



Approved
SNA
22/4/25

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT- FOURTH SESSION (2025)
DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE AND FOREIGN
RELATIONS

REPORT ON:
SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC
OF KENYA

The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in the Global Landscape

 THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PAPERS LAID	
DATE: 22 APR 2025	DAY: TUESDAY
TABLED BY:	ADM. (MAJ.) (LTD) SHEIKH ABDULLAH, MP (VICE CHAIR)
CLERK-AT THE-TABLE:	INZOFU MWALE

CLERK'S CHAMBERS
DIRECTORATE OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS
NAIROBI

APRIL, 2025

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	2
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	3
LIST OF ANNEXURES	5
CHAIRPERSON'S FOREWORD	6
1.0 PREFACE	8
1.1 INTRODUCTION	8
1.2 COMMITTEE'S MANDATE	8
1.3 COMMITTEE SUBJECTS	8
1.4 COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP	9
1.5 COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT	10
2.0 CONSIDERATION OF SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON FOREIGN POLICY	11
2.1 BACKGROUND	11
2.2 SCOPE OF THE SESSIONAL PAPER	11
2.4 THE PROBLEM THAT THE SESSIONAL PAPER SEEKS TO ADDRESS	12
2.5 MONITORING AND EVALUATION	13
2.6 LEGISLATIVE INTERVENTIONS HIGHLIGHTED IN THE POLICY	13
3.0 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION / STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATION	14
3.1 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SOCIETY OF KENYA (IRSK)	14
3.2 MS. ANASTASIA MWANGI	16
3.3 KENYA NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS	17
3.4 FOOD SECURITY CONSORTIUM (FSC) & ONE VOICE CONSORTIUM (OVC)	21
3.5 KENYA NATIONAL INTERFACE TEAM	23
3.6 AKDBL BELGUIM-LUXEMBOURG	27
3.7 CONSULTATIVE MEETING WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AND DIASPORA AFFAIRS	28
4.0 COMMITTEE OBSERVATIONS	30
5.0 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS	32

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfCFTA	-	African Continental Free Trade Area
AGOA	-	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AI	-	Artificial Intelligence
AKDBL	-	Association of Kenyan Diaspora in Belgium
ANC	-	Amani National Congress
AU	-	African Union
AUC	-	African Union Commission
BATK	-	British American Tobacco Kenya
BETA	-	Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda
BPS	-	Budget Policy Statement
CBS	-	Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear
CEPA	-	Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
CoG	-	Council of Governors
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRRF	-	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
DPA	-	Diaspora Placement Agency
EAC	-	East African Community
EMCA	-	Environmental Management and Coordination Act
EU	-	European Union
FSC	-	Food Security Consortium
GCR	-	Global Compact for Refugees
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
IEBC	-	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IFFs	-	Illicit Financial Flows
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IOTC	-	Indian Ocean Tuna Commission
IRSK	-	International Relations Society of Kenya
JCC	-	Joint Commission for Cooperation
JMCs	-	Joint Ministerial Commissions
JTCs	-	Joint Trade Commissions
KEPROBA	-	Kenya Export Promotion and Branding Agency
KMFRI	-	Kenya Marine and Fisheries Research Institute
KNCHR	-	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KRA	-	Kenya Revenue Authority
KSA	-	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies
MEA	-	Multilateral Environment Agreements
MFDA	-	Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs
MoU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
MSMEs	-	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NEMA	-	National Environment Management Authority
NIMES	-	National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System
NIS	-	National Intelligence Service
OACPS-EU	-	African, Caribbean and Pacific States- European Union
ODM	-	Orange Democratic Movement
OVC	-	One Voice Consortium
PPP	-	Public Private Partnership

R&D	-	Research and Development
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SADR	-	Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
STEM	-	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
STI	-	Science, Technology, and Innovation
TJNA	-	Tax Justice Network Africa
TTIs	-	Technical Training Institutes
UAE	-	United Arab Emirates
UK	-	United Kingdom
UDA	-	United Democratic Alliance
UDM	-	United Democratic Movement
UN	-	United Nations
UNDRIP	-	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNFCCC	-	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-Habitat	-	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
US	-	United States
USD	-	United States Dollar
VTCs	-	Vocational Training Centers

LIST OF ANNEXURES

- Annexure 1: Committee's Report Adoption Schedule
- Annexure 2: Minutes of Sitzings of the Committee
- Annexure 3: Advertisement Inviting the Public to Submit Memoranda
- Annexure 4: A Copy of Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya.
- Annexure 5: Submissions from Stakeholders

CHAIRPERSON'S FOREWORD

Kenya's place in the world is neither accidental nor static; it is shaped by a deliberate, constitutionally grounded foreign policy. *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya* was laid on the Table of the House on Thursday 13th February 2025 and thereafter committed to the Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations for consideration. Foreign policy is a blue print of goals, strategies and actions that a state adopts to guide its foreign relations and diplomatic engagements with other states, international organizations and a myriad of non-state actors in the global arena.

Guided by its constitutional mandate under Articles 10 and 124, the Committee critically reviewed Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 and found it to be a timely and strategic framework for advancing Kenya's sovereignty, economic prosperity, and global influence. In a volatile international environment, the Paper presents a necessary response rooted in national values and legal obligations. Drawing on insights from public participation and consultations with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, the Committee assessed the Paper through the lenses of diplomacy, security, and governance. Indeed, the Sessional Paper is a solid foundation to navigate global complexities with coherence, purpose, and constitutional fidelity.

Kenya's foreign policy was consolidated into a single framework in 2014, bringing together provisions from various sources including the Constitution, treaties, and political pronouncements. The Sessional Paper updates this foundational document to reflect the evolving global and domestic context - climate change, geopolitical shifts, digital disruption, and pandemics. It aligns Kenya's external relations with national agendas like Vision 2030 and the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA), while modernizing the Foreign Service and broadening engagement in emerging diplomatic spheres. Structured across eight chapters, the policy outlines Kenya's diplomatic history, key influences, thematic priorities, institutional frameworks, and strategies for effective implementation and evaluation.

The Sessional Paper aims to elevate Kenya's global standing as a regional leader and advocate for Africa's interests. It prioritizes protecting sovereignty, promoting peace and security, advancing economic and environmental agendas, strengthening global cooperation, and enhancing diaspora engagement. It offers a comprehensive framework grounded in historical context, current global trends, and strategic themes such as digital diplomacy, oceans economy, and science diplomacy.

The Sessional Paper addresses gaps in coordination, funding, and risk management that hindered the 2014 framework. It proposes institutional reforms, legal adjustments, and new focus areas to ensure responsive and inclusive diplomacy. Emphasis is placed on integrating diaspora, environmental, and digital initiatives to better project Kenya's influence and protect its interests in an unpredictable global arena.

To ensure effective execution, the Sessional Paper introduces a robust monitoring and evaluation system supported by NIMES and guided by performance-based frameworks. Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers will track progress, with diaspora-specific metrics like remittances and labor agreements. Legislatively, the policy calls for updates to the Foreign Service Act, Cap. 185E and Privileges and Immunities Act, Cap. 179 to institutionalize professionalism, enhance Nairobi's role as a diplomatic hub, and align Kenya's diplomacy with international standards.

In line with Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution, the Committee ensured robust public participation in its review of the Sessional Paper. A public call for memoranda published on 19th February 2025

yielded six submissions from key stakeholders, including IRSK, MEA, FSC & OVC, and AKDBL Belgium-Luxembourg. While some proposals echoed existing policy provisions or lay outside the Sessional Paper's scope, all contributions enriched the Committee's deliberations—reinforcing transparency, accountability, and constitutional integrity in Kenya's foreign policy making process.

The Committee, after reviewing Sessional Paper and engaging stakeholders made the following observations.

First, it found the policy to be forward-looking and constitutionally grounded. It positions Kenya as a strategic global actor, anchored in peace and security, economic diplomacy, oceans and blue economy, multilateralism, climate action, innovation, diaspora engagement, and socio-cultural diplomacy—all aligned with constitutional mandates. However, the Committee noted implementation hurdles. Weak legal frameworks, institutional inefficiencies, underfunded missions, lack of diaspora and labour migration policies, and poor strategic communication hinder impact. These gaps undermine Articles 10, 19 and 232, calling for reforms, increased funding, and a coherent public diplomacy strategy to protect national interests.

Further, the Committee observed that the Sessional Paper identifies key risks, including legal misalignments, forex instability, shrinking markets, climate shocks, austerity, cybersecurity threats, and regional insecurity. It proposes mitigation via legal reforms, creation of a Diaspora Welfare Fund, digital diplomacy, mission expansion, PPP-driven asset optimization, and reclassification of the Ministry under the Security Sector—a move already approved by Cabinet.

Finally, the Committee noted that to ensure accountability, the Sessional Paper proposes a Results Framework with mid- and end-term reviews, anchored in NIMES, Strategic Plans, and Annual Contracts. Metrics such as remittances and diaspora agreements will guide progress. Partnerships with academia and think tanks will drive adaptive policy through regular assessments.

In conclusion, the Committee urges the House to adopt this Report and approve *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya* as Kenya's authoritative foreign policy blueprint. Its adoption will ensure coherence across all diplomatic legislation and initiatives—fortifying Kenya's voice on the global stage, advancing national interests, and anchoring international engagement in constitutional values and strategic clarity.

Hon. Nelson Koech, CBS, M.P.

Chairperson, Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations

1.0 PREFACE

1.1 Introduction

1. Kenya's place in the world is neither accidental nor static; it is shaped by a deliberate, constitutionally anchored foreign policy. The Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations, pursuant to its oversight mandate under Article 124 of the Constitution and Standing Order 216 of the National Assembly Standing Orders, has rigorously examined Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 - *The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in the Global Landscape*. This Grand Strategy is anchored in Articles 2(5)-(6) and 132(5) of the Constitution and presents a bold vision to safeguard Kenya's sovereignty, expand economic and diplomatic influence, and secure the welfare of Kenyans.
2. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, mandated under Executive Order No. 2 of 2023 was instrumental in formulating the Grand Strategy. The Ministry works to safeguard Kenya's sovereignty, enhance international partnerships, and integrate the diaspora into national development efforts.
3. In line with Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution, the Committee facilitated extensive public participation by soliciting views from the public. These contributions, which have been carefully analyzed and incorporated into Chapter three (3) of this Report, enriched the Committee's analysis, ensuring that the final outcome reflects a wide spectrum of aspirations.

1.2 Committee's Mandate

4. The Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations is one of the Departmental Committees of the National Assembly established under Standing Order 216 whose mandates, pursuant to the Standing Order 216 (5) includes, among others, *to investigate, inquire into, and report on all matters relating to the mandate, management, activities, administration, operations and estimates of the assigned ministries and departments; and to study the programme and policy objectives of Ministries and departments and the effectiveness of the implementation.*

1.3 Committee Subjects

4. The subject matter of the Committee is stated in the Second Schedule of the National Assembly Standing Orders and includes: *defence, intelligence, foreign relations, diplomatic and consular services, international boundaries including territorial waters, international relations, and veteran affairs.*
5. In executing its mandate, the Committee oversees the following government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs):
 - a) The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs;
 - b) The Ministry of Defence;
 - c) The State Department for East African Community Affairs (EAC); and
 - d) The National Intelligence Service (NIS).

1.4 Committee Membership

6. The Committee, initially constituted by the House on 27th October 2022 and reconstituted on 6th March 2025, brings together a diverse and experienced team of legislators entrusted with steering the nation's Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Policy agenda. Its membership is as follows:

Chairperson

Hon. Nelson Koech, CBS, M.P.

Belgut Constituency

UDA Party

Vice-Chairperson

Hon. Maj. (Rtd.) Sheikh Abdullahi Bashir, M.P.

Mandera North Constituency

UDM Party

Members

Hon. Wanjira Martha Wangari, CBS, M.P.

Gilgil Constituency

UDA Party

Hon. Joshua Kandie, M.P.

Baringo Central Constituency

UDA Party

Hon. Hassan Abdi Yusuf, CBS, M.P.

Kamkunji Constituency

Jubilee Party

Hon. Kwenya Thuku Zachary, M.P.

Kinangop Constituency

Jubilee Party

Hon. Odhiambo Millie G. Akoth, M.P.

Suba North Constituency

ODM Party

Hon. Logova Sloya Clement, M.P.

Sabatia Constituency

UDA Party

Hon. Kanchory Elijah Memusi, M.P.

Kajiado Central Constituency

ODM Party

Hon. Ikana Fredrick Lusuli, M.P.

Shinyalu Constituency

ANC Party

Hon. (Dr.) Kasalu Irene Muthoni, MP

Kitui County

WDM-K

Hon. Mohamed A. Hussein, M.P.

Lagdera Constituency

ODM Party

Hon. Kirima Moses Nguchine, M.P.

Imenti Central Constituency

UDA Party

Hon. Anne Wanjiku Muratha, M.P.

Kiambu County

UDA Party

Hon. Luyai Caleb Amisi, M.P.

Saboti Constituency

ODM Party

1.5 Committee Secretariat

7. The Committee Secretariat is composed of a dedicated team of technical experts who provide crucial support to the Committee. It comprises the following staff:

Mr. Dennis Mogare Ogechi
First Clerk Assistant/Head of Secretariat

Mr. Lenny Muchangi
Legal Counsel II

Mr. Bernard Njeru
Clerk Assistant III

Martin Sigei
Research Officer III

Mr. Edwin Machuki
Fiscal Analyst III

Mr. Salat Ali
Principal Serjeant-at-Arms

Ms. Noelle Chelagat
Media Relations Officer II

2.0 CONSIDERATION OF SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 Background

8. The *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya* was laid on the Table of the House on Thursday 13th February 2025 and thereafter committed to the Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations for consideration. A Foreign Policy is a blue print of goals, strategies and actions that a state adopts to guide its foreign relations and diplomatic engagements with other states, international organizations and a myriad of non-state actors in the global arena.
9. In 2014, Kenya consolidated its foreign policy into a single document. Hitherto, it had been captured in a myriad documents including the Constitution, Sessional Papers, party manifestos, international treaties, agreements, conventions and charters, various national plans, policy and legal frameworks as well as political leadership pronouncements. It is the 2014 Foreign Policy document that is being revised to ensure it remains relevant and effective.
10. The Sessional Paper comprises eight (8) chapters. Chapter one outlines Kenya's foreign policy evolution, national interests, values, and objectives, emphasizing the need for a dynamic, inclusive, and development-focused international engagement. Chapter two analyzes global, regional, and domestic factors shaping Kenya's foreign policy, identifying key trends, actors, environments, and legislative frameworks influencing diplomatic strategies. Chapter three reviews Kenya's bilateral relations regionally and globally, and its role in multilateral institutions, highlighting the country's diplomatic achievements and future priorities. Chapter four presents the key thematic areas — including peace, economic diplomacy, environment, technology, diaspora, and socio-cultural relations — that define Kenya's foreign policy priorities and action plans. Chapter five identifies institutional, financial, operational, and strategic challenges facing Kenya's diplomacy and outlines emerging threats such as terrorism and diaspora management concerns. Chapter six explains the structural organization of Kenya's Foreign Service, including financing mechanisms, legal frameworks, and institutional reforms to enhance the effectiveness of diplomatic missions. Chapter seven highlights strategic risks affecting Kenya's foreign policy implementation — including legal, financial, geopolitical, and technological threats — and proposes recommendations to mitigate them. Chapter eight details the framework for measuring and evaluating diplomatic outcomes to ensure continuous improvement, accountability, and alignment with Kenya's foreign policy goals.

2.2 Scope of the Sessional Paper

11. The overall goal of the policy is to enhance the country's standing as a regional leader and an effective advocate for Africa's interests on the global stage. To fulfil this goal, the Foreign Policy will pursue the following specific objectives:
 - a) Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
 - b) Promote regional and global peace and security;
 - c) Advance the country's development agenda and economic prosperity;
 - d) Position Kenya as a leader in environmental and climate action;
 - e) Project, promote and protect the country's image and prestige globally;
 - f) Promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation;
 - g) Promote international cooperation, multilateralism and active participation in global governance;
 - h) Enhance the voice of Kenyans in Diaspora and promote, protect their interests and welfare abroad.

12. The Sessional Paper provides a framework for guiding Kenya's engagement with the international community, reflecting both historical evolution and new strategic priorities. It covers:

- a) Historical Evolution: A detailed review of Kenya's foreign policy trajectory from independence to the present, showing shifts from political to economic diplomacy and the era of formal documentation (2013–2022).
- b) Contextual Analysis: An assessment of global, regional, and domestic trends affecting diplomacy, including technological change, climate challenges, regional security dynamics, and economic globalization.
- c) Thematic Focus Areas: Articulates nine key priority areas (peace and security, economic diplomacy, diaspora engagement, environmental diplomacy, oceans diplomacy, global governance, digital diplomacy, socio-cultural diplomacy, and science and innovation diplomacy).
- d) Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy: Reviews Kenya's relations with its neighbors, the rest of Africa, global powers, and its role in multilateral organizations (e.g., UN, AU).
- e) Institutional and Financial Frameworks: Lays out the governance structures, funding mechanisms, and legal adjustments required to operationalize the foreign policy.
- f) Emerging Challenges: Identifies institutional, financial, technological, and geopolitical risks that could undermine the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.
- g) Strategic Risk Management: Proposes ways to anticipate and mitigate risks, from cybersecurity threats to shifts in global power dynamics.
- h) Monitoring and Evaluation: Establishes clear guidelines for measuring diplomatic performance, ensuring that the policy remains dynamic and adaptable to changing circumstances.

13. In essence, the scope is both broad and deep - covering Kenya's foreign policy principles, operational strategies, thematic priorities, institutional reforms, funding structures, risk mitigation, and accountability mechanisms. It positions Kenya to project influence, safeguard national interests, and actively shape regional and global affairs in a dynamic, uncertain world.

2.3 Rationale for Developing the Sessional Paper

13. The Sessional Paper was developed to respond to profound global, regional, and domestic changes since 2014. Emerging challenges such as climate change, digital transformation, shifting geopolitical alliances, and pandemics made it necessary for Kenya to adopt a more dynamic and responsive foreign policy. The revision aligns Kenya's diplomatic efforts with national priorities like the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA) and Vision 2030, emphasizing economic growth, peace, environmental sustainability, and citizen engagement. It also integrates new focus areas such as diaspora diplomacy, digital diplomacy, oceans economy, and climate action. The policy aims to strengthen Kenya's global influence, modernize its diplomatic service, enhance institutional governance, and ensure that foreign policy directly supports Kenya's development and security interests in an increasingly competitive international arena.

2.4 The Problem that the Sessional Paper Seeks to Address

15. The Sessional Paper seeks to address the limitations of the 2014 policy in responding to emerging global, regional, and domestic challenges. It aims to bridge the gap between Kenya's diplomatic ambitions and the rapidly evolving international environment by strengthening institutional coordination, aligning foreign policy with national development goals, expanding economic and diaspora diplomacy, and incorporating new areas like digital diplomacy, climate action, and blue economy initiatives. The policy also tackles issues of inadequate financing, risk management, and the need for more citizen-centered, inclusive, and proactive foreign engagement.

2.5 Monitoring and Evaluation

16. Chapter 8 of the Sessional Paper emphasizes the importance of systematically measuring diplomatic outcomes to assess the effectiveness and impact of its initiatives. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will collaborate with academic institutions and think tanks to develop tools for evaluating progress, with both mid-term and end-term reviews planned. A dedicated Results Framework will define specific performance indicators, facilitating evidence-based decision-making and allowing for timely adjustments to strategies in response to emerging global and domestic challenges. This progressive approach ensures that the policy remains flexible, continuously improves during implementation, and stays aligned with Kenya's evolving national priorities.
17. Monitoring and evaluation activities will be coordinated under the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System (NIMES) and guided by national frameworks like Strategic Plans, Annual Performance Contracts, and the Medium-Term Plan.
18. The Ministry will prepare Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers to guide yearly implementation priorities and assess performance through regular reports. Specific diaspora indicators, such as remittance flows and successful labour agreements, will also be tracked to ensure alignment with the Kenya Diaspora Policy. Ultimately, the success of monitoring and evaluation will depend on the commitment of all implementing institutions, with provisions for periodic policy reviews to adapt to changing domestic and international environments.

