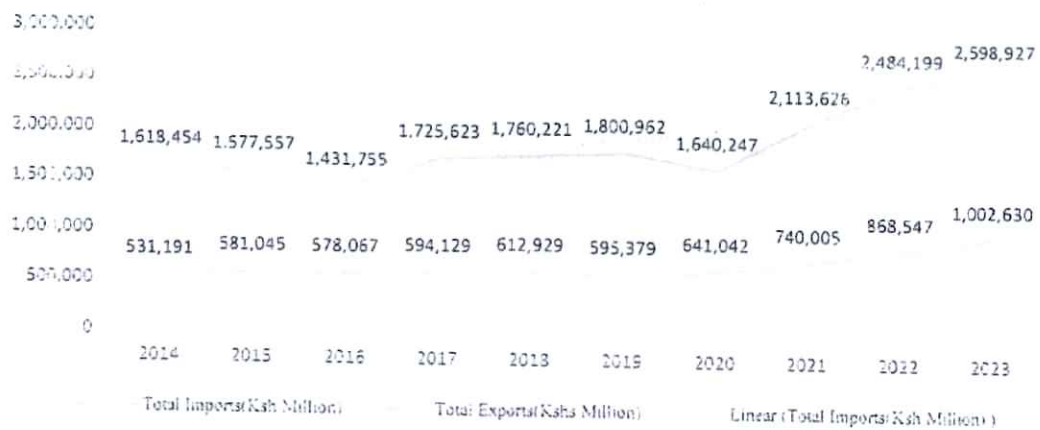
The tourism sector is vital to Kenya's economy and a key driver of Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy. The country's tourism attractions include a wide array of natural assets, namely: abundant wildlife living in their natural eco-systems in game-parks and reserves across the country; over 500 km long all-year warm sandy coastal beaches; a rich and diverse cultural heritage and products; and international conferencing facilities that attract regional and international business travellers. Kenya aims to be among the top 10 long haul tourist destinations in the world offering a high-end diverse and distinctive visitor experience. Kenya's Tourism Diplomacy targets to promote the country's attractions, the country's status as a safe destination for visitors, use of international relations to expand opportunities for the country's tourism sector including, supporting peace and regional stability, and to offer 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation diaspora an opportunity to connect with their motherland.

#### 4.3.3.3 Creative Economy

The creative economy is one of the world's fastest-growing sectors. Kenya's creative economy is renowned for its innovation and creativity and has an immense potential to contribute to job creation and economic growth. The sector is being supported through various incentives aimed at attracting local and foreign investment

The objectives of creative economy diplomacy	
1.	Integrate Kenya's creative industries into global value chains;
2.	Promote entrepreneurship, diversification and commercialization of the creative economy;
3.	Facilitate innovation, new products, strengthen Intellectual Property laws and international cooperation to protect creative works;
4.	Promote service exports of Creative Economy Sector products including film, music and fashion; and,
5.	Scale up investments in the creative sector to support local talent, empower communities and promote social inclusion initiatives;

Figure 5: Kenya's Volume and Balance of Trade, 2013 - 2022 (KSh '000)



Source of Data: Economic Surveys (KNBS)

More broadly, to address the widening trade deficit, Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy will focus on diversifying the country's trade partners, promoting exports and attracting investment in infrastructure to improve trade logistics and the country's export competitiveness.

#### 4.3.4 Conferencing Diplomacy

Kenya has a favourable reputation in hosting major international conferences and meetings. The country's foreign policy will actively promote Nairobi as the premier hub in Africa for Conference Diplomacy. Other than the provision of state-of-the-art facilities for conferencing, Nairobi is a vibrant international city where global leaders and experts frequently gather to discuss and negotiate a wide range of pressing global issues.

This role not only cements Nairobi's status as a key diplomatic and cultural centre but also positions Kenya as a key player in global thought-leadership and consensus-building network

of states that are shaping discourse on the critical challenges facing the world today. Beyond traditional conferencing, the policy will also deliberately promote Nairobi with the full range of activities referenced for Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions (MICE).

#### 4.4. Oceans and Blue Diplomacy

Oceans cover over 70% of the earth's surface. They are a source of food, energy and transportation, with over 90% of global trade being carried by sea. On the other hand, Kenya's blue economy and robust maritime sector, holds great potential for contributing to economic growth, job creation, food security, maritime transport and environmental sustainability.

The development of the sector aims to explore and develop ocean and inland water bodies resources, protect marine domain and boundaries, combat maritime threats, enhance cooperation, utilize ocean and coastal space, protect the ocean environment and provide goods and services to support ocean and maritime activities. It also aims to contribute to sustainable and equitable sharing of ocean and marine resources and benefits.

Kenyan diaspora professionals in marine sciences or international trade could be integrated into forums addressing maritime disputes or advancing sustainable blue economy initiatives. Encouraging diaspora investments in blue economy projects such as coastal tourism, marine resource management, or aquaculture aligns with national priorities.

Kenya will strengthen her position as a regional and global leader in ocean and blue economy development and contribute meaningfully to global efforts in ocean governance.

#### Objectives of Oceans and Blue Diplomacy

1. Promote sustainable development and management of the Oceans and the blue economy;
2. Enhance Maritime Shipping, Logistics, safety and security;
3. Promote sustainable exploitation of sea-bed minerals and oil and gas resources
4. Strengthen capacity, research and development, cooperation and governance on Marine Biotechnology; and,
5. Strengthen policy, legal, regulatory, and institutional frameworks for effective development and utilization of blue economy resources.

#### 4.5 Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy

Kenya's Foreign Policy is premised on the reality of an ever-evolving, increasingly integrated and inter-dependent world. With these changes also come a number of opportunities, challenges, threats, and risks in almost equal measure. The situation is further shaped by various factors such as geo-political shifts, great power competition and the incessant rise in nationalism. Other factors arise from energy uncertainty and competition over its sources; disparities in economic development; and technological advancements and innovations along with their negative impacts. Added to this list are transboundary and cross-cutting concerns such as climate change; public health challenges; violent extremism; economic instability, human rights challenges and labour standards; and increase in the numbers of refugees and

asylum seekers. As the current leader of AU institutional reforms, Kenya is committed to establishing a well-financed, assertive African Union capable of addressing the continent's challenges and advancing its strategic interests. Accordingly, championing reforms in global governance and multilateralism is a critical plank of Kenya's foreign policy. This is key to realizing an effective international order given that no single state can survive or resolve these issues on their own.

Kenya's diaspora, with its global networks, can act as informal representatives in multilateral spaces. Collaboration with diaspora organizations can amplify Kenya's influence in platforms like the UN, AU, or AfCFTA. Developing diaspora ambassadors' programs will enable representation in countries with no direct Kenyan diplomatic presence.

#### Objectives of Kenya's Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy

1. Promote respect and upholding of the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the African Union's Constitutive Act;
2. Foster collaboration in the setting and implementation of international norms and agenda through multilateralism;
3. Promote consensus-building, respect for international law and rules-based multilateralism; and,
4. Champion reforms of global institutions to enhance diversity and equitable representation, transparency and accountability in decision-making, and responsiveness to the needs of Member States.

#### 4.6. Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy

Nairobi is the headquarter of the United Nations Environmental Programme and United Nations Human Settlements Programme, and hosts the United Nations Office, the only UN headquarters in the global south. Kenya will continue to support, guarantee smooth operations, and promote the enhancement of the status and strengthening of these UN agencies in Nairobi.

The environment is a critical resource that supports life and habitats, regulates the ecosystem cycles and serves as a waste repository. However, the global environment continues to deteriorate due to anthropogenic activities. Climate change, habitat destruction, biodiversity loss, pollution, invasive species, and over extraction of natural resources are among the challenges that alter the natural balance and processes. The alterations compromise the adaptability and resilience of ecosystems.

Kenya acknowledges the complex, multifaceted and global nature of these challenges and the need for scaled up climate action on all fronts. The country recognises that African countries suffer losses due to under-valuation of carbon sinks. Kenya will champion for Africa's green environmental assets to be properly priced to allow the continent to turn its massive green assets into wealth. The actions are critical for sustainable development and effective global governance. Kenya's commitment to addressing environmental challenges is

deeply rooted in its national policies and international obligations. The nation has adopted a proactive stance by integrating climate action into its development agenda, emphasizing the need for adaptive strategies and resilience-building in the face of climate change.

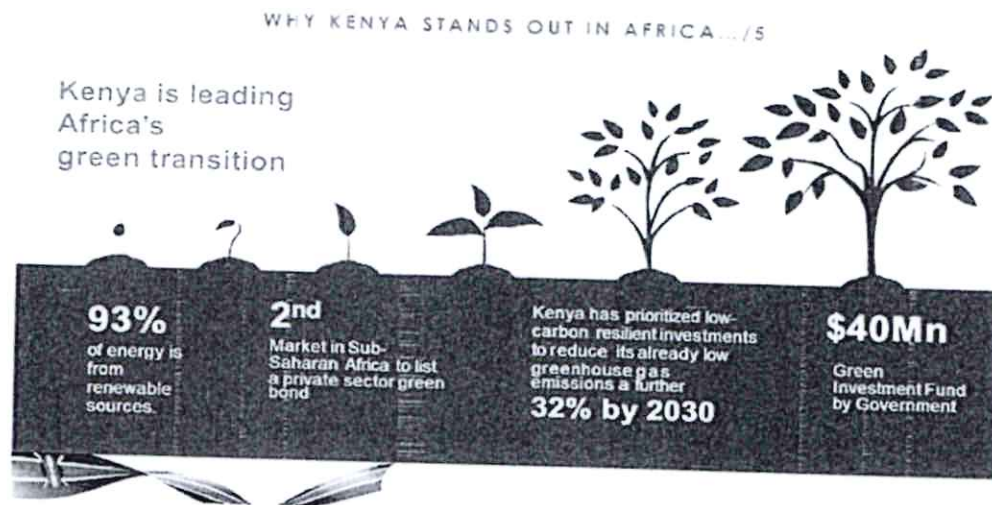
Additionally, the country's participation in global environmental agreements, such as the Paris Agreement, reflects its commitment to global collaborative efforts in combating climate change. Kenya's strategic approach not only safeguards its natural heritage but also contributes to the global discourse on sustainable development, positioning it as a leader in environmental stewardship on the continent. Also, Kenya will enhance partnerships with international organizations to enable cooperatives and MSMEs to access green financing. Subsequently, Kenya will actively engage in climate diplomacy in recognition of the significant impact of environment and climate change on its national as well as global development agenda. This will include engaging its diaspora to participate in climate action by financing green projects and contributing to the global debate on climate justice.

Kenya continues to develop policies that encourage diaspora investments in renewable energy projects or conservation. There is potential for diaspora to support cooperatives and MSMEs. This can be achieved through developing diaspora investment platforms specifically targeting cooperatives and MSMEs, promoting cooperative membership among diaspora and facilitating knowledge-sharing opportunities between diaspora experts and local MSMEs.

#### **Objectives of Kenya's Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy**

1. Advocate scaling up of climate finance and reform of the global economic and financial architecture considering the needs and priorities of developing countries;
2. Champion the strengthening of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat);
3. Advocate for more robust, implementable and effective Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs);
4. Promote climate change adaptation, resilience building and mitigation; and transition to green growth; and,
5. Foster strategic collaboration and partnerships in the science-policy interface, research, technology, innovation and development.

Figure 6: Kenya's Unique Position in Africa Environment and Climate Diplomacy



Source: Kenya Climate Diplomacy Strategy, 2022

#### 4.7 Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy

Kenya recognizes the pivotal role of Science, Technology, and Innovation (STI) in her national development agenda. In this regard, Kenya integrates various forms of STI with a view to building a robust ecosystem that will enable her to achieve her national interests and position it as a key player in the global technological discourse.

The focus on STI reflects Kenya's commitment to international collaborations and partnerships aimed at attracting critical investments and fostering the exchange of knowledge for addressing global challenges. Kenya's STI diplomacy is a vital foreign policy tool, utilizing digital platforms and advanced technologies to strengthen its international relations and global presence. In this respect, Kenya's strategic integration of emerging and cutting edge technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) and automation, augmented reality, big data, social media, the Internet of Things (IOT), digital technology, Virtual Reality (VR), cyber security, crypto currency, outer space technology, blockchain technology, and global financial technology platforms (FinTechs) will strengthen the country's international standing; attract vital investments, and will solidify the country's standing as a technological hub.

Kenyan diaspora experts in technology fields can support innovation hubs like Konza Technopolis through mentorship programs, funding start-ups, or offering skills development. Initiatives to attract diaspora-led research collaborations and knowledge transfer partnerships will position Kenya as a leader in technology in Africa.

By leveraging STI, Kenya aims to drive socio-cultural progress, economic growth, and political stability as well as all aspects of human security. As a technologically adept nation, Kenya seeks to leverage these diverse forms of STI to enhance international and regional cooperation. By harnessing the power of technology, Kenya enhances her diplomacy across key areas, including peace and security, where digital tools aid in conflict resolution and crisis management. In economic and commercial diplomacy, STI fosters innovation and trade, attracting investments and boosting its global competitiveness. In environment and climate diplomacy, technological advancements help address climate change challenges, while in social-cultural and public diplomacy, digital platforms facilitate cultural exchange and dialogue while also promoting the country's soft power on the global stage.

#### Objectives of Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy

1. Develop and promote transformative technologies that position Kenya as a key player in the global technology landscape;
2. Enhance investment in digital infrastructure, including at Kenya Silicon Savanna, Konza;
3. Foster sustainable technological growth, prioritise green AI, green technologies, supply chain diversification, strategic talent management, and location decisions;
4. Strengthen a collaborative research agenda to advance Kenya's technological capabilities,
5. Promote cyber diplomacy to leverage opportunities and address threats in the cyber space.
6. Elevate Nairobi as the premier tech innovation hub in Africa; and
7. Enhance global and regional collaboration to establish effective regulatory frameworks and governance in technological advancements.

#### 4.8 Diaspora Diplomacy

Kenya's Diaspora Diplomacy is hinged on a conceptual framework that protects, engages and empowers the Kenyan diaspora community to enhance their prosperity and that of the nation. The focus is on protecting, engaging and empowering the Diaspora.

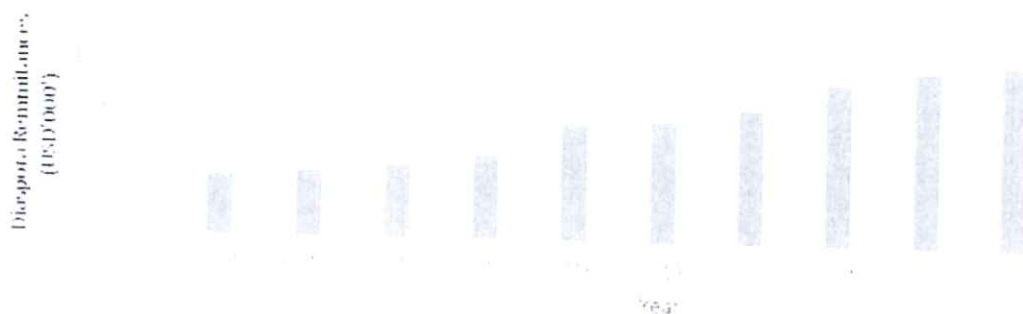
The Kenyan diaspora is a vital constituent of our socio-economic and cultural development. Our diaspora is estimated at four million, and the number is expected to grow as more Kenyans travel abroad for education, training, employment, and investment opportunities, among other reasons. Our Kenyan diaspora continue to flourish on the global stage, taking up leadership roles and driving change across various sectors, while staying connected to Kenya, where they are engaged in technology and skills transfer that upskill our workforce, innovations that help tackle global challenges, advocacy and philanthropy that uplifts our nation's image and remittances that bolster our economy.

Diaspora Diplomacy aims to protect the rights and welfare of the Kenyan diaspora community while mainstreaming and empowering them to effectively contribute to national development and democratic processes. The focus area will advocate for requisite frameworks with host governments and international organizations for safe, orderly and secure migration, including the transferability and portability of social security benefits accrued by the Kenyan diaspora

community. The policy focus also aims to enhance the provision of modern, efficient and effective consular services to all Kenyans in the Diaspora.

The growing number of Diaspora is an important national asset given their inherent ability to promote Kenya as a brand through their networks and partnerships, including their presence in international organizations. Further, the Diaspora has great potential to market Kenya as a destination of choice for tourism and Foreign Direct Investment. Their financial and technical resources have great potential in being directed to investment options at home.

Figure 7: Diaspora Remittances



Source: Central Bank of Kenya

Remittances have emerged as a key and stable source of the country's foreign currency earnings, supporting household consumption, and financing investments. Remittances have been on upward trend underscoring the vital role of the diaspora in supporting the country's economic development. This growth is attributed to strategic diplomatic engagements, including the signing of bilateral labour agreements, and the establishment of improved consular services that facilitate employment opportunities and financial inclusion for Kenyans abroad.

#### A 3.1 Rights, Welfare and Interests of the Kenyan Diaspora

The Government will advocate for the rights and interests of Kenyan diaspora and promote their welfare, including through diplomatic channels, bilateral agreements, and engagement with international organizations.

Promoting the rights and interests of the Kenyan Diaspora remains a key priority for the Kenyan Government. This will be undertaken through; Bilateral agreements, and engagement with host governments and international organizations, developing a framework for the transferability and portability of social security benefits through bilateral instruments, Formulating and strengthening reintegration programs thus enabling returnees participate in the social, cultural, economic, and political life back home, strengthen consular services in Kenya Missions abroad and conducting civic and voter education for the Diaspora and Mission staff on conduct of elections exercise.

#### 4.3.3 Encourage diaspora investment opportunities and create jobs

In line with the National Development Agenda and to increase Foreign Direct Investment, the Government is keen to enhance diaspora investment by creating programmes and incentives that encourage savings, bonds, technology transfer, reduce cost of remittances, and mitigate investment risks thus more investments.

Further, policy advocacy on targeted investment opportunities will be undertaken through the Kenya Missions abroad by establishing intermediary facilities to provide investment management services.

#### 4.3.4 Foster diaspora engagement with the national development

The Diaspora will be mainstreamed into the national development and democratic processes for a more cohesive and citizen-centred governance system. The Government will also establish a mechanism of engaging with the descendants of Kenyan Diaspora. This will strengthen their sense of belonging and linkage with the motherland.

In addition, efforts will be made to encourage and facilitate the registration of Kenyan Diaspora Associations or even individual Kenyans to form non-profit making foundations to support philanthropic initiatives in the country, both at the national and county levels.

The Government will encourage the diaspora to be the Brand Ambassadors in their host country to project and promote Kenya's image.

There will also be efforts to encourage, empower, and motivate the Diaspora, the Jamhuri Diaspora Award scheme will celebrate the resilience of the Kenyan spirit as we reclaim and preserve our rich and diverse culture. It is an annual award by the Diaspora and with the Diaspora that will celebrate and immortalize Kenyans in the Diaspora who have achieved milestones and broken ceilings in the past, present, and in the future.

A Diaspora Summit, comprising of elected diaspora council members will be formed to foster unity, cooperation, resolve conflicts, and strengthen Kenyan identity abroad. The Summit through the councils will serve as a platform for dialogue, collaboration, and advocacy, ensuring that our diaspora's contributions are aligned with Kenya's development goals for the benefit of both parties.

Kenya will foster open and transparent communication to ensure that every Kenyan abroad feels connected and valued. This will build trust and collaboration between Government and the Diaspora through continuous updates.

#### 4.3.4 Support Kenyans to secure opportunities abroad

The Government of Kenya recognizes that labour migration is a global phenomenon which has great benefits for economic advancement, skills development, and international exposure. The Government will continue to implement policies and initiatives to facilitate

ethical recruitment and secure job placements for Kenyans including efforts to increase the employability of the youth through dynamic and intentional structural changes for targeted foreign labour markets.

The Government has taken an active role in initiating, negotiating and executing bilateral labour agreements with host countries for safe, orderly and regular migration. Similarly, it has also entered into agreements on the recognition and accreditation of degrees, recognition of prior learning, certificates and skills.

The Government will build local capacity of Kenyan nationals, measures are being undertaken to promote the transfer of knowledge, technology and skills

#### A 3.5.3 Diaspora Employment and Skills Development

The Diaspora placement Agency was established vide Executive Order No. 2 of 2023. The Diaspora Placement Agency Shall be a Semi- Autonomous Governmental Agency operating under the State Department for Diaspora Affairs.

The Agency is tasked to initiate and follow up on Government-to-Government contracts, Advise and push Kenya's position for international labour migration, Facilitate the implementation of Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements, Implement the Global Labour Market Strategy and Carry out international skills inventory mapping;

The Agency shall be a reservoir for Kenya international jobs, Diaspora Employment management, Promotion and Intervention, create a unique brand identity, reputation and perception for Kenyan skills and expertise to attract foreign employers and business process outsourcing organizations and provide information on Kenya's labour demographics.

#### A 3.5.4 The State Department for Diaspora Affairs' Bilateral and Multilateral Engagement

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs plays a critical role in advancing Kenya's bilateral relations by negotiating and implementing agreements that directly impact the diaspora. Recognizing the increasing global migration of Kenyans seeking employment, education, and other opportunities abroad, the Department prioritizes bilateral negotiations to ensure the welfare and protection of Kenyan nationals.

The challenges and opportunities faced by diaspora communities often transcend borders, requiring multilateral approaches for sustainable and collective solutions. The State Department for Diaspora Affairs engages proactively in regional and global platforms to amplify Kenya's diaspora priorities.

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs navigates both arenas to advocate for diaspora rights, reduce remittance costs, and enhance social benefit portability. It aligns Kenya's diaspora diplomacy with the African Union, IOM, and global frameworks, while complementing bilateral agreements with host countries.

The Foreign Policy will augment programs and incentives to encourage diaspora investments and establish a scheme to recognize excellence among the Diaspora. The policy will also facilitate the registration of diaspora associations and ensure open and transparent communication.

**The objectives of Diaspora diplomacy**

1. Protect the rights and promote the welfare and interest of the Kenyan diaspora;
2. Facilitate Diaspora Savings, Investments, Remittances and Technology Transfer;
3. Strengthen partnership and collaboration with the Kenyan diaspora
4. Support Kenyans to secure opportunities abroad.

**4.9 Socio-Cultural Diplomacy**

Socio-cultural diplomacy entails the use of a country's culture, social practices, and values as tools to build relationships, foster understanding, and influence other nations. It entails people-to-people connections, which serve as means for soft power by creating a favourable global environment for engagements. The key aspects of Kenya's socio-cultural diplomacy include the use of culture and heritage; sports; education; and health. Kenya will continue to harness these socio-cultural opportunities to enhance her national standing in the international arena, specifically through the promotion of social values, cultural heritage and other national endowments. Additionally, Diaspora communities play a key role in promoting Kenyan culture through festivals, media, and sports diplomacy. Strengthening engagement through cultural exchanges, support for Kenyan cultural associations abroad, and fostering connections between diaspora youth and Kenyan traditions will enhance Kenya's soft power globally.

**4.9.1 Cultural Diplomacy**

Cultural diplomacy emphasizes increasing awareness of cultural diversity to generate interest in the country's unique cultural heritage. Article 11 of the Constitution of Kenya recognizes culture as the foundation of Kenya's nationhood and the cumulative civilization of the Kenyan people. The potential of Kenya's cultural heritage is enormous. Over the years Kenya has continuously placed emphasis on cultural recognition and understanding as the basis for dialogue. It is through cultural activities that a nation's idea of self is best represented.

Kenya is celebrated as the Cradle of Mankind. The country's rich archaeological heritage and renowned sites, such as the Turkana Basin and Ologesailie, have yielded some of the world's oldest hominid fossils and tools. This recognition not only underscores Kenya's importance to global heritage but also positions the nation as an important zone for paleoanthropological research and tourism.

Kenya also hosts eight World Heritage Sites of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) recognized on the UNESCO World Heritage List under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. These include three natural sites: Lake Turkana National Park, Mount Kenya National Park/Natural Forest, and the Kenya Lake System in the Great Rift Valley. There are five cultural sites:

#### **The objectives of Sports Diplomacy**

1. Recognise and upscale Kenya's sporting prowess as a tool for enhancing national branding and fostering international relations;
2. Leverage on award-winning Kenyan sportsmen and women as national brand ambassadors;
3. Promote and advocate for co-operation and good governance in regional and international sports bodies.
4. Promote Kenya as a sports destination of choice and attract investments for development and expansion of sports infrastructure; and,
5. Utilise sports in promoting social cohesion and peacebuilding.

Lamu Old Town, the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests, Fort Jesus, the Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site, and the historical town and archaeological site of Gedi. These sites highlight the global significance of Kenya's heritage, contributing to humanity's shared history while enhancing community livelihoods, promoting tourism, and fostering the preservation of cultural heritage and creative industries.

