

## **DIPLOMATIC JUGGLING: KENYA'S HANDLING OF CHINA AND TAIWAN (1990-1998)**

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**Abstract:** Kenya's historical narrative is characterized by significant milestones, particularly in its economic and political realms. Economically, the country has undergone a remarkable evolution since gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1963. Initially reliant on agriculture, Kenya has diversified its economy over the years, embracing various sectors to foster growth and development. This transition reflects the nation's resilience and adaptability in navigating global economic shifts.

Politically, Kenya's journey has been equally intriguing, marked by pivotal shifts in governance structures. The adoption of a multi-party system in 1991 signified a significant departure from its previous political landscape, ushering in a new era of democratic pluralism. This transition underscores Kenya's commitment to political inclusivity and the promotion of democratic ideals.

This article endeavors to explore Kenya's dynamic historical trajectory, examining its economic diversification and political evolution. By delving into these dual narratives, the study seeks to uncover the underlying factors driving Kenya's development trajectory and the implications for its future trajectory. Understanding Kenya's historical context is essential for comprehending its present challenges and opportunities, offering valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and stakeholders invested in the nation's socio-economic progress.

**Keywords:** Kenya, economic evolution, political transition, multi-party system, democratic pluralism.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Kenya's historical trajectory, both economically and in 1963 and adopted a multi-party system. Economically, politically, reflects a fascinating evolution. Politically, Kenya has transitioned from a predominantly agrarian Kenya achieved independence from British colonial rule economy to one that encompasses diverse sectors.

It has experienced consistent economic growth, with agriculture, manufacturing, and services contributing significantly. In recent years, Kenya's technology industry, dubbed "Silicon Savannah," has gained global recognition. In the convoluted landscape of international relations, characterized by clashes of national identities and fluid political allegiances, few situations are as complex as the recognition status of Taiwan during the presidency of Lee Teng-hui in the context of China. The diplomatic struggle between Taiwan and China, intensified by the One-China policy, not only profoundly influenced the destinies of these two entities but reverberated on a global scale.

Previous scholarship has diligently explored the elaborate dynamics of China-Taiwan relations, particularly within the framework of the One-China policy. However, a significant gap remains in the literature regarding an analysis

of the recognition and non-recognition policies pursued during Moi's presidency towards China and Taiwan. Within the framework of President Moi's administration, this paper scrutinizes Kenya's recognition and non-recognition policies pertaining to China and Taiwan. By scrutinizing variables such as economic interests, political alliances, and prevailing global trends, this study dissects the subtleties of Kenya's stance. The paper also examines the repercussions of international recognition of Taiwan over global decision-making processes.

Numerous scholars have probed into the factors influencing countries' decisions regarding recognition of Taiwan and "one China policy." While economic interests and political alignments have received considerable attention, there exists a compelling need to delve into regional considerations that molded recognition policies throughout the Moi era. The subsequent sections will meticulously examine the historical backdrop of Taiwan's recognition status during President Moi's tenure in Kenya (1990-1998). This study will delve into the theoretical foundations that underpin my analysis, present case studies of recognition decisions, and dissect the strategic approaches adopted by Taiwan to navigate the complicated challenges of recognition. My investigation will culminate in a reflection on the enduring impact of these policies and their far-reaching implications for contemporary relations between Taiwan and China.

### **Context**

In the period from 1990 to 1998, marked by Lee Tenghui's presidency in China, Taiwan's quest for international recognition became highly significant. This timeframe coincided with Kenya's "Moi era," and these parallel developments offer a unique context to explore recognition and non-recognition policies. During this period, Kenya's approach to international recognition was crystallized. Dr. Njoroge Mungai, the Foreign Affairs Minister, outlined Kenya's doctrine emphasizing the recognition of effective governments over regimes. Kenya notably recognized Idi Amin's government as effective, which set the stage for its recognition policy (Munene, 1997a). The post-Cold War era brought transformative global events, including the fall of the Berlin Wall, symbolizing the end of the Cold War and reshaping international relations. In Eastern Europe, non-communist regimes emerged, notably the reunification of Germany. The dissolution of the USSR led to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In Africa, SomaliLand declared independence, striving for international recognition. Somalia experienced turmoil after the fall of Siad Barre's regime, while Eritrea gained recognition as an independent state. In Sudan, Southern Sudan under SPLA's leadership sought international recognition for self-determination (Quashigah and Okafor, 1999). Across Africa, unpopular governments were ousted through revolutions or democratic elections, partly due to support from the East or West during the Cold War. Examples include Idi Amin in Uganda and Mobutu Sese Seko in former Zaire (DRC). Kenya's handling of the Zaire situation during this period, shifting from nonrecognition to recognition after Kabila's victory, illustrates its emphasis on recognizing governments rather than individuals. Kenya had previously declined to invite Kabila for peace negotiations held in Nairobi on the grounds that Kabila was not a recognized Head of State. By then, Kenya's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kalonzo Musyoka, had emphasized that Kenya recognized governments rather than individuals (Sunday Nation, 1997).