2.6 Legislative Interventions Highlighted in the Policy

19. The Sessional Paper underscores the need for a strong legal framework to support the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in effectively implementing its mandate. To this end, the Ministry will prioritize reviewing and developing laws that strengthen its operations and align them with evolving domestic and international demands. A key focus is the review and full operationalization of the Foreign Service Act Cap. 185E through the development of comprehensive Foreign Service Regulations. This review aims to address gaps in the Act, enhance institutional capacity, professionalism, and accountability, and ensure that Kenya's Foreign Service remains relevant in the changing global diplomatic environment. Additionally, amendments will seek to institutionalize a 70:30 ratio favoring career diplomats over political appointees in ambassadorial appointments.
20. The policy also calls for the review of the Privileges and Immunities Act Cap. 179 to bolster Kenya's ability to attract and host regional, United Nations, and other intergovernmental agencies. Strengthening this legal framework will enhance Nairobi's position as a global diplomatic hub by ensuring that Host Country Agreements with international organizations are efficiently administered. The review aims to modernize the processes for granting privileges and immunities to external officials and organizations, aligning Kenya's diplomatic infrastructure with international best practices and supporting the country's broader foreign policy objectives.

3.0 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION / STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATION

21. Pursuant to Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution, which requires Parliament to facilitate public participation and involvement in the legislative and other business of Parliament and its Committees, the Committee conducted public participation in its consideration of the Sessional Paper. The Committee invited written submissions through advertisements placed in two local dailies, on 19th February 2025, calling for submissions of memoranda from the public.
22. By the close of the deadline, the Committee had received six (6) memoranda on the Sessional Paper from the following stakeholders: *International Relations Society of Kenya (IRSK); Anastasia Mwangi; Kenya National Commission on Human Rights; Food Security Consortium (FSC) & One Voice Consortium (OVC); Kenya National Interface Team; and AKDBL Belgium-Luxembourg - Sammy Mburu*. In addition, the Committee held a consultative meeting with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs on 4th and 5th April 2025 to deliberate on the contents of the Sessional Paper. The insights gathered informed the Committee's analysis and are duly reflected hereunder.

3.1 International Relations Society of Kenya (IRSK)

24. The International Relations Society of Kenya (IRSK) serves as a forum for exchanging ideas and networking among those involved in the study, teaching and practice of international relations and diplomacy. The Society made proposals on the following aspects of the Sessional Paper:
25. On page 7, Chapter 1 under subsection 1.3.1 on Policy Context and Rationale for the Foreign Policy Review, where the government identifies illicit financial flows and money laundering as one of the newly emerging global security threats.

Proposal: The Society urges that Illicit Financial Flows be redefined to include proceeds of crime, money laundering, and aggressive tax avoidance, framing these exploitative losses as a security threat that worsens Kenya's debt and undermines public services. The society cites the February 2025 study *Missing Millions (Investigative Desk, University of Bath Tobacco Control Research Group, and TJNA)* uncovered unexplained gaps of KES 9.6 billion (USD 93 m) in BAT Kenya's 2017–18 accounts, pointing to as much as USD 28 m in avoided profit tax.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted that the issue was not within the purview of the State Department of Foreign Affairs.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the proposed definition of Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs) is best suited under the relevant legislation dealing with economic crimes, proceeds of crime and anti-money laundering.

26. On page 38, Chapter 4 under subsection 4.2.1, on the Table describing the objectives of Peace and Security Diplomacy, the third objective states that Kenya seeks to "Enhance regional capacity for conflict, mediation, and negotiations"

Proposal: Amend the likely typographical error by removing the comma to read Kenya seeks to "Enhance regional capacity for conflict mediation and negotiations". The Society felt that with Kenya's recent involvement in DRC and Sudan, the objective in question risks suggesting a capacity—and intent—to destabilize the region, contradicting its peace-focused policy.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry concurs with the proposed amendment.

Committee Observation: The Committee endorsed that the proposed amendment be adopted in the Sessional Paper.

27. On page 51, Chapter 4 under subsection 4.9.1 specifically describing Cultural Diplomacy.

Proposal: Create Walibora Kiswahili Centres in embassies worldwide to advance soft power through language education, translation, and national branding. The Society argued that Prof. Walibora – an author of 40 + works since the 1996 classic *Siku Njema*—symbolizes Kiswahili’s allure and leveraging his legacy can propel Foreign Policy *Mashinani* and Diaspora Policy *Mashinani* outreach initiatives.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Diaspora Policy 2024 materials will be translated into Kiswahili and, with a new popular edition, distributed to churches, NGAOs, recruitment firms, and Kenyan and foreign missions. A broadened communication plan will publicize the State Department’s mandate, distress-contact channels, and overseas job-placement process to deepen diaspora engagement.

Committee Observation: The Sessional Paper already champions all forms of cultural expression—from literature and language to cuisine, media, science, and heritage tourism.

28. On page 68, Chapter 5 under section 5.4 in relation to Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues where Kenya aligns itself to the 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.

Proposal: 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. The Society urged for the need to state clearly that Kenya aligns with the AU on Western Sahara, backing the UN-led peace process through the AU troika.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya backs the OAU’s 1982 admission of the SADR, aligns with AU self-determination resolutions, and supports UN Security Council Resolution 690 (1991) calling for a UN-AU-supervised referendum in Western Sahara.

Committee Observation: The Committee observed that due to the dynamic nature of foreign relations and policy, it is prudent to exclude the position of the country in its foreign policy document on such matters.

29. On page 86, Chapter 7 on under section 7.3 on Recommendations and Petitions, (viii) 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.

Proposal: Amend this recommendation to ensure that the changes to the Foreign Service Act plus its attendant regulations guarantee the *immediate* realization of the objective to fully enhance all of Kenya's diplomatic representation and *staffing at the proposed ratio of the proposed ratio of 70:30*. The Society argued that greater transparency in diplomatic appointments will also expose the Foreign Service's opaque hiring practices for lower cadres, which flouts constitutional, legal, and strategic HR standards.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The 70:30 ratio would be achieved by amending Section 20 (3) (a) of the Foreign Service Act to provide for a fair balance between career diplomats and other appointees of which three quarters shall be career diplomats. The Public Service Commission, under Article 234 and Sections 36, 37, and 45 of the Public Service Commission Act, 2017, oversees recruitment of all other diplomatic staff.

Committee Observation: Implementing a 70:30 ratio favoring career diplomats for Heads of Mission requires amending the Foreign Service Act to establish the necessary legislative framework.

3.2 Ms. Anastasia Mwangi

30. Ms. Anastasia Mwangi made proposals on the following aspects of the Sessional Paper:

31. On page 48, Chapter 4 under subsection 4.8.1, on Rights, welfare and interests of the Kenyan Diaspora, The diaspora will be mainstreamed into the national development and democratic processes

Proposal: Establish a Dedicated Diaspora Engagement Unit in Kenyan embassies/consulates to focus on consular services, investment facilitation, cultural promotion, and grievance resolution, ensuring proactive and responsive diaspora engagement.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department for Diaspora Affairs has prioritized posting Diaspora Officers in high-distress missions to deliver frontline assistance and advance diaspora diplomacy by engaging Kenyan communities abroad.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Sessional Paper already tasks Kenya Missions abroad with advocating targeted investments via intermediary investment-management facilities. The other aspects articulated by Ms. Mwangi can be infused into the regular roles played by Foreign Service Officers already stationed abroad with support from a slim establishment of Diaspora Officers in high-distress missions.

32. On page 49, Under Chapter 4 subsection 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.

Proposals: First, create a one-stop digital diaspora platform integrated with government databases for services, feedback, and sentiment analysis. Second, launch official social-media channels to share updates, reminders, and impact stories. Finally, modernize the MFA website for richer content and full accessibility, including streamlined e-services like passport renewal.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department for Diaspora Affairs is building the Diaspora Integrated Information Management System (DIIMS) to

centralize engagement, service delivery, and mapping, while eCitizen integration across agencies continues to improve access. The Ministry of ICT is securing verified social-media handles for MDAs to boost credibility, and the State Department is revamping its website to include PWD-friendly features under government web-standards.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted the Ministry's steps to address the memoranda's concerns.

33. On page 49, Under Chapter 4 subsection 4.8.3 Partnerships and engagement with the Kenyan Diaspora, A Diaspora Summit, comprising of elected diaspora council members will be formed to foster unity. Cooperation, resolve conflicts and strengthen Kenya Identity abroad.

Proposal: Establish a formal Diaspora framework and advisory council to engage community groups, collect and analyze diaspora sentiments and demographics, and integrate their input into policy-making.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The 2024 Diaspora Policy establishes an elected Diaspora Summit to foster unity, cooperation, and Kenyan identity abroad through dialogue, collaboration, and advocacy. This structured forum will align diaspora contributions with Kenya's development goals.

Committee Observation: The Committee notes that the 2024 Diaspora Policy establishes the Diaspora Summit to foster cooperation and unity.

3.3 Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

34. The Commission asserts that the following Human Rights related concerns ought to be addressed:

35. Peace and Security

- a) Porous borders vulnerable to foreign attacks; cross-border conflicts that endanger Kenyans' lives and livelihoods; and persistent harassment of Lake Victoria fisherfolk by Ugandan authorities—resulting in deaths, kidnappings, loss of livelihood, and unfair trials.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The issues raised are critical and may need to be addressed through the existing mechanisms already in place to deal with them.

- b) Asymmetrical defense pacts with other countries for example, the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) which has inflicted deaths, injuries, sexual violence on the host communities; Uncertainty on funding of peacekeeping missions.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry submitted that this issue was not within the purview of the State Department for Foreign Affairs.

- c) 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.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Kenya-led Haiti MSS is funded by trust-fund contributions under UN Res. 2699 (2023); the UN Secretary-General now recommends shifting to assessed funding.

- d) Address women's marginalization in peace and security and the forced return of refugees, breaching the UN Refugee Convention.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Since UNSCR 1325, Kenya has championed Women, Peace and Security—highlighting women's roles in conflict prevention and peacebuilding and making it a priority during its 2021–22 UN Security Council term. As a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention (domesticated via the Refugee Act 2021 and 2024 Regulations) and the Global Compact for Refugees, Kenya launched the Shirika Plan on 28 March 2025 to shift from camps to integrated settlements, promote self-reliance, and pursue durable, inclusive solutions.

36. Economic and Commercial Diplomacy

- a) Economic Partnership Agreements and Human Rights: Foreign companies in Kenya must follow the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the National Action Plan, yet some face allegations of low pay, poor working conditions, unfair dismissals, environmental damage, and resource smuggling.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya's ratified frameworks require multinationals to safeguard national and worker interests through anti-exploitation rules, fair pay guarantees, and strict adherence to local labour laws.

- b) Labor Migration: Full Implementation of the Global Labor Market Strategy. Guarantee fair pay and working conditions in Bilateral Labour Agreements—with clear accountability for breaches—while mandating Kenyan Missions abroad to register migrants, keep their records current, and promptly assist those in distress.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department for Labour and Skills Development is rolling out the Global Labour Market Strategy and Sessional Paper No. 5 (2023) to ensure safe, orderly, and productive labour migration. It's negotiating bilateral labour agreements with Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, UK, Austria, and Germany—now being aligned to ILO standards and the Global Compact for Migration—and expanding Labour Attaché posts (currently in KSA, Qatar, UAE, Geneva, plus a new post in Germany) to enhance consular support.

- c) Proactively resolve bilateral trade and livestock disputes—like Tanzania's 2017 burning of chicks, 2020 livestock auctions, and Uganda's 2012 herder detentions—through diplomatic negotiation to safeguard Kenyan livelihoods.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department uses Joint Trade Commissions, Joint Commissions for Cooperation, Joint Ministerial Commissions, and EAC Sectoral Councils to resolve NTBs and strengthen trade ties, producing MoUs that prevent future disputes.

- d) Protect local industries with import safeguards and production subsidies, and support MSMEs with funding and export links for avocados and macadamia nuts.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: KETRA shields Kenyan producers from dumping and unfair subsidies; the National Fertilizer Subsidy Program boosts farm productivity and competitiveness; and MSMEs gain affordable credit (Uwezo, Hustler Fund), training (KIBT), incubation (Kenya Industrial Estates), and market development support.

- e) Expedite ratification of ILO Conventions 189 (Decent Work for Domestic Workers) and 190 (Elimination of Violence and Harassment in the World of Work).

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department for Labour has begun ratifying ILO Conventions 189 (Domestic Workers) and 190 (Violence and Harassment).

- f) Tourism Diplomacy- Enforce child-protection laws (from sexual exploitation), share wildlife revenues with communities, compensate wildlife-attack victims, uphold responsible hospitality conduct, and mitigate travel advisories through intelligence sharing and 24/7 security.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry stated the issue falls outside its remit.

37. Oceans and Blue Diplomacy

- a) The government should strengthen enforcement against illegal, unlicensed, and unregulated fishing in Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean; equitably share Port of Mombasa revenues with the county government and expand seafaring training for coastal youth; and enhance water-transport safety by forging public-private partnerships for Likoni Channel crossings, bolstering rescue capacity on Lake Victoria and Lake Turkana, and coordinating multinational efforts to combat Indian Ocean piracy.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Prioritize digital traceability to curb illegal fishing, ratify the WTO Fisheries Subsidies Agreement, and strengthen research and management through IOTC and IORA collaborations.

- b) Enforce strict controls on industrial effluent and plastic waste while turning Lake Victoria's water hyacinth into a resource; bolster flood preparedness as rising water levels threaten communities; and restore shrinking rivers and lakes (Ol Bolosat, Kenyatta, Kanyaboli) via large-scale tree planting under the 15 billion-trees by 2032 plan.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: In 2019, Kenya banned single-use plastics in protected areas under KWS oversight, and KMFRI now leads national marine-litter monitoring to inform local pollution control efforts.

38. Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy

The government should expedite ratification and domestication of human-rights instruments—such as the Convention on Enforced Disappearances—while faithfully upholding the UN Charter, the AU Constitutive Act, and the EAC Treaty.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya demonstrates its human-rights commitment through broad treaty membership, regular reporting and dialogue with treaty bodies, and comprehensive domestic legal, policy, and judicial measures to protect every citizen's rights.

39. Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy

Kenya should fully implement its MEA commitments—Paris Agreement and UNFCCC—and enforce EMCA through NEMA and stakeholders; fund climate-smart agriculture and innovations (adaptation, mitigation, carbon trading, renewables, early warning and response); and urgently ratify UNDRIP to protect Indigenous Peoples' rights.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya is a signatory to the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement, pledging to cut greenhouse-gas emissions, build climate resilience, and shift to a low-carbon economy, and it has bolstered its global leadership by actively engaging in UNFCCC conferences and negotiations.

40. Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy

Kenya must shore up cybersecurity to protect government websites; invest in AI capacity building for responsible technology use; enforce local laws on tech giants to curb labor abuses, online hate, child sexual abuse, and disinformation; boost STEM by funding TTIs, VTCs, exchange programs, scholarships, and encouraging women and girls; resource tech incubation hubs like Konza Technopolis and ward-level centers; and fast-track Science, Technology and Innovation laws, including the Technopolis Bill 2024.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya is finalizing its National Cybersecurity Policy and audit framework, ratifying AU and UN cyber conventions, and has launched the Kenya AI Strategy 2025–2030 to drive AI investment and talent; it's drafting Social Media Guidelines, actively implementing the Data Protection Act while harmonizing with GDPR, and engaging stakeholders across government, private sector, and donors; under its STI strategy it commits 2 percent of GDP to R&D, and the Konza Technopolis Bill—now before Parliament—will establish regional tech hubs.

41. Diaspora Diplomacy

Ensure the State Department for Diaspora Affairs remains permanent and well-resourced to serve over four million Kenyans abroad; progressively guarantee diaspora voting in presidential elections, starting with countries hosting the largest communities; secure National Assembly funding for missions to provide consular support; engage diaspora stakeholders like the Kenya Diaspora Alliance; implement the Diaspora Policy and operationalize the Diaspora Placement Agency; and regulate labour migration effectively.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Government will anchor diaspora matters in law through the Diaspora Bill 2025—being drafted with stakeholders—to institutionalize the State Department's mandate, implement the Kenya Diaspora Policy 2024 across MDAs, counties, Parliament, diaspora associations, development partners, and the private sector, and establish the Diaspora Placement Agency as a

semi-autonomous body to ensure ethical recruitment, international labour-mobility frameworks, and the welfare of Kenyan workers abroad.

42. Socio-cultural Diplomacy

- a) Guarantee full facilitation for athletes abroad (e.g., Rio 2016) and enforce transparent, accountable governance in sports federations to maintain morale and prevent talent defections.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry submitted that the issue falls outside its mandate.

- b) Enforce IP laws—patents, copyrights, and trademarks—for Kenyan cultural goods like the Maasai shuka; meet the Abuja Declaration by allocating at least 15 % of national and county budgets to health to reduce aid reliance; and grant citizenship to returning African diaspora under the AU’s Abuja Proclamation.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: There is need for a Policy framework to align with the AU Declaration on the 6th region.

Committee Observation: The Committee observed that the KNCHR’s submissions reflected general foreign-relations challenges rather than issues specific to the Sessional Paper, and that the Ministry clarified which concerns lay outside its scope and outlined actions taken to address the other human-rights issues raised.

3.4 Food Security Consortium (FSC) & One Voice Consortium (OVC).

43. The Consortium made proposals on the following strategic objectives of the Foreign Policy—

44. Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity:

Proposal: The Kenyan diaspora in the US can protect Kenya’s sovereignty and advance its interests by engaging policymakers, promoting investment and tourism, fostering academic partnerships, and using media to shape narratives—strengthening US-Kenya ties and empowering the diaspora.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department, through Missions in Washington D.C. New York, and Los Angeles, empowers the Kenyan diaspora to serve as brand ambassadors by supporting diaspora associations and leveraging them to boost trade and investment with the USA.

Committee Observations: The Committee asserted that the diaspora community cannot directly engage foreign governments or lawmakers since it is a preserve of official diplomatic representatives.

45. Promote regional and global peace and security:

Proposal: Engage US lawmakers, media, and diaspora communities to advocate for Kenya’s peace and security efforts; host educational events; partner with African diaspora groups; and promote US investment in Kenya’s security and humanitarian sectors—advancing global peace, regional stability, and US-Kenya ties.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The State Department, through Missions in Washington D.C. New York, and Los Angeles, regularly engages US State

Department officials, lawmakers, and congressional staff on regional and global peace and security. The Missions also promote Kenya's cultural heritage through events, while the US continues to fund the MSS mission and other security programs in Kenya.

46. Advance the country's development agenda and economic prosperity:

Proposal: To drive development and economic prosperity, Kenya must fully engage its population in maximizing land use to achieve food security—viewed as a national security priority. Robust food value chains and supporting infrastructure should absorb deployable labor across all skill levels.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry submitted that the issue was not within its purview.

47. Position Kenya as a leader in environment and climate action:

Proposal: Kenya must cut greenhouse gas emissions—particularly from used vehicles—and expand green leaf cover to absorb CO₂, lower surface temperatures, reduce evapotranspiration, curb soil erosion, and boost water percolation.

48. Protect, promote and protected country's image and prestige globally:

Proposal: Expand consular services across the US to reduce delays, enhance online platforms for timely information, and strengthen ties with the US Embassy in Nairobi to ease visa processes and push for ESTA status. Develop a diaspora social welfare system, enable portability of social protections, and facilitate recognition of Kenyan qualifications. Foster partnerships with US institutions and labor offices to support smooth labor exchange, enhance outreach, and promote employment and social integration—ultimately strengthening diaspora relations and boosting national development.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry, through Missions in Washington D.C. New York, and Los Angeles, conducts Mobile Consular Services to reach Kenyans across the U.S. It also engages foreign missions in Nairobi through regular briefings, exchanges, and meetings.

49. Promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation:

Proposal: Kenya should market its exports and promote businesses abroad by leveraging the diaspora as brand ambassadors, while tapping into AfCFTA, EAC, and SADC blocs with skilled negotiators to secure better terms—especially in value addition and manufacturing. Diaspora remittances and investments remain key drivers of national and regional development.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Through the State Departments for Foreign Affairs and Trade, and KEPROBA, the government promotes Kenyan MSME products abroad by participating in trade exhibitions and organizing Business and Investment Forums to connect producers with foreign investors.