Kenya's Foreign Policy will promote all forms of national and cultural expressions through literature, the arts, language, culinary arts, traditional celebrations, science, communication, information, mass media, publications, libraries and tourism and Cultural Heritage (TCH) initiatives. Further, it will pursue all lawful collaborative avenues to facilitate the return of artistic and cultural works earlier appropriated as a result of the encounter with colonialism and other imbalanced interactions with foreign entities.

#### **Objectives of Kenya's Cultural Diplomacy**

1. Advocate for cultural diversity and heritage recognition, protection, preservation and patenting;
2. Foster solidarity, intercultural exchanges, partnerships and dialogues between Kenya and other countries;
3. Promote tourism cultural heritage to attract visitors and showcase Kenya's cultural diversity;
4. Pursue lawful collaborative means of facilitating the return of lost Kenyan cultural heritage artefacts; and
5. Promote Kiswahili as a continental and global language.

#### **4.9.3 Sports Diplomacy**

Sports diplomacy involves the harnessing of the sports in fostering international relations and promoting the country's image abroad. Kenya is famed for excellence in athletics and other diverse sports and will deploy these assets to boost her national branding and global reputation and harness their potential in fostering a stronger and mutually beneficial international relations. The country will continue to actively lobby to host international sports events as an avenue for boosting cultural exchanges and strengthening global sports partnerships.

#### 4.3.3 Educational Diplomacy

Education is a major means to the advancement of both national and international goals. Kenya is home to a number of competitively ranked academic institutions that will be relied upon for enhanced diplomacy through academic collaborations and people to people ties. Through such initiatives, the country will facilitate international cooperation, promote fairness and inclusivity in education, nurture peace and mutual understanding, and support sustainable development. Through academic networks in scholarship and research as well as in staff and student exchanges, Kenya will forge stronger diplomatic relations, promote its values and interests, and play a key role in fostering a more peaceful and prosperous global community.

#### Objectives of Educational Diplomacy

1. Enhance educational exchanges and scholarships at student and faculty levels in order to improve educational outcomes;
2. Foster international collaboration in the development and improvement of Kenya's educational systems in line with global standards;
3. Position Kenya as a preferred destination for high quality education;
4. Support international collaborations in research and technological innovations, and;
5. Collaborate with like-minded partners to establish special schools for the specially talented and the differently abled.

Table 1 below is sample representation of scholarship opportunities emanating from Kenya diplomatic engagements with partners. It may not be representative of all partners but provide a picture of opportunities of our people that arise from global collaborations.

Table 1. Academic Networks in Scholarship and Research

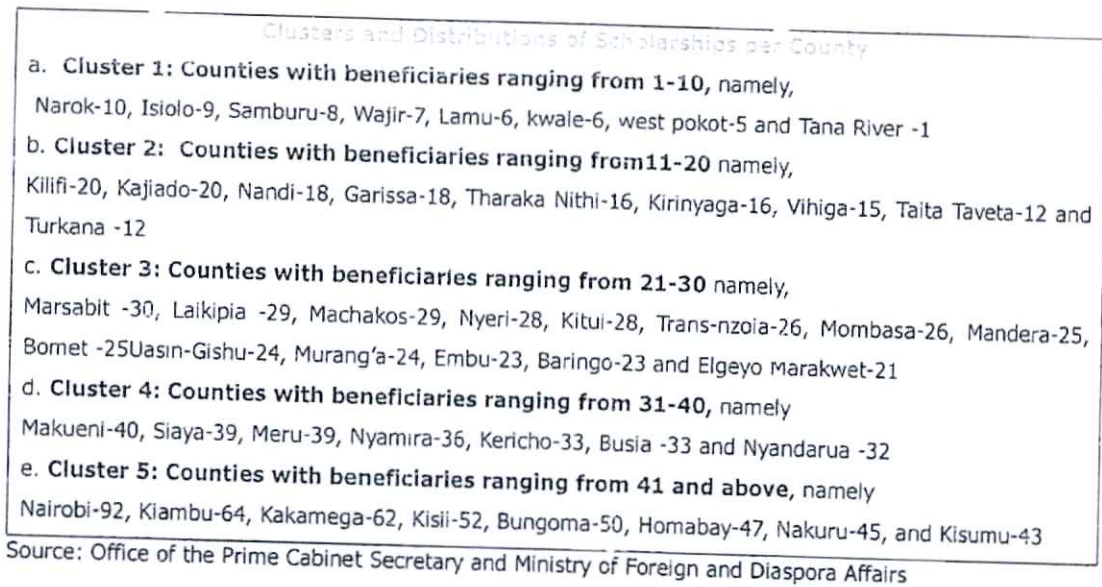
S/no	Country	2024	2023	2022	2021	2020	Number of Students
1	Peoples Republic of China	18	30	20	37		105
2	Hungary	200	200	200	80	200	880
3	Common Wealth	37	37	37	18	37	166
4	Slovak		4	4	4	4	16
5	Mauritius		8	9	15	15	47
6	Morocco		10				10
7	Serbia		10	7	7		24
8	Thailand	9		9	15		33
9	Azerbaijan	2	2	2			6
10	Russia					15	15
11	India					46	46
12	Egypt					19	19
13	Algeria						116
TOTAL	13 countries	266	301	288	176	336	1483

Source: Office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary and Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

### Analysis of Beneficiaries by Country of Study

A total of 13 countries have offered Kenya Citizens with Scholarships. Globally, the Hungarian Government has issued 800(61.4%) scholarships to Kenya citizens, followed by the Commonwealth with 166 (12.7%) and China 139(10.7%) cumulatively, they have contributed 1106(84.9%) of foreign scholarship opportunities. Within Africa, Mauritius-Africa Scholarship scheme has issued 47(3.65) scholarships to Kenya citizens, followed by Egypt Government Scholarships at 19(1.5%). In General, the beneficiaries by country of study is as tabulated above;

The figure below demonstrates the distributions of scholarships per county from 2020-2024:



The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will engage partners to increase scholarship opportunities for all based on merit, gender balance, equity, inclusiveness and national profile.

#### 4.3.4 Global Health Diplomacy

Global Health Diplomacy intersects public health, international relations, and development. It focuses on health issues that require multilateral cooperation to address shared concerns. The focus area involves negotiating agreements and fostering international cooperation so as to tackle global health and development challenges that transcend national borders. These include pandemics such as the Covid-19 that in recent years resulted in significant loss of human life world-wide and wide scale socio-economic disruption.

The UNs 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development identified health as global priority through the third Sustainable Development Goal (SDG3). The African Union's "Agenda 2063: The Africa we Want" equally identifies health and nutrition as a priority area for the continent. Health is a prioritized agenda both at the national and county governments for the achievement of universal health coverage (UHC) in Kenya.

Integration of health issues into the foreign policy provides a unique opportunity in which diplomatic networks can be deployed in advancing national and global health priorities. Moreover, the networks will contribute to improving health outcomes, strengthening national health systems, ensuring the security of health commodities and hence, contributing to both national and global health security.

In implementing its Global Health Diplomacy, Kenya will work more closely with international organizations operating in the health domain; including GAVI, Global Fund, UNAids, IVI, World Health Organization (WHO), Africa Centre for Disease Control (CDC) and Africa Medicines Agency. This engagement will foster a coherent national, regional and global approach to handling and preventing current and future epidemics and pandemics which have disproportionately affected Africa and the global south. More importantly, Kenya's global health diplomacy will advocate for a clear framework that benefits developing countries through establishing platforms for data sharing and patent waivers.

#### Objectives of Global Health Diplomacy

1. Strengthen partnerships and collaboration in global health governance;
2. Promote Kenya as a wellness, humanitarian and health emergencies medical hub;
3. Attract investment in manufacturing of health products and technologies;
4. Foster partnerships and collaborative research, capacity building, technology and innovation;
5. Contribute to development, peace, security, social justice and attainment of human rights.

## CHAPTER 5: EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA

### 5.0 Introduction

The international landscape is experiencing increased competition, and growing unilateralism amidst resilient and compelling multilateralism. The rapidly mutating international system has led to the emergence of issues and challenges that impact the effective formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. This section looks at the issues and challenges impacting the institutional, organizational, strategic dynamics of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs the foreign service staff and other actors in the country's foreign policy agenda. It makes recommendations geared towards the interventions mainly by Parliament and other relevant actors.

### 5.1 Institutional and Organizational Dynamics

The conduct of Kenya's foreign relations has been informed by different legislative and policy frameworks. These include the Constitution, various enacted laws, strategic plans, sessional papers, party manifestoes, executive pronouncements, circulars and other official documents. Additionally, the foreign policy is governed by various strategic frameworks including the Kenya Vision 2030 and its Medium-Term Plans, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA), the East African Community Vision 2050, the African Union Agenda 2063, the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, as well as other pertinent international and regional treaties and conventions.

Furthermore, lack of legislation or framework to guide the engagement of county governments with the Ministry has a bearing on the extent to which the Ministry can engage with them. The Foreign Service Act 2021 and the Kenya Foreign Policy guide Kenya's international engagements. The development and adoption of international laws impact the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

There are areas of legal and policy incompatibility with foreign countries including different procurement practices in host countries, varied financial years, non-recognition of Kenya's contractual documents in other countries as well as requirement for advance payments for construction and maintenance. In some countries, quotations/tenders are submitted in a foreign language, and inconsistencies in the translation causes delays in procurement.

The policy, legal and institutional framework that underpins provision of services to the diaspora is weak and inadequate. This limits the extent to which the government can effectively champion and protect the rights and welfare of the Diaspora, and consequently affects the level of participation by the diaspora in national development.

The weak labour migration legal framework exposes some Kenyans working abroad, both skilled and unskilled, to unsuitable working conditions

In sum, the absence of a well-defined legislative and policy framework guiding Kenya's engagement with international actors, leaves the country vulnerable to external pressure and influence. This will diminish the country's ability to assert its interests independently, hence increasing its susceptibility to the ever-changing global dynamics.

#### Recommendations

- The revised Foreign Policy, 2024 endeavors to consolidate some of these instruments and frameworks. However, there is a need for a comprehensive legislative framework including a review of the Foreign Service Act, 2021.
- Parliament's legislative, budgetary and oversight agenda to be cognizant of the challenges of incompatibilities that the Ministry faces in its operations under varied laws, policies and procedures in foreign countries.
- The State Department for Diaspora Affairs is collaborating with relevant stakeholders including Parliament to develop a strong policy, legal and institutional framework to facilitate service delivery to the diaspora.
- Review existing Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs)/MoUs and sign new instruments with foreign governments in order to effectively protect Kenyan nationals seeking employment abroad including portability of social security benefits.

#### 3.1.2 Ministry Headquarters and Coordination of Kenyan Missions

Kenya's national interests and diplomatic footprints have considerably expanded as the country seeks to play a greater role in international affairs. The Ministry has also undergone considerable restructuring, with the overall objective of intensifying professionalism in the diplomatic cadre and enabling our foreign missions to play a greater role in progressing our foreign policy and national development agenda.

However, the Ministry's headquarters continues to face capacity challenges in terms of staff numbers and training, inadequate office space, modernization of equipment to align with the changing international system. This challenge has implications for effective coordination and management of Kenya's foreign service.

Most Missions do not have the infrastructure to render all consular services especially issuance of National ID cards, Passports, and Birth Certificates. Processing of these documents is done in Kenya leading to delayed provision of consular services, promotion and protection of the interests of Kenyans abroad.

Further, due to the large amount of data collected and used, coordination, data security, compliance with regulations, and responsible data handling practices are major concerns and challenges.

### Recommendations

- Policy and legislative frameworks to enhance provision of consular services including timely processing of critical documents. This will also include strengthening and supporting the registration programme of Kenyans abroad under National Integrated Information Management System (NIIMS) as well as registration and strengthening of Kenyan Diaspora Umbrella Associations in all countries and regions where Kenya has diplomatic presence. Parliamentary support to the Ministry in working closely with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to ensure Kenyan Diaspora participation in the country's Presidential Elections.
- Develop a robust Ministry's digitalization programme which is securely linked to missions to enhance provision of consular services, feedback and general operations.
- Expansion and modernization of office spaces including prioritization of construction of a new office building for the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs headquarters.

### 3.1.3 Challenge of Funding diplomatic activities and missions abroad

The increased demands for adequate budgetary resources on the exchequer to fund diplomatic activities is one of the emerging issues that continue to pose a challenge to the effective implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives. This is further complicated by competing demands for budget allocation from other sectors of the State.

The challenge of inability to competitively and timely remunerate the foreign service officers and missions abroad could increase vulnerabilities in terms of diminishing accountability and integrity thus portending a security threat to our country.

Moreover, there is the challenge of high rental/leasing costs in Kenyan Missions. Besides, inadequate funding for maintenance and repairs has led to the deterioration of government-owned properties. Most missions also lack the necessary infrastructure to provide all consular services, resulting in delays.

Delayed exchequer releases affect the Ministry's ability to implement its work programs within the planned timelines. Most of the Ministry's programmes and activities are to a large extent dictated by external calendars and schedules, while project contracts are implemented under foreign laws and regulations, some of which are very strict. Therefore, any delays in payment can result to far reaching consequences. In addition, late receipt of exchequer can cause low budget absorption, huge pending bills and contractual issues in the Ministry.

The lack of Diaspora Welfare Fund continues to be a challenge especially with rising cases of Kenyans in distress abroad that require prompt response by the Ministry. This is beside the fact that the Fund is captured in Kenya Diaspora Policy of 2014.

There is a growing need for funding of 'Executive soft diplomacy' which has become an important practice globally in the implementation of a country's foreign policy. This includes the use of good offices of the President for peace and security, and contributions to global governance imperatives such as facilitating humanitarian and critical charity support systems.

#### Recommendations

- Increase budget allocation to the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs;
- Increase funding to the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to also allow existing missions operate optimally and also to cover other countries through multiple accreditations;
- Consider an implementation fund for soft diplomacy, domiciled in the Ministry in Charge of Foreign Affairs. This fund will facilitate the implementation of Executive and Parliamentary soft diplomacy. The fund shall be financed from the national budget and partners; and
- Support and promote the establishment of a Diaspora Welfare Fund meant to enable the Ministry assist Kenyans in distress.

#### 5.1.4 Foreign Service Staffing and Welfare

The evolving international system calls for continuous staffing and training of staff to match with the new trends in diplomacy such as science, technology and innovation. This points to the need for digital mainstreaming and continuous updating of skills such as multilingualism which is yet to reach effective levels. There is a need to develop a well-educated, vibrant and motivated foreign service. This will require clear recruitment and promotion parameters based on equity and inclusiveness.

The delayed remuneration and allowances of foreign service staff undermines their dignity and compromises the integrity of critical state matters, some of which could be of significance to the national security.

#### Recommendations

- Legislative and budgetary support of the Foreign Service Academy to effectively fulfill its mandate especially in training and capacity strengthening of foreign service staff.
- The Foreign Service Personnel Scheme and fundamental Public Service Commission (PSC) guidelines need to be harmonized with the Constitution to develop the criteria relating to the recruitment and career progression of foreign service personnel. This will require a comprehensive legislative framework and also development of a comprehensive Performance Appraisal of Kenyan diplomats abroad.
- Implement cost effective measures including local outsourcing of non-core functions in diplomatic missions and employment of qualified Kenyan residents as local staff.

#### 5.1.5 Diaspora Issues and Challenges

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs and the Kenyan diaspora remain integral to Kenya's foreign policy agenda. However, the State Department faces significant challenges, including inadequate budgetary allocations. This financial constraint limits the execution of

critical initiatives, such as diaspora registration and mapping, which is essential for gathering comprehensive data on Kenyans living abroad to enable effective planning and decision-making. There is an observed limited involvement of Diaspora in national development processes despite the Government recognizing the Diaspora as the 48th county and the need to mainstream the Kenyan Diaspora in the national agenda. There are deliberate efforts expended in awareness creation and public participation by the diaspora in policy, legal and institutional reforms as well as the electoral processes.

The Kenya Diaspora experiences high transaction cost on remittances estimated at 6.20 percent of the amount sent. This leads to increased use of informal channels and difficulty in tracking remittance inflows.

The legal and policy frameworks are still weak and inadequate including inadequate labour migration legal framework, inadequate framework on transferability and portability of social security benefits, inadequate incentive framework for remittances and diaspora investments, and insufficient enforcement of the legal and regulatory framework on ethical recruitment to curb unscrupulous private recruitment agencies that take advantage of uninformed and unsuspecting Kenyans among others.

Regional and cross border conflicts pose significant challenges including security concerns, social integration and identity, political pressures, humanitarian crises, economic impact, strained international relations and psychological stress. This calls for emphasis on protection and championing of Kenya's Diaspora rights and welfare as well as steps to offer humanitarian aid and assistance, diplomatic engagements, psychosocial support among other needs in times of distress. The challenge requires a multi-dimensional and collaborative approach an increase in Department's staff capacity, budgetary allocation and legislative interventions.

#### Recommendations

- Promulgate laws, rules and regulations to ensure that Professional Kenyan Returnees are regarded and treated the same way expatriates are treated in employment and remuneration, such a move would attract talent. There is also need for local professional bodies to embrace the returnees by recognizing their qualification and expertise;
- Address the high transaction costs of remittances, which is currently at an average of 6% (AIR, 2023) and reduce to 3% or less by 2030 as per SDG 10(c);
- Establish electoral reforms for Diaspora Voting to consider issues like period of voting, the gazetted polling stations, and use of electronic equipment or platforms to allow more Kenyans abroad to participate at the elections. Participation in political process should be open to dual citizens, like in UK, only the Executive Position should be exempt from voting as a dual national.
- Review existing Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs)/MoUs and sign new instruments with partner states to effectively protect Kenyan nationals seeking employment abroad including portability of social security benefits;
- Increase the State Department's staff capacity, budgetary allocation and strengthen the legislative interventions.

### 3.1.5 Development and Management of Foreign Assets Portfolio

The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs holds a portfolio of diplomatic properties globally which serve as offices (Chanceries) and official residences for Ambassadors and residential premises for other officers. Consistent underinvestment in these properties has led to deterioration and ultimately under-utilization of the facilities. In some cases, the properties have been condemned since they are inhabitable.

Consequently, within its portfolio, the Ministry currently holds assets for which it incurs operation costs arising from statutory duties such as property taxes and service charges. At the same time, the Ministry is meeting rental payments for its staff in various jurisdictions.

The multi-billion-shilling property in Kenya's foreign missions needs proper financing, management, maintenance, and efficient utilization. For instance, the Kenya House – New York which was constructed in 1979 and now dilapidated, has been in disuse for over ten (10) years despite being the designated official residence for the Ambassador. Some of the properties abroad are not insured. The cost to the country of renting diplomatic premises abroad is above Kshs 3 billion annually.

There is a dire need to undertake a structural assessment of foreign assets including Embassy/High Commission and consular offices, residences for the ambassador and the mission staff, and motor vehicles.

**Kenya's global assets are as itemized below:**

S/ No.	Mission	Type of Property	Location	Date of Acquisition
1	Abuja	Chancery	Diplomatic District Abuja,	10 <sup>th</sup> November 2005
		6 staff houses	Diplomatic District Abuja,	10 <sup>th</sup> November 2005
		Official Residence	Diplomatic District Abuja, Maitama	10 <sup>th</sup> November 2005
2	Addis Ababa	Developed Land with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chancery</li> <li>• Ambassador's Residence</li> <li>• Deputy Ambassador's Residence,</li> <li>• 6 apartments staff houses</li> <li>• 2 agency staff houses</li> </ul>	Yeka KK Kebele 01, Addis Ababa	6 <sup>th</sup> August 1968
3	Beijing	Chancery and Ambassador's Residence	No.4 Xiliujie, Sanlitun, Beijing	11 <sup>th</sup> April 2007
4	Berlin	Ambassador's Residence	Plot No. 35 of land No. 10 Altensteinstr 17, Berlin-Dahlem	21 <sup>st</sup> September 2001
5	Brussels	Chancery	208 Avenue, Winston Churchill 1180 Brussels	18 <sup>th</sup> June 2008
		Official Residence	Keizerlaan 33, 3090 Overijse Brussels	11 <sup>th</sup> July 1979
6	Bujumbura	Vacant Land	Buterere Plot 8463/C East, South West Public Road	22 <sup>nd</sup> June 2012
7	Dar es Salaam	Harambee Plaza (Commercial property former Chancery)	Kaunda Road, Dar es Salaam	1 <sup>st</sup> July 1999

		Chancery	Bongoyo Road Dar es Salaam	1 <sup>st</sup> July 1999
		Staff Houses	Mikocheni, Dar es Salaam	12 <sup>th</sup> May 2005
		Vacant land for development of Embassy properties	Plot 16 Block "AC" Mtumba Dodoma	4 <sup>th</sup> March 2020
8	Geneva	Chancery	Allée David Morse 61202 Geneva	18 <sup>th</sup> December 2019
		Chancery	95 Park Lane	26 <sup>th</sup> June 1980
		Ambassador's Residence	43 Borrowdale Road	29 <sup>th</sup> May 1980
9	Harare	Staff House 1	7 Alvord Road, Mt Pleasant	15 <sup>th</sup> May 1985
		Staff House 2	147 Rhodesville	2 <sup>nd</sup> May 1984
		Staff House 3	No. 54 The Chase, Mt Pleasant	21 <sup>st</sup> June 1985
10	Islamabad	Chancery and Ambassador's Residence	Plot 1,2,3, Street 27, Block 6, Diplomatic Enclave 11, Islamabad	9 <sup>th</sup> December 1996
11	Juba	Vacant Land	Juba Town Land Block No. AXV 1st Class Residential area S.C9650/2007	1 <sup>st</sup> October 2009
12	Kampala	Chancery and 6 No. Apartments	Plot No. 8 Elgon Terrace, Kololo	10 <sup>th</sup> December 2015
		Staff House	Plot 10 Mbuya Road, Bugolobi	13 March 2008
13	Kinshasa	Chancery	4002 Avenue De L'Ouganda, Gombe Djelo Ville De Kinshasa	1990
		Staff House 1	Plot No. 173 Ngallema Municipality, Kinshasa	1 <sup>st</sup> November, 2001
		Staff House 2	Plot No. 760 Ngallema Municipality, Kinshasa	27 <sup>th</sup> September, 1990
		Staff House 3	Plot No. 3796 Gombe Municipality, Kinshasa	4 <sup>th</sup> August, 1970
14	London	Residence- Ambassador's Residence	78 Wington Road N2 0TX, Hampstead	15 <sup>th</sup> December, 2020
		Staff House	48 Connaught Drive Finchley N11 6BJ	22 <sup>nd</sup> July, 1975
		Chancery	45 Portland Place, London W1B 1AS	2024
15	Lusaka	Chancery	5207 United Nations Avenue, Lusaka	27 <sup>th</sup> January, 1975
		Official Residence	330 Independence Avenue, Plot No. 2176 Lusaka	13 <sup>th</sup> July, 1971
		Staff House 1	6127 Mwinilunga Road, Kabulonga	18 <sup>th</sup> June, 1966
		Staff House 2	28 Twin Palm Rd, Kabulonga	2 <sup>nd</sup> March ,1968
		Staff House 3	377B Martin Luther King Road, Kabulonga	7 <sup>th</sup> August, 1970
		Staff House 4	Serval Road	1 <sup>st</sup> December 1970
		Staff House 5	4105 Chipusui Rd, Kabulonga	14 <sup>th</sup> April 1965
		Staff House 6	3810 Manda Hill Rd, Olympia Park	9 <sup>th</sup> July 1965
		Staff House 7	Lukasu Road, Rhodespark	29 <sup>th</sup> August 1997
16	Mogadishu	Chancery, Ambassador's Residence and 20 Staff Houses	Near Aden Adde International Airport, Mogadishu	1 <sup>st</sup> December 2014
17	New York	Chancery	866 UN Plaza Suite 308 New York, NY 10017	1 <sup>st</sup> January, 2017
		Ambassador's Residence	5275 Arlington Avenue, Bronx New York	13 <sup>th</sup> May, 1965
		Staff House 1 - DPR	12 Paddington Road, Scarsdale New York	13 <sup>th</sup> November, 1970
		Staff House 2	188-56 85 <sup>th</sup> Road, Jamaica	25 <sup>th</sup> April, 1972
		Staff House 3	1874 Aberdeen Rd. Jamaica	25 <sup>th</sup> May, 1972