### **Thesis statement**

This paper conducts a detailed analysis of the substantial impact that President Moi's direct engagement in foreign policy development, coupled with his personal approach, had on Kenya's policies regarding recognition and nonrecognition, as illustrated through the specific instances involving China and Taiwan during his leadership.

### **Research problem and objectives**

This study endeavors to scrutinize the nuanced dynamics surrounding recognition and non-recognition policies during President Moi's tenure, with a particular emphasis on the labyrinthine relationship between Taiwan and China. More precisely, aims to investigate how Taiwan strategically pursued and preserved global recognition while simultaneously navigating China's diplomatic endeavors to isolate the island nation with reference to Post-Cold War Moi era especially (1990-1998).

### **Research question**

At its essence, this research grapples with a fundamental inquiry: What were the distinctive criteria that influenced

the Moi administration's determinations pertaining to the recognition of states as legitimate actors on the international stage? In particular, what factors underpinned the Moi administration's decision to withhold recognition from Taiwan?

### **Significance of the study**

This study delves into the dynamics of recognition and non-recognition policies during President Moi's tenure, offering a rigorous analysis of Taiwan's adept navigation of international diplomacy during this period. It provides valuable insights into the broader implications of recognition dynamics in global diplomacy. Beyond its academic relevance, this research is of substantial significance to scholars and the broader public as it enhances understanding of Kenya's recognition policy concerning China and Taiwan during the Moi era. The findings are a valuable resource for researchers investigating Kenya's recognition policy, enabling them to discern patterns and changes in Kenya's foreign policy across subsequent administrations following President Moi's leadership.

### **Justification of the study period 1990-1998**

The study period from 1990 to 1998 is chosen grounded in a compelling rationale. It aims to fill a gap in scholarly literature concerning Kenya's foreign policy during President Moi's tenure, particularly in its interactions with China and Taiwan after the Cold War. During this time, President Moi primarily conveyed his foreign policy orally, resulting in limited written documentation. This scarcity of documentation raises scholarly concerns about the clarity and consistency of Kenya's foreign policy. The research's main objective is to rigorously examine Kenya's engagement with and recognition of foreign governments during these pivotal years, marked by global and African geopolitical transformations. Africa witnessed dynamic political changes with elections and movements towards self-determination. Recognizing a foreign government implies acknowledging state sovereignty, making it a challenge for international actors to alter this status, even after governmental changes Talmon (1988). With a dearth of comprehensive scholarly investigations in this specialized field, this study aims to provide a nuanced examination of Kenya's diplomatic interactions during President Moi's tenure, shedding light on the complexities of international recognition and its implications in the late 20th-century geopolitical landscape, particularly in Kenya's engagements with China and Taiwan.

### **China and Taiwan as a case study**

Utilizing China and Taiwan as a case study is of significant importance in this study. These two entities offer a unique context to examine recognition and nonrecognition policies in international relations. China's global influence, as well as its historical rivalry with Taiwan, presents a complex diplomatic landscape. By examining Kenya's foreign policy towards these nations, the research can elucidate how a smaller nation navigates the dynamics of global politics and diplomatic relations. The case study approach allows for a focused analysis of Kenya's stance towards these two influential players, providing valuable insights into the broader implications of recognition policies and their impact on a country's foreign relations.

China and Taiwan have long been engaged in a diplomatic rivalry, each seeking international recognition and support. This competition influences the stance of countries like Kenya, which may have to choose between recognizing one or the other. Studying these two cases provides a lens through which to examine how Kenya navigated this diplomatic rivalry.

Over time, the recognition of China by many countries, including Kenya, has become the norm due to its significant global presence. Taiwan, on the other hand, maintains recognition from a limited number of nations. Analyzing these cases helps shed light on how Kenya's foreign policy adapted to shifts in international alliances. The China-Taiwan issue is not unique to Kenya and has broader international implications. By delving into the nuances of Kenya's policies towards these two entities, this research can contribute to a broader understanding of how countries make foreign policy decisions in the context of complex international dynamics. Incorporating China and Taiwan as case studies enables a richer and more insightful analysis of Kenya's foreign policy choices and the broader geopolitical considerations at play especially after the Cold-War during Moi era.