50. Promote international cooperation multilateralism and active participation in global governance:

Proposal: Kenya should uphold true multilateralism and actively advocate for a just, equitable global governance system, including pushing for a permanent UN seat to represent African interests.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Kenya values multilateralism and a rules-based international system with the UN at its core, calling for renewed, integrated, and inclusive multilateral approaches to tackle global challenges effectively.

51. Enhance the voices of Kenyans in the diaspora and promote and protect their interests and welfare abroad:

Proposal: Facilitate diaspora voting by extending registration periods and expanding centers, increase consulates or mobile services, and incentivize remittances through diaspora bonds and investment protections. Establish a welfare fund for financial distress, prevent double taxation via reciprocal treaties, and uphold diaspora rights, especially in regions like the Middle East. Engage Parliament to amend laws that bar dual citizens from state appointments—strengthening diaspora ties, boosting remittances, and deepening national pride.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry, in collaboration with IEBC, continues to enhance diaspora participation in Kenya's democratic processes through voter registration, education, and expanded polling access. Mobile Consular Services have supported registration and documentation, while strengthening diaspora associations. The Ministry, in conjunction with the National Treasury, is negotiating Double Taxation Agreements despite their complexity. Additionally, the diaspora plans to petition Parliament to amend constitutional clauses that bar dual citizens from state appointments.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the memorandum lacked clarity on whether it sought to replace or expand the current strategic objectives of the policy. Additionally, the Ministry had adequately responded to the concerns raised.

3.5 Kenya National Interface Team

52. The Kenya National Interface Team made the following submission on the Sessional Paper—

53. Public Participation:

Proposal: The team noted the absence of documentation outlining the changes made from the 2014 Foreign Policy to the current Sessional Paper. It is essential to include this information, along with public input, to clarify what prompted the review of the 2014 policy—particularly in light of the Cabinet Secretary's reference to "rapid changes" as the rationale.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry undertook a comprehensive review of Kenya's Foreign Policy, initially published in 2014, through an inclusive and participatory process. Stakeholders were engaged via colloquia, roundtables, and written submissions, including input from the public, MDAs, counties (via CoG), Parliament, senior officials, academia, media, CSOs, youth, judiciary, private sector, and faith-based organizations. Notably, a public stakeholders' forum was held on 18th November 2024 to enrich the review process.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Ministry had conducted public participation on the Sessional Paper.

54. Budgeting requirements and allocations:

Comment: The Kenya National Interface Team noted that the Sessional Paper lacks clear implementation costing and enters FY 2025/26 with a KES 31.25 B deficit—allocated KES 21.65 B against a requirement of KES 52.9 B—with similar shortfalls in the development and Diaspora budgets.

55. Outputs reporting, not outcomes:

Comment: 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.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The MFDA serves as Kenya's frontline defense of sovereignty and national interests, with diplomatic missions providing the framework for negotiations, representation, and diaspora protection—engagements that over 60 years have delivered economic, security, agricultural, health, education, and cultural benefits.

Committee Observation: The Committee found the Ministry's response justifiable and aligned with the Sessional Paper.

56. MFDA Raison D'etre:

Proposal: Despite missions rising from 16 in 1995 to 68 in 2025 and plans to expand staff to 3,000 by 2030 under a 70:30 career-to-other appointees ratio, staffing already consumes 65 % of the MFDA budget. Before approving this Sessional Paper, a full staff audit is essential to verify compliance and ensure the policy review meets legitimate scrutiny.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The 70:30 ratio is a new proposal to ensure that appointment of Ambassadors and High Commissioners is fair and equitable and does not disadvantage career diplomats. Facing under-resourcing and rising global demands, the Ministry needs a professional, skilled Foreign Service to fully fulfil its mandate.

Committee Observation: The Committee endorsed a staff audit as reasonable to verify Foreign Service qualifications and support the 70:30 ratio's implementation.

57. Guiding Values and Principles on Environmental Sustainability and Natural Resources Including Minerals:

Proposal: Environmental sustainability should be guided by the values and principles of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This approach ensures that foreign policy on natural resources, including minerals, protects national sovereignty, promotes sustainable development, and guarantees equitable benefit sharing for all Kenyans.

Committee Observation: The Sessional Paper already addresses environmental and climate change diplomacy. Article 10 of the Constitution, as part of Kenyan law, must guide the policy's implementation.

58. Public Debt, National Interest and National Obligations

Proposal: While the policy recognizes the importance of managing public debt, it must ensure debt repayment does not compromise national interest. Clear guidelines are needed to balance repayments with investments that uphold sovereignty, economic stability, and social justice under Article 43 of the Constitution.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry submitted that the issue falls outside its mandate and the scope of the Sessional Paper.

59. Overarching Guiding Values and Principles

Proposal: The policy lacks clear guiding values and principles for its implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. It should adopt key principles such as Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity, National Unity and Patriotism, Rule of Law, Social Justice, Economic Stability, Environmental Sustainability, Public Participation, and Accountability.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Sessional Paper already outlines core principles to guide its implementation and international relations.

60. Lack of Clear Definition of National Interest

Proposal: Include a clear definition in the policy: Kenya's primary national interest is to safeguard its sovereignty.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Sessional Paper, on page 2, clearly defines prioritized national interests as per Article 238(1) of the Constitution and the national security sector. These include sovereignty, territorial integrity, citizen security, economic prosperity, socio-political stability, national values, constitutionalism, sustainable development, and global competitiveness.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Sessional Paper already outlines Kenya's national interests.

61. Implementation Plan and Monitoring and Evaluation Plan:

Proposal: Develop a detailed action plan with clear timelines for each policy objective, and establish strong monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure timely tracking of progress and resolution of issues.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Government will track policy implementation using existing tools such as MDAs' Strategic Plans, Performance Contracts, and the Annual President's Report. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will publish Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers to guide priorities. Progress will be monitored through periodic evaluations, midterm and end-term reviews, and partnerships with academic institutions to develop impact assessment tools.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Sessional Paper includes a monitoring, evaluation, and reporting framework, along with a summary of institutional roles in policy implementation.

62. Balancing National and Public Interest:

Proposal: Provide clearer guidance on balancing national and public interests, especially where conflicts may arise, by including case studies or best practices to illustrate practical approaches.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: Balancing national and public interests is a broader governance issue. The policy addresses this by promoting public engagement in its eight focus areas as needed and by briefing citizens through the Kenya Foreign Policy Mashinani initiative—ensuring a people-centered, dialogue-driven approach.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that national interest is sufficiently addressed in the Sessional Paper and found the Ministry's response adequate.

63. Engagement with Social Media Feedback:

Proposal: Include a summary of key public concerns raised via social media and outline how this feedback will inform policy implementation—strengthening transparency, accountability, and citizen engagement.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry handles public concerns raised on social media through immediate responses and referral to the Public Complaints Committee for analysis and resolution. An Access to Information Officer will be appointed to facilitate information sharing, and a proposed monthly public engagement will address compiled feedback across platforms to enhance transparency and service delivery.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the Sessional Paper already provides for incorporating feedback from social media engagement.

64. Economic Sovereignty:

Proposal: Develop clear guidelines to balance debt repayment with strategic investments that strengthen economic sovereignty and reduce external dependence. Enact stand-alone Public Debt Management legislation to ensure transparency, enforce prudent borrowing, establish oversight bodies like a Public Debt Management Authority and Registrar of Debts, and align with Articles 211, 212, and 203(1)(a) of the Constitution—while addressing odious debt and related sanctions.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry submitted that the issue falls outside its purview.

Committee Observation: The Committee observed that the National Treasury is the appropriate entity to implement the proposal.

65. Regional and Global Integration:

Proposal: Outline targeted strategies for strengthening alliances within regional and international frameworks, including structured engagement with key partners, proactive participation in platforms like the AU, EAC, COMESA, AfCFTA, and UN bodies, and leveraging these relationships to advance Kenya's trade, investment, and economic diplomacy objectives.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry engages continuously at bilateral and multilateral levels to build and strengthen trade partnerships. Recent agreements like the Kenya-EU EPA and Kenya-UAE CEPA reflect this commitment. Kenya also actively participates in frameworks such as AfCFTA, EAC, COMESA, OACPS-EU, and AGOA to advance its trade and economic interests globally.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that while the Ministry adequately outlined its efforts to promote regional and global integration, it did not provide specific strategies for strengthening regional and international alliances.

66. Capacity Building:

Proposal: Invest in capacity building and training programs for government officials and stakeholders to equip them with the skills and knowledge needed for effective policy implementation.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that proposed amendments to the Foreign Service Academy aim to provide training for all public and state officers in Foreign Service.

67. Public Participation:

Proposal: Enhance public participation by expanding opportunities for citizens, civil society, the private sector, and other non-state actors to engage in policy implementation through consultations, town halls, and online forums.

Comments by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs: The Ministry noted that the review of the 2014 Kenya Foreign Policy followed a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach, with broad stakeholder engagement—including a Public Validation Forum on 18th November 2024. Inputs from these consultations were incorporated into the revised 2024 Policy. Implementation will involve continuous stakeholder engagement, monitoring, and evaluation using existing government tools.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that public participation was undertaken in the development of the Sessional Paper.

3.6 AKDBL Belguim-Luxembourg

68. AKDBL Belguim-Luxembourg submitted the following proposals to be included in the foreign policy:

69. Refugee Integration:

Proposal: Kenya should legally guarantee refugee access to education, documentation, jobs, housing, and citizenship to boost stability and affirm its role as a responsible host.

70. Increasing Labour Flow within the EAC region

Proposal: Seamless EAC labour flow is key to integration. Cutting job barriers boosts interdependence, competitiveness, and regional stability.

71. Collective Trade Negotiations as the EAC Customs Union

Proposal: Kenya should prioritize negotiating trade agreements through the EAC Customs Union framework rather than pursuing unilateral deals, to uphold regional unity and collective bargaining strength.

72. Securing Kenya's Genetic Wealth and Biodiversity

Proposal: Kenya must legally protect its agricultural and genetic resources by recognizing communal ownership in trade diplomacy, ensuring access to seeds and fertility artefacts, and safeguarding indigenous knowledge from exploitation by multinationals.

73. Freedom of Speech in Trade Negotiations and Sovereignty in Bilateral Agreements.

Proposal: Trade agreements must uphold Kenya's sovereignty and protect freedom of speech, allowing open discourse on issues like genocide and human rights.

74. Respecting and Enforcing International Treaties

Proposal: Kenya must enforce human rights treaties and avoid becoming a haven for perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

Committee Observation: The Committee noted that the memoranda offered general suggestions best addressed during the policy's implementation phase.

3.7 Consultative Meeting with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

75. The Cabinet Secretary for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs appeared before the Committee on 4th and 5th April 2025 and briefed it on the contents of the Sessional Paper. The briefing focused on the following aspects: transitioning from Kenya Foreign Policy to Sessional Paper; financing of the Foreign Policy; and the acquisition, development, and management of Kenya's assets at the headquarters and abroad.
76. On transitioning from Kenya Foreign Policy to Sessional Paper, the following issues were articulated and attendant resolutions made:
- (1) To reposition Kenya's Foreign Policy, the Sessional Paper should address shifting global alignments, including the U.S. 10% tariff on exports, assert sovereignty amid declining UN financing, and clarify U.S. policy impacts on peacekeeping and labour mobility.
 - (2) To clarify mandates in diaspora and labour engagement, it was resolved that the State Department for Diaspora Affairs should focus on broader diaspora support, advocacy, and facilitation, while labour mobility abroad should remain under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection to avoid mandate overlaps.
 - (3) To optimize human resources in missions abroad, it was resolved that the State Department for Diaspora Affairs should utilize existing embassy personnel instead of establishing new diaspora offices, and the Ministry should repurpose current roles to address emerging policy needs without increasing staff.
 - (4) To reaffirm foreign policy as a strategic instrument, it was resolved that the Sessional Paper must reflect Kenya's long-term national aspirations, not just budgetary goals. Additionally, diaspora policy should prioritize the welfare, dignity, and inclusion of Kenyans abroad, fostering meaningful engagement over mere remittance extraction.
 - (5) To strengthen Defence Diplomacy, it was resolved that the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs should establish a Defence Coordination Office to support joint planning and diplomatic roles for military officers in missions, and formalize a framework with the Ministry of Defence for sustained collaboration in projecting Kenya's security interests abroad.
77. On Financing of the Foreign Policy, the following issues were articulated and attendant resolutions made:
- (1) To secure strategic financing and advance economic diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will deepen collaboration with the Ministries of Trade, Investments and Industry and Labour and Social Protection to mobilize funding; diversify Kenya's export markets—especially in Europe and beyond—to sustain long-term engagements; and urge the AU to strengthen regional cooperation, drive economic diversification, and bolster strategic partnerships.
 - (2) Following its reclassification from the Public Administration and International Relations cluster to the Security Sector Working Group, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will benefit from a higher budget ceiling to support more robust global security engagement and strategic diplomacy.
 - (3) To enhance efficient representation, the Ministry will expand the use of Honorary Consuls in countries with limited diplomatic presence—while acknowledging their political

limitations—prioritize multiple accreditation of missions to optimize coverage and reduce costs, ensure all outbound and inbound visits, including presidential travel, adhere to budgetary limits, and urgently resolve delayed remuneration for diplomats abroad to uphold the Foreign Service’s dignity.

78. On acquisition, development, and management of Kenya’s assets at the headquarters and abroad, the following issues were articulated and attendant resolutions made:
- (1) To optimize Kenya’s diplomatic assets and bolster mission security, the Ministry will adopt a PPP model to modernize infrastructure at home and abroad; pursue reciprocal land-allocation agreements where PPPs aren’t viable; prioritize securitization of high-risk posts—drawing lessons from the DRC attack; and submit to Parliament a comprehensive matrix of all movable and immovable assets, both domestic and foreign.
 - (2) To ensure accountability and stewardship of diplomatic properties, the Ministry will prioritize developing underutilized assets abroad—such as Kinshasa land that is lacking title deeds and remains undeveloped despite reciprocal investment in Nairobi—and establish an institutional mechanism to formally register, safeguard, and protect sovereign gifts and donated properties for the long term.

4.0 COMMITTEE OBSERVATIONS

75. Having carefully examined the proposed strategy as presented in *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya*, cognizant of Kenya's national interests and responsive to evolving regional and global dynamics, the Committee made the following key observations:

(1) Fundamentally, the Sessional Paper articulates a forward-looking and constitutionally grounded foreign policy framework that positions Kenya as a dynamic, resilient, and influential actor on the regional and world stage. The paper reaffirms the nation's enduring commitment to strategic, sustainable, and globally responsive diplomacy across multiple critical **focus areas**:

- a) First, Kenya's Peace and Security diplomacy, anchored in Article 238 of the Constitution and aligned with the UN Charter, AU Constitutive Act, and EAC Treaty, reinforces its role as a regional stabilizer through peacekeeping, mediation, and defence partnerships, guided by a structured defence diplomacy strategy.
- b) Moreover, the Paper elevates Economic and Commercial Diplomacy as central to Kenya's foreign policy, anchored in Articles 10 and 201 of the Constitution. It emphasizes trade, FDI promotion, tourism, the creative economy, and conferencing to foster global partnerships and drive inclusive, sustainable growth.
- c) In addition, Oceans and Blue Diplomacy is prioritized for sustainable development, anchored in Article 69 of the Constitution, by promoting marine resource use, maritime security, and diaspora expertise for national prosperity.
- d) Furthermore, Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy remains grounded in Articles 2(5)-(6), as Kenya advocates for rule-based multilateralism, AU empowerment, and institutional reforms to foster peace and equity.
- e) Equally, Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy aligns with Article 69, with Kenya advancing climate financing, UNEP and UN-Habitat support, and green innovation partnerships to lead Africa's green transition.
- f) Similarly, Science, Technology, and Innovation Diplomacy, under Article 11(2) (b), focuses on digital infrastructure, green technologies, and cyber diplomacy to position Kenya as a continental tech leader.
- g) Likewise, Diaspora Diplomacy, aligned with Articles 16 and 19, seeks to protect diaspora rights, boost remittances, and harness skills through agreements, diaspora councils, and placement initiatives.
- h) Finally, Socio-Cultural Diplomacy, rooted in Articles 11 and 43, leverages culture, sports, education, and health to build soft power, foster global ties, and promote justice and sustainable development.

(2) Further, the Sessional Paper highlights **emerging challenges** that impede effective diplomatic engagement, including weak legislative and institutional frameworks, contrary to constitutional obligations under Articles 10 (good governance), 16 and 19 (citizens' rights), and 232 (efficient public service). The absence of comprehensive policies on diaspora affairs, Foreign Service coordination, and labour migration, alongside operational inefficiencies at the Ministry and missions, underinvestment in diplomatic assets, and forex vulnerabilities, undermines Kenya's foreign relations. Persistent security threats demand enhanced counterterrorism measures aligned with Article 238 (national security). Additionally, limited strategic communication and unclear foreign policy positions weaken citizen engagement and coherent international advocacy. Addressing these gaps through legal reforms, improved funding, stronger public diplomacy, and principled foreign policy

stances is essential to safeguarding Kenya's interests and fulfilling its constitutional and international obligations.

- (3) In addition, the Sessional Paper highlights **strategic risks** to Kenya's foreign policy, including legal incompatibilities (contrary to Articles 2(5)-(6)), foreign exchange losses, shrinking global market access, climate disruptions (against Article 69 obligations), austerity-driven budget constraints, cybersecurity threats, and rising insecurity abroad. To mitigate these, it recommends strengthening the legal framework through the approval of the Foreign Policy Sessional Paper, revision of the Foreign Service Act, reclassification of the Ministry under the Security Sector, and establishment of the Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA). It further calls for creating a Diaspora Welfare Fund, reinstating the Forex Loss Assumption Facility, expanding missions, enhancing digital diplomacy frameworks, optimizing diplomatic assets via PPPs, and institutionalizing social benefit portability, ensuring Kenya's foreign policy remains resilient, constitutionally anchored, and globally competitive. It is noteworthy that reclassification of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs under the Security Sector Working Group has already been effected via Cabinet approval.
- (4) Furthermore, the Sessional Paper underscores the need for systematic **monitoring and evaluation** through a dedicated Results Framework, with mid-term and end-term reviews developed in collaboration with academic institutions and think tanks. Monitoring will align with the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System (NIMES), Strategic Plans, Annual Performance Contracts, and the Medium-Term Plan, while Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers and diaspora-specific indicators, such as remittance flows and labour agreements, will track progress. Ultimately, success will depend on institutional commitment and periodic policy reviews to adapt to evolving domestic and global dynamics.
- (5) Equally, the Sessional Paper underscores the urgency of strengthening the **legal framework** supporting foreign relations. The review and full operationalization of the Foreign Service Act, Cap. 185E — including the adoption of a 70:30 ratio favoring career diplomats — will enhance professionalism, meritocracy, and institutional effectiveness. Similarly, revising the Privileges and Immunities Act, Cap. 179 will modernize Kenya's capacity to host international organizations, reinforcing Nairobi's role as a diplomatic hub. These legislative measures are critical for aligning Kenya's foreign policy implementation with international standards and advancing its strategic global interests.
- (6) Finally, in full compliance with Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution, the Committee actively sought **stakeholder input** on the Sessional Paper through a public call for memoranda. This yielded six (6) substantive submissions from key stakeholders (captured in Chapter three (3) of this Report). The Committee noted that largely, the contributions from stakeholders were either already provided for in the Sessional Paper, fell outside the scope of the paper or were suggestions to ensure effective implementation of the Sessional Paper. Nevertheless, the contributions critically shaped the Committee's deliberations, reinforcing transparency, inclusivity, and constitutional fidelity in foreign policy formulation.

5.0 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

76. The Committee recommends that:

- a) The House adopts this Report and **approves** *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya* as the definitive strategic framework to steer Kenya's international relations and diplomatic engagements, ensuring a unified and resolute approach to global affairs.
- b) Once adopted, all foreign policy legislation and initiatives must fully align with Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 without exception. This alignment is critical to maintaining coherence, maximizing effectiveness, and safeguarding Kenya's national interests in an increasingly complex global arena.