18	Ottawa	Chancery	415 Laurier Avenue East, Ottawa, Ontario	20 <sup>th</sup> November 1984
		High Commissioner's Residence	321 Lakeway Drive, Rockcliffe Park, Ontario	25 <sup>th</sup> May 1979
19	Paris	Chancery	3 Rue Freycinet 75116 Paris	1 <sup>st</sup> August 1997
		Ambassador's Residence	41-43 Route de la Plaine Vesind (Yvelnes)	3 <sup>rd</sup> April 1979
20	Pretoria	Chancery	302 Brooks Street, Menlo Park 0081	21 <sup>st</sup> August 1995
		High Commission Residence	261 Crown Ave. Waterkloof	30 <sup>th</sup> January 1985
		Deputy High Commission Residence	318 Polaris Street, Waterkloof Ridge	29 <sup>th</sup> June 2004
		Staff House 1	432 Julius Jeppe Street, Waterkloof	14 <sup>th</sup> March 2001
		Staff House 2	365 Muskejaat St. Waterkloof Ridge	20 <sup>th</sup> July 1994
		Staff House 3	289 Albertus Avenue Erasmusrand	24 <sup>th</sup> May 1994
		Staff House 4	400 Julius St. Muckleneuk	29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001
4 Staff Houses	25 Spiral Walk, Menlo Park	20 <sup>th</sup> July 1994		
21	Riyadh	Chancery	Diplomatic Quarter Riyadh, - 11693	3 <sup>rd</sup> January 1983
		Residence	Diplomatic Quarter Riyadh,	3 <sup>rd</sup> January 1983
22	Rome	Ambassador's Residence	Viale Dell'Umanesimo 89/91	15 <sup>th</sup> November 1980
23	Stockholm	Ambassador's Residence	Strand promenaden 6 Saltsjö duvnäs Nacka Sicklaön 338:1	8 <sup>th</sup> December 1971
24	Tel Aviv	Chancery	15 Abba Hillel Silver St.	5 <sup>th</sup> December 1996
25	The Hague	Chancery	Nieuw Parklaan 21 2597 The Hague	15 <sup>th</sup> September 1989
		Ambassador Residence	Waldeck Pyrmontlaan 27, City of Wassenaar	9 <sup>th</sup> December 1987
		Staff House 1	Tapijtweg 6 2197 KH The Hague	21 <sup>st</sup> March 1988
		Staff House 2	Waalisdorperweg 128, 2597 JE The Hague	29 <sup>th</sup> October 1987
26	Tokyo	Chancery and Residence	135-2 Yakumo 3 Chome Meguro-ku	4 <sup>th</sup> November 2009
			135-3 Yakumo 3 Chome Meguro-ku	4 <sup>th</sup> November 2009
			137-3 Yakumo 3-Chome Meguro-ku	4 <sup>th</sup> November 2009
			137-10 Yakumo Meguro-ku	4 <sup>th</sup> November 2009
27	Washington DC	Chancery	2247/2249R Street, NW Washington, DC, 20008	4 <sup>th</sup> October 1971
		Ambassador's Residence	10201 Borrel Avenue, Potomac, MD 20854	14 <sup>th</sup> September 1977
		Staff House 1	6228-32 <sup>nd</sup> Street, NW, Washington, DC 20015	2 <sup>nd</sup> June 1970
		Staff House 2	2823 Ellicot St. NW, Washington, DC 20008	24 <sup>th</sup> June 1970
		Staff House 3	No. 4453 29 <sup>th</sup> Street, N. W	14 <sup>th</sup> February 1970
28	Windhoek	Chancery (Kenya House)	134 Robert Mugabe Avenue, Windhoek	27 <sup>th</sup> June 1990
		Ambassador's residence	4 Lukin Street, Klein Windhoek	26 <sup>th</sup> June 1989
		Staff House 1	35 Promenaden Road	15 <sup>th</sup> September 1989
		Staff House 2	53 Suffier Street Eros Park	10 <sup>th</sup> July 1989
		Staff House 3	Park 23, Heliodor Street	20 <sup>th</sup> June 1989

Source: Global Assets Management Division, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

### Recommendations

- Monetization of Kenya's properties abroad which includes exploring the opportunity to enter into Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements with private parties to invest in these properties to build official residences for the Ambassadors or residential properties for staff members as well as extract commercial value for properties in prime locations. These developments can also be undertaken in partnership with Kenya's private sector and state corporations such as the National Social Security Fund (NSSF).
- Kenya owns strategic properties and land abroad which need development to earn income for the government, drastically cut expenditure on rentals and uplift the quality of our foreign missions/embassies and diplomatic mission staff housing. This calls for budgetary allocations by the National Treasury and Parliamentary support.
- Ministry to be facilitated to acquire and set aside land for allocation to foreign missions accredited to Kenya for the development of residences and chanceries on the basis of reciprocity
- The Ministry to develop and implement a comprehensive policy for the proper management and optimal utilization of its assets at headquarters and missions. The policy should also include establishment and regular update of a comprehensive data base /asset register.

Kenya maintains approximately 70 diplomatic missions across the globe. The missions serve as critical channels for foreign policy and citizen services with key financial obligations being;

- Payment of salaries and allowances for Kenyan and local staff.
- Payment of rental and other operational costs pegged to local currencies.
- Payment of goods and services procured in foreign currencies.

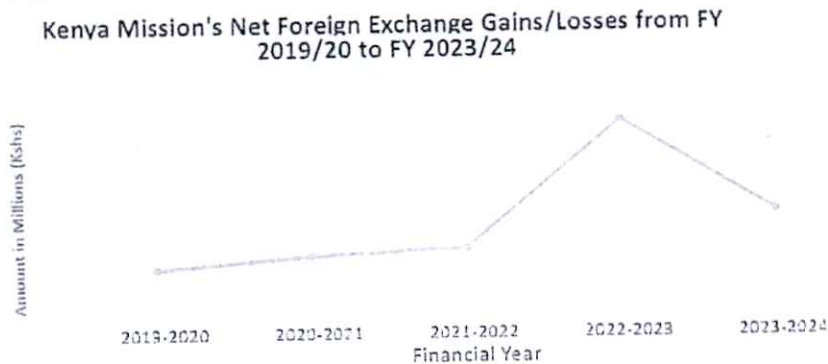
The Kenya shilling has depreciated against major global currencies such as the US Dollar and the Euro leading to increased financial outlays for missions abroad. Missions in high inflation or volatile currency regions face disproportionately high operational costs. They face significant increases in rent and utilities often priced in local currencies.

Due to exchange rate fluctuations, the Kenya Missions have suffered reduction in budgetary provisions over the years leading to inadequate funding of foreign missions affecting their operations and reputation abroad. Several missions have dilapidated buildings due to the high cost of maintenance precipitated by foreign currency losses. Staff in most Foreign Missions cannot meet basic needs such as rent and school fees.

Prior to 2013, the National Treasury used to compensate the foreign missions for the reduction in budgetary allocations due to Foreign Exchange losses through a budget line titled "**Forex Loss Assumption Facility**". This facility was removed in FY 2013/2014.

From FY 2019/20 to FY 2023/24 the Foreign Currency Exchange (Forex) losses amounted to approximately **Kshs. 3.26 billion**. In FY 2022/23 the Forex losses were the highest at **Kshs. 1.38 billion** as illustrated in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8 : Kenya Mission's Net Foreign Exchange Gains/Losses from FY 2019/20 to FY 2023/24



During the above period, key missions suffered heavy forex losses as illustrated below;

Figure 9: Net Foreign Exchange Losses to Key Missions in Millions (Kshs)



Over the years, the forex losses have had a negative impact on the operations and reputation of the missions.

**Recommendations**

- Re- establish the Contingency Fund to cushion the Missions against Forex Losses.
- Consideration should be made to reinstate the "Forex Loss Assumption Facility."

### 5.2 Countering Terrorism and other Threats to National Security

Kenya's Foreign Policy recognizes that terrorism and violent extremism are a complex, dynamic and transnational threat to its national security and development. The policy acknowledges that structural, enabling and individual factors prevalent in Kenya and the region have created vulnerabilities that are exploited to radicalise and recruit individuals and

conditions conducive for the rise of terrorist groups. These conditions include conflict, poverty, the climate crisis, political fragility and geopolitical differences, the proliferation of arms, poorly governed areas, under-regulated and under-moderated virtual spaces, perceived injustice, among others. Both the National Counter Terrorism Policy and the National Strategy to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism recognize that terrorism and violent extremism are a transnational threat and refer to the Foreign Policy to rally regional and international efforts to degrade these shared threats. However, funding and capacity strengthening to enable the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to play its role in rallying regional and international efforts in countering terrorism remains insufficient.

Kenya has been a victim of intermitted terrorist attacks which led to deaths and destruction. These attacks have contributed to shaping Kenya's foreign relations.

Historically, Kenya has been the target of many terrorist attacks since the first attack in 1975 on a crowded bus in central Nairobi. The history of terrorist attacks on Kenyan territory includes the 1980 bombing of Norfolk Hotel; 1998 United States Embassy bombings; the 2002 Kikambala Hotel bombing and Arkia Airlines missile attack in Mombasa; the 2012 al-Shabaab attacks; 2013 Westgate Mall shooting; the 2014 Mpeketoni attacks; 2015 Garissa University attack; 2019 Nairobi Dusitd2 complex attack and the 2020 Camp Simba attack, among others. This history explains Kenya's resilience and the foreign relations dimensions in Kenya security posture.

As a core state and a net security provider in the region and the continent, Kenya shall continue to lead regional and international efforts to realize a future free of terrorism.

#### Recommendations

- Prioritize peace and security while establishing strategic security and defense alliances for the homeland security and global peace and stability. For example, Kenya's position as a Major Non-NATO Ally of the United States of America is a key designation that Kenya can leverage to enhance its national security as well as the regional security given that the country is the only one in the Sub-Saharan Africa region.
- Invest in Preventing, and Countering Violent Extremism as well as modernization of security system in the country. This requires collective security approaches with Kenya's partners.
- Deploy Foreign Policy instruments to rally regional and international efforts to degrade the shared threats of terrorism.

### 5.3 Strategic Communication and Public Awareness

#### 5.3.1 Foreign Policy Mashinani

Lack of an effective Strategic communication of the activities and achievements in the diplomatic sphere has attracted criticism and misinformation as well as alienated citizens from the foreign affairs of the country. The rapid globalization, driven by aspects such as technology continue to create opportunities as well as challenges for foreign policy. The

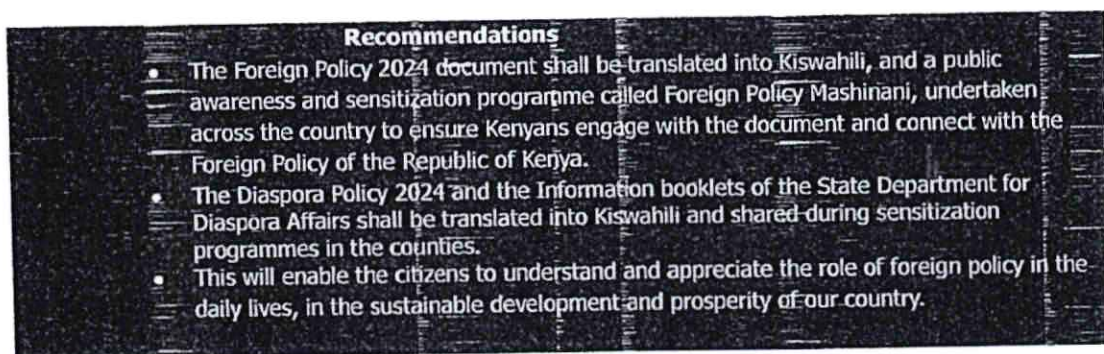
weaponization of social media and digital technology have caused violent conflicts and insecurity, as well as fomented misinformation and disinformation, creating a major communication challenge.

There is a need to develop appropriate methods for effective engagement with the Media; increase the visibility of the country's diplomatic milestones; enhance and promote public diplomacy; expansion of communication channels to enhance and maintain a positive image of the country; and developing strategic communication and publicity for the Foreign Policy document to reach broad sectors of the nation and people.

#### 5.3.3.3 Expansion of Public Diplomacy

Expansion of the communication strategy and public awareness will also include the sensitization of the diaspora Policy, where the mandate of the State Department; information on contacting the Ministry in cases of distress situation of family members abroad; process for placement of jobs abroad will be shared and enhance engagement with the diaspora and their kin.

In this regard, parliament as the representative of the people contribute in creating an interface between the people and the country's foreign policy.



#### 5.4 Clarity of Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues

Kenya has revised and published its Foreign Policy to guide the country's engagement with other actors in the international arena. However, the Policy being largely a broad framework is not explicit on how Kenya should respond to or what position should the country take in regard to some issues deemed strategic or contentious and, in some cases, have potential to strain the diplomatic relations between Kenya and other states if not well handled. Therefore, there is a need to establish a country position so as to provide clarity on Kenya's position on various issues of strategic importance to the country.

### Kenya Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues

- The country positions should be guided by the spirit and letter of the Foreign Policy principles namely; to promote resolution of conflicts by peaceful means; ensure good neighbourliness and non-interference, ensure Peaceful coexistence with other nations, promotion of Pan-Africanism, adherence to nonalignment, practicing reciprocity. These principles should be backed by national values including patriotism, human rights and dignity, good governance and sustainable development.
- Kenya country positions will align with the African Union and United Nations collective positions and decisions, and the country's national interest to maintain mutually beneficial bilateral relations with as many states as possible.
- In West Asia, on Israel-Palestine crisis Kenya aligns itself to the African Union's (AU) position that espouses the achievement of a two-state solution through negotiations founded on relevant UN resolutions, and supports homegrown solutions based on socio-cultural tolerance in the region's conflict system.
- Kenya enjoys cordial bilateral relations with China and espouses the One-China Policy. The multi-Island territory of Taiwan which as at May 2024, is recognized by 11 out of 193 members of the United Nations. This includes only one African country. Nominally, in practice, to be considered a country in contemporary global arena, a territory must be diplomatically recognized by two-thirds of the 193 members states of the UN including all five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC) and at least four of the 10 non-permanent members of the UNSC.
- On the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Kenya aligns itself with the positions of the G77 and the African Group, which tends to be neutral. Kenya advocates for the pacific resolution of conflict and the equitable applicability of international doctrines, norms and customs as well as the respect for fundamental freedoms guaranteed by sovereignty and territorial integrity.

### Outcomes of Country Positions

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authoritative articulation of Country position by the Head of State and other policy makers</li> <li>• Defending under all circumstances what the Country considers as irreducible minimum (e.g. Sovereignty and Territorial integrity)</li> <li>• Robust response to contending issues either at bilateral or multilateral level</li> <li>• Adapting Country position to emerging and evolving issues (e.g. Morocco's readmission to African Union and the Kenya's position on Sahrawi Republic)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Balancing of Kenya's interest vis -a -vis other regional and global players. (Balance Regional versus continental versus global interests)</li> <li>• Consistent country position articulated by key interlocutors at both bilateral and multilateral level</li> <li>• Advancing strategic national interests and promoting solutions to challenges that confront the Country</li> <li>• Aligning of national interests to those of regional groups and other like-minded partners at the global level.</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

## CHAPTER 6: FOREIGN POLICY FINANCING AND STRUCTURAL GOVERNANCE

### 6.1 Structural Governance

Article 232 of the Constitution of Kenya as read together with the Foreign Service Act, Cap 185(e) require that the foreign service exhibits high standards of professionalism, efficiency and effectiveness in the discharge of its mandate. The successful implementation of this Policy is predicated on working in collaboration with MDACs and key stakeholders through a Whole of Government and Whole of Society Approach. The responsibilities of a Foreign Service Officer in advancing national interests and implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy require a firm grounding in the practice of diplomacy; hands-on tactics of foreign policy implementation; understanding of mandates and skillful coordination with MDACs and other relevant actors for effective implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy in host countries.

The Foreign Service Academy (FSA) will contribute to the implementation of the Policy by strengthening the human resource development and capabilities, including policy research and analysis. The forum of retired foreign service officers including ambassadors and special envoys will be engaged to tap their wealth of experience and expertise towards advancing effective implementation of the foreign policy.

#### 6.1.1 The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

The Ministry, shall be the main implementer of the Policy as mandated by the Constitution and Executive Order No. 2/2023. It shall be responsible for Management of Kenya's Foreign Policy; Projection, Promotion and Protection of Kenya's Interest and Image globally.

The Ministry will work closely with other MDAs, County Governments, Parliament, and the Judiciary to coordinate the whole of government approach in the implementation of the policy. It will facilitate interministerial meetings to formulate the country's common position and advance its interests at the bilateral and multilateral level.

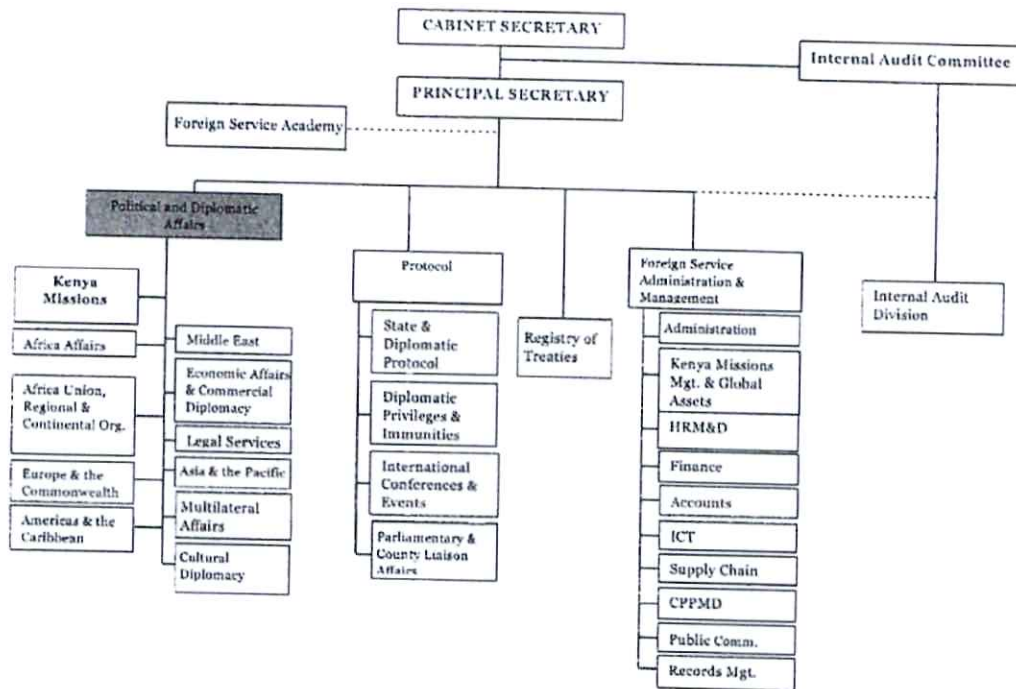
The Ministry comprises two departments: the State Department for Foreign Affairs and the State Department for Diaspora Affairs.

The Ministry is headed by the Cabinet Secretary who provides strategic leadership and policy guidance. The Principal Secretaries, responsible to the Cabinet Secretary, are the administrative and accounting officers of respective state departments. The Principal Secretary will be supported by key technical and administrative directorates at the ministry headquarters.

The technical directorates are mandated to coordinate bilateral relations with specific geographical regions and with regional, UN agencies and international organizations. The administration directorates will support the administrative and operational functions to facilitate effective implementation of its mandate.

## 6.2 State Department for Foreign Affairs

Figure 10 : Organizational Structure of the State Department for Foreign Affairs



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

### 3.2.1 Transformation of the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency

The promotion of Kenya's interests and realization of its foreign policy objectives in the region calls for the deployment of appropriate resources to leverage its soft power and strengthen its anchor state status in the region. In 2015, the Government of Kenya established the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to provide support for countries in the Horn of Africa, East Africa, IGAD, and the Great Lakes region focusing on areas with high impact to the communities of recipient countries.

The Fund will be transformed into the Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA) which will be mandated to provide technical support to regional partners in areas such as education, training and capacity building, democracy and good governance, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian support among others. The establishment of the Agency will be anchored in law through relevant amendments to the Foreign Service Act and the subsequent regulations.

The objectives of the Agency will be to:

- i. Support technical assistance and stabilization interventions in fragile states in the region;
- ii. Facilitate realization of Kenya's diplomatic objectives in political, economic, environment and peace and security interests in the region;
- iii. Facilitate reinforcing Kenya's leadership role regionally and globally;
- iv. Link people and institutions from other countries to Kenya through training, technical cooperation and capacity building;
- v. Foster an appreciation of Kenya's values, achievements and desire to realize shared prosperity; and,
- vi. Support other initiatives in the realization of Kenya's Foreign policy objectives.

A sound legal framework is essential for the effective operation of the Ministry and implementation of its key mandate towards the realization of Kenya's foreign policy objectives. The Ministry will prioritize the review and development of a sound legal framework to strengthen its operating environment and respond to domestic and international dynamics.

The Foreign Service Act provides a key basis for the administration of Kenya's Foreign Service and its review and full operationalization through development of Foreign Service Regulations will be prioritized. The review of the Foreign Service Act (2021) is informed by the need to align the Act with this Policy and ensure that the legal and policy framework for the management and administration of Kenya's foreign service remains relevant in the evolving global diplomatic landscape. The aim of the review is to identify gaps, in the Act and make the necessary amendments that will strengthen the institutional capacity, professionalism and accountability of the Kenyan Foreign Service as well as align it to existing policies and laws. Comprehensive Foreign Service Regulations will be developed to ensure the effective implementation of the Act.

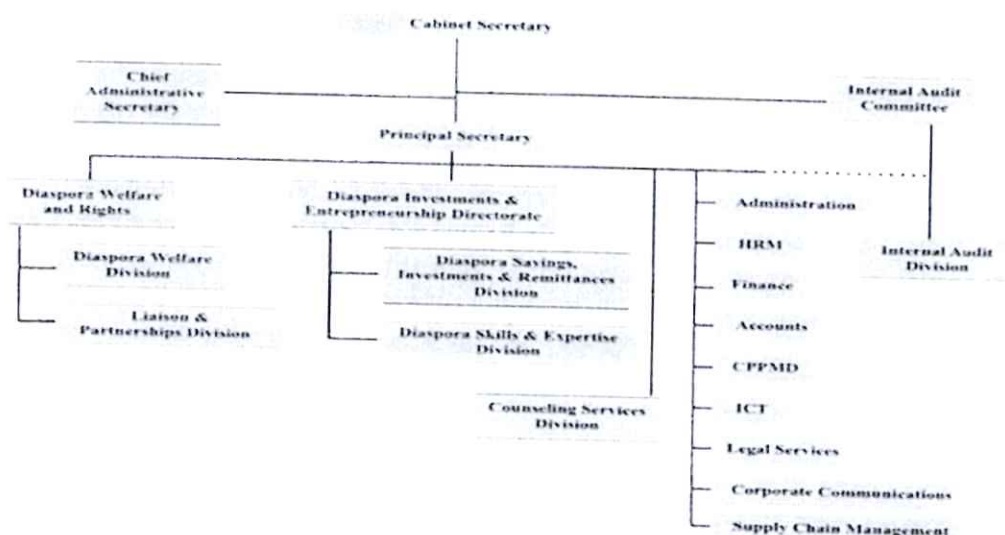
Article 132 (2)(e) of the Constitution gives the President of the Republic of Kenya, the prerogative to appoint High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular Representatives. Section 20 (3) (a) of the Act provides that nomination of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives should reflect a fair balance between career diplomats and other appointees. The Ministry will present amendments to the Act to, among other things, provide for the progressive realization of the objective to enhance Kenya's diplomatic representation to consist of the bulk of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives drawn from career diplomats and other appointees in the ratio of 70:30 respectively among other changes.

The Privileges and Immunities Act (2012) will also be reviewed to strengthen Kenya's capacity to attract and host regional, UN and other Inter Governmental Agencies and international organizations. The Ministry of Foreign & Diaspora Affairs is mandated with the responsibility of negotiating and concluding Host Country Agreements with the Inter-Governmental Organizations and External Agencies as well as the grant and administration of diplomatic privileges and immunities to International Organization and its officials.

To enhance Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub, the administrative and legal framework for the negotiation and administration of host country agreements will be strengthened. The framework forms the basis for provision of immunities and privileges to facilitate effective hosting and operations of Inter-Governmental Organizations and External Agencies.

### 6.3 State Department for Diaspora Affairs

Figure 11: Organizational Structure of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs



Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

The Department focuses on diaspora engagement, mapping, and protection. Key initiatives include Safehouses for distressed citizens abroad and frameworks for leveraging diaspora contributions in national development projects. Strengthening partnerships with organizations like the International Organization for Migration (IOM) enhances these efforts. Also included in the structural governance of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs is the Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA)

### 6.3.1 Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA)

The Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA) was established in 2023 under the State Department for Diaspora Affairs, as the bridge between Kenyan talent and the international labor market, DPA focuses on securing employment for our workforce abroad and branding Kenyan professionals as highly skilled and reliable on the global stage.