SIGNED: DATE: 22.04.2025

THE HON. MARTHA WANGARI, CBS, M.P.
MEMBER, DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE AND
FOREIGN RELATIONS



LIST OF ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Committee's Report Adoption Schedule

Annexure 2: Minutes of Sitzings of the Committee

Annexure 3: Advertisement Inviting the Public to Submit Memoranda

Annexure 4: A Copy of Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya

Annexure 5: Submissions from Stakeholders

ANNEXURE 1:

COMMITTEE'S REPORT ADOPTION SCHEDULE



REPUBLIC OF KENYA
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
13TH PARLIAMENT – FOURTH SESSION- 2025

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE, AND
FOREIGN RELATIONS.

REPORT ADOPTION LIST

REPORT ON

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

We, Members of the Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence, and Foreign Relations, have pursuant to Standing Order 199, adopted this Report and affix our signatures to affirm our approval and confirm its accuracy, validity and authenticity today, **Tuesday 22nd April, 2025.**

	NAME	SIGNATURE
1.	The Hon. Koech Nelson, CBS, M.P. (Chairperson)	
2.	The Hon. Maj. (Rtd.) Sheikh Abdullahi Bashir, M.P. (Vice Chairperson)	
3.	The Hon. Yusuf Hassan Abdi, CBS, M.P.	
4.	The Hon. Wanjira Martha Wangari, CBS, M.P.	
5.	The Hon. Odhiambo Millie Grace Akoth, CBS, M.P.	
6.	The Hon. Kanchory Elijah Memusi, M.P.	
7.	The Hon. (Dr.) Kasalu Irene Muthoni, M.P..	
8.	The Hon. Kirima Moses Nguchine, M.P.	
9.	The Hon. Kandie Joshua Chepyegon, M.P.	
10.	The Hon. Kwenya Thuku Zachary, M.P.	
11.	The Hon. Luyai Caleb Amisi, M.P.	
12.	The Hon. Muratha Anne Wanjiku, M.P.	
13.	The Hon. Logova Sloya Clement, M.P.	
14.	The Hon. Ikana Fredrick Lusuli, M.P.	
15.	The Hon. Mohamed Abdikadir Hussein, M.P.	

ANNEXURE 2:

MINUTES OF SITTINGS OF THE COMMITTEE



THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
13TH PARLIAMENT - FOURTH SESSION (2025)
DIRECTORATE OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES
DC- DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

**MINUTES OF THE 25TH SITTING OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON
DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS HELD ON TUESDAY 22ND
APRIL 2025 AT 11.30 A.M. IN CONTINENTAL HOUSE, 2ND FLOOR BOARD ROOM,
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.**

PRESENT

- | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------|
| 1. The Hon. Maj. (Rtd.) Sheikh Abdullahi Bashir, M.P. | - | Vice-Chairperson |
| 2. The Hon. Wanjira Martha Wangari, C.B.S, M.P | | |
| 3. The Hon. Yusuf Hassan Abdi, C.B.S, M.P | | |
| 4. The Hon. Kanchory Elijah Memusi, M.P. | | |
| 5. The Hon. (Dr.) Kasalu Irene Muthoni, M.P | | |
| 6. The Hon. Kandie Joshua Chepyegon, M.P. | | |
| 7. The Hon. Muratha Anne Wanjiku, M.P. | | |
| 8. The Hon. Luyai Caleb Amisi, M.P. | | |
| 9. The Hon. Ikana Fredrick Lusuli, M.P. | | |
| 10. The Hon. Mohamed Abdikadir Hussein, M.P. | | |

APOLOGIES

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|
| 1. The Hon. Koech Nelson, C.B.S, M.P. | - | Chairperson |
| 2. The Hon. Odhiambo Millie Grace Akoth, CBS, M.P. | | |
| 3. The Hon. Kirima Moses Nguchine, M.P. | | |
| 4. The Hon. Kwenya Thuku Zachary, M.P. | | |
| 5. The Hon. Logova Sloya Clement, M.P. | | |

IN ATTENDANCE

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Dennis M. Ogechi | - | Clerk Assistant I |
| 2. Mr. Bernard Nthiga | - | Clerk Assistant III |
| 3. Mr. Martin Sigei | - | Research Officer III |
| 4. Mr. Salat Abdi | - | Principal Serjeant at-Arms |
| 5. Ms. Noelle Chelagat | - | Media Relations Officer II |
| 6. Mr. John Ng'ang'a | - | Audio Officer II |
| 7. Mr. Lenny Muchangi | - | Legal Counsel II |
| 8. Mr. Nimrod Misoi | - | Intern |
| 9. Ms. Cynthia Morang'a | - | Intern |

AGENDA

1. Preliminaries – Prayers, Adoption of the Agenda
2. Communication from the Chair
3. Confirmation of minutes of the previous meeting
4. **Consideration and Adoption of a Report on consideration of Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya.**
5. Any Other Business
6. Adjournment/Date of the next Sitting

MIN.NO. DDC/DIFR/126/2025:

PRELIMINARIES

The meeting was called to order at 11:40 a.m. and prayer was said. The agenda above was unanimously adopted, having been proposed by Hon. Kanchory Elijah Memusi, M.P. and seconded by Hon. Ikana Fredrick Lusuli, M.P.

MIN.NO. DDC/DIFR/127/2025:

CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF PREVIOUS SITTINGS.

Confirmation of Minutes of the previous meetings was deferred to a later date.

MIN.NO. DDC/DIFR/128/2025:

CONSIDERATION AND ADOPTION OF A REPORT ON CONSIDERATION OF SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA.

Report on Consideration of Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya was adopted after being proposed by Hon. Ikana Fredrick Lusuli, M.P. and seconded by Hon. Kandie Joshua Chepyegon, M.P. with the following observations and recommendations:

OBSERVATIONS

(1) Fundamentally, the Sessional Paper articulates a forward-looking and constitutionally grounded foreign policy framework that positions Kenya as a dynamic, resilient, and influential actor on the regional and world stage. The paper reaffirms the nation's enduring commitment to strategic, sustainable, and globally responsive diplomacy across multiple critical **focus areas**:

- a) First, Kenya's Peace and Security diplomacy, anchored in Article 238 of the Constitution and aligned with the UN Charter, AU Constitutive Act, and EAC Treaty, reinforces its role as a regional stabilizer through peacekeeping, mediation, and defence partnerships, guided by a structured defence diplomacy strategy.
- b) Moreover, the Paper elevates Economic and Commercial Diplomacy as central to Kenya's foreign policy, anchored in Articles 10 and 201 of the Constitution. It emphasizes trade, FDI promotion, tourism, the creative economy, and conferencing to foster global partnerships and drive inclusive, sustainable growth.
- c) In addition, Oceans and Blue Diplomacy is prioritized for sustainable development, anchored in Article 69 of the Constitution, by promoting marine resource use, maritime security, and diaspora expertise for national prosperity.

- d) Furthermore, Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy remains grounded in Articles 2(5)-(6), as Kenya advocates for rule-based multilateralism, AU empowerment, and institutional reforms to foster peace and equity.
 - e) Equally, Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy aligns with Article 69, with Kenya advancing climate financing, UNEP and UN-Habitat support, and green innovation partnerships to lead Africa's green transition.
 - f) Similarly, Science, Technology, and Innovation Diplomacy, under Article 11(2) (b), focuses on digital infrastructure, green technologies, and cyber diplomacy to position Kenya as a continental tech leader.
 - g) Likewise, Diaspora Diplomacy, aligned with Articles 16 and 19, seeks to protect diaspora rights, boost remittances, and harness skills through agreements, diaspora councils, and placement initiatives.
 - h) Finally, Socio-Cultural Diplomacy, rooted in Articles 11 and 43, leverages culture, sports, education, and health to build soft power, foster global ties, and promote justice and sustainable development.
- (2) Further, the Sessional Paper highlights **emerging challenges** that impede effective diplomatic engagement, including weak legislative and institutional frameworks, contrary to constitutional obligations under Articles 10 (good governance), 16 and 19 (citizens' rights), and 232 (efficient public service). The absence of comprehensive policies on diaspora affairs, Foreign Service coordination, and labour migration, alongside operational inefficiencies at the Ministry and missions, underinvestment in diplomatic assets, and forex vulnerabilities, undermines Kenya's foreign relations. Persistent security threats demand enhanced counterterrorism measures aligned with Article 238 (national security). Additionally, limited strategic communication and unclear foreign policy positions weaken citizen engagement and coherent international advocacy. Addressing these gaps through legal reforms, improved funding, stronger public diplomacy, and principled foreign policy stances is essential to safeguarding Kenya's interests and fulfilling its constitutional and international obligations.
- (3) In addition, the Sessional Paper highlights **strategic risks** to Kenya's foreign policy, including legal incompatibilities (contrary to Articles 2(5)-(6)), foreign exchange losses, shrinking global market access, climate disruptions (against Article 69 obligations), austerity-driven budget constraints, cybersecurity threats, and rising insecurity abroad. To mitigate these, it recommends strengthening the legal framework through the approval of the Foreign Policy Sessional Paper, revision of the Foreign Service Act, reclassification of the Ministry under the Security Sector, and establishment of the Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA). It further calls for creating a Diaspora Welfare Fund, reinstating the Forex Loss Assumption Facility, expanding missions, enhancing digital diplomacy frameworks, optimizing diplomatic assets via PPPs, and institutionalizing social benefit portability, ensuring Kenya's foreign policy remains resilient, constitutionally anchored, and globally competitive. It is noteworthy that reclassification of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs under the Security Sector Working Group has already been effected via Cabinet approval.
- (4) Furthermore, the Sessional Paper underscores the need for systematic **monitoring and evaluation** through a dedicated Results Framework, with mid-term and end-term reviews developed in collaboration with academic institutions and think tanks. Monitoring will align

with the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System (NIMES), Strategic Plans, Annual Performance Contracts, and the Medium-Term Plan, while Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers and diaspora-specific indicators, such as remittance flows and labour agreements, will track progress. Ultimately, success will depend on institutional commitment and periodic policy reviews to adapt to evolving domestic and global dynamics.

- (5) Equally, the Sessional Paper underscores the urgency of strengthening the **legal framework** supporting foreign relations. The review and full operationalization of the Foreign Service Act, Cap. 185E — including the adoption of a 70:30 ratio favoring career diplomats — will enhance professionalism, meritocracy, and institutional effectiveness. Similarly, revising the Privileges and Immunities Act, Cap. 179 will modernize Kenya's capacity to host international organizations, reinforcing Nairobi's role as a diplomatic hub. These legislative measures are critical for aligning Kenya's foreign policy implementation with international standards and advancing its strategic global interests.
- (6) Finally, in full compliance with Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution, the Committee actively sought **stakeholder input** on the Sessional Paper through a public call for memoranda. This yielded six (6) substantive submissions from key stakeholders (captured in Chapter three (3) of this Report). The Committee noted that largely, the contributions from stakeholders were either already provided for in the Sessional Paper, fell outside the scope of the paper or were suggestions to ensure effective implementation of the Sessional Paper. Nevertheless, the contributions critically shaped the Committee's deliberations, reinforcing transparency, inclusivity, and constitutional fidelity in foreign policy formulation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee recommended that:

1. The House adopts this Report and **approves** *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya* as the definitive strategic framework to steer Kenya's international relations and diplomatic engagements, ensuring a unified and resolute approach to global affairs.
2. Once adopted, all foreign policy legislation and initiatives must fully align with Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 without exception. This alignment is critical to maintaining coherence, maximizing effectiveness, and safeguarding Kenya's national interests in an increasingly complex global arena.

MIN.NO. DDC/DIFR/129/2025: ADJOURNMENT AND DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:02 p.m. The next meeting will be held on notice.

SIGNED:

DATE:

THE HON. NELSON KOECH, CBS, M.P.

CHAIRPERSON, DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE, INTELLIGENCE
AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

ANNEXURE 3:

ADVERTISEMENT INVITING THE PUBLIC TO SUBMIT MEMORANDA



REPUBLIC OF KENYA
13TH PARLIAMENT – FOURTH SESSION – 2025
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

IN THE MATTER OF ARTICLE 118(1) (b) OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND

IN THE MATTER OF CONSIDERATION BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1
OF 2025 ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

INVITATION TO SUBMIT MEMORANDA

WHEREAS, Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution requires Parliament to facilitate public participation and involvement in the legislative and other business of Parliament and its Committees;

AND WHEREAS Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya was submitted to the National Assembly and referred to the Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations for consideration and reporting to the House;

IT IS NOTIFIED that Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2025 on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya seeks to enhance the country's standing as a regional leader and an effective advocate of Africa's interests at a global stage. The specific objectives of the Policy are to:-

- (1) Protect Kenya's 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 environmental and climate action;
- (5) Project, promote and protect the country's image and prestige globally;
- (6) Promote sub regional and regional integration and cooperation;
- (7) Promote international cooperation multilateralism and active participation in global governance; and
- (8) Enhance the voice of Kenyans in diaspora and promote and protect their interests and welfare abroad.

NOW THEREFORE, in compliance with Article 118(1)(b) of the Constitution, the Clerk of the National Assembly hereby invites the public to submit memoranda on the Sessional Paper to the Departmental Committee on Defence, Intelligence and Foreign Relations.

Copies of the Sessional Paper are available at the National Assembly Table Office, Main Parliament Buildings and on <http://www.parliament.go.ke/the-national-assembly/house-business/paper-1a1d>

Memoranda may be forwarded to the Clerk of the National Assembly, P.O. Box 41842-00100, Nairobi; hand-delivered to the Office of the Clerk, Main Parliament Buildings, Nairobi; or emailed to cnas@parliament.go.ke to be received on or before Tuesday, 4th March 2025 at 5.00 p.m.

S. NJOROGE, CBS
CLERK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

18th February 2025

"For the Welfare of Society and the Just Government of the People"



(Company Number: C.5/54)

The Capital Markets Act
(Chapter 485A of the Laws of Kenya)
Capital Markets (Public Offers, Listings and Disclosures) Regulations, 2023

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

CHANGE IN THE OPERATING MODEL

The Board of Directors of Eaagads Limited (the Company) wishes to notify its esteemed shareholders, the general investor community and the public of the discontinuation of outsourced management function of the Company's coffee operations from Coffee Management Services Limited (CMS) effective 1st April, 2025.

The activities that have been brought inhouse include coffee production, coffee quality, milling, cost management, marketing strategies and sales.

The transition is expected to have minimal impact on employees engaged in the Company's operations. They will continue under their current terms of employment.

This change is designed to streamline processes and enhance efficiency ultimately delivering improved financial results for the shareholders.

The Board thanks CMS for their valued services over the years in ensuring the coffee farm is a premier coffee producer.

By order of the Board

Date: 12th February 2025

Winnie Jumba

Company Secretary

DISCLAIMER: This announcement is for informational purposes only. As a matter of policy, the Capital Markets Authority assumes no responsibility for the correctness of any statements or opinions made or reports contained in this announcement.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA
13TH PARLIAMENT – FOURTH SESSION – 2025
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

IN THE MATTER OF ARTICLE 118(1) (b) OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND

IN THE MATTER OF CONSIDERATION BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF:-

- (1) THE COMPUTER MISUSE AND CYBERCRIME (AMENDMENT) BILL (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILL NO. 41 OF 2024);
- (2) THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT (MOTORCYCLE REGULATIONS) BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 38 OF 2023);
- (3) THE PUBLIC FINANCE MANAGEMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 40 OF 2023);
- (4) THE FIRE AND RESCUE SERVICES PROFESSIONALS BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 55 OF 2023);
- (5) THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 12 OF 2024);
- (6) THE POLITICAL PARTIES (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 26 OF 2024); AND
- (7) THE ELECTIONS (AMENDMENT) (No. 2) BILL (SENATE BILL NO. 29 OF 2024)

INVITATION TO SUBMIT MEMORANDA

WHEREAS, Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution requires Parliament to facilitate public participation and involvement in the legislative and other business of Parliament and its Committees, and Standing Order 127(3) of the National Assembly Standing Orders requires House Committees considering Bills to facilitate public participation;

AND WHEREAS, the Computer Misuse and Cybercrime (Amendment) Bill (National Assembly Bill No. 41 of 2024); the Public Transport (Motorcycle Regulations) Bill (Senate Bill No. 38 of 2023); the Public Finance Management (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 40 of 2023); the Fire and Rescue Services Professionals Bill (Senate Bill No. 55 of 2023); the Intergovernmental Relations (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 12 of 2024); the Political Parties (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 26 of 2024); and the Elections (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 29 of 2024) were Read a First Time and referred to the relevant Departmental Committees for consideration and reporting to the House;

IT IS NOTIFIED that:-

- (1) The Computer Misuse and Cybercrime (Amendment) Bill (National Assembly Bill No. 41 of 2024) is sponsored by Hon. Aden Daud Mohamed, MP. The Bill seeks to amend the Computer Misuse and Cybercrimes Act, Cap 79C to prohibit the use of electronic mediums to promote terrorism and extreme religious cultic practices.
- (2) The Public Transport (Motorcycle Regulations) Bill (Senate Bill No. 38 of 2023) is sponsored by Sen. Boni Khalwale, MP. The Bill seeks to put in place a legal framework to regulate the use of motorcycles (bodabodas) in Kenya by introducing new provisions for their registration, operation, and safety at the county level.
- (3) The Public Finance Management (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 40 of 2023) is sponsored by Sen. Hamida Ali Kibwana, MP. The Bill seeks to amend the Public Finance Management Act, No. 18 of 2012 to require county governments to develop and implement a county revenue collection system. This will boost revenue collection by the county governments and ensure counties realise their revenue targets. Further, the Bill proposes to amend the Public Finance Management Act to provide for the process of funding of functions that have been transferred from one level of government to another under Article 187 of the Constitution.
- (4) The Fire and Rescue Services Professionals Bill (Senate Bill No. 55 of 2023) is sponsored by Sen. Mohamed Abass Sheikh, MP. The Bill seeks to establish a regulatory and institutional framework for the fire and rescue services professionals and to provide for the registration, licensing, and training of the fire and rescue services professionals.
- (5) The Intergovernmental Relations (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 12 of 2024) is sponsored by the Senate Majority Leader. The Bill seeks to amend the Intergovernmental Relations Act, No. 2 of 2012 to establish a structured framework for intergovernmental relations. This will enhance intergovernmental relations amongst the national government, County executive and County assemblies.
- (6) The Political Parties (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 26 of 2024) is co-sponsored by the Senate Majority Leader and the Senate Minority Leader. The Bill seeks to give effect to some of the recommendations and views of the public that were submitted during the national dialogue discourse on the issues of Electoral Justice and Related Matters; Outstanding Constitutional Matters; Fidelity to Political Parties/Coalitions and the law on multiparty democracy; Entrenchment of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund; the Senate Oversight Fund and the National Government Affirmative Action Fund and Establishment and Entrenchment of State Offices.
- (7) The Elections (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 29 of 2024) is co-sponsored by the Senate Majority Leader and the Senate Minority Leader. The Bill seeks to give effect to some of the recommendations and views of the public that were submitted during the national dialogue discourse on the issues of Electoral Justice and Related Matters; Outstanding Constitutional Matters; Fidelity to Political Parties/Coalitions and the law on multiparty democracy; Entrenchment of the National Government Constituencies Development Fund; the Senate Oversight Fund and the National Government Affirmative Action Fund and Establishment and Entrenchment of State Offices.

NOW THEREFORE, in compliance with Article 118(1) (b) of the Constitution and National Assembly Standing Order 127(3), the Clerk of the National Assembly hereby invites the public and stakeholders to submit memoranda on the Bills to the Departmental Committees specified below:-

S/ NO.	BILL	COMMITTEE
1.	The Computer Misuse and Cybercrime (Amendment) Bill (National Assembly Bill No. 41 of 2024)	Communication, Information and Innovation
2.	The Public Transport (Motorcycle Regulations) Bill (Senate Bill No. 38 of 2023)	Transport and Infrastructure
3.	The Public Finance Management (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 40 of 2023)	Finance and National Planning
4.	The Fire and Rescue Services Professionals Bill (Senate Bill No. 55 of 2023)	Regional Development
5.	The Intergovernmental Relations (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 12 of 2024)	
6.	The Political Parties (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 26 of 2024)	Justice and Legal Affairs
7.	The Elections (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill (Senate Bill No. 29 of 2024)	

Copies of the Bills are available at the National Assembly Table Office, Main Parliament Buildings, and on www.parliament.go.ke/the-national-assembly/house-business/bills.