#### Objectives of the Agency

- i. Position Kenya as a leading labour market brand and position Kenyan talent for the global labour market.
- ii. Provide global labour market information to Kenyan talent seeking opportunities abroad.
- iii. Create linkages between potential foreign employers and Kenyan Talent through our Kazi Majuu Portal.
- iv. Facilitate pre-migration training in preparation for employment and facilitate the preparation of document, visa interviews, and travel documents

### 6.4 Financing of Foreign Policy

The effective implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and the realization of its objectives requires the deployment of appropriate human and financial resources.

Over the years, the Government has made significant investments to advance Kenya's foreign policy agenda. However, the evolution in global and regional geopolitical and socio-economic dynamics coupled with the country's development aspirations and governance changes have led to the expansion of the foreign policy agenda and the need for more resources to achieve the desired objectives.

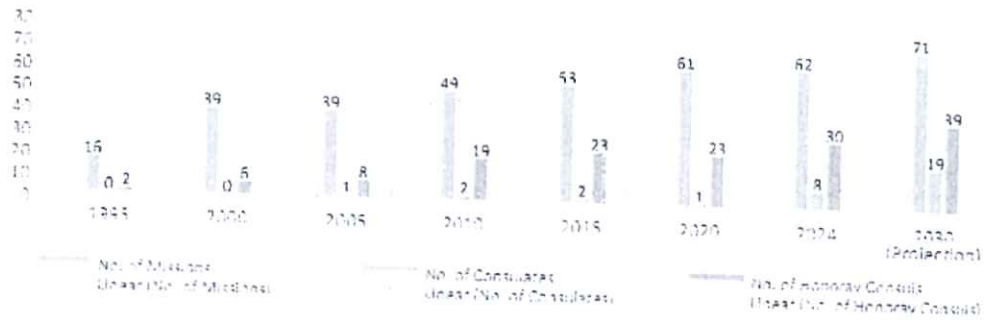
#### 6.4.1 Funding of the Foreign Service

Over the last decade, the funding allocated towards the foreign relations function have remained stagnant despite the evolving mandate of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, as demonstrated by the growth of the Foreign Service Cadre, evolving regional peace and security situation and the increasing demand for diplomatic interventions, the expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprint and the corresponding need for diplomatic infrastructure. The key drivers of Kenya's diplomatic and foreign relations growth include the following:

#### 6.4.2 Expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprint

Over the last twenty years, Kenya's diplomatic footprint which includes fully fledged diplomatic missions, honorary consulates and liaison offices has expanded significantly from 16 missions in 1995 to the current 70 Missions, spread across the globe as follows: 29 Missions in Africa, 15 missions in Europe, 9 missions in the Middle East, 10 missions in Asia and the Pacific and 7 in the Americas. This translates to an average of 2 missions per year. It is projected that by the year 2030, Kenya will establish an additional 10 missions.

Figure 12 : Expansion of Kenya's Diplomatic Footprint (1995 to 2030)



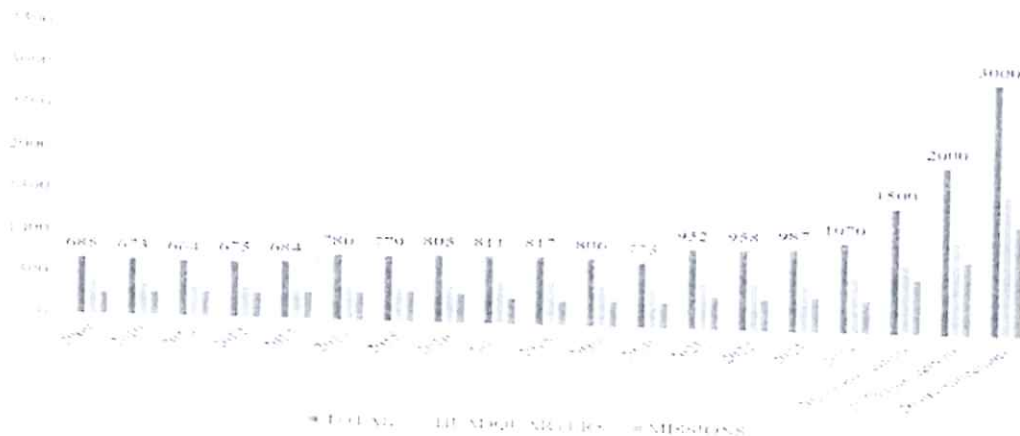
Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

The human resource requirements for Kenya's foreign service have continued to increase since 2009. The Ministry's staff establishment has expanded from a total of 685 in 2009 to the current establishment of 1,070 personnel in 2024, a growth of 56.2 percent. Out of its current establishment, 399 members of staff are deployed in Kenya Missions while the remaining 671 are deployed at the Ministry Headquarters. Presently, the missions are acutely understaffed due to inadequate funding. The situation is even more demanding in the multilateral stations where the scope of work and workload is greater.

The staff establishment is projected to be over 3,000 in the next 5 years to cater for the increased workload and projected growth in the diplomatic footprint in the realization of Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

The distribution of personnel as well as the projected growth is shown in Figure 13 below.

Figure 13 : Growth and Distribution of Personnel (2009 to 2030)



Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

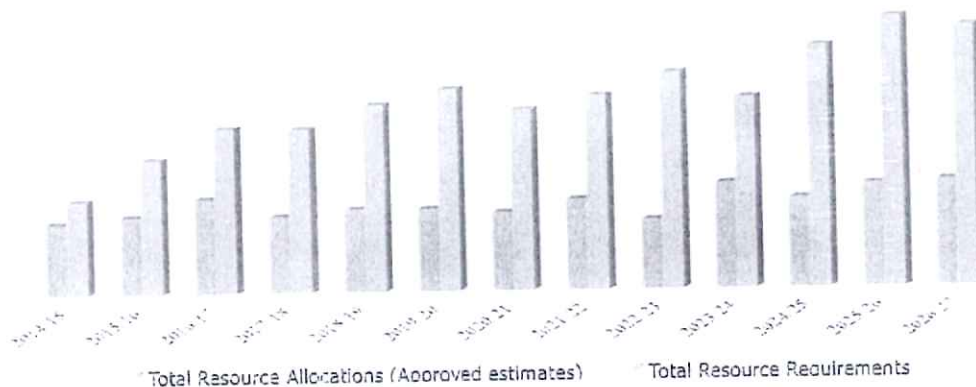
6.4.4 Budget of the State Departments Budget 2014 to 2024

**Trend in Resource Requirements vs Allocation: 2014 to 2027**

Despite the steady expansion in the mandate, functions, activities and personnel of the Foreign Service, resource allocation has remained largely stagnant for an extended period. Moreover, the Policy anticipates continued growth in the resource requirements in the near term, while approved exchequer remain well below requirements. Between the 2014/2015 and 2026/2027 financial years, the total resource requirements for the State Department for Foreign Affairs have shown a significant upward trend, as depicted in Figure 14. These requirements rose from Ksh 20.5 billion in 2014/2015 to Ksh 52.9 billion in 2024/2025, representing a 158 % increase over 10 years. Projections for 2026/2027 indicate an increase to Ksh 57.02 billion, reflecting a cumulative growth of 178% from the 2014/2015 baseline.

Allocations from the exchequer have also steadily increased during this period. From Ksh 15.7 billion in 2014/2015, to Ksh 21.65 billion in 2024/2025, marking a growth of 37.9%. By 2026/2027, the allocations are projected to reach Ksh 23.49 billion, representing an increase of 49.6% from 2014/2015 levels. Despite this growth, the rate of increase in exchequer allocations significantly trails the rise in total resource requirements, highlighting a widening funding gap over time.

Figure 14 : Total Resource Requirements vs Approved Allocations, FY 2014/2015 to FY2026/27 (Kshs million)



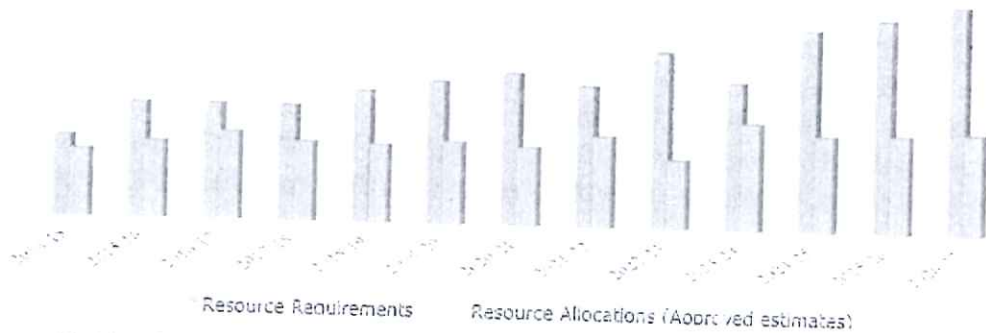
Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs and The National Treasury

**Trend in Recurrent Budget Requirements vs Allocation: 2013 to 2027**

Over the period under review, recurrent expenditure requirements have shown a significant upward trend, as outlined in Figure 15. These requirements increased from Ksh 16.8 billion in FY 2014/15 to Ksh 41.37 billion in 2024/25, representing a growth of 146% over the decade. Projections for 2026/2027 indicate that the requirements will rise to Ksh 46.76 billion, representing an increase of 178% from the 2014/15 baseline. In contrast, approved allocations for recurrent expenditure have grown at a much slower rate. Allocations rose

from Ksh 14.08 billion in 2014/15 to Ksh 19.25 billion in 2024/25, reflecting an increase of 36.7% over the ten-year period. By 2026/2027, these allocations are projected to reach Ksh 20.79 billion, indicating a cumulative growth of 47.7% from the 2014/15 level.

Figure 15: Recurrent Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27 (Kshs million)

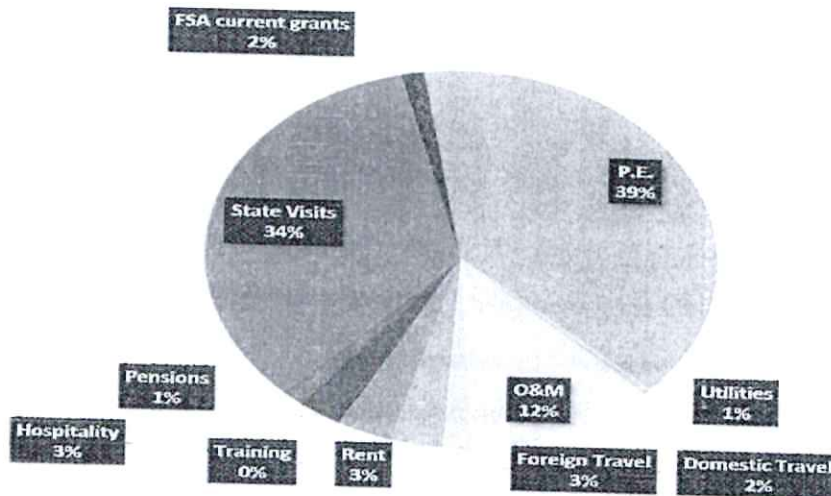


Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

### Analysis of Recurrent Budget by Expenditure Items: A Case Study of Ministry Headquarters and Select Missions

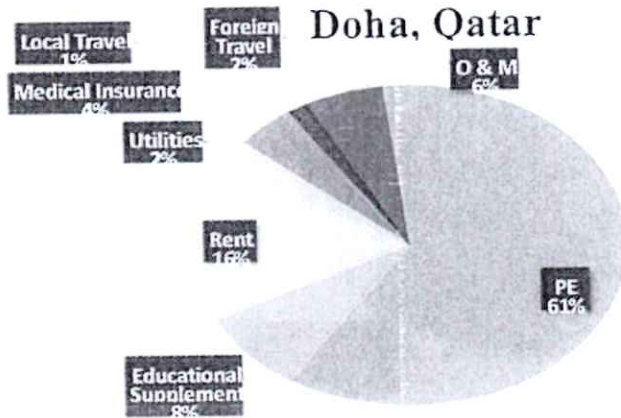
#### 1. State Department for Foreign Affairs Headquarters Budget

- **SDFA HQs**



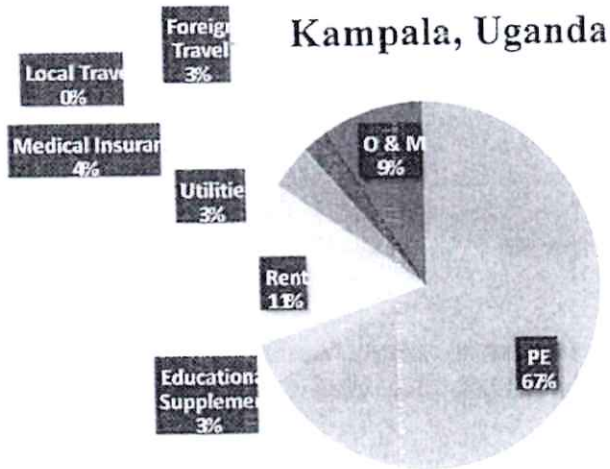
The total budget allocated to SDFA headquarters for FY 2024/25 is Kshs. 5,179,629,643 with Personal emoluments (P.E.) taking 39%, State Visits 34% and Operations and Maintenance (O&M) 12%.

### 2. A Case of Middle East



The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in Doha, Qatar for 2024/25 is Kshs. 227,871,161. Of this PE takes up 61% (Kshs. 139,421,197) while O&M is allocated only 6%.

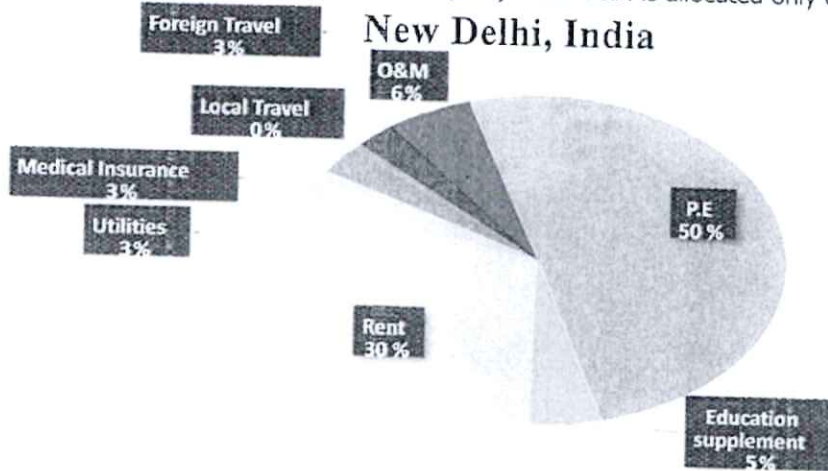
### 3. A Case of Africa



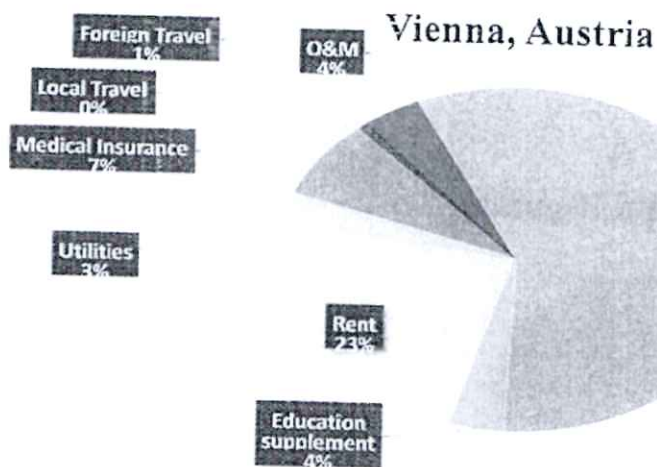
Total mission budget is Kshs. 200,796,953. PE takes up 67% of the Mission's budgetary allocation while O&M is allocated only 9%.

#### 4. A Case of Asia

The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in New Delhi, India for 2024/25 is Kshs. 268,274,871. Of this PE takes up 50% (Kshs. 135,404,501) while O&M is allocated only 6%..



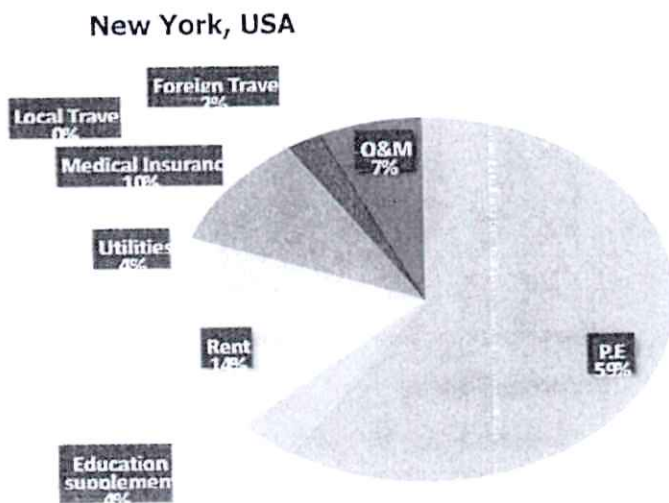
#### 5. A Case of Europe



The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in Vienna, Austria for 2024/25 is Kshs. 329,853,021. Of this PE takes up 58% (Kshs. 189,924,922) while O&M is allocated only 4%.

#### 6. A Case of Americas

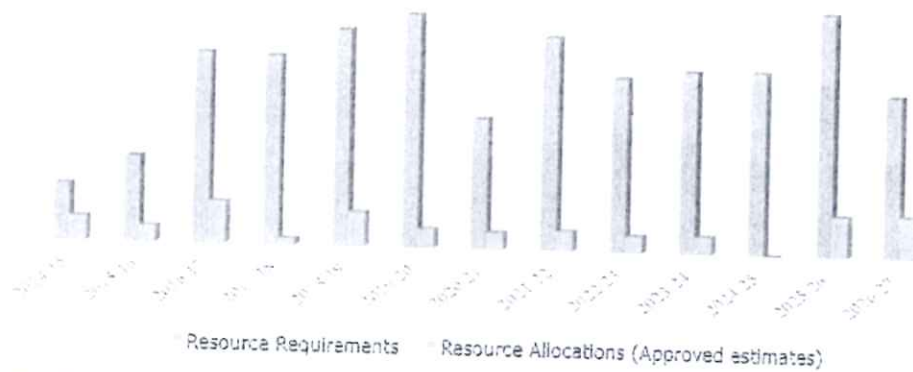
The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in New York, USA for 2024/25 is Kshs. 450,557,074. Of this PE takes up 59% (Kshs. 267,197,118) while O&M is allocated only 7%.



#### Trend in Development Budget Requirements vs Allocation: 2013 to 2027

An analysis of resource allocation for development activities vis-à-vis resource requirements between the FY 2014/15 and projections for FY 2026/27 shows a large disparity between the expanded mandate of the Foreign Service and exchequer allocations for development. In FY 2014/15 allocations stood at Ksh 1.62 billion, representing just 11.8% of the required Ksh 13.75 billion. Similarly, the State Department projects development requirements of Ksh 10.25 billion for FY 2026/27, against approved estimates of Ksh 2.7 billion, indicate a 74 per cent shortfall.

Figure 16 :Development Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs; The National Treasury

#### 3.4.1 Funding Kenya's Diplomatic Infrastructure through Public-Private Partnership

The Government of Kenya has acquired its diplomatic properties mainly through purchase, construction and leasing. The focus has been to prioritize ownership as opposed to leasing to reduce the escalating expenditure on leasing. The current portfolio of government-owned properties comprises; 22 Chanceries, 20 Ambassadors' residences, 76 staff houses, 2 commercial buildings and 3 undeveloped plots all spread in 29 out of 68 Missions.

Locally, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs has custody of the Old Treasury building, which currently serves as the Ministry headquarters.

The portfolio of leased properties comprises 43 Chanceries, 46 Ambassador's residences and 300 - 350 staff houses spread across the globe. In addition, the Government owns two (2) properties in Nairobi which serve as Chanceries to the Kenya Missions to UNON/UNEP and UN-HABITAT.

The cumulative rental expenditure for all Missions stands at approximately KSh. 3 billion per year and comprises 25% of the total Ministry's recurrent budget. The budgetary provision for acquisition and maintenance in the Missions and at the headquarters has been largely inadequate, and significantly lower compared to the Ministry's budgetary submissions to The National Treasury for planned capital projects.

The PPP Act, 2021 promotes private sector participation in public infrastructure projects. The Act presents an opportunity to structure a PPP arrangement with private parties to develop Kenya's diplomatic infrastructure. In view of the foregoing, the Ministry will work with the National Treasury to enter Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements. The PPP approach would achieve: Optimal utilization of idle properties; maximization of the commercial value of the properties and savings in rental costs incurred by the Government

## 6.5 Financing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs

This section analyses the resource requirements of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs and the corresponding resource mobilization strategies. It also discusses measures that the State Department will put in place to ensure prudent utilization of the resources.

### 6.5.1 Finance Resources

The State Department will require a total of KES. 22, 862 million to fully implement its Strategic Plan with the bulk of the resources coming from the exchequer. The funds will be used in provision of diaspora and consular services to Kenyans abroad; championing the diaspora welfare and rights; establishment of a Diaspora Integrated Information Management System (DIIMS); facilitating international placement and opportunities for Kenyans; creating an incentive framework for diaspora remittances; hosting of strategic diaspora investment conferences and general implementation of the State Department's core mandate as envisaged in the Executive order No 1 of 2023.

Efforts to finance diaspora-focused initiatives are essential. Public-private partnerships and collaboration with financial institutions help mobilize resources for programs like skill transfer, social security portability, and remittance cost reduction.

Figure 17 : Financial Requirements for Implementing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs Strategic Plan

Cost Item (KRA=Key Results Area)	Projected Resource Requirements (KES. millions)					Total
	2023/24	2024/25	2025/26	2026/27	2027/28	
KRA 1: Welfare and Rights	210	1,370	880	950	980	4,390
KRA 2: Savings, Investment and Remittances	190	667	797	767	837	3,258
KRA 3: Diaspora Skills, Expertise and Technology Transfer	165	1,660	1,235	1,205	1,045	5,310
KRA 4: Diaspora Engagement and partnerships	128	468	468	468	468	2,000
KRA 5: Policy, Legal and Institutional Frameworks	139	999	1,119	1,119	489	3,865
Administrative Costs	799	804	804	815	817	4,039
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,631</b>	<b>5,968</b>	<b>5,303</b>	<b>5,324</b>	<b>4,636</b>	<b>22,862</b>

Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

Over the Plan period up to 2027/28 FY, it is projected that the State Department will have been allocated a cumulative total of KES. 5.57 billion from the exchequer through the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). The annual Strategic Plan funding

requirements and funding shortfall are indicated in the table below. The five-year cumulative funding shortfall over the plan period is KES. 17, 285 billion.

Figure 16 : Resource Gap

Financial Year	Estimated Financial Requirements (KES. Millions)	Estimated Allocation (KES. Millions)	Variance (KES. Millions)
FY 2023/24	1,631	1,114	517
FY 2024/25	5,968	1,115	4,853
FY 2025/26	5,303	1,116	4,187
FY 2026/27	5,324	1,116	4,208
FY 2027/28	4,636	1,116	3,520
<b>Total</b>	<b>22,862</b>	<b>5,577</b>	<b>17,285</b>

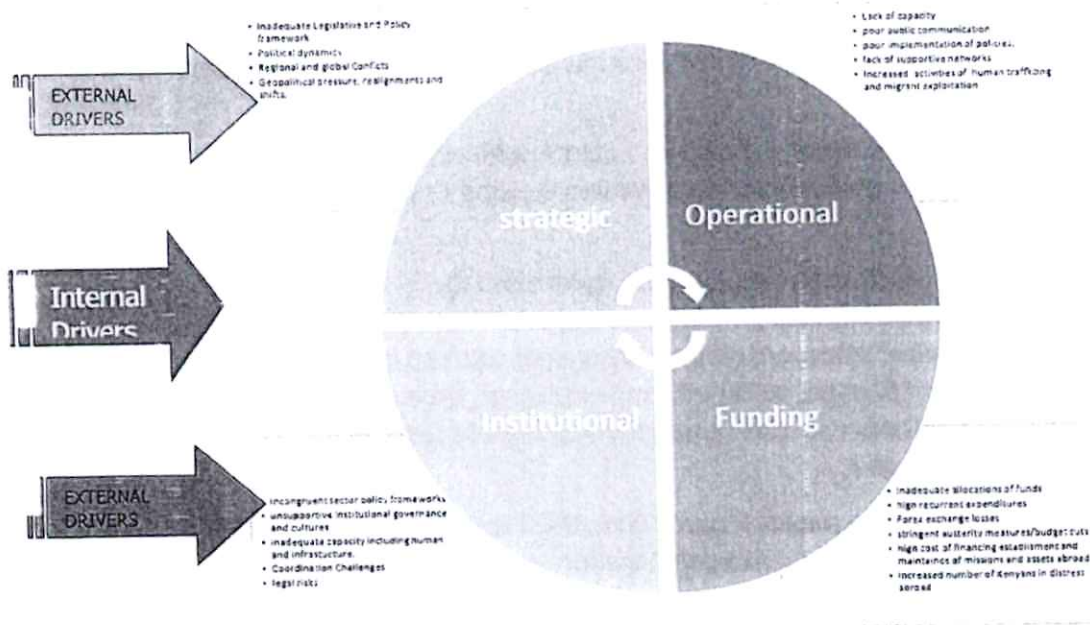
Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

## CHAPTER 7: STRATEGIC RISK MANAGEMENT, RECOMMENDATIONS AND PETITIONS

### 7.1 Strategic Risk Management

Mitigating risks or threats to the implementation of the Foreign Policy requires identification of the risks and mitigation measures. The risks include internal and external factors that may hinder or negatively impact the successful implementation of the foreign policy. The risk categories, as outlined below, are based on the likelihood of occurrence, expected impact, and proposed actions for mitigation, monitoring, and reporting.