The memoranda may be forwarded to the Clerk of the National Assembly, P.O. Box 41842- 00100, Nairobi; hand-delivered to the Office of the Clerk, Main Parliament Buildings, Nairobi; or emailed to cnas@parliament.go.ke to be received on or before Wednesday, 5th March, 2025 at 5.00 p.m.

S. NJOROGE, CBS
CLERK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

18th February, 2025

"For the Welfare of Society and the Just Government of the People"

ANNEXURE 4:

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

CONFIDENTIAL



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

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

***The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in
The Global Landscape***

**"Sera ya Kenya ya Uhusiano wa Nje na Nchini Hadi
Mashinani" Msimamo wa Taifa La Kenya.**

CONFIDENTIAL

"It is not fair for anyone to be asked for a visa when they are going home. Kenya is the home and cradle of humankind"

**HIS EXCELLENCY HON. WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO, PhD., C.G.H.
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA AND COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE FORCES.**

FOREWORD



Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic engagements must be a catalyst for improving the livelihoods and welfare of every Kenyan and driving our nation's progress and prosperity on the global stage. This Foreign Policy, 2024 as outlined herein presents a comprehensive guiding framework for conducting our nation's foreign relations and diplomatic engagements.

Borne of deep reflection on the evolution of Kenya's bilateral and multilateral relations, this policy document charts Kenya's strategic pursuit of our national interests in the context of the ever-evolving geopolitical and geo-economic landscape.

The outcome is a revised Foreign Policy that, while remaining grounded upon our steadfast commitment to project, promote, and protect the nation's interests and image globally, gains valuable impetus from my Government's deliberate intent to elevate Kenya's standing among the community of nations, through a futuristic and innovative approach to diplomacy.

This Foreign Policy document underscores Kenya's steadfast trajectory towards prioritising regional integration, deepening of intra-African ties and elevating new Pan-Africanism, even as we continue to strengthen and expand our country's global footprints.

The carefully selected Foreign Policy objectives are inspired by our shared aspiration for a peaceful, unified, and prosperous nation, as embodied in the Constitution of Kenya; the National Anthem, and Kenya's long-term policy blueprints. The specific focus areas to be pursued by my government under this policy certainly reflects our determination to creatively respond to new and emerging global dynamics hence the focus on the new areas that are outside of the traditional purview of diplomacy including digital and technology, climate, health and Global Governance Reform, while also re-orientating foreign policy responses to new threats to peace and security.

The successful implementation of this Foreign Policy requires a comprehensive and well-coordinated approach that involves all sectors; from government through a 'Whole of Government Approach', to Private Sector, and Non-State Actors. It is my expectation that all government ministries, departments, agencies and relevant entities will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in executing the vision of this Foreign Policy.

This sessional paper provides a unique opportunity for a robust debate in Parliament on Kenya's Foreign Policy and I am confident that the outcome will strengthen and enhance the implementation of the policy through required legislation.

H.E. HON. WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO, PhD., C.G.H.
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE
DEFENCE FORCES.

PREFACE



The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs is mandated to manage Kenya's Foreign Policy with the overarching objective of protecting, promoting and projecting the nation's interests. Kenya first published its Foreign Policy in 2014. Since then, we have witnessed momentous changes in the global environment. Kenya's national interests have considerably expanded as our 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. The expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprints and the recognition of the role of citizens, women and the youth in diplomacy, continues to enhance Kenya's competitiveness in the global arena.

Kenya's diplomatic history affirms our proactive and constructive role as a member of the international community. We have diligently built and maintained cordial and robust relations with neighbouring countries in the region, Africa, and the world at large. The rapid changes in the global environment and the ever-changing dynamics of international relations have necessitated a revision and update of the Kenya Foreign Policy. In this regard, the process of reviewing the current policy followed an approach rooted in pragmatism, foresight, and a long-term perspective that will enable our country to articulate a clear and coherent strategy for navigating the complexities, including the opportunities presented by the international system.

The resultant Foreign Policy objectives are structured around key interlinked focus areas on Peace and Security Diplomacy; Economic and Commercial Diplomacy; Oceans and Blue Diplomacy; Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy; Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy; Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy; Diaspora Diplomacy; and Socio-Cultural Diplomacy. In order to ensure effective implementation of these focus areas in the policy, the Ministry will review the Foreign Service Act, 2021 and develop its attendant Regulations to align them with the Kenya Foreign Policy 2024. Further, the Foreign Service Academy will be capacitated, including re-orienting its curriculum to address the training and capacity building needs for our diplomatic staff and to scale up professionalism in Foreign Service.

The review of the Policy was conducted through a wide, consultative, and participatory approach in line with constitutional requirements. The Policy will be subjected to continuous review to ensure it remains relevant, effective and responsive in promoting our nation's interests and values. This Sessional Paper provides a framework for Parliament's engagement and input in our foreign policy agenda.

We appreciate the collective effort and insights of all contributors, whose invaluable inputs have shaped the foreign policy vision that embodies Kenya's aspirations and positions the country to seize emerging opportunities for sustainable growth and prosperity.



H.E. DR. MUSALIA MUDAVADI, E.G.H
PRIME CABINET SECRETARY AND CABINET SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AND
DIASPORA AFFAIRS

STATEMENT AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT



Over the last year, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in collaboration with other Government departments and stakeholders conducted a comprehensive review of Kenya's Foreign Policy. The review was intended to ensure that the policy is more proactive in dealing with the twin obligations of safeguarding our overall national interests and development priorities, while maintaining Kenya stature as a responsible member of the international community.

During the review process, we reflected on our past achievements, critically assessed our current approaches, and envisioned a future where Kenya continues to thrive and lead on the global stage. In the discussions held with various stakeholders, in line with the constitutional requirements for public participation and stakeholder engagement, we explored factors that impact the pursuit of our national interests. These were determined to include; geopolitical dynamics, economic dependencies, socio-cultural issues, technological progress, peace and security concerns, as well as the aspirations for global governance, all of which shape our engagements in contemporary global events.

The effective implementation of this Foreign Policy will require a comprehensive, coordinated approach involving all sectors - government, private sector, and non-state actors. In this regard, all government Ministries, Departments, Agencies, and entities whose mandates touch on foreign relations will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs under a Whole of Government and Society Approach.

This Foreign Policy document is the result of the hard work and commitment of many individuals and various stakeholder institutions. On behalf of the State Department for Foreign Affairs, I first extend our profound gratitude to the leadership of His Excellency the President and the Hon. Prime Cabinet Secretary and Cabinet Secretary for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, in guiding the policy review process.

Secondly, I express my sincere appreciation to all stakeholders from various entities, including the Executive arm of Government, Council of Governors, the Senate, National Assembly, the Judiciary and Independent Constitutional Offices, serving and former Ambassadors and High Commissioners, private sector, academia, civil society, youth and the general public for their invaluable insights. Their contributions and ideas illuminated new pathways for collaboration and action, spawned a renewed spirit of cooperation and enriched our understanding of the matters at hand.

Our gratitude is similarly due to the Review Committee for their tireless efforts that ensured the successful preparation of the Foreign Policy document and this Sessional Paper. The input from staff at the Ministry's Headquarters and Missions has been invaluable in the enrichment of the documents.

Finally, I wish to thank our partners who supported the review exercise in one way or another.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dr. A. Korir Sing'oei', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

DR. A. KORIR SING'OEI
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, STATE DEPARTMENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

STATEMENT



Kenya's Foreign Policy commits to ***project, promote, and protect*** the country's interests globally, through maximizing available opportunities, resources and strategies. One of the key focus areas of our Foreign Policy is Diaspora Diplomacy, which recognizes that the Kenyan Diaspora are an invaluable resource in advancing our economic and diplomatic priorities, anchored through efforts, strategies and commitments operationalized through the Kenya Diaspora Policy. To ensure we fully harness the potential of our diaspora, the State

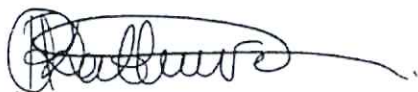
Department for Diaspora Affairs was established in 2022 and mandated to protect, engage, empower, and prosper Kenyan citizens abroad. Key achievements since inception of the State Department include:

- Ensuring the safety, protection of legal rights, and enhancing welfare of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating access to critical consular services, including passport renewals, birth certificates, attestation and authentication of documents and prison visits through the Mobile consular Services (MCS) platform.
- Working with stakeholders in streamlining labour migration including recruitment processes through the implementation of the Global Labour Market Strategy (GLMS) to secure quality job placements for Kenyans abroad.
- Facilitating the return of Kenyans from various situations of distress such as labor disputes, stranded without documentation, individuals undergoing mental distress, citizens from countries experiencing political instability, civil unrest, natural disasters, those needing health and medical emergencies, deceased Kenyans, as well as victims of human trafficking.
- Engagement through fostering strong connections, linkages and communication with the diaspora, we have enhanced inclusivity and active public participation of the diaspora in Kenya's socio-economic growth.
- Partnered with the diaspora to enhance technology, knowledge and skills transfer by various Diaspora associations and groups for investments, research, and philanthropy.

As we engaged the diaspora and key stakeholders, it was evident that the Kenya Diaspora Policy 2014 needed to be reviewed. The Kenya Diaspora Policy 2024, which is aligned to the diaspora focus area of the reviewed Kenya's Foreign Policy 2024, accommodates new priorities, targets, policy direction and reflects as well as addresses current realities and globalization.

As we continue to build upon the established frameworks, we look forward to the adoption by Parliament of the Sessional Paper that will support, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in shaping policies that protect and promote Kenya's interests and our citizens' welfare abroad.

Together, we can ensure that Kenya's Foreign Policy agenda remains responsive to the needs of its people, forward-looking, and strategically positioned to thrive in an interconnected world.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Roseline', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

**ROSELINE KATHURE NJOGU, CBS.,
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, STATE DEPARTMENT FOR DIASPORA AFFAIRS**

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACDC	Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AGII	African Green Industrialization Initiative
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
AUFI	African Union Financial Institutions
ATMIS	African Transition Mission in Somalia
BETA	Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CEPA	Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CS	Cabinet Secretary
C4IR	Centre for the Fourth Industrial Revolution
CAHOSCC	Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CGH	Chief of the Order of the Golden Heart
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EGH	Elder of the Order of the Golden Heart of Kenya
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
H.E	His Excellency
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund

INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOFMC	Indian Ocean Forum on Maritime Crime
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim- Association for Regional Cooperation
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
IUU	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated
IPBES	Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRP	UNEP - International Resource Panel
ISPC	Independent Science and Partnership Council
KAPEA	Kenya Association of Private Employment Agencies
KEVEVAPI	Kenya Veterinary Vaccines Production Institute
LAS	League of Arab States/ Arab League
MDBs	Multilateral Development Banks
MDAs	Ministries, Departments, & Agencies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MCS	Mobile Consular Services
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MICE	Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions/Events
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MTP IV	Fourth Kenya Vision 2030 Medium Term Plan
UNSCO	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Congo
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
MSSM	Multinational Security Support Mission
NAM	Non- Aligned Movement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGCS	National Government Coordination Secretariat
NIFC	Nairobi International Financial Centre
NIMES	National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System
NSC	National Security Council
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OAU	Organization of African Union
OACPS	Organization of African, Caribbean and Pacific States
IOC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SHIRIKA	Socio-economic Hubs for Integrated Refugee Inclusion in Kenya
SLOACs	Sea Lanes of Communication
ST&I	Science Technology and Innovation
STIP	Strategic Trade and Investment Partnership
TFTA	Tripartite Free Trade Area
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TOC	Transnational Organized Crime
UHC	Universal Health Coverage
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WIO	Western Indian Ocean
WOGA	Whole of Government Approach

Table of Contents

FOREWORD	<i>ii</i>
PREFACE	<i>iv</i>
STATEMENT AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	<i>vi</i>
STATEMENT	<i>viii</i>
LIST OF ACRONYMS	<i>x</i>
CHAPTER 1: THE CONTEXT AND FRAMING OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY	1
1.1 Introduction: Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook and Profile	1
1.1.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook	1
1.1.2 Kenya's Country Profile and Factsheet	4
1.2 A Review of Kenya's Foreign Policy Developments Since Independence	5
1.2.1 From Colonial Period to the New Millennium	5
1.2.2 The Shift to Economic Diplomacy, 2000 - 2013	6
1.2.3 Era of the "First-Documented" Foreign Policy, 2013 - 2022	6
1.2.4 The National Transformation Agenda, 2022 and Beyond	7
1.3.1 Policy Context and Rationale for the Foreign Policy Review	7
1.3.2 National Interests, Core Principles and National Values	8
1.3.3 Prioritised National Interests	8
1.3.5 Core Principles and National Values	9
1.3.6 Policy Objectives	10
CHAPTER 2: SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS	11
2.0 Introduction	11
2.1 Trends in International Relations	11
2.2 Foreign policy determinants	12
2.3 Actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy Landscape	14
2.4. Operating Environment	18
2.4.1 Domestic and External Environments	18
2.4.2 The Domestic Environment	18
2.4.3 National Ambitions	19
2.4.4 The External Environment	20
2.5 Policy and Legislative Frameworks	21
2.5.1 National Policy and Legislative Frameworks on Foreign Diplomacy	21
2.5.1 Regional and Continental Cooperation Frameworks	21
2.5.2 International Treaties and Policy Framework	22

2.6 Initiatives towards Robust Foreign Diplomatic Engagements:	23
CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF KENYA'S BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY	25
3.1 Bilateral Diplomacy	25
3.1.1 Defining Kenya's Diplomatic Neighbourhood	25
3.1.2 Bilateral Ties with the Rest of African States	26
3.1.3 Bilateral Ties with the Rest of the World	26
3.2 Multilateral Diplomacy	29
3.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Plurilateral/ Mini lateral Groupings	30
3.2.2 Transformation of Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub	35
CHAPTER 4: KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE FOCUS AREAS	36
4.1 Focus Areas of Kenya's Foreign Policy	36
4.2 Peace and Security Diplomacy	37
4.2.1 The Imperative of Peace and Security for Kenya	37
4.3 Economic and Commercial Diplomacy	38
4.3.1 Trade and Investment	39
4.3.2 Tourism Diplomacy	41
4.3.3 The Creative Economy	42
4.3.4 Conferencing Diplomacy	42
4.4. Oceans and Blue Diplomacy	43
4.5 Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy	43
4.6. Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy	44
4.7 Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy	46
4.8 Diaspora Diplomacy	47
4.8.1 Rights, Welfare and Interests of the Kenyan Diaspora	48
4.8.2 Diaspora Savings, Investments, remittances and technology transfer	49
4.8.3 Partnerships and engagement with the Kenyan Diaspora	49
4.8.4 Support Kenyans to secure opportunities abroad	49
4.8.5 Establishment of the Diaspora Placement Agency	50
4.8.6 The State Department for Diaspora Affairs in Bilateral and Multilateral Engagements	50
4.9 Socio-Cultural Diplomacy	51
4.9.1 Cultural Diplomacy	51
4.9.2 Sports Diplomacy	52
4.9.3 Educational Diplomacy	53
4.9.4 Global Health Diplomacy	54
CHAPTER 5: EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA	56
5.0 Introduction	56
5.1 Institutional and Organizational Dynamics	56

5.1.1 Lack of Comprehensive Legislative and Policy Framework on Foreign Diplomacy	56
5.1.2 Ministry Headquarters and Coordination of Kenyan missions	57
5.1.3 Challenge of Funding diplomatic activities and missions abroad	58
5.1.4 Foreign Service Staffing and Welfare	59
5.1.5 Diaspora Issues and Challenges	59
5.1.5 Development and Management of Kenya's Assets Abroad	61
5.1.6 Impact of Exchange Rate Fluctuations on the Budgets of Kenya Missions Abroad	64
5.2 Countering Terrorism and other Threats to National Security	65
5.3 Strategic Communication and Public Awareness	66
5.3.1 Foreign Policy Mashinani	66
5.3.2 Diaspora Policy Mashinani	67
5.4 Clarity of Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues	67
CHAPTER 6: FOREIGN POLICY FINANCING AND STRUCTURAL GOVERNANCE	69
6.1 Structural Governance	69
6.1.1 The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs	69
6.2 State Department for Foreign Affairs	70
6.2.1 Transformation of the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency	70
6.2.2 Review and Development of the Legal Framework	71
6.3 State Department for Diaspora Affairs	72
6.3.1 Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA)	73
6.4 Financing of Foreign Policy	73
6.4.1 Funding of the Foreign Service	73
6.4.2 Expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprint	73
6.4.3 Growth of the Staff Establishment for the State Department for Foreign Affairs	74
6.4.4 Evolution of the State Department's Budget 2014 to 2024	75
6.4.5 Funding Kenya's Diplomatic Infrastructure through Public Private Partnership	80
6.5 Financing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs	81
6.5.1 Financial Resources	81
CHAPTER 7: STRATEGIC RISK MANAGEMENT, RECOMMENDATIONS AND PETITIONS	83
7.1 Strategic Risk Management	83
7.2 Strategic Risk of Kenya's Foreign Implementation Process	83
7.2.1 Legal Risks	83
7.2.2 Foreign Exchange Losses	84
7.2.3 Increased competition and shifting geopolitical alignments	84
7.2.4 Effects of Climate change and natural disasters	84
7.2.5 Negative effects of austerity measures and budget cuts	84
7.2.6 Weaponization of technology, Cybersecurity and Espionage	84
7.2.7 War, conflicts and security threats	85

7.3 Recommendations and Petitions	85
CHAPTER 8: MONITORING AND EVALUATION	88
8.1 The Importance of Measuring Diplomatic Outcomes	88
8.2 The National Monitoring and Evaluation Framework	88

LISTS OF FIGURES

Figure 1:Kenya's Multilateral Diplomacy.....	30
Figure 2:Kenya Foreign Policy Architecture	36
Figure 3:Kenya's Peace Keeping Missions	38
Figure 4:Kenya's Global Rankings in Various Sectors.....	41
Figure 5:Kenya's Volume and Balance of Trade, 2013 - 2022 (KSh '000).....	42
Figure 6:Kenya's Unique Position in Africa Environment and Climate Diplomacy	46
Figure 7: Diaspora Remittances	48
Figure 8 : Kenya Mission's Net Foreign Exchange Gains/Losses from FY 2019/20 to FY 2023/24 ...	65
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)	65
Figure 10 : Organizational Structure of the State Department for Foreign Affairs	70
Figure 11 : Organizational Structure of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs	72
Figure 12 : Expansion of Kenya's Diplomatic Footprint (1995 to 2030)	74
Figure 13 : Growth and Distribution of Personnel (2009 to 2030)	74
Figure 14 : Total Resource Requirements vs Approved Allocations, FY 2014/2015 to FY2026/27 (Kshs million)	75
Figure 15: Recurrent Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27 (Kshs million)	76
Figure 16 :Development Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27	80
Figure 17 : Financial Requirements for implementing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs Strategic Plan	81
Figure 18 : Resource Gap	82
Figure 19 :The Risk Universe of Kenya Foreign Policy implementation process.....	83
Figure 20 : The Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting Framework for the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya	89
Figure 21 : Summary of the Roles of Various Institutions in Implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy..	90

CHAPTER 1: THE CONTEXT AND FRAMING OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY

1.1 Introduction: Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook and Profile

Foreign policy is a central framework in a country's strategic engagements within the international arena. As an external policy, foreign policy is a blueprint of goals, strategies and actions that a state adopts to guide its foreign relations and diplomatic engagements with other states, international organizations and a myriad of non-state actors in the global arena. Through its foreign policy, Kenya intends to preserve its sovereignty and independence, and safeguard as well as promote the economic, political and socio-cultural interests of its citizens.

In 2014, Kenya consolidated its foreign policy into a single written document to encapsulate the previous diverse sources that included the Constitution, Sessional Papers, party manifestos, international treaties, agreements, conventions and charters; various national plans, policy and legal frameworks, as well as political leadership pronouncements. The 2014 Foreign Policy document was revised in 2024 to align it with the national interests and priorities and ensure that it remains effective and relevant, while also adopting a more people-centered diplomacy in which all critical stakeholders are involved in the formulation and execution of the nation's foreign policy. Moreover, Kenya's foreign policy framework reflects the national values, core principles and national interests which are further reflected in the focus areas of the revised Foreign Policy.

1.1.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook

Kenya became a sovereign state and actor in international relations upon independence in December 1963. Since then, the country's foreign policy has progressively been guided by distinct and adaptive objectives, core principles, values and national interests. This was crucial during the Cold War period when the world experienced division due to geopolitical pressures and shifts occasioned by global power rivalries and confrontations.