Figure 19 :The Risk Universe of Kenya Foreign Policy Implementation process



### 7.2 Strategic Risk of Kenya's Foreign Implementation Process

#### 7.2.1 Legal Risks

Changes in laws emanating from outside Kenya could materially affect the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

There could also be cases of incompatibility of laws and policies with countries hosting Kenyan missions. For instance, incompatibility of the Public Procurement and Assets Disposal Act, 2015 with procurement procedures and practices in foreign countries: This affects implementation of capital projects of Kenya's foreign missions. Notable areas of

incompatibility include different procurement practices in host countries, non-recognition of Kenya's contractual documents in other countries. In some countries, quotations/tenders are submitted in a foreign language, and inconsistencies in the translation causes delays in the procurement. This can also lead to slow absorption of allocated funds.

#### 7.2.2 Foreign Exchange Losses

The Ministry's Budget is in Kenya Shillings while the spending units utilize host country currencies. Consequently, depreciation of the Kshs exchange rate results in foreign exchange losses which reduce the actual amounts available for spending.

#### 7.2.3 Increased Competition for Markets, Tourism, Trade and Investment

The increased competition for markets, tourism, trade and investment among others create certain risks to the country's foreign policy objectives and strategic interests. This could lead to a diminishing market access for Kenya products on the global market and increased competition for trade and investment, as well as competition to attract regional conferencing activities. The geopolitical alignments remain fluid and, in some cases, unpredictable.

#### 7.2.4 Climate Change and Environmental Impact

Climate Change and Environmental impact can lead to unforeseen events such as natural disasters, diseases among other effects that threaten a country's pursuit of its foreign policy agenda.

#### 7.2.5 Negative Effects of Austerity Measures and Budget Cuts

In the context of increased demand for adequate budgetary resources on the exchequer to fund diplomatic activities and missions abroad, the budget cuts and austerity measures could lead to inadequacies and financial gaps that hamper planned implementation of the Foreign Policy. For example, budgetary cuts can constrain the ability to respond and evacuate cases of Kenyans in distress abroad.

Similarly, delayed exchequer releases could limit the Ministry's ability to implement its planned programmes in good time disrupting the foreign policy implementation plans and programmes.

#### 7.2.6 Weaponization of Technology, Cyber Security, and Espionage

The use of technology for negative aims affects the country's foreign diplomacy. Cyber threats and espionage have grown to be serious problems for nations due to an increase in reliance on technology and the internet.

The rise of information warfare and the spread of disinformation pose risks to public affairs and international relations. Manipulation of information, cyber propaganda, and fake news can shape public opinion, and erode trust. Further, there is increased risk of theft and leakage of information through hacking and cyber-attacks on digital platforms. The digital space remains largely not well regulated and lacks universally applicable regulatory frameworks.

### 7.2.7 War, Conflicts and Security Threats

Regional and global security remains unpredictable due to emergence of new threats, conflicts and wars across the world. This can lead to diplomatic tensions, humanitarian crises, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and economic crises globally. Terrorism and violent extremism remain unpredictable. These are major risks to the country's foreign policy interests.

Increased cases of Human Trafficking are a growing risk to Kenya's foreign policy interests. This vice brings forth significant challenges in labor mobility opportunities in foreign countries. Human traffickers target vulnerable persons such as migrants, refugees, and displaced persons who travel abroad in search of employment opportunities and economic advancement.

### 7.3 Recommendations and Petitions

The following are the requests to Parliament:

- (i) Consider and approve the Sessional Paper on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya, 2024, its contents and petitions.
- (ii) Endorse transfer of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs from Public Administration and International Relations (PAIR) Sector Working Group to the Security Sector Working Group (SSWG). The integration of the Ministry into the Security Sector Working Group formalizes its rightful place within the national security architecture and as provided for in Kenya's Constitution. This will lead to the enhancement of the Ministry's budget ceiling and align all the Ministry's operations within the Security Sector Working Group.

The justification for inclusion of the Ministry in the Security Sector Working group of the medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) budget is as follows:

1. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs is the first line of defence in safeguarding Kenya's sovereignty, interests and global standing. The Ministry is a member of the National Security Council (NSC) and an active participant in regional and global Peace and Security operations. Article 240 of the Constitution of Kenya establishes the National Security Council. Article 240(2)(d) recognizes the Cabinet Secretary responsible for foreign affairs as a member of the NSC.
2. One of the functions of the National Security Council is to integrate the domestic, foreign and military policies to enable the national security organs co-operate and function effectively. The integration of defence, security and foreign policy is a constitutional prerogative that will continue to shepherd Kenya's Foreign Policy.
3. The Ministry is grouped with other security players in all other activities/programmes such as the Departmental Committee on Defense, Intelligence and Foreign Relations of the National Assembly and the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Relations.
4. However, this is not the case when it comes to budgeting where the Ministry is grouped under the Sector Working Group for Public Administration and International Relations (PAIR).

5. The Ministry facilitates and coordinates State and Official Visits as well as State Events which are security related functions. Also, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs coordinates critical diplomatic interventions which are security related in nature such as the deployment of Kenya Security Personnel in Haiti and the Tumaini Peace Initiative and Mediation process on the South Sudan conflict and other diplomatic and humanitarian interventions of a security nature, for instance, evacuating Kenyans in distress abroad such as was the case in Lebanon and Sudan.
6. In collaboration with security agencies and MDAs, the Ministry facilitates and coordinates evacuation and repatriation of Kenyans in distress and mortal remains which are critical security related functions
7. The Ministry's budget is negatively impacted by losses occasioned by foreign exchange fluctuations affecting Kenya Missions abroad.

- (iii) Facilitate the transformation of the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA) which will be mandated to provide technical support to regional partners as part of soft power in areas such as education, training and capacity building, democracy and good governance, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian support among others. This calls for the deployment of appropriate resources to enable Kenya leverage its soft power and strengthen its anchor state status in the region.
- (iv) Endorse and facilitate the revision of the Foreign Service Act, 2021 and development of its attendant Regulations.
- (v) Approve the Budgetary allocation for the Diaspora Welfare Fund due to increased cases of Kenyans in distress abroad and the plight of Migrant Workers.
- (vi) Facilitate the establishment of a Contingency Fund to cushion the Missions against Forex Losses. Consideration should be made to reinstate the "Forex Loss Assumption Facility".
- (vii) Consider and approve the Adoption of Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements for optimal utilization of idle properties; maximization of the commercial value of the properties and savings in rental costs incurred by the Government.; acquisition of new properties and their resultant monetization.
- (viii) Consider and approve amendments to the Foreign Service Act to, among other things, provide for the progressive realization of the objective to enhance Kenya's diplomatic representation to consist of a proportion of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives drawn from career diplomats and other appointees at a proposed ratio of 70:30 respectively among other changes.

- (ix) Facilitate the strengthening of the Legal, policy and institutional framework relating to Diaspora matters to improve Diaspora Welfare and Rights; increased Diaspora savings, investments, remittances and technology transfer; increased Diaspora jobs mobility, jobs placements, and skills and technology transfers; and strengthened Diaspora engagement and partnerships including remittance-driven investments through real estate partnerships among others.
- (x) Approval of the expansion of the diplomatic footprint to leverage on trade and investment opportunities and position Kenya strategically especially in the emerging blocs like BRICS;
- (xi) Facilitate strengthening of collective legal and policy frameworks in the digital space;
- (xii) Consider and support a flexible tax regime within the Privileges and Immunities Act that incentivizes the hosting of more multilateral and financial hubs in Kenya so long as the benefits accrued to Kenya is much higher than the taxes foregone;
- (xiii) Facilitate the Ministry to acquire and set aside land for allocation to foreign missions accredited to Kenya for the development of residences and chanceries on the basis of reciprocity; meaning that Kenya will also similarly be allocated land to build its mission in the recipient country resulting in reduced development costs.
- (xiv) Consider and support the institutionalization of social benefit portability frameworks within regional and international agreements.
- (xv) Facilitate the strengthening of institutional and legal framework for successful issuance and investment in diaspora bonds.

## CHAPTER 8: MONITORING AND EVALUATION

### 8.1 The Importance of Measuring Diplomatic Outcomes

This policy recognizes the importance of measuring diplomatic outcomes and their impact. The Ministry will partner with academic institutions and think tanks to develop impact measurement tools to assess the outcomes of this Policy. Both mid-term and end-term reviews will be undertaken to assess progress in implementation and the realization of intended objectives.

A Results Framework will be developed to define specific indicators to measure progress of outcomes and targeted initiatives. The framework will provide an assessment of whether initiatives being undertaken are yielding the desired results. This will facilitate evidence-based decision making and promote learning and continuous improvement during implementation, thus enabling timely adjustments of strategies based on emerging challenges and opportunities. This progressive approach will ensure that the policy adapts to changing global dynamics while maintaining its central alignment with national priorities.

### 8.2 The National Monitoring and Evaluation Framework

Monitoring and Evaluation of this Policy will be guided by the National Monitoring and Evaluation Framework that is anchored on the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System (NIMES). The Ministry responsible for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will coordinate the monitoring and evaluation of the Policy to ensure the attainment of its objectives. The Government will also use existing tools, including the MDA Strategic Plans, Annual Performance Contracts, Annual Work Plans, and Annual President's Report to track the implementation and reporting of this policy. The same will be aligned to the Medium-Term Plan Framework. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will prepare Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers to set the agenda and priorities for implementation at the beginning of each year. Besides, the implementation will be monitored, evaluated, and reported periodically to assess the achievement of the objectives, determine the gaps and challenges facing its implementation, and the corrective actions needed to ensure delivery of the intended results.

The Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) framework integrates diaspora-specific indicators, such as remittance flows, participation in investment projects, and successful labour agreements. Regular assessments ensure alignment with the Kenya Diaspora Policy and foreign policy objectives.

Overall, the Monitoring and Evaluation will require the commitment of all the implementing institutions as provided for in the institutional framework. Moreover, the Policy will be reviewed as the need arises to incorporate emerging issues in both domestic and external operating environments.

Figure 20 : The Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting Framework for the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya



To be aligned to the Medium-Term Plan

Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

Figure 21 : Summary of the Roles of Various Institutions in Implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy

	Institution	Role
1.	The Presidency	The President is the chief diplomat and champions the implementation of this policy. The President carries out this role as contained in the Constitution, Article 132 (2e), 4(b) and 5
2.	The Cabinet	The Cabinet approves and coordinates the Whole of Government and Whole of Society Approach in the implementation of the policy
3.	National Security Council (NSC)	The Council will continue to shepherd Kenya's foreign policy
4.	Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs	The Ministry is responsible for the Management of Kenya's Foreign Policy as per as per its mandate in both the Constitution and Executive Order No. 2/2023. The Ministry is also responsible for the Projection, Promotion and Protection of Kenya's interest and image globally. The Ministry will disseminate and sensitize the contents and the vision of this Foreign Policy to the public.
5.	Foreign Service Academy	The Academy will strengthen the human resource development and capabilities of the foreign service and of other stakeholders for the successful implementation of the policy.
6.	Ministries, Departments and Agencies	MDAs will be engaged in the implementation of the policy, including in ensuring the incorporation of the focus areas into their policies, plans and programmes.
7.	Parliament	Parliament will legislate to give effect to this policy, enact laws that impact foreign policy, ratify international treaties and conventions.  They will provide oversight, including vetting of Ambassadors and High Commissioners. The relevant Parliamentary Committees shall be the nexus between MFDA and the Parliament.

8.	Judiciary	The Judiciary will play an important role in policy implementation including in the areas covering international jurisdiction and will position the Kenya Judicial Academy as Africa's hub for judicial dialogues
9.	County Governments	County governments will work closely with the MFDA to promote trade and investments, culture, tourism, sister city partnerships and in the resolution of cross border issues.
10.	Academia	The Academia will provide research-driven insights, facilitate informed dialogues, and contribute to the development of evidence-based strategies.
11.	Private Sector	As key players in trade, investment, and innovation, the Private Sector promotes Kenya's economic interests abroad through partnerships, market expansion, and showcasing of Kenya's products and services.
12.	Civil Society	Civil Society Organisations raise awareness and mobilize public opinion on foreign policy objectives. They align themselves with a common country position in foreign engagements within the framework of "Whole of society approach"
13.	Faith Based Organizations	Faith based institutions play an important role in policy implementation through inter-faith dialogues and in supporting government initiatives.
14.	Diaspora Community	Diaspora will leverage their networks in host countries to contribute towards national development.
15.	The Kenyan People	The number one client on behalf of who the Policy is made and advanced. They constitute a vital catalyst or actors in democratization, of diplomacy.
16.	The Media	The Media are the organ through which citizens are informed about global events which impact Kenya's Foreign policy.
17.	Development Partners/ Regional/ International Organizations	Kenya's bilateral and multilateral partners will provide necessary support in the implementation of the policy
18.	Women	Women will be involved in the promotion of equality and gender inclusion in international relations and diplomacy. They will participate in the implementation of the Women in

		Diplomacy Program which aims to mentor young female students for diplomatic careers and facilitating women to occupy high positions in Kenya's diplomatic missions and international organizations.
19	Youth	The youth will be actively involved in the implementation of this policy by facilitating their representation in international engagements and through continuous dialogue on topical issues.
20	Persons with Disability	Persons with Disability will be actively involved in the implementation of this policy by facilitating their representation in international engagements and through continuous dialogue on topical issues.
21	Labour Organizations	Labour movements will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to promote and protect workers' rights within the frameworks provided under ILO and international labour engagements

**ANNEXURE 5:**  
**SUBMISSIONS FROM STAKEHOLDERS**

3 March 2025

To: Mr. Samuel Njoroge  
Clerk of National Assembly,  
P. O. Box 41482-00100  
Nairobi

Dear Sir,

**RE: SUBMISSION OF MEMORANDUM ON SESSIONAL PAPER NUMBER 1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

I hereby submit my comments in my capacity as the Chief Executive International relations Society of Kenya (IRSK) and Regional Coordinator of the East African Tax and Governance Network (EATGN) as part of public participation in relation to the development of diplomatic policy on The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in The Global Landscape.

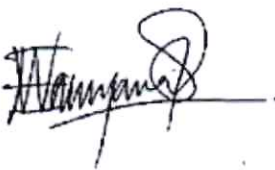
My submission seeks to highlight areas of improvement in relation to:

- a) Definition of Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs) as one of the newly emergent security threats.
- b) Clarification on the third Objective for Peace and Security Diplomacy.
- c) Proposal to consider the development of Walibora Global Centres for Kiswahili or Walibora Cultural Institutes for Kiswahili as part of its "Objectives of Cultural Diplomacy".
- d) Kenya Country Position on Western Sahara; plus
- e) Diplomatic Staffing and Representation

This is line with the Kenya National Assembly request for submission of memoranda in The Standard newspaper Tuesday 18 February 2025. Having read the publicly submitted policy on the parliamentary website as indicated in the notice please find my comments for your consideration attached to this correspondence.

Thank you for your consideration,

Yours sincerely,



Leonard Wanyama,

ID NO:24257878 | MOBILE NO: 0702629149

**MEMORANDUM | DATE: 3 March 2025**

**TO:** Mr. Samuel Njoroge (CBS), Clerk of the National Assembly

**CC:** Hon. Nelson Koech (MP), Chairperson Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations

**AUTHOR:** Leonard Wanyama, Chief Executive International relations Society of Kenya (IRSK) and Regional Coordinator of the East African Tax and Governance Network (EATGN)

**SUBJECT:** Sessional Paper Number 1 Of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of The Republic of Kenya

**CONTEXT:** On the matter of Kenyan Foreign Policy in line with the projection, promotion, and protection of the country's national interests plus enhanced global image. In acknowledgement of the fact, that *Sessional Paper Number 1 Of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of The Republic of Kenya* is meant to serve as The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in The Global Landscape:

SUBJECT	CITATION	RECOMMENDATION	JUSTIFICATION
Definition of Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs) as one of the newly emergent security threats.	On page 7 of Chapter 1 on the Context and Framing of Kenya's Foreign Policy, where the government identifies illicit financial flows and money laundering under subsection 1.3.1 on Policy Context and Rationale for the Foreign Policy Review as one of the newly emerging global security threats.	<p>Expand the definition of IFFs to broadly capture its negative effects beyond money laundering as follows "proceeds of crime, money laundering plus aggressive tax avoidance" as one of the newly emergent security threats.</p> <p>Including this broader definition so that IFFs are not limited to illegal acts but also actions that exploit legal loopholes to the point of economic exploitation that are likely to harm the country especially now within Kenya's context of high debt with punitive consequences to other service delivery priorities.</p>	<p>This is considering recent revelations in a study titled <i>Missing Millions: A cross-examination of British American Tobacco Kenya's tax bill</i> published in February 2025 by The Investigative Desk, The Tobacco Control Research Group of the University of Bath, and Tax Justice Network Africa (IJNA).</p> <p>The study "shows a discrepancy of up to 9.6 billion KES (93 million USD) in the 2017 and 2018 revenue statements of British American Tobacco Kenya (BATK). The company did not provide a plausible</p>

			<p>explanation, which could indicate tax avoidance or evasion of up to USD 28 million in profit tax. The Investigative Desk analysed six years of annual reports by BATK and compared this to production data the company supplied to the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), internal government documents, and data on cigarette consumption and prices”.</p>
<p>Clarification on the third Objective for Peace and Security Diplomacy</p>	<p>On page 38 in the policy, Chapter 4 on Kenya’s Foreign Policy Focus Areas, Section 4.2 on Peace and Security Diplomacy, subsection 4.2.1. on the Imperatives of Peace and Security for Kenya under which the third objective states that Kenya seeks to “<u>Enhance regional capacity for conflict, mediation, and negotiations</u>”</p>	<p>Amend the likely typographical error by removing the comma to read Kenya seeks to “<u>Enhance regional capacity for conflict mediation and negotiations</u>”</p>	<p>Considering the recent international relations developments in line with the government’s participation in events concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Sudan, this may serve to be a very dangerous position that essentially states that the country will develop capacity to destabilize the region contrary to its overall policy aims for peace in its sphere of interest.</p>
<p>Proposal to consider the development of Walibora Global Centres for Kiswahili or Walibora Cultural Institutes for Kiswahili as part of its</p>	<p>Chapter 4 Section 4.9 speaks on Socio-Cultural Diplomacy Subsection 4.9.1 specifically describing Cultural Diplomacy.</p>	<p>Propose the development of Walibora Global Centres for Kiswahili or Walibora Cultural Institutes for Kiswahili within the expanding network of embassies to help establish cultural soft power abroad through educational programs, translation of popular texts into Kiswahili, and national branding of the country.</p>	<p>Professor Walibora was a prolific writer- from 1996, when <i>Siku Njema</i> was published, and he had more than 40 books to his name in varied genres - novels, short stories, plays and poetry. His most prominent book was his first novel <i>Siku Njema</i> which was later translated to English</p>

<p>“Objectives of Cultural Diplomacy”</p>			<p>as A Good Day. It was used as a set book in high schools around the country for many years. Many Kenyans who read it always have spoken about how the novel, a tale of triumph over adversity, helped them love Swahili literature.</p> <p>This will enable the government to focus its efforts beyond translation of MFDA documents and public awareness programming as cited in the Chapter 5 recommendations detailing Emerging Issues and Challenges in Kenya’s Foreign Policy Agenda in page 67 concerning subsection 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 proposing <i>Foreign Policy Mashinani</i> plus <i>Diaspora Policy Mashinani</i> initiatives respectively under Section 5.3 on Strategic Communication and Public Awareness of the policy</p>
<p>Kenya Country Positions on Western Sahara</p>	<p>In Chapter 5 in relation to Emerging Issues and Challenges In Kenya’s Foreign Policy Agenda, Section 5.4 providing Clarity of Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues on page 68 where Kenya aligns itself to the</p>	<p>Include the support for AU position on Western Sahara to apply in similar fashion among the list of Kenya Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues on page 68.</p>	<p>To avoid any further confusion about the Kenyan position on Western Sahara as was the case in the early days of the administration, the government should explicitly state in the policy that it stands with the AU position to fully support the</p>

	African Union's (AU) position on West Asia, plus the Israel-Palestine crisis. In the case of Israel this is the espousal of achieving a two-state solution through negotiations founded on relevant UN resolutions, and supporting homegrown solutions based on socio-cultural tolerance in the region's conflict.		UN peace process through a troika of heads of state, together with the AU Commission (AUC) chairperson.
Diplomatic Staffing and Representation	In Chapter 7 on Strategic Risk Management, Recommendations and Petitions, Section 7.3 on Recommendations and Petitions the proposal Number 8(viii) on page 86 focuses on diplomatic representation in relation to the amendments of the Foreign Service Act to progressively change the staffing composition in relation to High Commissioners, Ambassadors, plus Diplomatic and Consular representatives by drawing from career diplomats and other appointees at a proposed ratio of 70:30.	Amend this recommendation to ensure that the changes to the Foreign Service Act plus its attendant regulations guarantee the <u>immediate</u> realization of the objective to <u>fully</u> enhance <u>all</u> of Kenya's diplomatic representation and <u>staffing at the proposed ratio of the proposed ratio of 70:30.</u>	This will not only open scrutiny for diplomatic appointments but also the overall ministerial recruitment process for all diplomatic officers that has increasingly become opaque contrary to constitutional requirements, legal demands, plus human resource skill sets, competence development, or leadership placement needs as described by the strategic plans of both the State Department for Foreign Affairs and the State Department for Diaspora Affairs.

Anastasia Mwangi

[anawmwangi@gmail.com](mailto:anawmwangi@gmail.com)

Mr S Njoroge, CBS

Clerk of the National Assembly

P.O Box 41882-00100

Nairobi

4 March 2025

Dear Sir,

**Re: Memoranda submission on Sessional Paper No 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya**

I am making a submission as an interested party residing in England. In addition to my residency, I serve as the Policy and Strategy Lead for South-East and Kent Kenyans (SEKK), a community organisation dedicated to uniting and supporting the Kenyan Diaspora by facilitating collective action to address the challenges we face as a community. My professional experience includes extensive work within the public sector, specifically in the National Health Service (NHS) and local government, providing me with a unique perspective on public sector service planning, transformation, delivery and evaluation.

I am pleased to submit this memorandum in response to the Kenyan Parliament's invitation for submissions and welcome the chance to engage in this consultation.

I recognise and applaud the Government's commitment to fostering a stronger partnership with the Kenyan diaspora, acknowledging their pivotal role in driving national progress. To further amplify the Sessional Paper's effectiveness, I advocate for the recommendations, as attached.