In order to strategically position itself in the international arena, Kenya charted a pragmatic approach underlined by non-alignment, Pan-Africanism, non-interference and good neighborliness, and pursuit of its national interest. By so doing, Kenya was able to successfully forge mutually beneficial alliances with the West while constructively engaging the East. In pursuit of its diplomatic, economic, security and socio-cultural interests, Kenya has over the years aligned its foreign policy with global economic powers both in the West and the East. Presently, this duality is progressively replaced by pluralism or diversified diplomacy where Kenya views the world order as not structured into the binary of the West-East. Thus, the country endeavors to expand and diversify its global scope by establishing mutually beneficial ties with as many states as possible including emerging powers and the South-South relations. This underscores the foreign policy philosophy of Kenya where the

country pursues a pragmatic and adaptive, Pan-African and value-driven policy that aims at establishing plural and diversified mutually beneficial relations.

Correspondingly, Kenya's Foreign Policy also adheres to the viewpoint of adopting a globally relevant Pan-Africanism where Kenya plays a leading role in an Africa that is willing and equipped to negotiate for its rightful space in the international arena. This is a new Pan-Africanism that speaks of African internationalism. A Pan-African approach that seeks to create a win-win situation rather than be beholden by a dichotomy of perspectives that blame the North or South. Though Kenya's foreign policy is global in scope, it is Pan-African in nature. Kenya champions, and remains committed to, the interests and welfare of Africa in international relations.

The phenomenon of globalization led to the emergence of an international network and interdependency systems that present both positive and negative challenges to foreign policy. While offering new economic opportunities, especially in the fields of science, technology and communication, globalization has led to competition for capital flows, stagnation in Africa's share in global trade, economic marginalization of developing economies and increased security challenges that are transnational in nature. As such, economic and commercial diplomacy as well as Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy are crucial components of Kenya's foreign policy.

Diaspora diplomacy has further emerged as a cornerstone of this outlook, recognizing the Kenyan diaspora as an invaluable asset in shaping the country's international engagements. The diaspora serves as a bridge between Kenya and the world, facilitating trade, investment, and cultural exchange. This inclusive approach ensures that all stakeholders, including non-state actors, play an active role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy goals.

Kenya has experienced the direct impact of the resurgent and emerging security threats which include terrorism, transnational organized crime such as piracy, drug and human trafficking, smuggling, cybercrimes, proliferation of small arms and weapons, money laundering, pandemics and climate change security threats amongst others. Responding to these threats has become a crucial agenda of Kenya's foreign policy and a determinant of its strategic partnerships. Moreover, Kenya believes that its future is inseparable from the stability and security of regional and global environment which underpins its national survival and prosperity.

Kenya continues to prioritize environment and climate diplomacy. The revised policy has elevated environmental and climate change agenda into one of its foreign policy focus areas. Kenya leads and actively participates in finding sustainable solutions to environmental security and climate change action such as pushing for favorable climate change financing

to help vulnerable countries in climate change mitigation and resilience, advocating transition to green energy and enhancing fair and just carbon markets.

Global pandemics such as COVID-19, HIV/AIDS, Ebola and other infectious viruses have underscored the importance of global health diplomacy to the world and Kenya in particular. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed the risk of dependence on a few countries for life-saving medical supplies and the ubiquitous danger of exclusionism such as was the case of vaccine nationalism. Accordingly, global health diplomacy is a key priority of Kenya's Foreign Policy as the country advances diplomatic networks that contribute to national health priorities.

The African identity is at the heart of Kenya's global image. Kenya seeks a lead role in the quest for a stronger Africa Union able to address the continental challenges and ensure sustainable development and regional integration. Additionally, embracing global governance and multilateralism is important in Kenya's foreign policy agenda of contributing to an effective international order given that no single state can survive or even resolve emerging global concerns of our time on their own.

Likewise, Kenya continues to play a lead role in fast-tracking regional and continental integration to boost intra-African trade as part of the efforts to reduce the economic marginalization of Africa in the global economy. Kenya prioritizes its commitments to realize the objectives of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) alongside its lead role in the East African Community (EAC). The EAC and IGAD are the anchors of the region's collective prosperity, peace and security. Kenya supports the economic, security and geopolitical roles of IGAD, EAC, ECA and NEPAD.

Overall, Kenya's foreign policy priorities include crafting and deepening the right diplomatic ties that will contribute to addressing domestic policy demands, elevating Pan-Africanism, expanding international cooperation, deepening and expanding regional integration, contributing to regional stability to accelerate economic development, championing climate justice and equitable response to pandemics, advancing global reforms in multilateral, financial and socio-economic organizations and promoting the equitable application of international law.

At the heart of Kenya's foreign policy are the following focus areas: Peace and Security diplomacy; Economic and Commercial diplomacy; Oceans and Blue diplomacy; Global Governance and Multilateral diplomacy; Environmental and Climate Change diplomacy; Science, Technology and Innovation diplomacy; Diaspora diplomacy; and Socio-Cultural diplomacy.

Kenya has evolved from its perceived less geopolitical roles to regional and global prominence. Kenya's geopolitical ascent has made our country one of the strongest links in the chain of regional and continental unity.

1.1.2 Kenya's Country Profile and Factsheet

In pursuing its national interests in the international arena, Kenya continues to enjoy a favorable international profile and is considered a core state in the region due to its strategic location, sustained stability, strong political institutions, stable democracy, sound economic policies, dynamic environmental strategies and highly educated and skilled human resources. Other positive attributes are outstanding performance by Kenya's sportspersons and the increasing involvement of Kenyan Diaspora in national development.

Kenya's Country Profile and Factsheet

- Kenya is the largest and most advanced economy in East and Central Africa. Its GDP accounts for more than 50 per cent of the region's total at current prices.
- With its geostrategic location that borders the Indian Ocean, Kenya is considered a strategic production, distribution and international connectivity base for Africa, Europe, the Middle East, South Asia and other Indian Ocean Islands.
- Kenya is a member of regional blocs such as the East African Community and COMESA with a combined market of over 600 million people. Kenya provides an effective entry point to this wider market.
- The country's connectivity is bolstered by an improved infrastructure of roads, railway air and sea networks that has eased movement and market access.
- Kenya is a leading agricultural country, with Agriculture as the backbone of the country's economy playing a major role in positioning the country in the global geo-economics. Kenya has high potential in Livestock sector and has one of the largest dairy sectors in the region. Through the Kenya Veterinary Vaccines Production Institute (KEVEVAPI), Kenya produces and supplies high quality and affordable veterinary vaccines and services for the region and beyond.
- Kenya is the regional logistics hub with most of East African regional trade passing through Kenya's Mombasa Port on the Indian Ocean, its airports being served by numerous major airlines and international cargo carriers.
- Kenya is the leading regional finance hub with an advanced network of financial systems and technology backed by a robust banking sector.
- Kenya is endowed with unique tourist attractions including the Wildebeest Migration which is designated as one of the Seven Natural Wonders of Africa and is home to a very varied geographical landscape from inland lakes, snow-capped mountains, the Great Rift Valley and sun-kissed white beaches. It has a conducive climate for tourism and health-boosting weather.
- Kenya has a rich archaeological heritage and 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: Lamu Old Town, the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests, Fort Jesus, the Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site, and the historical town and archaeological site of Gedi.
- Kenya is a leader in renewable energy and green energy transition with up to 90 percent of its electricity generated from renewable/clean energy sources.

- The country is home to UNEP and UN-HABITAT and also hosts the United Nations Office in Nairobi, the only UN headquarter in a developing Nation. Kenya also hosts the largest World Bank station outside Washington DC.
- Kenya is a regional media hub hosting several international media and a vibrant local media. Kenya upholds the freedom of the press and advocates for a free and objective media.
- Kenya is a welcoming humanitarianism nation, peaceful and politically stable country with high levels of cultural and human diversity. Persons from different backgrounds and descent peacefully co-exist working, trading and living side by side. The country is a key player in peace and security initiatives in the region.
- Kenya has embraced and developed transformative technologies that position it as a key player in the global technology landscape with enhanced investment in digital infrastructure, including at Kenya's Silicon Savanna, Konza.
- As a leading and stable democracy, Kenya has an impeccable history of on-schedule democratic transfer of power.

1.2 A Review of Kenya's Foreign Policy Developments Since Independence

Kenya's foreign policy has undergone significant transformation since independence. Over the years, the country's foreign policy has evolved and been influenced by geopolitical shifts, technology, regional developments, national priorities, as well as emerging challenges. The Foreign Policy doctrine has been defined by its dedication to good neighbourliness, regionalism, Pan-Africanism, economic and commercial dynamics, bilateral and multilateral relations. These principles have shaped Kenya's international engagement, thereby enabling the country to manage complex global developments while also advancing her national interests and fostering both regional and global stability. The key defining eras in the evolution of Kenya's foreign policy are briefly discussed below.

1.2.1 From Colonial Period to the New Millennium

First, was the British colonial period during which Kenya's foreign policy was predominantly driven by British colonial interests centred on extraction and domination, which significantly influenced the positions taken in pursuit of decolonization and self-determination. This was followed by the early independent years (1963-1978) when Kenya's primary goal was to establish itself as a sovereign state and assert her independence on the global stage. The administration of President Jomo Kenyatta established diplomatic relations with diverse nations, straddling both Western and Eastern blocs which reflected a pragmatic approach to diplomacy and aimed at securing economic cooperation, investment, technical cooperation and human capacity development.

The next significant period of Kenya's foreign policy was under President Daniel Arap Moi, (1978-2002). During this period, the country underlined her commitment to regional stability through active participation in regional organizations. In realizing the primacy of peaceful coexistence with neighbours, Kenya became a founding member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), established in 1986. Kenya's leadership within IGADD highlighted her dedication to regional stability and integration. IGADD was

later restructured and transitioned into the current Inter- Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in April 1996. Kenya also played a leading role in the revival of the EAC in July 2000.

The end of the Cold War disrupted governance in the continent and led to wars, conflicts and collapse of states occasioning displacement of persons and the refugee problem that culminated in the evolution of Kenya's humanitarian diplomacy, peace mediation and peace building. Additionally, during this period the country underwent Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions, incentivizing diversification of the country's relations beyond the West.

1.2.4 The Shift to Economic Diplomacy, 2000 - 2013

At the turn of the Millennium, Kenya's foreign policy underwent a significant shift towards economic diplomacy, emphasizing trade and investment as key drivers of the country's international relations. While maintaining historic ties with Western countries, Kenya sought to deepen economic relations with emerging economies in Asia. Under President Mwai Kibaki's administration the "Look East Policy" became an important feature of Kenya's Foreign Policy which also focused on strengthening ties with other emerging economies, including India, Indonesia, Mexico, Brazil, UAE, Qatar, and Turkey, among others. This approach served to expand Kenya's economic partnerships.

During the period, Kenya's foreign policy and regional engagement strategy saw significant transformation with a focus on revitalizing regional integration and providing leadership in African Affairs. Kenya's participation in the EAC aimed to promote trade, investment, and regional cooperation. The country also played a key role within the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), advocating for regional economic integration and cooperation. The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) remain central in facilitating Africa's regional economic integration and the country continues to play a major role in the Communities.

1.2.5 Era of the "First-Documented" Foreign Policy, 2013 - 2022

Kenya consolidated its Foreign Policy and published it for the first time in 2014 during the administration of President Uhuru Kenyatta. The policy outlined guiding principles for Kenya's diplomatic engagements and foreign relations, further emphasizing economic diplomacy, regional integration and international cooperation. "The Big Four Agenda" policy framework became the priorities that guided both domestic and international engagements. The country continued with the focus on strengthening trade and investment partnerships with other emerging economies. At the continental level, Kenya played a leading role in the negotiation, conclusion and adoption of the agreement establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), meant to create a single market for goods and services across the continent.

Environmental diplomacy remained a key aspect of the country's foreign policy with Kenya's leadership demonstrated through the hosting of several international conferences, among

them, the Sustainable Blue Economy Conference; the second UN Oceans Conference (co-hosted with Portugal) and the UNEA Conference in 2022. Besides, there were engagements with the United Nations, the African Union and other regional organizations with a successful bid for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council for the 2021-2022 term.

1.2 The Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA) and Beyond

Guided by the vision of His Excellency President William Samoei Ruto, Kenya's foreign policy has continued to focus on economic diplomacy, peaceful co-existence, regional integration and international solidarity as critical guarantors of the country's anchor role in the region. The Administration's manifesto, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA), has necessitated a significant transformation in Kenya's economic and foreign policy strategy. By focusing on the empowerment of the grassroots and leveraging regional and international partnerships, BETA has delineated a philosophy of inclusion, equity and sustainable development that now shapes Kenya's external relations and role as a leader in regional and global economic affairs.

In addition, the establishment of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs in 2022, ensures that Government fully harnesses the potential of our diaspora, through investment and resource mobilization, technology and skills transfer, and inclusion in the socio-economic development of the country.

1.3 Policy and Legal Frameworks

The elaboration of this revised Foreign Policy is informed by the Constitution, National and County Government policies, legal frameworks, as well as various international treaties, conventions, agreements and charters.

1.3.1 Policy Context and Rationale for the Foreign Policy Review

Kenya's Foreign Policy is aligned with the national development agenda as espoused in the country's long-term development Blueprint, Kenya Vision 2030, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA) and the Fourth Medium Term Plan (2023-2027). Kenya's national interests play a central role in guiding the country's international and diplomatic engagements. With the emergence of new global security threats, including, the resurgence of regional wars and conflicts; Transnational Organized Crimes (TOCs); terrorism and violent extremism, drug and human trafficking, illicit financial flows and money laundering, rapid changes in technology among others, Kenya has to upgrade its diplomatic toolkit and strategies to take into account these and other emerging developments.

The global community is presently confronted with many challenges, including environment and climate change; rising Green House Gas (GHG) emissions, ecological degradation, loss of biodiversity, among others. In order to combat these challenges, Kenya has deliberately offered her leadership and sought mutually beneficial strategic partnerships globally. Moreover, the administration of His Excellency President William Samoei Ruto, taking

cognisance of the pressing climate, debt and security challenges, has prioritized reform of the global governance system as a key focus of the country's foreign policy.

In the period between 1963 to October 2014, Kenya's foreign policy was derived from the Constitution, Sessional Papers, party manifestos, international treaties, agreements, conventions and charters; various national plans, policy and legal frameworks, as well as presidential pronouncements. It was not until 2014 when Kenya first published its Foreign Policy document. Kenya has, therefore, reviewed her foreign policy to align it with the national interests and priorities and ensure that it remains effective and relevant. Moreover, a deliberate shift has occurred towards a more people-centred diplomacy in which all critical stakeholders are involved in the formulation and execution of the nation's foreign policy.

Furthermore, the increasing role of technology has enhanced public engagement in diplomacy resulting in increased participation of non-state actors.

1.2.1.2 Promotion and Safeguarding of National Interests

The promotion and safeguarding of National Interests are at the core of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Article 10 (1) & (2) articulate Kenya's national values and principles of governance which are important in promoting national unity, virtues of citizenship, patriotism, national pride and nationhood.

1.2.1.3 Promoting National Interests

National interests are a reflection of the collective aspirations of the people and are critical for the attainment of the vision and realization of Kenya's ambitions. The national interests have been prioritized according to their significance and impact on the well-being of the people and are vital to the country's survival. The projection, promotion and protection of these interests and image globally is a key focus of Kenya's foreign policy. These national interests are:

(a) **Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Security of Citizenry:** This national interest is core to Kenya's survival as a state and vital to the security of citizens. The territory is well defined and comprises land, air, and maritime domains. It also includes the space and cyber domains as emerging dimensions of the territory. The territory also entails Kenya's natural resources which should be secured and sustainably harnessed.

(b) **Economic Prosperity:** Kenya's economic prosperity is about achieving the desired economic growth, competitiveness and sustainable development. The attainment of this is crucial as it generates resources and funds for the realization of other vital national interests. Kenya's economic prosperity can be achieved through enhanced competitiveness, expansion of markets, diversification and production of high-quality goods and services, improved food and nutrition security, and creation of wealth for its people. It also ensures realization of high standards of living and shared prosperity.

(c) **Socio-Political Stability:** This national interest is about achieving social and political balance in our society to foster national cohesion and unity, inclusiveness, harmony and social equity for all citizens regardless of ethnic, religious and social status.

(d) **National Values and Governance:** Kenya's national values and governance are important in promoting national unity, virtues of citizenship, patriotism, national pride, and nationhood. They are intended to inculcate a sense of belonging, underpin public service delivery and contribute to the country's international standing and positive image.

(e) **Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law:** Constitutionalism and the Rule of law embody Kenya's standing as a modern and democratic society that adheres to the Supreme Law of the land and other international obligations. Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law ensures the efficient use of public resources for the benefit of citizens, protects investments, and further provides mechanisms for accountability and redress, including the holding of those in public office accountable for their official conduct. Kenya will strive to espouse the values of Constitutionalism and Rule of Law in the region and globally by supporting good governance as a pillar of democracy.

(f) **Sustainable Development:** This is about utilization of natural resources without compromising or undermining their use for future generations and ensuring intra and inter-generational equity. Kenya's prudent use of its natural resources will protect its ecosystem, guarantee food security, good health to its citizens and the sustainable harnessing of energy. The pursuit of sustainable development as a national interest is promoted through sound national development strategies and through multilateral mechanisms of which Kenya remains a recognized player.

(g) **Global Influence and Competitiveness:** Kenya is a respected member of the international community and is well-recognised for its consistent position on global issues. The country continues to be a destination of choice for investment, connectivity, culture, trade, tourism, and conferencing regionally and beyond. The cumulative effect of these measures will enhance Kenya's global standing and voice on the international stage.

2.3.5 Core Principles and National Values

The execution of Kenya's foreign policy and the conduct of international relations are guided by the core principles outlined below. Further, the Policy is inspired by the following national values and principles of governance as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya, Article 10 (2):

Core Principles	National Values
(i) Nationalism	(i) Patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people;
(ii) Good neighbourliness and non-interference	(ii) Human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized;
(iii) Regionalism	(iii) Good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and, Sustainable Development.
(iv) Pan-Africanism	
(v) Humanitarianism	
(vi) Reciprocity	
(vii) Non-alignment	
(viii) Engagement with likeminded and emerging plurilateral arrangements	

Foreign Policy Objectives

Kenya's foreign policy aims to enhance the country's standing as a regional leader and an effective advocate for Africa's interests on the global stage. To fulfil this aim, our Foreign Policy will pursue the following objectives:

- i. Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- ii. Promote regional and global peace and security;
- iii. Advance the country's development agenda and economic prosperity;
- iv. Position Kenya as a leader in environmental and climate action;
- v. Project, promote and protect the country's image and prestige globally;
- vi. Promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation;
- vii. Promote international cooperation, multilateralism and active participation in global governance;
- viii. Enhance the voice of Kenyans in Diaspora and promote, protect their interests and welfare abroad.

CHAPTER 2: SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

2.0 Introduction

Kenya's Foreign Policy has undergone continuity, change and strategic adaptability in response to trends in the international system. In the pursuit of its national interests Kenya needs to be alive to the trends and changes in international relations. This will enable the country to strategically project its foreign policy to secure national interests for the benefit of its people and mutuality in global affairs. This chapter provides an overview of the international relations trends, the determinants of the country's foreign policy and a general review of the domestic and external operating environment of Kenya's foreign policy. This situational analysis also identifies the national actors, both traditional and resurgent, in Kenya's foreign policy.

2.1 Trends in International Relations

A comprehension of trends in international relations helps policymakers to anticipate and navigate the profound and rapid shifts in the international landscape. Since the end of the Cold War, the world has witnessed drastic changes in international politics and fundamental shifts in the configuration and realignment of global power relations towards a transition to a multi-polar world order amidst increasing influence of emerging economies in global affairs.

Manifestly, international relations are at a turning point in history due to global power competition, the emerging powers, new actors, evolving interests, and the assertiveness of developing states that are recalibrating the global status quo. We are witnessing a more complex and fragmented world system, where global multilateralism is on the verge of crisis and there is formidable pressure to reform the multilateral system and the international economic and financial architecture. States, especially leading powers, continue to undermine international organizations and institutions in pursuit of geopolitical interests.

There is a growing tendency to pursue unilateralism and militarism in global power relations hence undermining the global values and established international relations principles of human solidarity, human rights, sovereignty, rule of law, democracy, and diplomacy. The outcome is diminished global leadership and a growing lack of collective approach to global crises. This has led to the increasing influence of plurilateral or Mini laterals which are largely interest-based groupings such as G7, G20, BRICS among others. However, the implication of such developments is that multilateralism is under strain.

Increasingly, states are beset with global dangers such as violent extremism, inter-state violent conflicts, climate change risks, pandemics, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian crises and economic volatility among other severe human security threats. These pose more risks and impact on Africa and other developing countries.

At the continental level, the institutional reforms of the African Union are creating transformational changes and opportunities for Africa. The emerging governance, peace and security architecture has provided a framework that aspires to guarantee a stable continent and create an enabling environment for sustainable development. However, such Afro-optimism is under threat as the continent becomes vulnerable to geopolitical manipulations of competing powers akin to the Cold War and new scramble for Africa.

In addition, the African Union recognizes the Diaspora as the 6th region. Diasporas have evolved as an influential actor in diplomatic relations since they are considered as soft power in the domain of foreign policy strategy and a source of economic development of home countries along with their active role in the development of host countries.

To maximize the ensuing socio-economic development and avoid marginalization, Africa is strengthening regional integration as a tool for leveraging continental cooperation and stability. The AU agenda 2063 and the AfCFTA vision continue to drive Africa's initiatives towards increased intra-Africa trade, investments, people-people relations and shared prosperity. Kenya is an integral part of the African Continent and acknowledges that its national interests are intrinsically linked to Africa's stability, unity and prosperity.

These global and regional trends influence Kenya's foreign policy and its ultimate pursuit of the national interests to guarantee territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of its citizens. Additionally, the trends have an implication on Kenya's pursuit of its interests including economic prosperity, global competitiveness, socio-political stability and sustainable development.

2.2 Foreign policy determinants

Foreign policy is a product of a complex interplay of various internal and external factors which have an impact on the pursuit of Kenya's national interests. These factors are taken into account because they majorly influence the formulation and implementation of our nation's foreign policy.



The determinants of Kenya's foreign policy include:

- Security: Regional and global security dynamics are of great consideration in Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya plays an active role in collective security through bilateral and multilateral partnerships.
- Economic Advancement or Development: Economic and development partnerships, trade, and investment are key determinants of Kenya's foreign policy formulation and implementation.
- Geo-political and geo-economic factors: These include factors such as Kenya's geo-strategic position in Africa, East Africa, Great Lakes and Horn of Africa; maintenance of strategic long-held relations with traditional allies and development of mutually beneficial ties with new partners and emerging powers; cooperation in matters of consequence in global

governance such as peace, climate change, health security among others; balancing Kenya's economic and political interests in a dynamic and shifting world order; and the interdependence of Kenya with other actors in the region and international arena. These are influential geopolitical and geo-economic factors in the formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy.

- Regional Integration and multilateralism: Regional and global intergovernmental organization's play a key role in shaping Kenya's international affairs. Kenya continues to play an active role in intergovernmental organizations such as EAC, COMESA, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), AfCFTA, AU, UN, and Organization of African Caribbean and Pacific (OACP) among others.
- Geography: Kenya's conducive climate, endowment in a diversity of flora and fauna, tourism; maritime resources, and Kenya's geography as a coastal state on the Indian Ocean.
- History and culture: These historical factors have influenced foreign policy positions such as anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, non-alignment, non-interference, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity due to past negative experiences of colonialism, imperialism, racialism, occupations, violent interferences in internal affairs of African states including Kenya. History is what defines Kenya's membership in the Commonwealth and the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), and the country's Pan-African stance. Culturally, Kenya is a multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious country. It is a secular state that guarantees freedom of worship.
- Leaders and leadership: The visions and leadership styles of different presidents and their administrations influence the formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

2.3 Actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy Landscape

The actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy include State and Non-State actors as well as other non-traditional entities. This stems from constitutional provisions and legal instruments that emphasise inclusiveness, open government and the upholding of democratic principles. They include:

a) The Citizenry

The citizenry plays an essential role in Kenya's foreign policy by influencing its formulation and contributing to its implementation through public diplomacy. The Government will provide regular updates and sensitize the public on Kenya's foreign and diplomatic engagements, positions and outcomes.

b) The President

The President of the Republic of Kenya is the chief diplomat and embodiment of the country's foreign policy. In facilitating the implementation of the Policy, the President carries out roles as stipulated in Article 132 sections 2e, 4b and 5 of the Constitution. As the Head of State and Government, the President engages in high-level diplomacy and represents Kenya in global and regional forums in articulation and advancement of Kenya's interests.

c) The Cabinet

The Cabinet is mandated to formulate national and foreign policies that guide the country. Therefore, it is key in the implementation of the foreign policy to ensure achievement of the whole of government and society approach.

As the primary decision-making body of the Executive, the Cabinet ensures that foreign policy aligns with Kenya's national interests and development priorities. It collaborates with the Ministry responsible for Foreign Affairs to deliberate on international agreements, regional partnerships, and global engagements.

d) National Security Council

The integration of defense, security and foreign policy, through the National Security Council, is a constitutional imperative that will continue to shepherd Kenya's Foreign Policy.

e) Parliament

Parliamentary Diplomacy has gained significant prominence in the conduct of international affairs. In today's landscape, legislative bodies worldwide play crucial roles in shaping foreign policy. Kenyan parliamentarians have been active participants in multilateral diplomacy within the framework of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Pan-African Parliament and in various engagements. Accordingly, Kenya strategically integrates parliamentary diplomacy within the Foreign Policy framework to ensure that legislative

capabilities are effectively harnessed and leveraged to actively support the nation's foreign policy

f) Judiciary

The Constitution delineates a critical role for the Judiciary in foreign affairs from the text of Article (5) which states that '*The general rules of international law shall form part of the law of Kenya*'; and Article (6) which states that '*Any treaty or convention ratified by Kenya shall form part of the law of Kenya under this Constitution*'.

The Judiciary continues to forge affiliations with judiciaries on a global scale. This engagement encompasses judicial exchanges, conferences, cooperative endeavors, the exchange of best practices and drawing insights from international experiences. This has been a major contributor to South-South Cooperation with enhanced cooperation with countries as well as North-South Cooperation.

The Judiciary is at the forefront of championing and convening judicial dialogues in the region. Its vision is to position the country, through the Kenya Judiciary Academy (KJA) as Africa's hub for judicial dialogues and alternative Dispute Resolution while also fulfilling Kenya's pan Africanist agenda.

The Constitution confers jurisdiction over cases not only arising under the Constitution and Statutes, but also cases arising under Treaties entered into by the state and disputes related to international jurisdictions. Domestic courts contribute to determining a country's foreign relations through their decisions, precedence and subsequent jurisprudence. Courts establish coordination relationships and potentially develop a common approach in managing foreign relations.

g) County Governments

County governments play an important role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy objectives. Their interface with foreign relations is, therefore, important in promoting and projecting Kenya's diplomacy. Kenya Constitution and the Intergovernmental Relations Act 2012 provide the latitude for county governments to cooperate with the national government in international matters as appropriate, thus fostering greater international collaboration, as well as, building stronger, more inclusive, and effective international partnerships. The County Investment Forums serve as important platforms for attracting foreign direct investment into the country.

h) Foreign Service Academy

The Foreign Service Academy is established under Section 29 of the Foreign Service Act, Cap 185e as the premier institution for training and capacity building of the Foreign Service. The Academy equips Foreign Service officers with the requisite knowledge, skills and expertise

in diplomacy, international relations and global affairs, including topical issues to ensure that they are multi-skilled to effectively implement Kenya's Foreign Policy.

The Academy will deepen professionalism and capacity building including promotion of multilingualism, for effective diplomatic engagements across the public service. It will also train the youth, private sector and other stakeholders at the national, regional and global level. It will play a rightful and pivotal role in advancing Kenya's strategic goals and leadership on the global stage.

h) The Kenya Diaspora

Kenyan citizens in the diaspora also serve as cultural ambassadors, fostering goodwill and promoting Kenya's image globally. The State Department for Diaspora Affairs plays a pivotal role in engaging the Kenyan diaspora as critical stakeholders. Enhanced collaboration with diaspora organizations and regional governments ensures the effective implementation of strategies, such as skills and technology transfer programs and diaspora mapping—initiatives outlined in the Kenya Diaspora Policy. This approach strengthens bilateral ties and regional integration efforts. The Government will continue to engage the Kenyan Diaspora in a constructive, inclusive and productive manner to unlock their full potential and to mainstream their participation in the democratic and national development processes.

i) The Academia

The knowledge and academic communities play a significant role in shaping Kenya's Foreign Policy. They play an important role in research, knowledge creation and capacity building. Through rigorous scholarly research and analysis, academic institutions contribute to addressing critical global and regional challenges such as insecurity, climate change, trade, and sustainable development. They also provide critical evaluations of policy impacts, ensuring alignment with Kenya's national interests and adherence to global standards. Their contributions enhance Kenya's diplomatic engagements, strengthen its policy frameworks, and bolster its position on the global stage.

j) Private Sector

The private sector plays a crucial role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy through economic diplomacy and strengthening the country's global competitiveness. As key players in trade, investment, and innovation, private enterprises promote Kenya's economic interests through partnerships, market expansion, and showcasing Kenyan products and services on the international stage. Through public-private partnerships the sector contributes to infrastructure development, and development of industries and other sectors of the economy. By aligning business strategies with national priorities, the sector complements government efforts in fostering mutually beneficial international relationships and positioning Kenya as a hub for regional and global business.

k) Civil Society Organizations

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a vital role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy, primarily through advocacy, public opinion mobilization, and policy analysis. CSOs advocate for policies centred on human rights, democracy, and sustainable development influencing Kenya's global engagements. Collaboration with CSOs ensures that the country's foreign policy remains responsive to national and international challenges, fosters stronger diplomatic ties and regional cooperation.

l) Media

The media plays a key role in diplomacy by informing citizens about global events, shaping public opinion, facilitating communication, and enhancing transparency in international relations. Kenya recognizes the important role of the media in influencing national and international audiences. The Government will thus work closely with the media to ensure that the country's foreign policy is clearly conveyed to citizens and on the global stage.

m) Faith Based Institutions

Article 32 of the Constitution of Kenya guarantees freedom of religion and fosters a rich cultural and religious diversity that allows communities to coexist harmoniously. Faith based organizations play an important role in the policy implementation through inter-faith dialogues and supporting government initiatives.

Kenya remains committed to consistently applying faith-based diplomacy, utilizing the strength of religious values to cultivate peace, understanding, and international collaboration.

n) Women

Women offer unique perspectives in various frontiers such as peacebuilding and international cooperation. Article 27 of the Constitution enshrines the principles of gender equality and mandates measures to ensure women's full participation in leadership and governance. In light of this, Kenya continues to strengthen participation of women in diplomacy and foreign policy.

In particular, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Maputo Protocol and the adoption of the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and Resolution 76/269 on the "International Day of Women in Diplomacy" have underscored the significance of integrating women into governance, leadership and policy-decision making processes that has equally elevated their status in the diplomatic sphere. Kenya's ratification to these frameworks and subsequent Treaties is manifest of its commitment to women's empowerment across the board.

o) Youth

The youth represent the largest percentage of population in Kenya and across Africa. Their involvement in foreign policy is key to addressing emerging global challenges. Engaging youth in diplomacy brings fresh perspectives and innovation to international relations, a crucial aspect in the global, regional, and local spheres. The Constitution, under Article 55, mandates the state to take measures to ensure the full integration of youth into public affairs. The country's foreign policy architecture will continuously integrate youth perspectives to ensure that the implementation of the policy maximizes the benefit derived by the youth from foreign engagements, particularly in areas such as business, the creative economy, sports, and technology.

p) Persons with Disabilities

Incorporating the perspectives of Persons with Disabilities into Kenya's foreign policy is essential for promoting inclusivity, social justice, and diversity in international relations. In line with Article 54 of the Constitution, which guarantees the rights of persons with disabilities, their inclusion fosters a more representative global dialogue, allowing their unique perspectives to shape Kenya's foreign policy.

q) Labour Organizations

The Constitution of Kenya and labour laws uphold labour rights, ensuring fair practices, reasonable working conditions, and the freedom to unionize. Internationally, Kenya aligns with ILO conventions and has signed labour-related treaties to address global labour challenges, focusing on ethical recruitment, migrant worker protection, and safeguarding Kenyan workers abroad. Bilateral labour agreements with destination markets, and through the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, working in collaboration with the State Department responsible for Diaspora Affairs, emphasize Kenya's commitment to decent work and labour rights.

2.4. Operating Environment

2.4.1 Domestic and External Environments

The formulation and execution of this Policy is impacted by domestic and external environments, national development priorities as well as state and non-state actors. These collectively influence the strategic direction and diplomatic initiatives.

2.4.2 The Domestic Environment

Domestic factors collectively shape and propel Kenya's foreign policy, aligning it with both national priorities and global aspirations. Subsequently, Kenya's domestic environment necessitates international engagements through its strategic emphasis on political stability, economic development, social progress, environmental sustainability, and technological innovation.

Politically, Kenya's commitment to democracy, inclusiveness, and regional peace initiatives compels active participation in international organizations to foster stability, peace and security. Economically, the Government continues to strengthen its efforts in pursuing a fiscal consolidation path, macroeconomic stability and sustainable debt management. Socially, the quest for better healthcare, education, decent work and social welfare requires collaboration with international development partners.

The policy is also influenced by other domestic realities. As a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious, secular and democratic country, its diplomatic ties promote pluralism and democracy. Kenya has a high proportion of people in the working ages between 15 and 64 years. To realize the benefits of the demographic dividend, Kenya will continue investing in income generating opportunities for the youth, who comprise over eighty per cent of the population.

On the environmental front, Kenya's proactive climate action and conservation efforts necessitate robust strategic engagement in international environmental negotiations. Similarly, the geography of Kenya including its conducive climate, endowment in a diversity of flora and fauna, tourism, maritime resources, and Kenya's geo-strategic location in the Eastern African region and as a coastal state on the Indian Ocean are among the major domestic determinants of Kenya's Foreign policy.

Technologically, the aspiration to sustain the profile of the leading innovation hub in Africa prompts the pursuit of high-quality education, global knowledge exchange, and partnerships. This multifaceted domestic agenda underscores the importance of international engagements to achieve Kenya's national objectives and enhance its global standing.

2.4.3 National Ambitions

Kenya's foreign policy is purposefully designed to promote and safeguard the nation's interests on the global stage, as well as contribute to realization of national development priorities. Kenya's development priorities are informed by the Kenya Vision 2030 and its five-year Medium-Term Plans, the BETA priorities, global and regional development commitments, notably, the United Nations Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, the Africa Union Agenda 2063 and the East African Community Vision 2050, as well as other regional, continental and global treaties, conventions and agreements.

The Kenya Vision 2030 overarching goal is to transform Kenya into an industrializing, globally competitive upper-middle-income country that provides a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment. It drives the need for foreign direct investment, trade partnerships, and global cooperation. The Fourth Medium Term Plan (2023-2027) of the Kenya Vision 2030 outlines policies, programmes and projects that the Government plans to implement during the medium-term; implement the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA); and transition the country to the next long-term development plan. The Plan

is being implemented through five core pillars, namely: Agriculture; Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) economy; Housing and Settlement; Healthcare; and Digital Superhighway and Creative Economy.

Kenya transitioned from a low-Income country to a lower middle-Income status upon attaining a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of US\$1,429 in 2014. GDP per capita has since increased to US\$2,097 in 2023. Despite growth in per capita income, the country is still grappling with challenges of low productivity, inequalities and weak economic resilience.

Kenya's Foreign policy embraces transparency as critical in ensuring that diplomatic processes align with public interests and its regional, continental and global priorities.

2.4.4 The Role of External Environment

Kenya's external environment is shaped by its strategic location, economic priorities, and commitment to regional and global stability. Positioned as a gateway to East and Central Africa, it leverages its geographic advantages to foster strong bilateral and multilateral relationships. Kenya's foreign policy is significantly influenced and determined by various external factors, including regional dynamics, global economic trends, international security concerns, and multilateral relationships. The geo-political and geo-economic external factors collectively influence Kenya's foreign policy; thus, the country will remain anticipatory and responsive to global challenges and opportunities while promoting its national interests.

Global economic trends, including emergent trade policies, investment flows, and partnerships with major economies, shape Kenya's foreign policy priorities. In addition, international security concerns drive Kenya's involvement in collaborative security initiatives and peacekeeping missions. Kenya's commitment to multilateralism, through organizations like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, Bretton Woods Institutions, and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) epitomizes its pursuit of global cooperation and advocacy for sustainable development. These engagements provide platforms for collaboration, influence policy agendas, and facilitate access to resources and expertise, enabling the country to contribute to global governance and align its policies with international standards while addressing both regional and global challenges.

Participation in global development initiatives, in particular the UN 2030 Agenda, African Union 2063 Agenda, as well as the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), have been aligned with Kenya's domestic policies and standards, promoting sustainable development and environmental stewardship. Additionally, partnerships with economically advanced nations and multilateral financial institutions have provided critical support for economic development, infrastructure projects, and social programs, driving Kenya's growth and integration into the global economy.

Africa's population is projected at 1.6 billion people by 2030. The continent, has some of the largest natural capital in the world, including over 40% of the world's clean energy potential, 65% of the world's uncultivated arable land, 25% of global biodiversity and 20% of the world's tropical rainforest area. Hence, Africa is rising economically, socially and politically. This has resulted in increased global interest on the continent. In this regard, Kenya will position itself to play a transformative role in promoting Africa's global positioning.

2.5 Policy and Legislative Frameworks

2.5.1 Foreign Policy and Legal Frameworks for Foreign Relations

Foreign Policy is informed by national and sub-national or County Government policies, legal frameworks, as well as, the various continental and international treaties, conventions, agreements and charters.

Even though the country did not produce a written foreign policy prior to 2014, the conduct of its foreign relations has been informed by various, laws, official documents, and executive pronouncements and circulars, including the following:

- a) The Constitution of Kenya;
- b) Foreign Service Act, 2021;
- c) The Sessional Paper No. 10/1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya;
- d) The Sessional Paper No. 1/1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth;
- e) Manifestos of the ruling political party or Coalition;
- f) National Development Plans and Strategic Plans of relevant Government Ministries;
- g) Kenya Vision 2030 and its Medium-Term Plans;

2.5.2 Regional and Continental Cooperation Frameworks

Kenya is a signatory to the Treaty Establishing the East African Economic Community and subsequent protocols including Protocol on the establishment of the East African Community Common Market and the Protocol on the establishment of the East African Community Monetary Union.

Kenya is a member of other Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Continental Free Trade Area. Other key regional frameworks include the East Africa Community Agenda 2050, and the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) agreement.

The African Union Constitutive Act and other frameworks like the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, and the

African Union Agenda 2063 are some of the regional guidelines that determine Kenya's foreign policy conduct and cooperation with states in Africa.

3.3.2 International Treaties and Agreements

Kenya has ratified international instruments which guide and impose certain obligations and influence the conduct of the country's foreign policy.

The Constitution of Kenya provides that all international laws, treaties and conventions, and other instruments which Kenya has ratified, form part of Kenya's laws. Similarly, Kenya, through the National Assembly, has enacted the Treaty Making and Ratification Act (No. 45 of 2012). This legislation is meant to give effect to the provisions of Article 2(6) of the Constitution, and to lay out the procedure for the making and ratification of treaties.

The responsibility for treaty making, negotiation and conclusion of treaties involving the Republic of Kenya lies with the National Executive pursuant to section 4(1) of the Treaty Making & Ratification Act, 2012. These functions are managed by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs through the Office of the Registrar of Treaties.

Kenya has ratified many bilateral and multilateral treaties which cover areas of diplomacy, trade and investment, environment, maritime domain, diaspora matters, peace and security among others. These commitments determine the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy. Some of the notable treaties include the following: those relating to Diplomacy, Privileges and Immunities, Kenya ratified Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies, General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Organization of African Unity, and Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

In matters of Peace and Security, Kenya has ratified several treaties including The Treaty on The Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT) in 1970, International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing ratified in 2003 United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, among others. On matters trade and investment, Kenya has ratified many treaties and agreements among them the Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters (as Amended), Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and several bilateral agreements on Double Taxation.