Thank you for your consideration

Yours sincerely

*Anastasia Mwangi*

Anastasia Mwangi

## Sessional Paper No 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya

Section	Policy statement	Comment/Recommendation	Justification
4.8.1 Rights, welfare and interests of the Kenyan Diaspora	The diaspora will be mainstreamed into the national development and democratic processes	Currently, diaspora engagement is often handled as an add-on to existing embassy duties. This leads to inconsistent, duplicated and often inadequate support.	A dedicated unit would provide focused attention to diaspora needs, including consular services, investment opportunities, cultural promotion and addressing grievances. This would ensure proactive and responsive engagement.
		The engagement with the embassy becomes about "who is who" or very "personality" driven, which means that the information flows both ways are not effective as well as a lack of focus.	This would democratise engagement, moving it away from reliance on personality-driven to diaspora agenda driven engagement.  As clear communication channels and feedback mechanisms would be place, this will strengthen engagement and more people in the Diaspora would be more inclined to engage.
		Consider establishing a Dedicated Diaspora Engagement Unit within Kenyan Embassies/Consulates with very specific themes aimed at <b>improving Kenya's overarching foreign policy.</b>	
		Due to geographical location and travel affordability, some Kenyans in the diaspora face significant barriers to exercising their voting rights.	Facilitating diaspora voting would enhance their political participation and ensure their voices are heard in national decision-making.
		Expansion of voter registration and polling locations in key diaspora hubs would be very much welcome	
4.8.3 Partnerships and engagement with the Kenyan Diaspora	Kenya will foster open and transparent communication to ensure that every Kenya abroad feels connected and valued.	Information dissemination and communication between the Kenyan government and the diaspora are often fragmented and inefficient.	A user-friendly digital platform would serve as a one-stop shop for diaspora members, providing access to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Information on consular services, visa applications and legal assistance.</li> <li>Investment and business opportunities in Kenya.</li> <li>Cultural events and initiatives.</li> <li>A forum for feedback and dialogue with government officials.</li> </ul> For example, the current system for passport renewal is very inefficient. By fully digitising this service, a lot of the duplication, cost and waste can be mitigated.  Adopting responsive design for mobile devices, implementing clear and consistent navigation, providing alternative text for images, offering keyboard navigation options and ensuring regular content updates will greatly <b>empower citizen's participation</b> . These changes will significantly improve the user experience for all citizens, including those with disabilities and promote greater digital inclusion.
		Consider creating a Centralised Digital Platform for Diaspora Engagement.  Consider integrating with existing government databases for streamlined service delivery. With time this will have the benefit of knowing diaspora sentiments as well as population characteristics.  Consider having official social media handles to pass engagement announcements, remind and educate diaspora population of the importance of engagement and eventually show case impact stories.  Consider modernising the MFA website to address content and inaccessibility for users with disabilities.	
	A Diaspora Summit, comprising of elected diaspora council members will be formed to foster unity. Cooperation, resolve conflicts and strengthen Kenya Identity abroad.	Diaspora perspectives are often missing from policy-making processes that affect them.  Therefore, establishing a Diaspora a framework to formally engage with the various community groups and professionals is greatly welcomed.  Additionally, would recommend collecting and analysing diaspora sentiments as well as population characteristics.	A formalised advisory council would create a structured and transparent platform for meaningful engagement between diaspora community and the Kenyan government. This formal channel will facilitate direct input into policy development, ensuring diaspora perspectives are integrated into national strategies.  Clear terms of engagement and defined membership protocols will guarantee the council's effectiveness and legitimacy.  This will enhance collaborative needs assessment and prioritisation, ensuring that the unique needs of diaspora communities and their diverse localities are addressed.



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**KENYA NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS**

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**ADVISORY ON THE SESSIONAL PAPER NO.1 OF 2025 ON THE  
FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

**PRESENTED TO**

**THE CLERK,  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

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**SUBMISSION DATE: Tuesday March 4, 2025**

Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR)  
CVS Plaza 1st Floor, Kasuku Lane, Off Lenana Road,  
P.O. Box: 74359-00200 Nairobi, Kenya  
Landline: +254-020-3969000  
Mobile: 0733 78 00 00 /0726 610 159  
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Complaints: [complaint@knchr.org](mailto:complaint@knchr.org)  
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Twitter: @hakiKNCHR

## A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) is an independent National Human Rights Institution (NHRI) established under Article 59 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 and operationalized under the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Act, 2011.<sup>1</sup> It is the successor to the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights established in 2003 under the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Act 2002.<sup>2</sup> KNCHR has a broad mandate to promote a culture of respect for human rights in Kenya. The operations of the National Human Rights Commission are guided by the United Nations Paris Principles on the establishment and functioning of Independent National Human Rights Institutions commonly referred to as the *Paris Principles*.
2. The National Commission under Article 249 of the Constitution has a mandate to secure observance of all State organs of democratic values and principles and to promote constitutionalism. Article 10 of the Constitution requires all State organs to ensure they uphold constitutionalism and the rule of law whenever they make public policy decisions or interpret the Constitution. One of the strategies pursued by the Commission to secure observance of all State organs of democratic values and principles is through the issuance of advisories.
3. The Commission submits this advisory pursuant to its constitutional mandate. The advisory is divided into three parts: **Part A:** The Introductory part; **Part B:** General Comments; and **Part C:** Specific Recommendations (on human rights related concerns in line with the Foreign Policy's Focus Areas).

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<sup>1</sup> Act No 14 of 2011 available at <http://www.kenyalaw.org/lex//actview.xhtml?actid=No.%2014%20of%202011>

<sup>2</sup> Act No 9 of 2002 (repealed). The History of the institution however dates further back in 1996 when the then His Excellency President Moi set up a Standing Committee on Human Rights (SCHR) vide a gazette notice of June 1996.

## **B. GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE SESSIONAL PAPER**

- 4. The Commission welcomes the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the *Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya*, that seeks to enhance the country's standing as a regional leader and an effective advocate of Africa's interests at the global stage. The Commission considers this Policy as timely given the evolving regional and global dynamics in peace and security, trade and commerce, environment and climate change among others.**
- 5. The Commission concurs with the eight (8) Focus Areas of the Policy, and notes that they all have an impact on the enjoyment, promotion and protection of human rights as provided for by the Constitution of Kenya, and other international legal instruments that Kenya has ratified. The Commission acknowledges that the Foreign Policy includes provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms.**
- 6. The Commission calls for the expedited adoption of the Policy by Parliament and its implementation by the diverse actors led by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs. The Commission also notes the challenges enumerated and requests the relevant actors including Parliament and the National Treasury to address them so that the Policy's aspirations are fully realized.**

### C. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
1.	Peace and Security Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Porous borders prone to attacks from foreign elements leading to deaths, kidnappings and injuries e.g. along Ethiopia and Somalia borders</li> <li>• Border conflicts with neighboring countries threaten the lives and livelihoods of Kenyans living in the disputed areas e.g. Migingo Island on Lake Victoria also claimed by Uganda and the maritime dispute with Somalia in the Indian Ocean.</li> <li>• Perennial harassment of Kenyan fisher folk on Lake Victoria by Ugandan authorities leading to deaths, kidnappings, destruction of livelihoods and unfair trials.</li> <li>• Asymmetrical defense pacts with other countries. For example, the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) has inflicted deaths, injuries, sexual violence on the host communities with little or no accountability. In such Defense Agreements, include clauses for accountability in the host country and/or sending country.</li> <li>• Uncertainty on funding of peacekeeping missions-the Kenya-led Haiti Multinational Security Support (MSS) Mission faces funding uncertainties, risking the possibility of diverting funds meant for development towards funding it.</li> <li>• Peripheral role of women in peace and security-more women should hold leadership positions in the country's security architecture including the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) and the National Police Service (NPS).</li> <li>• Violation of international conventions including the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees by forcibly returning refugees and asylum seekers back to their home countries where they face further persecution thereby violating the principle of <i>non-refoulement</i></li> </ul>
2.	Economic and Commercial Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Partnership Agreements and Human Rights: Foreign entities operating in Kenya, including through their subsidiaries, should observe all the provisions of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights. Some entities have been accused of labour rights violations including poor remuneration, unfavourable working conditions, unfair dismissals, environmental harm, smuggling of Kenya's natural resources including minerals, timber and so</li> </ul>

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
		<p>on.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Labor Migration: Full Implementation of the Global Labor Market Strategy. Kenyans seeking decent jobs abroad should be subjected to fair working conditions and remuneration. Bilateral Labor Agreements should clearly state the accountability mechanisms in cases of breach of contract and human rights obligations. Equally, Kenyan Missions abroad to be more responsive to distress calls by Kenyans stranded in harsh conditions. Kenyan labour migrants should equally be required to register with Kenyan Missions abroad, and periodically update their records.</li> <li>• Proactive resolution of disputes with neighbouring countries: some disputes could amicably be resolved to safeguard livelihoods of Kenyans. For instance, burning of 6,400 Kenyan live chicks by Tanzania in November 2017 on allegations of being illegal imports; detention and auctioning of livestock belonging to Kenyans by Tanzania on account of trespassing (2020); and Uganda's detention of Kenyan herders and livestock (2012). This threatens the livelihoods of Kenyans.</li> <li>• Protection of Kenyan businesses from cheap imports, provision of subsidies for production, Supporting MSMEs through funding and identification and connection to new markets abroad for produce including avocados, and macadamia nuts.</li> <li>• Expedite ratification of international conventions that advance Labor rights including: The 189<sup>th</sup> ILO Convention on Domestic Workers, formally the Convention concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers and the 190<sup>th</sup> ILO Convention on Violence and Harassment Convention, formally the Convention concerning the Elimination of Violence and Harassment in the World of Work</li> <li>• Tourism Diplomacy- strict enforcement of laws protecting children from sexual exploitation; sharing of benefits accruing from Kenya's wildlife with local communities; prompt compensation to victims and survivors of wildlife attacks; and responsible business conduct by the hospitality industry. Additionally, 'The Travel</li> </ul>

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
		<p>Advisories Problem' by the US and her Western Allies on account of security threats should be addressed earlier through intelligence sharing and round-the-clock security.</p>
3.	Oceans and Blue Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Effectively combat Illegal, Unlicensed and Unregulated fishing in Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean that threatens the livelihoods of Kenyan fisher folk.</li> <li>• Equitable sharing of resources: Residents of Coast Region have complained of marginalization, especially in access to opportunities related to the Port of Mombasa. They have called for sharing of revenue from the port's operations with the County Government of Mombasa; and increased training for seafaring jobs for coastal youths.</li> <li>• Transport and safety on water bodies including ferries and harbors- many Kenyans have lost their lives crossing the Likoni Channel in Mombasa, and this needs a permanent solution through public-private partnership with external actors. There are safety concerns on water transport with numerous boats capsizing on Lake Victoria and Lake Turkana, therefore requiring rescue preparedness. Piracy on the Indian Ocean needs a multinational approach.</li> <li>• Pollution of water bodies with industrial effluence and plastics. Also, there is need for the productive exploitation of the water hyacinth on Lake Victoria that hampers fishing and transport.</li> <li>• Impacts of Climate Change: Rising water body levels require urgent preparedness against flooding to avoid displacement. Other rivers, streams and lakes including Lakes Ol Bolosat, Kenyatta and Kanyaboli are drying up, hence the need for restoration through tree planting as envisioned in President Ruto's ambitious plan to plant and grow 15 billion trees by 2032.</li> </ul>
4.	Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ratification and domestication of international and regional instruments that advance human rights, including the Convention on Enforced Disappearances.</li> </ul>

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Respect for and honoring the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and Constitutive Acts of the African Union and the East African Community.</li> </ul>
5.	Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implementation of the numerous Multilateral Environment Agreements (MEAs) including the Paris Agreement and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).</li> <li>Full implementation of the provisions of the Environmental Management and Coordination Act (EMCA) by the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) and relevant stakeholders.</li> <li>Funding of climate-smart agriculture and innovations, including adaptation and mitigation, carbon trading, renewable energy, early warning and effective response to climate change-induced floods and droughts.</li> <li>Rights of Indigenous Peoples: They have been disproportionately affected by climate change and environmental conservation, including evictions and displacement. Kenya urgently needs to ratify the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).</li> </ul>
6.	Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cybersecurity: Unauthorized access to Government websites by hackers has affected service delivery, requiring appropriate measures to be put in place.</li> <li>Artificial Intelligence: Investing in and building the capacity of Kenyans on the responsible use of modern technologies, including Artificial Intelligence (AI)</li> <li>Requiring tech giants to conform with Kenya's laws and regulations in their operations. This will curb labor rights violations (as was with the case of Kenyan former employees of Facebook's parent company Meta), online hate, child sexual abuse and disinformation.</li> <li>Increased investment in the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) field by enhanced resourcing for Technical Training Institutes (TTIs) and Vocational Training Centers (VTCs), according students exchange programs and scholarships. Women and girls should be highly encouraged to venture into</li> </ul>

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
		<p>the STEM field.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishing and resourcing technology incubation hubs, including the Konza Technopolis and the Government's ambitious project to establish tech hubs in all the wards across the country.</li> <li>• Expedited enactment of legislation that nurtures Science, Technology and Innovation, including the Technopolis Bill, 2024 currently before Parliament.</li> </ul>
7.	Diaspora Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Permanency of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs: Subsequent governments should ensure that this crucial Department expected to serve over 4 million Kenyans abroad is not merged or done away with. It should be resourced adequately to perform its mandate.</li> <li>• Progressive guarantee of the right to vote in Presidential Elections by Kenyans in the Diaspora, starting with countries hosting the largest numbers of Kenyans.</li> <li>• Lobbying for adequate funding to Kenyan Missions abroad by the National Assembly. This would ensure provision of consular services and support to Kenyans in distress.</li> <li>• Meaningful engagement with Kenyans in the diaspora, including the Kenya Diaspora Alliance.</li> <li>• Implementation of the Kenya Diaspora Policy, and operationalization of the Diaspora Placement Agency</li> <li>• Effective regulation of labour migration.</li> </ul>
8.	Socio-cultural Diplomacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address the concerns raised by Kenyan sportsmen and women: poor facilitation while abroad (Rio Olympics in 2016 case in point), and governance issues in sports federations including football, athletics, volleyball. This has made some sports elite to lose morale, drop Kenyan citizenship altogether and represent other countries against their former compatriots among other negative consequences.</li> <li>• Enforce intellectual property rights law, including patents, copyrights and trademarks on unique Kenyan cultural items like the Maasai <i>shuka</i>.</li> <li>• Regarding Global Health Diplomacy- in the face of receding foreign aid, Kenya should wean itself off over-</li> </ul>

No.	Focus Area	Human-rights related Concerns to be Addressed
		<p>reliance on foreign aid to support health programs, and instead abide by the 2001 Abuja Declaration that at least 15% of the total national budget should be allocated to the health sector. This should be cascaded to counties as well.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Consider granting citizenship to African diaspora seeking to return to their 'motherland'. For example, in 2024, Mubarak Abdul Muqsit Akram, an African American and US citizen, petitioned the High Court in Mombasa for Kenyan citizenship. This shall be in line with the Abuja Proclamation, a declaration from the Pan African Conference on reparations for African Enslavement, Colonization, and Neo-Colonization in 1993, sponsored by the African Union, that calls upon all African states to grant entrance and residence rights to persons of African descent. Ghana declared 2019 the 'Year of Return' and hundreds of African Americans have been granted citizenship. Kenya should emulate this move.</li> </ul>

Yours Sincerely,



**Ruth Getobai,**  
Regional Coordinator  
 Central Regional Office-Nyahururu



FOOD  
SECURITY  
CONSORTIUM



One Voice  
Consortium  
GLOBAL DIASPORA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

**DEVELOPING SESSIONAL PAPER NO.1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF KENYA  
FOOD SECURITY CONSORTIUM(FSC)/ONE VOICE CONSORTIUM(OVC)  
SUBMISSION TO  
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN & DIASPORA AFFAIRS  
3<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 2025**

**Introduction**

This submission is a *views collective submission* from the Kenyan Diaspora affiliates of *Food Security Consortium(FSC) & One Voice Consortium(OVC)*. We appreciate our being involved in such an important exercise by the Ministry of Foreign & Diaspora Affairs involving cross-cutting issues defining the relationship between the Government/Ministry and the so many Kenyans in the diaspora. The contributors would like to state that despite the short notice to prepare they were still able to present worthy views, suggestions and submissions. In future, a consideration for adequate time to gather and research should be provided as there are many organizations in the Diaspora whose input would be valuable.

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DATE: 3<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 2025

## MINISTRY AGENDA

The State Department requests all missions to inform the Diaspora and Diaspora Association, that the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs is in the process of developing Sessional Paper No.1 of 2025 on the foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya, with the following *strategic objectives*: -

1. Protect Kenyas' sovereignty and territorial integrity
2. Promote regional and global peace and security
3. Advance the Country's development agenda and economic prosperity
4. Position Kenya as a leader in environment and climate action
5. Protect, promote and protected countrys' image and prestige globally
6. Promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation
7. Promote international cooperation multilateralism and active participation in global governance
8. Enhance the voices of Kenyans in the diaspora and promote and protect their interests and welfare abroad.

## THE SUBMISSION

KEY OBJECTIVE	BRIEF OVERVIEW	KEY OUTCOME
<b>Agenda 1</b> Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity	<p><b>1. Advocacy:</b></p> <p>The Kenyan diaspora in the US can advocate for Kenya's interests and protect its sovereignty by engaging with US policymakers, lawmakers, and influencers. Many Kenyans in the US are dual citizens, and therefore have the privileged position of engaging in strong advocacy for any relevant and meaningful government agenda.</p> <p><b>2. Economic Support:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can continue to support Kenya's economy through structured bonds, remittances, investments, and trade. Many in the diaspora belong to cooperatives (chamas) both in the US and at home. They can use their structured organizations to help reduce Kenya's dependence</p>	<p><b>1. Enhanced Global Recognition and Respect</b></p> <p><b>International Community Support:</b> The international community, including the US government, may be more likely to support Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity.</p> <p><b>Increased Global Influence:</b> Kenya's global influence and reputation may increase, enabling the country to play a more significant role in regional and international affairs.</p>

	<p>on foreign aid and promote economic development.</p> <p><b>3. Cultural Exchange:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can promote cultural exchange between Kenya and the US by organizing cultural events, exhibitions, and festivals. This can help to foster greater understanding and cooperation between the two nations.</p> <p><b>4, Networking:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can leverage their professional and social networks to promote Kenya's interests and protect its sovereignty. This can include connecting Kenyan businesses with US investors, promoting Kenyan tourism, and facilitating partnerships between Kenyan and US universities.</p> <p><b>1. Policy Engagement:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can engage with US policymakers and lawmakers to shape policies that support Kenya's interests and protect its sovereignty. This can include advocating for policies that promote trade, investment, and development in Kenya.</p> <p><b>2. Community Outreach:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can educate and mobilize the Kenyan community in the US to support Kenya's interests and protect its sovereignty. This can include organizing community events, rallies, and campaigns to promote Kenya's interests.</p> <p><b>3. Media Engagement:</b></p> <p>The diaspora can engage with US media outlets to promote Kenya's interests and protect its</p>	<p><b>2. Strengthened US-Kenya Relations</b></p> <p><b>Improved Diplomatic Ties:</b> The US-Kenya diplomatic relationship may strengthen, leading to increased cooperation on trade, security, and development.</p> <p><b>Enhanced Economic Partnerships:</b> The US and Kenya may explore new economic partnerships, investments, and trade agreements, benefiting both nations.</p> <p><b>3. Protection of Kenyan Interests</b></p> <p><b>Territorial Integrity:</b> Kenya's territorial integrity may be better protected, with the international community recognizing and respecting its borders.</p> <p><b>Natural Resource Protection:</b> Kenya's natural resources, such as oil, gas, and minerals, may be better protected from exploitation by foreign interests.</p> <p><b>4. Empowerment of the Kenyan Diaspora</b></p> <p><b>Increased Civic Engagement:</b> The Kenyan diaspora in the US may become more civically engaged, participating in advocacy efforts and voting in</p>
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	<p>sovereignty. This can include writing op-eds, participating in media interviews, and using social media to promote Kenya's interests.</p>	<p>Kenyan elections.  <b>Stronger Connections with Kenya:</b>  The diaspora may strengthen their connections with Kenya, investing in businesses, real estate, and community development projects.</p>
<p><b>Agenda 2</b>  Promote regional and global peace and security</p>	<p><b>1. Advocacy and Lobbying</b></p> <p><b>Engage with US policymakers:</b>  Meet with US lawmakers, congressional staff, and State Department officials to advocate for Kenya's interests in regional and global peace and security.</p> <p><b>Support Kenya-friendly legislation:</b>  Advocate for legislation that supports Kenya's peace and security efforts, such as counter-terrorism initiatives or humanitarian aid.</p> <p><b>Participate in think tank events:</b>  Engage with think tanks and research institutions focused on African security issues to promote Kenya's perspectives.</p> <p><b>2. Public Diplomacy</b></p> <p><b>Organize cultural events:</b>  Host cultural events, such as film festivals, concerts, or art exhibitions, to promote Kenya's rich cultural heritage and showcase its contributions to regional peace and security.</p> <p><b>Media outreach:</b>  Engage with US media outlets to promote Kenya's peace and security efforts, highlighting success stories and challenges.</p>	<p><b>1. Enhanced Global Peace and Security</b></p> <p><b>Conflict Prevention:</b> Advocacy efforts may help prevent conflicts in regions such as the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes, and other areas of concern.</p> <p><b>Peacebuilding Initiatives:</b>  The diaspora may support peacebuilding initiatives, promoting dialogue, reconciliation, and post-conflict reconstruction.</p> <p><b>2. Strengthened US-Kenya Relations</b></p> <p><b>Security Cooperation:</b> The US and Kenya may strengthen their security cooperation, including counter-terrorism efforts, maritime security, and peacekeeping operations.</p> <p><b>Diplomatic Engagement:</b> The diaspora's advocacy efforts may lead to increased diplomatic engagement between the US and Kenya, fostering greater</p>

	<p><b>Social media campaigns:</b> Utilize social media platforms to promote Kenya's interests in peace and security, using hashtags and tagging relevant influencers.</p> <p><b>3. Community Engagement</b></p> <p><b>Educate the diaspora community:</b> Organize community events, workshops, and seminars to educate the Kenya diaspora community in the US about Kenya's peace and security efforts.</p> <p><b>Mobilize community support:</b> Mobilize the diaspora community to support Kenya's peace and security initiatives, such as fundraising for humanitarian aid or advocating for policy changes.</p> <p><b>Collaborate with other diaspora groups:</b> Partner with other African diaspora groups in the US to promote regional peace and security efforts.</p> <p><b>4. Economic Diplomacy – Use of Honorary Counsels in key States and Cities</b></p> <p><b>Promote trade and investment:</b> Encourage US businesses to invest in Kenya's peace and security-related sectors, such as defense, security technology, or humanitarian aid.</p> <p><b>Support Kenya's economic development:</b> Advocate for US economic support to Kenya, highlighting the country's strategic importance in regional peace and security.</p> <p><b>Facilitate partnerships:</b> Connect Kenyan businesses with US companies, research institutions, or NGOs working on peace</p>	<p>understanding and cooperation.</p> <p><b>3. Regional Stability and Cooperation</b></p> <p><b>East African Community (EAC) Strengthening:</b> The diaspora's efforts may contribute to strengthening the EAC, promoting regional integration, trade, and economic development.</p> <p><b>African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) Engagement:</b> Kenya's engagement with the AU and UN may increase, promoting African solutions to African problems and global peace and security.</p> <p><b>5. Humanitarian Assistance and Development</b></p> <p><b>Humanitarian Aid:</b> The diaspora's advocacy efforts may lead to increased humanitarian aid for regions affected by conflict, drought, or other crises.</p> <p><b>Sustainable Development:</b> The diaspora may promote sustainable development initiatives, supporting economic growth, education, healthcare, and environmental conservation.</p>
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	<p>and security issues.</p> <p><b>5. Academic and Research Collaborations</b></p> <p><b>Partner with US universities:</b> Collaborate with US universities, research institutions, or think tanks to promote joint research on peace and security issues affecting Kenya and the region.</p> <p><b>Support academic exchanges:</b> Facilitate academic exchanges between Kenyan and US universities, promoting the exchange of ideas and expertise on peace and security issues.</p> <p><b>Organize conferences and workshops:</b> Host conferences, workshops, or seminars on peace and security issues, bringing together experts from Kenya, the US, and other countries.</p>	
<p><b>Agenda 3</b> Advance the country's development agenda and economic prosperity.</p>	<p>Year in year out we have had multilateral development partner's issues warning about the fraying outlook of Kenya's Economy. Their prescription of curing Kenyan economy has been the same suggestions of empowering disparate segments of our society to increase their economic potential (see 1 below).</p> <p>Food Security Consortium, Inc (FSC) is a Kenyan Diaspora initiative aimed at addressing cyclical and multi-generational economic malaise that has faced Kenya for a long time by mobilizing Financial and Technical Resources to develop various Food Security Value Chains.</p> <p>FSC envisages that for Kenya to advance development agenda and Economic Prosperity, the populace as a whole must be coopted in to a process of maximum utilization of the land, and thus ensure food security and economic stability, which we also view as a matter of national security. FSC initiative will endeavors to empower ALL segments of Kenyan society to optimize the potential of every acre of land under their control. The Food Security value chains, in</p>	<p>FSC initiative will endeavors to empower ALL segments of Kenyan society to optimize the potential of every acre of land under their control. The Food Security value chains, in FSC view, and the attendant infrastructures can and should be able to absorb all deployable labor in the country at all skill levels. In addition, it actualizes Article 43 (1) of the Constitution that states-</p> <p><b>Every person has the right—</b></p> <p>(a) to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation;</p> <p>(b) to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality;</p> <p>(c) to clean and safe water in</p>

	<p>FSC view, and the attendant infrastructures can and should be able to absorb all deployable labor in the country at all skill levels. In addition, it actualizes Article 43 (1) of the Constitution that states-</p> <p><b>Every person has the right—</b></p> <p>(a) to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation;</p> <p>(b) to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality;</p> <p>(c) to clean and safe water in adequate quantities;</p> <p>Examples of Food Value Chains and Infrastructures</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) For the nation to be food secure- water deficit MUST be addressed. FSC proposes the nation embark on efforts that ensures every Kenyan homestead is adequately supplied with water to address matters of sanitation and at the very least empower individuals to run kitchen garden at every homestead. That is the bare minimum in our proposal.</li> <li>2) The water harvesting and distribution chain encapsulates a huge engineering value chain to produce plumbing accessories, sanitation drainages, and large civil works to construct water reservoirs, boreholes or desalination plants.</li> <li>3) Agro-chemical, mechanical and after harvest food storage value chains,</li> <li>4) Farm to Market Transportation Infrastructures.</li> <li>5) Spurs innovations in agriculture through research and development by enlisting Kenya's institutions of higher learning- similar to USDA 1890 program.</li> </ol>	<p>adequate quantities;</p> <p>Examples of Food Value Chains and Infrastructures</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6) For the nation to be food secure- water deficit MUST be addressed. FSC proposes the nation embark on efforts that ensures every Kenyan homestead is adequately supplied with water to address matters of sanitation and at the very least empower individuals to run kitchen garden at every homestead. That is the bare minimum in our proposal.</li> <li>7) The water harvesting and distribution chain encapsulates a huge engineering value chain to produce plumbing accessories, sanitation drainages, and large civil works to construct water reservoirs, boreholes or desalination plants.</li> <li>8) Agro-chemical, mechanical and after harvest food storage value chains,</li> <li>9) Farm to Market Transportation Infrastructures.</li> <li>10) Spurs innovations in</li> </ol>
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		<p>agriculture through research and development by enlisting Kenya's institutions of higher learning- similar to USDA 1890 program.</p>
<p><b>Agenda 4</b> Position Kenya as a leader in environment and climate action</p>	<p>Climate Change and human use of land exacts enormous changes on our environment. Kenya is not exempt from these changes especially global warming which has resulted in an 8% to 10% southward movement of the Sahara Desert towards Northern and Northeastern Kenya. This is a constant natural phenomenon which Kenya has to mitigate against to ensure both Food Security and a healthy environment for all in line with Article 42 (1) which states that; - Every person has the right to a clean and healthy environment, which includes the right—</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(a) to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations through legislative and other measures, particularly those contemplated in Article 69; and</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(b) to have obligations relating to the environment fulfilled under Article 70.</p> <p>Kenya has to work hard to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, especially from used vehicles, and increase green Leaf Area (Leaf Area Index- LAI or vegetation ground cover) of our country. The benefits of higher LAI are many, including: -</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Carbon sinks area- increase in vegetation surface area to absorb Carbon Dioxide (a greenhouse gas),</li> <li>2) Lowering surface temperature, thus reducing evapotranspiration (loss of moisture).</li> </ol>	<p>Kenya has to work hard to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, especially from used vehicles, and increase green Leaf Area (Leaf Area Index- LAI or vegetation ground cover) of our country. The benefits of higher LAI are many, including: -</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5) Carbon sinks area- increase in vegetation surface area to absorb Carbon Dioxide (a greenhouse gas),</li> <li>6) Lowering surface temperature, thus reducing evapo-transpiration (loss of moisture).</li> <li>7) Reducing surface runoff (soil erosion).</li> <li>8) Increasing water percolation and hence increasing ground water recharge.</li> </ol> <p>Environmental conservation is good for Food Security, Healthy Nation and Mitigates adverse effects of Climate Change.</p>

	<p>3) Reducing surface runoff (soil erosion).  4) Increasing water percolation and hence increasing ground water recharge.</p> <p>Environmental conservation is good for Food Security, Healthy Nation and Mitigates adverse effects of Climate Change.</p>	
<p><b>Agenda 5</b>  Protect, promote and protected countrys' image and prestige globally</p>	<p><b>1.Consular Services</b>  - Provide additional consular services to cover different regions in the USA to reduce backlog and delayed responses.  - Expand online services to allow for faster access to correct pertinent information and update it often.  -Develop a stronger relationship with the US Embassy in Nairobi to ease some of the requirements for visa entry &amp; aggressively negotiate for ESTA status for Kenya visitors to US for Business &amp; short visits.</p> <p><b>2. Cultural promotion</b>  -Promotion of all aspects of Kenyan culture in the diaspora including Kiswahili and by establishing cultural centers at embassies and consulates in partnership with diaspora organizations.  - Encourage Trade shows with sister cities in the USA. Partnering at the local level with state officials, universities, and cultural centers.  - Invest in digital sites that will showcase Kenyan culture and promote engaged through social media.</p> <p><b>3. Social welfare &amp; promoting of Talented Sportsmen,</b>  -Establish a social welfare system for Kenyans living in the diaspora, by exploring and implementing the portability of social protection policies  - Reconnecting with the social aspects of</p>	<p>1. Improved relations with the diaspora and faster resolution to issues. Technology should be harnessed and may provide additional jobs to skilled workers.</p> <p>2. Greater outreach and targeted education about Kenya curated for the worldwide audience.</p> <p>3. - <b>Reconnecting with the social</b> aspects of importance to Kenyans will deliver social capital.</p> <p>4. - Gainful employment produces financial gains and societal elevation.</p>

	<p>importance to Kenyans will deliver social capital. sportswomen and Artists</p> <p><b>4. - Reconnecting with the social aspects of importance to Kenyans will deliver social capital.</b></p> <p>-Facilitate accreditation of qualifications and skills acquired in Kenya for ease of labor exchange.</p> <p>- Build relationship with institutions of higher learning and Labor offices to allow smooth co-operation.</p>	
<p><b>Agenda 5</b> Protect, promote and protected countries' image and prestige globally</p>	<p>1.Partnership in Governance Between Central Government, County Governments and diaspora Community</p>	<p>1. Facilitate the formulation of an effective diaspora engagement structure by creating specific sub-departments as other ministries. Appoint reps in form of County Honorary Ambassadors to help as coordinators</p>
	<p>2. Recognized that Kenyans abroad have and continue to make significant contribution back home. Despite this, there still remain many challenges including lack of trust and confidence that have impaired their effective contribution to the National Development agenda.</p>	<p>3. Develop or create clear rules for individuals or companies interested in pooling up money sourced from private citizens with aim of investing the same back in Africa, this way interest of diaspora citizens will be protected from fraudsters.</p>
	<p>4. Capacity Constraints, Trust &amp; Confidence issues on government institutions. Reducing capacity constraints in terms of both budgetary allocation and personnel at the diplomatic missions abroad to offer effective and efficient consular services to Kenyans abroad, especially where we have high concentration of Kenyans.</p>	<p>5. Reducing capacity constraints in terms of both budgetary allocation and personnel at the diplomatic missions abroad to offer effective and efficient consular services to Kenyans abroad,</p>

		<p>especially where we have high concentration of Kenyans. The Government has a constitutional responsibility to protect its citizens and their property both within and outside the country.</p>
	<p>6. Organizing activities that promote and protects the national image and interests. The Diaspora Community in consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora Affairs and other stakeholders will be charged with the responsibility of organizing annual home-coming conferences by Kenyans Abroad, organizing an annual award scheme for the recognition of outstanding performance</p>	<p>The Diaspora Community in consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora Affairs and other stakeholders will be charged with the responsibility of organizing annual home-coming conferences by Kenyans Abroad, organizing an annual award scheme for the recognition of outstanding performance of Associations of Kenyans Abroad and individuals and any other activities, within and outside the country that promote and protects the national image and interests (Kenya Tourism Board, Export Promotion and Branding).</p>
	<p>4. Some Kenyans working abroad, both skilled and unskilled, are exposed to unsuitable working conditions due to lack of a national labor migration legal framework and protection of their rights.</p>	<p>7. Establish, Develop and Disseminate relevant policies, framework and structures to support and protect Diaspora Community especially as they migrant to work, study or live in foreign countries</p>
	<p>Despite the potential benefits, several challenges hinder the full integration of the Kenyan diaspora into regional integration</p>	<p>Kenyan government and the EAC should establish more inclusive and accessible platforms for</p>

	<p>efforts. These challenges include bureaucratic barriers, lack of formal channels for engagement, and the sometimes fragmented nature of diaspora communities. To address these issues, the Kenyan government and the EAC should establish more inclusive and accessible platforms for the diaspora to engage in policy-making and development processes. For example, an EAC-wide diaspora engagement platform could be set up to provide direct communication between the diaspora, regional governments, and businesses.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Additionally, addressing the legal and financial obstacles to cross-border investments, such as varying tax regimes and visa restrictions, would facilitate smoother integration. The creation of a harmonized regulatory framework for businesses across the EAC could encourage greater involvement from the diaspora in regional ventures.</li> </ul>	<p>the diaspora to engage in policy-making and development processes. For example, an EAC-wide diaspora engagement platform could be set up to provide direct communication between the diaspora, regional governments, and businesses. The creation of a harmonized regulatory framework for businesses across the EAC could encourage greater involvement from the diaspora in regional ventures</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Integrating the Kenyan diaspora into regional integration efforts presents a unique opportunity for Kenya and East Africa as a whole to benefit from the skills, capital, and influence of Kenyans abroad. By fostering stronger economic, political, and social ties, Kenya can play a more prominent role in the East African Community, while simultaneously enhancing the diaspora's contribution to national and regional development. Through strategic policies that engage the diaspora in cross-border trade, knowledge transfer, and political discourse, Kenya can ensure that its participation in regional integration is mutually beneficial and sustainable for all parties involved.</li> </ul>	<p>Kenya can play a more prominent role in the East African Community, while simultaneously enhancing the diaspora's contribution to national and regional development. Through strategic policies that engage the diaspora in cross-border trade, knowledge transfer, and political discourse,</p>
<p><b>Agenda 6</b> Promote sub-regional and regional</p>	<p>1. International Trade and Investments being a key area that contributes to our economy our goal is to collaborate/work closely with the</p>	<p>1. Marketing of Kenyan exports abroad, and aggressive promotion of</p>

integration and cooperation	government to create doors of opportunity with the current & future trade agreements.	Kenyan businesses and products abroad using diaspora community as brand ambassadors
	2. Unexplored initiatives, both regional and international that to seek to enhance opportunities in trade and socio-economic development	2. Leveraging of the current initiatives, including exploring AfCFTA, EAC and SADC blocks and other Initiatives & instituting more aggressive negotiators to ensure that initiatives maximize benefits for Kenyans (such as higher wages more in line with global living wages for businesses specifically value addition, manufacturing for direct international markets
	3. High cost of remittances, and lack of formal channels or dedicated structures that are Kenyan owned or diaspora led financial institutions. However, the cost of remitting money back home through the existing formal channels remains high leading to the use of informal channels. This makes it difficult for government to track remittances and to advise Kenyans appropriately.	3. Kenyans abroad continue to play an important role in the development of Kenya and the region through remittances and other socio-economic investments
	4. Weak structure, uncoordinated efforts to promote opportunities and strength of Kenya	4. Mechanisms to create awareness for Kenyans Abroad on the investment opportunities available in different sectors of the economy is also another challenge, coupled with lack of incentive framework to promote diaspora investments (see current Central Bank of Kenya 2022-2024 survey

		report that show great potential)
	5 Reduce duplication and enhance monitoring evaluation of diaspora activities vs GOK	5. Effective co-ordination is critical in the formulation and implementation of policies that impact diaspora community as it is also a pre-requisite for enhanced monitoring and evaluation.
	5. Weak Mechanism, and lack of harmonization and linkages with MDAs, Currently, various initiatives targeting Kenyans Abroad are scattered in various Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)	6. Co-ordination and linkage mechanism between various government agencies (MDAs) to enhance harmonization of their policies and initiatives in reference to diaspora community. This should enhance policy actions, improve service delivery, reduce duplication of efforts and wastage of scarce resources
<b>Agenda 7</b> Promote international cooperation multilateralism and active participation in global governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kenya should continue practicing true Multilateralism and push for building a Just and Equitable Global Governance System.</li> <li>Agitate aggressively for a permanent seat at the United Nations to represent African interests in the global governance.</li> </ul>	Visibility and stature of Kenya in International stage
<b>Agenda 8</b> Enhance the voices of Kenyans in the diaspora and promote and protect their interests and welfare abroad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Facilitate diaspora right to vote in Kenyan general elections and referenda by increasing diaspora voter registration duration and centers across the diaspora.</li> <li>Increase Consulates where diaspora Kenyans reside to bring services closer to the people. (Mobile consular services as option).</li> <li>Encourage diaspora remittances by providing incentives like creating diaspora</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhance diaspora in Kenya's development</li> <li>Increased remittances</li> </ul> Increased sense of pride for diaspora Kenya

	<p>bond, protect diaspora investments like in real estate sector, banking, manufacturing and agriculture sectors Create a welfare fund (kitty) accessible to Kenyan diaspora when in financial distress due to terminal illness or death which they can register into kin to a "life insurance fund</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Protect diaspora Kenyans from double taxation by establishing favorable reciprocal tax treaties with host nations.</li><li>• Ensure rights of diaspora Kenyans are respected in host nations like the Middle East (domestic workers abuse cases are rampant).</li><li>• Actively engage Kenyan parliament to amend clauses in the 2010 constitution that discriminate Kenyan dual citizens from state appointments</li></ul>	
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4<sup>th</sup> February 2025

Our Ref: KNIT.NA.DFP.MEM/ 04/02/2025

Mr. S. Njoroge, CBS  
Clerk of National Assembly  
Parliament Buildings, Parliament Rd  
NAIROBI

ADVANCE COPY VIA EMAIL: [cna@parliament.go.ke](mailto:cna@parliament.go.ke)

Dear Mr. Njoroge,

## **REVIEW AND FEEDBACK ON THE DRAFT SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

Reference is made to the advert dated 18<sup>th</sup> February 2025 inviting public memoranda on the subject Draft Policy. Forwarded herewith, kindly find the subject review and feedback by the Kenya National Interface Team (hereinafter "KNIT"). We humbly request to be afforded opportunity to make supplemental oral submission on the same before the Departmental Committee on Defence, and Foreign Relations.

KNIT is a multidisciplinary, gender-balanced think tank established in February 2018. It brings together a diverse group of Kenyan thought leaders, visionaries, and professionals with expertise in various fields. KNIT serves as a thinking space and national platform for dialogue and action, aimed at addressing key issues in and around social justice, peace, cohesion, national security, political stability, and socioeconomic prosperity for all. Guided by the principles of constitutional governance, the rule of just law, and the UTU philosophy (placing human dignity first), KNIT conducts continuous action research and analyzes emerging local, regional, and international

challenges. Through this, it generates proactive policy, legislative proposals, and advisories for both State and non-State stakeholders. The formation of KNIT was a response to governance challenges, particularly following the 2017 electoral cycle, with the goal of fostering a more inclusive, stable, and prosperous Kenya.

Yours faithfully,

**FOR AND ON BEHALF KENYA NATIONAL INTERFACE TEAM (KNIT)**



**Patrick Onyango, Paddy**  
**CONVENOR, KNIT**

- Cc:   1.     Mr. Titus Kaloki
2.     Mr. Joshua Changwony

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



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**REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON  
THE DRAFT SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN  
POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA 2024**

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**Prepared by**  
*Kenya National Interface Team (KNIT)*

*Liaison person: Mr. Titus Kaloki +254 718 358 063*

***Email: [knit254@gmail.com](mailto:knit254@gmail.com)***

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February 4, 2025

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*KNIT Review feedback on Draft Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign  
Policy of the Republic of Kenya 2024*

**November 2024**

[2]

***KNIT Review feedback on Draft Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya 2024***

## SUMMARY

1. **Introduction:** The document is a review feedback with recommendations on Kenya's Draft Foreign Policy by the Kenya National Interface Team (KNIT).
2. **General Observations:** The policy aligns with the Constitution of Kenya 2010, making reference to it numerously. It emphasizes safeguarding Kenya's sovereignty, economic stability, social justice, human rights, and environmental sustainability.
3. **National Interest:** The policy focuses on safeguarding sovereignty, economic stability, social justice, and environmental sustainability. It highlights the importance of peace and security diplomacy, economic and commercial diplomacy, and health diplomacy. It does not however provide a clear definition of "**National Interest**" which this review provides. It also does not balance strike a balance between "*National Interest*" and "*Public Interest*" The review provides guidelines on this.
4. **Public Debt Management:** The policy acknowledges the importance of managing public debt but needs clear guidelines on balancing debt repayment with investments in critical areas. The review has made concrete recommendations on this.
5. **Needs of National and County Governments:** The policy recognizes the need for both national and county governments to perform their functions effectively, emphasizing regional integration and economic development.
6. **Weaknesses and Remedial Measures:** The review has identified lack of clear guiding values and principles, a comprehensive definition of national interest, detailed action plans, and strategies for addressing political manipulation and balancing national and public interests. Remedial measures recommended include but not limited to; adopting clear values and principles, defining national interest, developing detailed action plans, and establishing mechanisms to prevent political manipulation by the political elite. On guiding values and principles, it has been recommended that the policy adopts values and principles from the Constitution, such as UTU based sustainable management of natural resources, environmental protection, economic sovereignty, transparency, accountability, community participation. Additional specific proposals are made on guiding values and principles on sustainable management of the environment and natural resources, including minerals. This is designed to prevent environmental degradation, brought about by harmful exploitation of mineral resources, exclusion of Kenyans in general and communities in particular from the benefits accruing from the mineral wealth. It is further intended to prevent and/or mitigate conflicts arising from 'Cursed' or 'Blood' minerals' phenomenon.

7. **Public Participation:** The review recommends that the policy should adopt and enhance organic and genuine public participation contemplated by the Constitution by creating more opportunities for citizens and other stakeholders to engage in the policy-implementation process.

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## 1. Introduction

1. This is feedback from the review of the '*Draft Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya*' by the Kenya National Interface Team (hereinafter "KNIT")
2. KNIT is a multidisciplinary, gender-balanced think tank established in February 2018. It brings together a diverse group of Kenyan thought leaders, visionaries, and professionals with expertise in various fields. KNIT serves as a thinking space and national platform for dialogue and action, aimed at addressing key issues in and around social justice, peace, cohesion, national security, political stability, and socioeconomic prosperity for all. Guided by the principles of constitutional governance, the rule of just law, and the UTU philosophy (placing human dignity first), KNIT conducts continuous action research and analyzes emerging local, regional, and international challenges. Through this, it generates proactive policy, legislative proposals, and advisories for both State and non-State stakeholders. The formation of KNIT was a response to governance challenges, particularly following the 2017 electoral cycle, with the goal of fostering a more inclusive, stable, and prosperous Kenya.

## 2. General Observations

### *Public participation*

3. There is no documentation on what has changed on the draft policy to now become a sessional paper for Parliament. There is need to incorporate this information including views of the public on the Draft Foreign Policy 2024

### *Justification*

4. All public policies have a section of this. While there are attempts of skipping the Foreign Policy (only highlights in Pages 6-7), there is need to incorporate what occasioned the review of the 2014 policy, which the CS claims are "rapid changes." The 2014 policy had a section of M&E to be undertaken by the MOFDA. Did this M&E take place and what were the results occasioning this review of policy? The same question applies to the Diaspora Policy of June 2014, which also has an M&E section at the very end, which the MFDA was supposed to lead. So, what justifies a change of

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State Policy? Change of government? Or the enactment of the Foreign Services Act (2021)?

#### ***Budgeting requirements and allocations***

5. All policies have an indication of how much they need to be implemented. This policy/ sessional paper, only predicts based on monies received amongst the various Financial Years since 2014/15 to 2024/25. Both in the sessional paper and the BPS, there are projections to increase the monies in the 2025/26 FY, which is based on current projections. In the ending FY, they have been allocated 21.65 B, against their requirements of 52.9 B, which was below the half of what they required. On the development budget the same applies mutatis mutandis. This situation also is similar to the Diaspora Dept. Therefore, they will be matching into the new sessional paper and FY with a deficit. On this note, I take great exception that on average the money spent for staff salaries averages about 65 percent for the MFDA and the foreign services or missions, which are about 70 in number, where rent ranges between 10-12 percent. This is really unsustainable, to say the very least.

#### ***Outputs reporting, not outcomes***

6. The MFDA has dwelt, in a lot of pages, including also in the BPS, to show results of these monies allocated. But they demonstrate outputs and not outcomes of even impact of their presence or existence (raison d'etre). So, what is the justification of Kenya having all these missions or consular services if they only exist to suck up taxpayers' money rather than achieve the key objectives or outcomes of what we want as a national interest? For instance, in one of the activities, they cite their role in placement of Kenyans in international and regional organizations.

#### ***MFDA Raison D etre***

7. While the number of missions has increased from 16 in 1995 to 68 in 2025, it is a hard sell for this Sessional Paper to be passed without scrutiny on all the above points. In my opinion, as they also prepare to increase staff to 3.000 by 2030, and that they cite the ratio as 70:30 (career diplomats vs others), a staff audit of the MFDA is required to know whether this ratio has been adhered to over the years. The staff guzzles about 65 percent of the resources allocated to the MFDA. Especially, since it lacks justification even the basic or simple, to exit a State Policy of 2014, with this new one, with ambitions of the BETA programme of government, is and cannot meet the threshold of what policy reviews are about.

#### ***Reference to and alignment with the Constitution of Kenya 2010***

8. The Draft Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya 2024 mentions the Constitution of Kenya 2010  
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six times. This highlights the policy's alignment with the constitutional principles and its commitment to upholding the values and objectives outlined in the Constitution. These references are captured in: -

- 8.1 *Foreword*: The policy objectives are inspired by the shared aspiration for a peaceful, unified, and prosperous nation, as embodied in the Constitution of Kenya, National Anthem, and the Kenya Vision 2030. This aligns with and is anchored in the Fourth and Sixth Covenants of the Preamble of the Constitution, namely “**PROUD of our ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, and determined to live in peace and unity as one indivisible sovereign nation:**” and “**COMMITTED to nurturing and protecting the well-being of the individual, the family, communities and the nation:**” This reference and alignment is not discernible in the length and breadth of the entire draft policy.

8.2 *Preface*: The review of the Foreign Policy was conducted through a wide, consultative, and participatory approach in line with constitutional requirements. The time provided for public consultations was inadequate and does not meet the thresholds and standards contemplated by the Constitution in the following Articles; **1**: Sovereignty of the People; **10**: National Values and Principles of Governance; **35**: Access to Information; **118**: Public Access and Participation; **119**: Right to Petition Parliament; **174**: Objects of Devolution; **196**: Public Participation and County Assembly Powers, Privileges, and Immunities; **201**: Principles of Public Finance; and, **232**: Values and Principles of Public Service.

8.3 *Chapter 1: Kenya Foreign Policy Framework: Section 1.2.3 (2002 - 2013 ERA)*: The promulgation of a new constitution on 4th August 2010, "The Constitution of Kenya, 2010," laid a strong foundation for Kenya's democratic governance and rule of law. Section 1.7 (**National Interests and Core Principles**): Article 238 (1) of the Constitution of Kenya defines national security and provides a key list of some of the core elements of the country's national interests.

8.4 *Chapter 1: Kenya Foreign Policy Framework: Section 1.9 (Policy and Legal Frameworks)*: This Foreign Policy is informed by the Constitution of Kenya.

8.5 *Chapter 1: Kenya Foreign Policy Framework: Section 1.10 (National Values)*: The Policy is inspired by the national values and principles of governance as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya in Article 10 (2).

#### ***Reference to and alignment with Kenya's "National Interest" contemplated by the Constitution of Kenya 2010***

9. The draft foreign policy makes reference to "**National Interest**" numerous times:

9.1 *Section 1.7 (National Interests and Core Principles)*: Article 238 (1) of the Constitution of Kenya defines national security and provides a key list of some of the core elements of the country's national interests.

9.2 *Chapter 1: Kenya Foreign Policy Framework: Section 1.9 (Policy and Legal Frameworks)*: This Foreign Policy is informed by the Constitution of Kenya.

9.3 *Chapter 1: Kenya Foreign Policy Framework: Section 1.10 (National Values)*: The Policy is inspired by the national values and principles of governance as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya in Article 10 (2).