Kenya is a signatory to the UN Charter and is a member of many international diplomatic organisations and institutions including the World Trade Organization, the IMF, World Bank,

the ECA, the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change among others.

Kenya is committed to international policies such as the United Nations Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development Goals. Kenya is serving on the Steering Committee of the Open Government Partnership (OGP), where the country is the Co-Chair.

2.6 Initiatives towards Robust Foreign Diplomatic Engagements:

Kenya, through the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, has recorded the following key achievements.

- a) Global and regional peace and security including, participating in peace keeping initiatives in Haiti, DRC, Somalia, South Sudan among others.
- b) Providing regional and continental leadership in climate change adaptation and mitigation including hosting Africa Climate Summit that culminated in the Nairobi declaration.
- c) Diaspora diplomacy- established a State Department for Diaspora Affairs which has expanded the scope of services to Diaspora.
- d) Promoting Nairobi as a hub for MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events) industry through conferencing diplomacy.
- e) VISA free open sky program for African member states and all foreign visitors which has facilitated trade, investment and thriving of the tourism sector.
- f) Expanded diplomatic missions foot print to serve the country interests and citizens across the world, including appointment of Honorary Consuls in various cities.
- g) Leadership in regional blue economy and technology economic transformation. Kenya hosted a premier conference on Sustainable Blue Economy themed "High Level Conference on Sustainable Blue Economy."
- h) Increased active and leading role in critical international bodies including serving three times as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, leading the AU Institutional Reforms, being elected on the United Nations Human Rights Council, among others.
- i) Transformation of the Foreign Service Academy into a state corporation. This is to enhance self-sufficiency in training, research and strategic thinking for a robust foreign policy.
- j) Development of a Global Labour Migration Strategy in collaboration with the State Department for Labour and Skills Development. The Strategy will ensure safe migration of Kenyans as they harness opportunities abroad.
- k) Signed labour mobility instruments with various countries, including Germany and Austria to facilitate safe and secure placement of Kenyans in international jobs.
- l) Establishing strategic alliances in defense and security including joint military exercises and training with the country's partners, collective security through the African Peace and Security Council and the UN Security Council, and leveraging its positions such as being a Major Non-NATO Ally of the USA and an active actor in the Peace and Security Council of the AU to enhance its defense interests and support peace and security aspirations of African states in the region.
- m) Promotion of bilateral cooperation and strategic alliances: Kenya has coordinated, hosted and participated in several bilateral cooperation fora. These are: Russia – Africa in 2019; Afro-Asia Fintech

held in Nairobi; TICAD VI held in Nairobi, August 2016, the first ever to be held outside Japan; the 1st Saudi – African Summit and the 3rd Session of the Global Forum for Public Investment Fund in Saudi Arabia in October 2019; Singapore Summit in September 2019; Pakistan-Africa Trade Development Conference in January 2020 in Nairobi; Zambia National Economic Summit on the future of Economic Diplomacy in July 2019 among others.

- n) Signing strategic agreements with partners including Kenya-United Arab Emirates Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) in January 2025. The CEPA is the first agreement of its kind signed by the UAE with a mainland African country, and it strengthens Kenya's position as a gateway to East and Southern Africa and reaffirms the UAE's role as a global logistics and financial hub connecting the Middle East, Asia, and beyond. The Kenya-EU Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), Major Non-NATO Ally of the USA, Italy and Kenya cooperated in the development of a Space Centre in Malindi, Kenya - the San Marco Project. The Project is useful in enhancing human security and development including Agriculture, education and training, cooperation in space science and technology and protecting Earth's resources.
- o) Positioning Kenya as a regional financial hub hosting the AfDB, IMF and the largest World Bank station outside Washington and various national and international banking and financial services companies. Hosted IDA 21 Replenishment and AfDB Annual meetings.
- p) Updated a database of treaties to improve access to information on treaties. Harmonized EAC protocols with national legislation.
- q) Developed and launched a comprehensive review of the Kenya Foreign Policy, 2024 which involved extensive stakeholder consultations.
- r) Established offices for special envoys including climate change and technology envoys.
- s) Spearheaded efforts to place or secure elections for Kenyan candidatures into international policy-making organs including UN, AU and EAC.
- t) Enhanced use of Public Diplomacy as a tool for engaging local and foreign audiences to strengthen ties, build trust, and promote cooperation. The effective use of the social media platforms, strategies such as educational exchange programs for scholars and students; language training; cultural events and exchanges; and tourism programs-among others, have been prioritized in enhancing public diplomacy.
- u) Conducted a diaspora mapping exercise for competencies and skills of Kenyans in Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda and further developed a diaspora skills inventory in four (4) pilot countries namely; South Africa, China, USA and UK.
- v) Facilitated provision of Mobile Consular Services in collaboration with Kenya Missions abroad. The exercise enhanced registration and strengthening of Kenyan Diaspora Umbrella Associations in all countries and regions where Kenya has diplomatic presence.
- w) The State Department for Diaspora Affairs evacuated 1,170 Kenyans in distress from crisis areas including Sudan and Lebanon among other countries.
- x) Facilitated an increase in Diaspora remittances from USD 2,051 Million in 2018 to a gradual increase, with 2023 reaching USD 4,189 million.
- y) The Ministry successfully lobbied for the establishment of the UN's Counter Terrorism Programme Office in Nairobi, which delivers resources and capacity to our national efforts and regional partners.

CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF KENYA'S BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

3.1 Bilateral Diplomacy

Kenya's bilateral relationships are instrumental in facilitating trade, investment, security, and development cooperation, hence playing a pivotal role in the country's development agenda. By fostering these connections, Kenya gains access to essential markets, technology, and resources that are crucial for national growth and sustainability, thereby strengthening her position on the global stage and ensuring comprehensive development.

Over the years, Kenya has strengthened its bilateral engagements through the conclusion of pending agreements, initiation of new ones, and monitoring the implementation of existing ones. Kenya has signed various frameworks of cooperation, including Joint Commissions on Cooperation (JCCs), Joint Economic Commissions (JECs), Political, Labor, and Consular Consultations, Joint Permanent Commission for Cooperation, Joint Ministerial Frameworks, Bilateral Strategic Dialogues (BSDs), Bi-national Commissions, Agreements, and Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), among others. These frameworks are currently at different stages of implementation and are expected to significantly contribute to Kenya's development agenda, as well as the rapid attainment of goals and objectives as outlined in the Kenya Vision 2030 and BETA.

3.1.1 Defining Kenya's Diplomatic Neighbourhood

Kenya has consistently pursued the principle of good neighbourliness. The eight East Africa Community (EAC) member states and the eight member states of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), constitute Kenya's near neighbours. These states share a contiguous border with Kenya and/or strategic proximity. Kenya's neighbours that share a contiguous border include Uganda, Somalia, Tanzania, South Sudan, and Ethiopia. The other neighbours which are without adjoining borders but are of strategic proximity include EAC member states of Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and member states of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) namely Djibouti, Eritrea and Sudan.

Moreover, Kenya and her neighbours adjoin crucial waterways running from the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Kenya advocates for a regional maritime strategy to secure the strategic maritime interest of the region in terms of geo-economics, security and geopolitics. Additionally, the country champions enhanced connectivity of regional infrastructure.

The regional neighbourhood constitutes an important transit route, known as the Northern Corridor, in which Kenya is positioned as the gateway to the East and Central Africa regions. The Corridor is a major facilitator of Kenya's trade and economic development as well as

shared prosperity in the region and beyond. Out of the eleven neighbours of Kenya, five of them are landlocked (Ethiopia, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan). In this regard, Kenya advocates for fair and pro-active policies by coastal states to facilitate the economic interests of landlocked countries, including through promoting the optimal use of the LAPSET Corridor.

3.1.2 Bilateral Ties With the Rest of African States

Kenya prioritizes its bilateral ties with states in Africa and remains committed to the Pan-African ideals with the commitment to continue being at the forefront of championing African affairs in the global arena. Kenya has established vibrant diplomatic missions in all the five regions of the continent as it considers them as presenting unique opportunities for the country's foreign policy objectives.

Kenya has also actualized the AU's borderless and visa-free objectives by removing visa requirements for nationals of all African states. Kenya's visa free policy also extends to the other countries outside the African continent. Kenya adheres to the collective position of the AU on regional and global matters and its role in global multilateralism, peace and security. The country continues to champion continental unity in development, the climate change agenda as well as peace and security. Kenya promotes intra-Africa trade and the development of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) for the mutual benefit of member states. The country seeks a stronger and effective African Union capable of advancing and defending the collective interests of the continent vis a vis other region.

3.1.3 Bilateral Ties With the Rest of the World

Kenya's bilateral ties with the rest of the world cover countries in Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Americas and the Caribbean, Middle-East and the Western Indian Ocean (WIO) region.

a) Asia and the Pacific

Kenya is naturally linked to Asia through the Indian Ocean and further enjoys historical and cultural ties with countries in the region. Kenya hosts a large Asian population that has contributed to entrepreneurship and commerce. Promotion of economic and security ties with Asian states is conducted under South-South cooperation.

With Asia accounting for one third of the global population and a third of global GDP, the geopolitical significance of the region cannot be overstated. Kenya will continue to deepen and expand ties with this region, including, China, Japan, India, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore to attract foreign direct investment, manufacturing, technological partnerships, trade and development of infrastructure.

Kenya has excellent bilateral relations with Asia-Pacific countries, which has been exemplified by the growing trade ties, exchanges of high-level official visits, development cooperation,

common multilateral interests and mutual exchanges including around culture and education.

b) Europe

The European Union (EU) and its member states are Kenya's important trade and development cooperation partners. The EU is one of Kenya's largest export markets and trading partner. In 2023, the total exports to the EU amounted to USD 1.077 billion. Kenya and the EU signed an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) which came into force in July 2024. This guarantees market access for Kenyan products to the EU under reciprocal arrangements. The EPA is expected to enhance trade between Kenya and EU. Further, the EU and its member states are among the leading markets for Kenya's agricultural products including tea, coffee, cut flowers, peas and beans.

Kenya and the EU have deepened ties through other comprehensive frameworks such as the Kenya – EU Strategic Dialogue that aims to achieve Peace, Security and Stability; Sustainable, Inclusive development and SDGs; and Economy, trade and Investment.

The country seeks to enhance collaboration with other European countries. Kenya has long-standing diplomatic relations with the Nordic countries which includes partnerships in trade, health, agriculture, digital innovation, gender equality, human rights, education, governance, climate change and green energy among others. Kenya and these countries partner in matters of global governance and multilateralism such as advocating for peaceful societies, respect for international law and reforms of the multilateral system and the international economic and financial architecture.

Kenya and the United Kingdom enjoy special relations embedded in a shared history, political, economic, and cultural ties. Kenya-UK bilateral relations have been elevated to a strategic partnership comprising five pillars: Mutual Prosperity; Security and Stability; Sustainable Development; Climate Change; and People-To-People programs. Kenya has signed an economic partnership agreement with The United Kingdom, a key trading partner. Kenya will strengthen these extensive bilateral relations with the UK as envisioned in the Kenya UK Strategic Partnership.

Kenya will also continue to pursue close economic trade and investment, political and cultural partnerships with other countries in Europe.

c) Americas and the Caribbean

The region of the Americas and the Caribbean is important to Kenya and Africa in terms of cultural ties through people of African descent. This region remains important to Kenya and Africa as the origin of Pan-African ideas. Kenya's relations with the region is anchored on

mutual interest in trade, investment, security and multilateral cooperation. This broad relationship enhances the country's global footprint and opens avenues for collaboration across diverse sectors including tourism, cultural exchanges, renewable energy, technology, among others.

The United States is a close partner of Kenya and an important export market under the AGOA framework. Enacted in 2000, AGOA has been a cornerstone of the U.S.-Kenya trade and economic relations. The program has immensely benefitted Kenya's textile and apparel sector, leading to monthly exports averaging at USD 290.3 million in 2023. The program has also catalysed Kenya's Export-Processing Zones (EPZs), especially in the textile and garment sectors.

Further, Kenya will continue to engage Canada through the Kenya – Canada Bi-National Commission and other frameworks.

The country will also engage with Latin America and the Caribbean region under the south-south cooperation to diversify markets for its agricultural products including tea, and coffee. Furthermore, the country remains committed to the realization of objectives of the Organization of African Caribbean and Pacific (OACP).

d) Middle East

Kenya's proximity to the Middle East and hundreds of years of historical relations makes it one of Kenya's significant regions for engagement. The Middle East is an important geopolitical area with immense influence on world politics and the global political economy. It has an estimated population of 258 million people. The region is an important source of capital and labour market for Kenya's highly educated and skilled human resources. It hosts approximately 500,000 Kenyans spread across the region. Oil-rich Middle Eastern countries are an important source of Kenya's energy imports, investments and capital inflows through sovereign wealth funds, development assistance and security cooperation. For instance, in January 2025, Kenya-United Arab Emirates signed a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). The CEPA is the first agreement of its kind signed by the UAE with a mainland African country, representing a transformative step in enhancing trade, investment, and economic cooperation. The agreement strengthens Kenya's position as a gateway to East and Southern Africa and reaffirms the UAE's role as a global logistics and financial hub connecting the Middle East, Asia, and beyond.

Kenya is keen to engage the region in a definitive, proactive, and effective foreign policy strategy that maximizes benefits and minimizes risks for the optimal pursuit of its national interests - particularly, the underutilized economic, financial, and technological opportunities, security and intelligence cooperation, expand labour opportunities, trade and investment, tourism and development cooperation.

(e) Western Indian Ocean

Kenya is geo-strategically located in the western shores of the Indian ocean with a 536 km long coastline. The Western Indian Ocean (WIO) is of international importance due to the high volume of trade via the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) connected to the Red Sea via the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Peninsula via the Straits of Hormuz.

The upsurge of maritime piracy, and attendant maritime security challenges in this region brought to the fore its strategic importance. The region's transnational challenges include maritime terrorism, drug trafficking, and Illegal, Unlicensed and Unregulated (IUU) fishing. These developments have attracted extra-regional actors and highlighted the need for collaborative approaches to regional maritime security, focused on a multi-agency approach. As such, Kenya will strengthen its role as a member of Djibouti Code of Conduct and the Indian Ocean Rim.

3.2 Multilateral Diplomacy

Kenya has established its credentials as a champion for multilateral solutions to global challenges and will continue to contribute to a fair and equitable multilateral order. The successful engagement with international organizations at multilateral fora has been a key aspect of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's active participation in regional and international organizations allows her to exert significant influence on regional stability and global governance structures. Kenya will continue to champion for AU institutional reforms to ensure a well-financed, assertive African Union capable of addressing the continent's challenges and advancing its strategic interests.

Through these platforms, Kenya contributes to peacekeeping missions, regional integration, and collective security initiatives, demonstrating her leadership and commitment to fostering peace and development. Additionally, Kenya's engagement in multilateral forums enables her to address global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, displacement of persons, inequitable global economic and financial architecture global health related issues. Kenya continues to advocate for sustainable development and representing African interests on the international stage. Kenya is also an active member of the World Trade Organization (WTO); World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This active involvement not only enhances Kenya's diplomatic stature but also aligns with her national priorities and development goals.

Kenya will endeavour to diversify its multilateralism to have strategic engagements with other regions of the world including Caribbean Community (CARICOM), League of Arab States (LAS) or Arab League, Organization of Islamic Countries (IOC) among others.

Figure 1: Kenya's Multilateral Diplomacy



The fragmented and polarised multilateral order has created a situation where global challenges are, among other arrangements, addressed through plurilateralism. These institutions are setting the global agenda and are not necessarily organised by regions but are issue-based and interest driven. Kenya has been a member of established plurilateral such as the Commonwealth, NAM, G77 and China, and IORA. Kenya has used such

arrangements to drive and consolidate its agenda and positions on issues like oceans governance, trade negotiations and the economy.

This policy recognises that it is in Kenya's interest to monitor, analyse and engage with such groupings as a response to changes emanating from global economic and political spheres and demography. These groupings and blocs wield substantial instruments of global power, including high GDPs; unmatched military prowess; technological and innovation advancements; trade markets; populations; maritime power and vast landmass. Kenya's strategic interests will certainly be influenced by these groupings over and above the existing influence of conventional international organizations. Kenya will thus endeavour to maintain an independent and pragmatic foreign policy which basically requires that the country elevates partnerships with traditional allies, while diversifying into building new relationships with the rising powers and formations like the BRICS.

A. Group of Seven (G-7)

Formed in 1975, the G7 is a grouping of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. With a population of approximately 777 million, the G7 accounted for 30 % of Global GDP in 2023. The IMF forecasts that by 2027, G7 will account for 28.2% of the world GDP. The common goals of G7 include economic stability, global financial governance, sustainable development, and security. The collective economic strength of the G7 member states has enabled the grouping to shape global economic policies, trade agreements, and international financial systems. They influence institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), where they hold significant decision-making power. Additionally, the G7 plays a crucial role in shaping global security policies, addressing regional conflicts, and combating global threats such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and cyber warfare.

Kenya will leverage its long-standing relations with G7 members to assert its foreign policy interests among the global powers. Kenya will push for reforms of the global financial architecture by engaging the G7 to leverage their power over international financial institutions to unlock financing for Africa. Kenya will engage its G7 friends to provide long-term concessional financing, including at least \$120 billion for the International Development Association (IDA21) replenishment, on the way toward tripling the fund by 2030. Kenya will promote the G7-Africa partnership guided by the objectives of the AU Agenda 2063, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Kenya will closely monitor the G7 commitments and leverage the grouping's focus on food security, climate change, development in Africa and strategic development of Artificial Intelligence.

B. BRICS

The BRICS group refers to initial members Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. In 2024, new members were admitted to form BRICS+ (plus) an expansion that includes Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Iran and Ethiopia. The combined population of these nine countries is above 3.2 billion people which translates to approximately 46% of the global population making BRICS+ account for nearly half the world's population. BRICS+ states collectively account for approximately 28% of global GDP. According to forecasts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), BRICS+ will account for 37.6% of world GDP in 2027. The BRICS nations will continue to have a significantly higher growth rate forecast at 3.6%. Thus, BRICS nations, with continued higher growth rates and the potential to add more members are likely to be at the top of global economic and geopolitical influence. The common goals of BRICS include economic cooperation, political collaboration, reform of international financial institutions and South-South cooperation.

As of 2024, three African countries were members of BRICS, namely South Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia. Kenya supports South-South cooperation and efforts to establish stronger economic ties within this global framework. Kenya and BRICS have aligned positions on promoting the use of local currencies in trade between its member states, especially in trade, advocating for comprehensive reform of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to make the institutions more representative, accountable and effective in addressing global challenges, and pushing for comprehensive reform of the United Nations including restructuring of the UN Security Council to inclusively represent the interests of all member states. Kenya will endeavour to work with BRICS members and other states advocating for reforms of the international financial institutions and multilateral organizations. The existing strong bilateral relationships with members of BRICS in infrastructural development, financing, and foreign direct investments are bound to get better as BRICS expands.

Kenya continues to diversify its alliances for the benefit of its people and the country's sustainable development. As it continues to monitor the strategic significance of this bloc, Kenya has meanwhile, signalled its intent to consider joining the BRICS which has emerged as a major economic and trading bloc, which by early 2024 it represented 46 per cent of the world's population, 35 percent of the world's GDP when measured at purchasing power parity, and 23.3 percent share of the global merchandise exports. Additionally, Kenya will seek opportunities in climate change financing and carbon credits as BRICS strive to cut carbon emissions. The BRICS account for more than 40% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions.

GDP Comparison **G7 vs BRICS**

G7 \$45.9T TOTAL

BRICS \$30.9T TOTAL



Based on GDP projections for 2023 (current USD)
Source: IMF

G7 Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
U.S.	\$26,855	25%
Japan	\$4,410	4%
Germany	\$4,309	4%
UK	\$3,159	3%
France	\$2,923	3%

G7 Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
Italy	\$2,170	2%
Canada	\$2,090	2%
G7 Total	\$45,916	43%

BRICS Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
China	\$19,374	18%
India	\$3,737	4%
Brazil	\$2,081	2%
Russia	\$2,063	2%
South Africa	\$399	0.4%
UAE	\$499	0.5%
Egypt	\$387	0.4%
Iran	\$368	0.4%
Ethiopia	\$156	0.2%
BRICS Total	\$29,064	28.1%