## *National Interest*

10. *Safeguarding Sovereignty*: The policy emphasizes the importance of safeguarding Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This aligns with the constitutional principle that the national interest, which is defined and elaborated in detail herein below in Part 3, should be the primary consideration in the allocation of resources. The policy's focus on peace and security diplomacy, including contributions to regional and international peacekeeping missions, reflects this priority.
11. *Economic Stability*: The policy's emphasis on economic and commercial diplomacy, including trade, investment, and sustainable industrialization, aligns with the constitutional principle of ensuring economic stability. The focus on intra-Africa trade and regional economic integration is particularly commendable, as it aims to enhance Kenya's economic sovereignty and reduce dependency on external actors which is harmful to Kenya's National Interest.
12. *Social Justice and Human Rights*: The policy highlights the importance of social justice, gender equality, and the protection of human rights, which are integral to the national interest. This is reflected in the prioritization of vulnerable and marginalized communities across all aspects of the policy. The emphasis on health diplomacy and the promotion of universal health coverage further supports this principle and aligns to Article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 on Economic and Social (ECOSOC) Rights.
13. *Environmental Sustainability*: The policy's commitment to environmental and climate diplomacy aligns with the national interest of protecting the environment and ensuring sustainable livelihoods and people-centred development in line with KNIT's '*UTU NEW DEAL FOR KENYA: Alternative Policy Framework for People-Centered Development Planning and Sustainable Livelihoods.*'<sup>1</sup> Addressing climate change and promoting renewable energy in the policy is a significant strength and aligns with the Fifth Covenant of the Preamble of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, namely "*RESPECTFUL of the environment, which is our heritage, and determined to sustain it for the benefit of future generations:*" Climate diplomacy must therefore ensure that Kenya's environment, which encompasses all natural resources (land, water, minerals, flora and fauna), is protected and conserved for the well-being of the people of Kenya and not ceded to foreign interests and actors through selfish agreements.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1BfSe1nSgj2Oz0caHbVu2FCVz5lwq3zAk/view?usp=sharing>

## ***Guiding Values and Principles on Environmental Sustainability and Natural Resources Including Minerals***

14. Environmental Sustainability should be underpinned by the following Guiding Values and Principles derived from the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Adopting these values and principles, will guarantee that Kenya's foreign policy on natural resources, including minerals, can effectively safeguard the nation's sovereignty, promote sustainable development, and ensure that the benefits of natural resources, including minerals are equitably shared among all Kenyans: -
- 14.1 *Sustainable Management and Utilization*: Kenya's foreign policy should prioritize the sustainable management and utilization of natural resources, including minerals. This aligns with Article 69 of the Constitution, which mandates the State to ensure sustainable exploitation, utilization, management, and conservation of the environment and natural resources, and to ensure equitable sharing of the accruing benefits for the people of Kenya and their National Interest.
- 14.2 *Environmental Protection*: The policy should emphasize the protection of the environment in all activities related to all natural resources. This includes adhering to international environmental standards and agreements to which Kenya is a State Party to prevent harmful exploitation of resources that result in environmental degradation and ensure the conservation of biodiversity.
- 14.3 *Economic Sovereignty*: Kenya's foreign policy should promote economic sovereignty by ensuring that the exploitation of natural resources benefits the Kenyan people. This involves negotiating fair and equitable terms in international agreements and partnerships related to natural resources.
- 14.4 *Transparency and Accountability*: The policy should uphold transparency and accountability in the management of all natural resources. This includes ensuring that all agreements and transactions related to natural resources are conducted openly and with full disclosure to and participation by the public.
- 14.5 *Community Participation and Benefit*: The policy should ensure that local communities are actively involved in decision-making processes related to natural all resources and that they benefit from the exploitation of these resources. This aligns with the constitutional principle of public participation and the need to protect the rights and interests of local communities.
- 14.6 *Fair Revenue Sharing*: The policy should advocate for fair and equitable sharing of revenue generated from all natural resources. This includes ensuring that a significant portion of the revenue is allocated to the development of local communities, counties, and the country as a whole.

- 14.7 *International Cooperation*: Kenya's foreign policy should promote UTU-based international cooperation in the management and utilization of natural resources. This includes collaborating with other countries and international organizations to address challenges such as illegal mining, environmental degradation, and resource-based conflicts.

#### ***Public Debt, National Interest and National Obligations***

15. *Public Debt Management*: The policy acknowledges the importance of managing public debt and other national obligations. However, it is crucial to ensure that the payment of public debt does not undermine the national interest. The policy should provide clear guidelines on balancing debt repayment with investments in areas that safeguard sovereignty, economic stability, and social justice anchored in Article 43 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

#### ***Needs of the National Government and County Governments***

16. *National and County Government Needs*: The architecture and design of the Kenyan State has Devolution with two levels of Government created at par by the Constitution under Article 6 (2). The two levels are thus creatures of the Constitution at par with **NO** hierarchical power relations. Neither level is superior to the other. The two levels' relationship is clearly set out in "Article 6 (2): (2) the governments at the national and county levels are ***distinct and inter dependent*** and shall ***conduct their mutual relations on the basis of consultation and cooperation.***" The policy the policy takes cognizance of this architecture and design and recognizes the need to ensure that both national and county governments can perform their functions effectively on premises of "***Resources for Functions***". This is reflected in the emphasis on regional integration and the promotion of economic development at both national and county levels.

#### ***Fiscal Capacity and Efficiency***

17. *Fiscal Capacity and Efficiency*: The policy's focus on economic and commercial diplomacy aims to enhance Kenya's fiscal capacity and efficiency. By promoting trade, investment, and sustainable industrialization, the policy seeks to increase revenue generation and improve the overall economic performance of the country.

#### ***Developmental and Other Needs of Counties***

18. *Developmental Needs of Counties*: The policy acknowledges the developmental needs of counties and emphasizes the importance of regional economic integration. This aligns with the constitutional principle of addressing economic disparities within and among counties and promoting equitable development.

### ***Economic Disparities and Affirmative Action***

19. Addressing Economic Disparities: The policy highlights the need to address economic disparities within and among counties. The emphasis on affirmative action and the promotion of gender equality and social justice supports this principle.

### ***Economic Optimization and Revenue Generation***

20. Economic Optimization: The policy's focus on economic and commercial diplomacy, including the promotion of trade and investment, aims to optimize Kenya's economic potential and increase revenue generation. This aligns with the constitutional principle of providing incentives for each county to optimize its capacity to raise revenue. It further recognizes that revenue generated nationally, including from Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), has to prioritize National Interest as a first charge on the Consolidated Fund to which such revenue is deposited.

### ***Flexibility in Responding to Emergencies***

21. Emergency Response: The policy emphasizes the importance of flexibility in responding to emergencies and other temporary needs occasioned by cross-border exigency situations, including man-made and natural disasters. This is reflected in the policy's focus on peace and security diplomacy and the commitment to addressing global health challenges.

## **3. Weaknesses and Remedial Measures**

22. While the Draft Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya 2024 is comprehensive and forward-thinking, KNIT has isolated some key areas of weaknesses and recommends appropriate remedial measures for improvements with a view to safeguarding the sovereignty and well-being of the Kenyan nation and the people. These areas are highlighted below.

### ***Overarching Guiding Values and Principles***

23. Weakness: The policy does not set out clear guiding values and principles underpinning its implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Remedial measure: KNIT proposes that the following Guiding Values and Principles derived from the Constitution of Kenya 2010, be adopted: -

- 17.1 Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity: Safeguarding the sovereignty of the people of Kenya and territorial integrity. This includes protecting the integrity and well-being (UTU) of the people of Kenya and the nation's borders and ensuring that Kenya's independence and self-determination are respected in all international relations and engagements.

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- 17.2 *National Unity and Patriotism*: Promoting national unity and patriotism is essential. Foreign policy should reflect the collective identity and aspirations of the Kenyan people, with a view to fostering a sense of pride and belonging.
- 17.3 *Rule of Law and Democratic Governance*: Upholding the rule of law and democratic governance is crucial. Kenya's foreign policy should support international norms, standards, and principles that promote democracy, human rights, equality, equity, social justice, and the rule of just law.
- 17.4 *Social Justice and Human Rights*: Ensuring social justice and the protection of human rights is a core value. Kenya's foreign policy should advocate for the rights and dignity of all individuals, both domestically and internationally.
- 17.5 *Economic Stability and Development*: Promoting economic stability and development is vital. Foreign policy should aim to enhance trade, investment, and sustainable development, contributing to Kenya's economic growth and prosperity through investment in the actualization of **Article 43 Economic and Social (ECOSOC) Rights**.
- 17.6 **Environmental Sustainability**: Protecting the environment and promoting sustainability is essential. Kenya's foreign policy should support global efforts to address climate change and environmental degradation, ensuring a sustainable future for all.
- 17.7 **Public Participation and Accountability**: Guaranteeing public participation and ensuring accountability is important. Foreign policy decisions should be transparent and inclusive, reflecting the views and aspirations of the people of Kenya who are the sovereign.

***Lack of Clear Definition of National Interest***

24. *Weakness*: The policy does not provide a clear and comprehensive definition of what constitutes the **“National Interest.”** This can lead to ambiguity and potential misuse by political elites in foreign policy engagements, especially contractual agreements which may be entered into to the detriment of the sovereignty, dignity, and well-being of the people of Kenya.

*Remedial measure*: Include the following clear and detailed definition of national interest within the policy. This omission may be a function of the understandable dilemma informed by the reality of the world becoming a global village without borders, connected in digital cyberspace by information communication technology. In addition, there is the emerging organic evolution of regional blocks which are gravitating towards federations. Then there is ‘*Global Power Shift*’ underpinned by multilateralism with multi-directional and multi-dimensional critical issues of concern. These developments are evolving and cannot be the basis of ignoring individual nations’ sovereign interests. The definition rendered by KNIT takes cognizance of the foregoing dilemma and evolving realities and

therefore provides guidelines to ensure that Kenya's "National Interest" is not deliberately misconstrued, misinterpreted and misused for political gain in our foreign relations and strategic engagements.

In KNIT's view, **our primary National Interest as the people of Kenya is to safeguard our sovereignty**. The Preamble of the constitution places emphasis on our desire to exist as one *indivisible sovereign nation*. This wish is clearly granted in Article 1 of the Constitution which places *all sovereign power in the people of Kenya*. The constitution affirms our sovereignty as a people, as the primary aspiration of our nation. This being the case, our fundamental interest as a nation, should be to **safeguard the sovereignty of the people and Kenya, as a sovereign Republic**. On these premises therefore, any policy or political action that undermines the sovereignty of the people and the Republic of Kenya, is against our National Interest and the Constitution of Kenya which is our collective social contract and Supreme Law of the Republic (Article 2). Thus our **National Interest is that which safeguards, promotes, and projects the sovereign interests of the people of Kenya under the Constitution**. It is in cognizance of this definition that **Articles 74, 141 (3), 148 (5) and 152 (4) and the Third Schedule to the Constitution make provision for 'National Oaths and Affirmations' to be sworn by State and Public officers prior to assuming public office**.

The text of the National Oaths and Affirmation for the Presidency is reproduced below and key phrases highlighted:

**OATH OR SOLEMN AFFIRMATION OF ALLEGIANCE OF THE PRESIDENT/ACTING PRESIDENT AND THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT**

I, ....., in full realization of the high calling I assume as President/Acting President/ Deputy President of **the Republic of Kenya**, do **swear/solemnly affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Republic of Kenya**; that I will **obey, preserve, protect and defend this Constitution of Kenya, as by law established, and all other laws of the Republic**; and that I will **PROTECT AND UPHOLD THE SOVEREIGNTY, INTEGRITY AND DIGNITY OF THE PEOPLE OF KENYA**. (In the case of an oath — So help me God.)

From the foregoing definition and elaboration on "National Interest," our sovereignty as a nation can only be guaranteed and promoted by investing in:

- a) Interests that safeguard and guarantee (**our UTU**), the lives and human dignity of the citizens as articulated in Article 43 of the Constitution. These include access to quality public health care, clean drinking water, food and human settlements;
- b) Interests which safeguard and promote the rule of law and our constitutional democracy as articulated in Article 2 of the Constitution;

- c) Interests that safeguard and promote our economic sovereignty as a nation and the people of Kenya;
- d) Interests which safeguard our territorial integrity as a sovereign republic; the security of the state and of the Kenyan citizens as provided in Article 4 of the Constitution;
- e) Interests which promote the social, economic, educational and scientific advancement of the nation;
- f) Interests which are fundamental to the freedoms, human dignity and security of the citizen as provided in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution;
- g) Interests which shall promote the conservation of our natural heritage and environmental sustainability as provided for under Article 69 of the Constitution; and
- h) Interests which are fundamental to our cultural and historical heritage.

Stemming from the foregoing definition therefore, the debate about what constitutes the “*Public Interest*” versus the “*National Interest*” is, in our view, superfluous, on the grounds that the people form the public and hence the Republic. The two are intertwined and indivisible. The constitution confers sovereign power to the people of Kenya not to the political elite to whom the people of Kenya **DELEGATE** but do not **SURRENDER** their **SOVEREIGN POWER** (Article 1 (3)).

#### ***Implementation Plan and Monitoring and Evaluation Plan***

25. ***Weakness:*** The policy outlines ambitious goals but provides scanty information on detailed action plans and timelines for implementation. This can result in gaps and delays in achieving the policy's objectives.

***Remedial measure:*** Develop a detailed action plan with timelines for each objective outlined in the policy. Establish robust mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation process to ensure that progress is tracked and issues are addressed timorously.

### ***Addressing Political Manipulation***

26. Weakness: The policy does not offer concrete recommendations on how to prevent political elites from disguising their short-term political survival interests as national interest in its interpretation.

Remedial measure: Include specific recommendations and mechanisms to prevent political manipulation. This could involve establishing independent oversight bodies or committees to review and assess foreign relation decisions related to national interest.

### ***Balancing National and Public Interest***

27. Weakness: The policy acknowledges that national interest and public interest are intertwined; it does not however provide sufficient guidance on how to balance these interests in practice.

Solution: Provide more detailed guidance on how to balance national and public interests, particularly in situations where they may conflict. This could include case studies or examples of best practices. We have given some pointers in paragraph 17 above.

### ***Addressing Political Manipulation***

28. Weakness: The policy does not offer concrete recommendations on how to prevent political elites from disguising their short-term political survival interests as national interest.

Remedial measure: Include specific recommendations and mechanisms to prevent political manipulation. This could involve establishing or assigning this to existing independent oversight bodies or committees such as the Commission on Administrative Justice (Ombudsman) or Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission to review and assess foreign relation decisions related to national interest.

### ***Engagement with Social Media Feedback***

29. Weakness: The policy makes reference to capturing feedback from social media engagement but does not provide detailed insights into the mechanisms and the nature of this feedback or how it will be used to refine the policy framework.

Remedial measure: Include a summary of key themes and concerns raised by the public through social media engagement. Outline how this feedback will be incorporated into the policy to enhance transparency and accountability.

### *Economic Sovereignty*

30. *Weakness*: The policy acknowledges the importance of managing public debt but does not provide clear guidelines on balancing debt repayment with investments in areas that safeguard sovereignty, economic stability, and social justice in compliance with Article 43 of the Constitution. The policy does not also make any reference to contracting of **ODIOUS DEBTS** by State and Public officers and the preventive measures and penalties and/or censure for such contracting.

*Remedial measures*: Develop clear guidelines on balancing debt repayment with investments in critical areas. This could include prioritizing investments that enhance economic sovereignty and reduce dependency on external actors. In addition enact a stand-alone legislation on Public Debt Management to provide for the transparent and accountable management of public debt; the controls and oversight mechanisms for public debt; enforcement of prudent borrowing practices to safeguard economic stability in accordance with Articles 211 and 212 of the Constitution; prioritization of National Interest contemplated under Article 203 (1) (a) of the Constitution; establishment of the National Independent Public Debt Management Authority; establishment of the Office Registrar of Debts; prohibition, prevention and management of odious debts and corresponding sanctions.

### *Regional and Global Integration*

31. *Weakness*: While the policy emphasizes regional and global integration, it does not provide any specific strategies for strengthening strategic alliances and partnerships.

*Remedial measure*: Outline specific strategies for strengthening strategic alliances within regional and international frameworks. This could include detailed plans for engaging with key partners and leveraging these relationships to promote Kenya's economic and trade interests.

### *Environmental Sustainability*

32. *Weakness*: The policy's commitment to environmental sustainability is commendable, it does not however provide detailed strategies for addressing climate change and promoting renewable energy.

*Remedial measure*: Include detailed strategies for addressing climate change and promoting renewable energy. This could involve setting specific targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and increasing the use of renewable energy sources.

### **Capacity Building**

33. *Weakness*: The policy does not emphasize the importance of capacity building and training for government officials and other stakeholders involved in its implementation.

*Remedial measure*: Invest in capacity building and training programs for government officials and stakeholders. This would ensure that they have the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively carry out their roles in implementing the policy.

### **Public Participation**

34. *Weakness*: As already stated above, there was no adequate time allocated for public participation. The policy should emphasize the need for enhancing meaningful public participation in its validation and implementation.

*Remedial measure*: Enhance public participation by creating more opportunities for citizens and Civil Society, Private Sector and other Non-State Actors to engage in the policy-implementation process. This could include public consultations, town hall meetings, and online forums.

### **4. Conclusion**

35. The Draft Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya is a comprehensive and forward-thinking document that aligns with the constitutional principles and national interests of Kenya. It emphasizes the importance of devolution, county governments, and social media feedback in shaping and advancing Kenya's foreign policy. The policy highlights key areas such as safeguarding sovereignty, promoting economic stability, ensuring social justice, and protecting the environment. While the policy is commendable, it requires clear guiding values, a detailed action plan, and mechanisms to prevent political manipulation and enhance public participation. This review has addressed these gaps with a view to strengthening the policy to enable it effectively safeguard the sovereignty and well-being of the Kenyan people and nation and its people.

<ENDS>

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REPUBLIC OF KENYA

**OFFICE OF THE PRIME CABINET SECRETARY,  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AND DIASPORA AFFAIRS**

**NOTICE FOR SUBMISSION OF COMMENTS AND VIEWS ON  
THE KENYA FOREIGN POLICY DOCUMENT**

The Kenya Foreign Policy document has been made available on our official website to invite public participation and stakeholder engagement. We encourage all interested parties to review the draft and provide their valuable feedback. This collaborative approach aims to ensure that the policy reflects the diverse perspectives and interests of our nation, ultimately enhancing the quality and effectiveness of the final document.

We look forward to your input to strengthen Kenya's foreign policy document. Please visit our official website: [www.mfa.go.ke](http://www.mfa.go.ke).

This is also to invite you to a Public Stakeholders Validation Forum of the Foreign Policy document on **18<sup>th</sup> November 2024 at KICC at 10.00 a.m.**

**THE PRINCIPAL SECRETARY  
STATE DEPARTMENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS**



**PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
OFFICE AT GENEVA, WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION AND OTHER  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SWITZERLAND**

**MEMORANDUM ON SESSIONAL PAPER NO.1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

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**Introduction**

1. The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kenya in Geneva is accredited to the **United Nations Office at Geneva, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Conference on Disarmament**. The Mission was established in 1986, and it is one of the five posts (along with the missions in New York, Vienna, Rome and Nairobi) that represent Kenya's interests in the UN system.

2. The Mission covers more than 40 United Nations system organizations and entities<sup>1</sup> and over 400 Non-Governmental Organizations that are based, or have a regional office, in Geneva. In addition, the secretariats of numerous international treaty bodies are located here. Examples include the Human Right Council, the United Nation High Commission for Refugees, the World Intellectual Property Organisation, to mention a few.

3. Without doubt, bigger Missions are in a better position to cover multilateral organisations in Geneva. **The Mission, therefore, appreciates the continued support from the Ministry including the additional Staff members that have been recently posted to augment the numbers at post.** This will enhance the capacity of the Mission to exercise its mandate.

**Opportunities**

4. The Mission continues to identify opportunities that the Geneva Ecosystem presents for National benefit. For Example:-

- a) The World Intellectual Property Organisation currently runs a surplus budget of over two hundred million Swiss Francs, which if leveraged, could support Kenya's capacity building and technical assistance initiatives to deliver value, especially for SME's Women and youth creatives, entrepreneurs and innovators.

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/resource-pdf/UN%20system%20chart\\_11x17\\_color\\_2013.pdf](https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/resource-pdf/UN%20system%20chart_11x17_color_2013.pdf)

- b) There exists a digital and technological bub which the mission is strategically tapping into. This extends beyond leveraging traditional multilateral institutions and partners such as the International Telecommunications Union. The Mission has pioneered engagements with organisations that are at the forefront of innovative science and technology such as the European Centre for Nuclear Research (CERN) and the Geneva Science and Diplomacy Anticipator (GESDA). We shall pursue cooperation agreements with these institutions.
- c) The ongoing liquidity crisis across the UN system, has occasioned the devolvement of the UNs programmes, activities and functions to cheaper locations and to be closer to the populations they serve. This was seen recently with relocation of UNICEF, UNFPA and UN Women headquarters to Nairobi. Recognising that Nairobi is a leading financial and multilateral Hub, the Mission is positioning the City to host some of the devolved functions that may emanate from Geneva.

As part of its mandate, the Mission keeps abreast of developments in the Geneva ecosystem with a view to apprising the Headquarters for informed decision making. To maximise and leverage the full potential of these and other opportunities there must be better coordination with the relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies to craft an effective strategy for engaging the international institutions.

### **Challenges**

5. To effectively execute its mandate, the Mission needs both technical support as well as adequate resource allocation. The Mission has faced challenges in both aspects and these are summarised below to include:

- I. **Delayed and lack of technical backstopping from MDAs**

There is a lack of/delayed support which hinder the Mission's ability to effectively engage in negotiations, as we rely on timely and accurate technical advice to navigate complex international issues. The absence of robust technical support leads to strained relationships between the Mission and the MDAs, creating operational inefficiencies and undermining the overall success of diplomatic efforts. Information is power.

- II. **Lower-level participation in meetings where senior or high-level presence is required**, thus affecting Kenya's representation. Coupled with this is the lack of participation by relevant officials in key meetings. Sometimes this has been occasioned by challenges in obtaining visas, an issue that may need to be addressed.

- III. **Non-involvement of the Ministry** in engagements and meetings taking place out of Switzerland, yet the discussions are at the core of the Mission's work e.g. Disarmament meetings at the UN General Assembly in New York. This is exacerbated by an underfunded budget lines.
- IV. **Delay in disbursements of funds from the Ministry Headquarters**, affects the implementation of planned activities. Further, delay in payments of statutory items damages the image of Kenya and ruins the reputation of the Mission to service providers, who share this negative information within their industry.
- V. **Insufficient budgetary allocations**. Urgent remedial actions is required to mitigate the attendant risks.

#### **Recommendations**

- I. **Seamless coordination between the Capital and the Mission** is extremely important. The Mission emphasises the need for continued support from the Ministry Headquarters, including in the form of response to communication. The Ministry should seek feedback from MDAs on time to enable the Mission to participate effectively in the meetings.
- II. The MDAs should provide timely **guidance and** clear instructions when requested. Without precise guidance, the Mission struggles to articulate its stance, sometimes leading to missed opportunities for strategic engagement and collaboration. This ambiguity hinders effective representation and negotiation, potentially undermining credibility and causing confusion among other parties. Clear instructions remain essential for effective diplomatic operations, particularly in complex multilateral environments.
- III. **High-level Representation in high-level meetings**. It is important to ensure that Kenya is represented at the appropriate level to improve visibility.
- IV. Involvement of the Mission in the engagements and meetings taking place out of Switzerland especially those whose discussions are at the core of the Missions Mandate.
- V. **Adequate budgetary allocations** to address the chronic underfunding of critical statutory budget items for the Mission to meet its financial

obligations. The budgetary deficit affects the Missions operations and does harm to Kenya's national interest and image.

- VI. **Timely disbursement of quarterly funding.** The Ministry should fast track the disbursement early enough to allow the Missions to effectively and efficiently execute its mandate. Delayed disbursement of funds from Headquarters impacting timely payment of contractual obligations resulting in automatic penalties and interests.
- VII. **Address the recurrent issue of foreign exchange losses** arising from the strengthening of the Swiss Franc against the US dollar and the Kenya shilling since the budget is denominated in Kenya shillings. The Mission has been realizing and continues to realize high foreign exchange losses during the disbursements of quarterly allocation.

The Mission therefore projects to incur a foreign exchange loss of approximately 8% of the budget for the 2024/2025 financial year. This is a substantial amount which is not factored in the Mission's budget, posing a challenge for the Mission's ability to operate efficiently and effectively.

The following information is conveyed with the intention of positioning Kenya as a distinguished and reliable collaborator within the progressively competitive landscape of Geneva. By reinforcing our standing as a thought leader, solution provider, adaptable, and engaged participant, we aim to solidify our role in the efficient advancement, representation, and safeguarding of Kenya's national security and national interests.

**Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kenya  
to The United Nations Office at Geneva**

**3<sup>RD</sup> March, 2025**