### **Theoretical/Conceptual framework**

This study finds its conceptual foundation in the circuitous interplay of diplomatic recognition, sovereignty, and the One-China policy. These fundamental concepts form the scaffolding through which we can conduct a complete analysis of the motives, tactics, and consequences inherent in the acts of both recognizing and withholding recognition from various entities during President Moi's tenure.

Diplomatic recognition stands as a cornerstone in international law, serving as the bedrock upon which international rights and responsibilities are established. It assumes a pivotal role in acknowledging the emergence of new states or governments. Within this realm, recognition carries a web of entitlements and obligations that can either bind or disentangle entities from the global community. The very essence of a state's existence is multifacetedly intertwined with recognition, marking its genesis as a legal entity and an active participant in the global arena. The domain of recognition is profoundly significant and knotty, frequently susceptible to manipulation by various governments (Taylor, 1994).

A particularly salient predicament arises for states lacking representation within the United Nations Organization. Such states are vulnerable to nonrecognition by influential powers and international actors, primarily due to the latter's veto authority, which empowers them to influence the admission of new members to the organization. In essence, "recognition" signifies the acknowledgment of a new entity within the international system, endowing it with an autonomous status within the existing global order, accompanied by corresponding rights and responsibilities (Satyavrata, 1964).

The recognition of a new government becomes relevant when a state, while remaining intact, experiences a significant change in leadership through a revolution or popular uprising, resulting in the transfer of power to a new entity or insurgent group (Shaw, 1997). Complexity arises when the non-recognition of such a government implies the non-recognition of the state itself, as the government serves as the representative of the state. In compliance with international law, recognition can be achieved through formal declarations, the establishment of legal relations, formal pronouncements, or state conduct (Satyavrata, 1964).

In their work, Dixon et al. (1991) underscore the significance of international recognition. They emphasize that it grants the ability to engage in treaty negotiations, seek membership in international organizations like the United Nations, and actively participate in the decisionmaking processes within these organizations. This principle finds its foundation in Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States, dating back to 1933. It is essential to emphasize that while recognition of states and governments constitutes distinct concepts, they often

operate in unison, particularly during the establishment of new states. Nonetheless, the primary focus here centers on the recognition of one state's government by one or more other states. In the realm of international relations, this process ensures that only regimes deserving of such status are acknowledged as the legitimate governments of states. Moreover, it serves to inform courts, government agencies, and the citizens of recognizing states that a specific regime genuinely constitutes the government of another state.

The complexities arising from the recognition of governments hold paramount importance within the sphere of international law, as they profoundly impact the sovereignty of the recognized state. When international actors decline to acknowledge a government, they effectively withhold numerous advantages provided by international law from the community governed by that government. This may encompass the refusal to validate its legislative and judicial actions, as well as the denial of ordinary jurisdictional immunities to the government and its organs. Such a refusal to recognize a government can place the international actor in a precarious position, potentially impeding its ability to protect its citizens and interests within the territory governed by the unacknowledged government.

As articulated by Professor Hyde in Moore and Rivier, recognition guarantees the new state (if it is the subject of recognition) that it will be acknowledged as an independent political entity on the international stage, preserving its position and standing within the community of nations (International Law I. 56). However, it is imperative to note that this definition predominantly pertains to a state's international legal persona. Consequently, recognition harmonizes with the principles of international law (Satyavrata, 1964).

In a seminar paper dated 1997, Makumi Mwagiru conducted a survey of Kenya's recognition policy during and after the Cold War era, with the intention of elucidating the rationale behind it. Mwagiru observed a shift in recognition policy, transitioning from recognizing entire states to recognizing specific regimes. He endeavored to trace the diplomatic endeavors that instigated this abrupt policy transformation. Consequently, the seminar paper leaves us with a lingering inquiry: Does Kenya's recognition policy exhibit consistent trends regarding the legitimacy of governments (Mwagiru, 1997)?

Overall, this theoretical framework sets the stage for a wide-ranging analysis of Kenya's recognition policies in the context of the One-China policy, contributing to a

nuanced understanding of the complex diplomatic dynamics during President Moi's administration.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study employs a qualitative research approach, integrating archival analysis and an exhaustive review of official documents, speeches, and statements pertaining to Kenya's foreign policy in relation to China and Taiwan. This triangulation of sources, supplemented by an examination of global events and regional dynamics, aims to elucidate the discernible patterns, shifts, and trends in Kenya's policies of recognition and non-recognition during the specified time frame. Furthermore, this research incorporates case studies, using China and Taiwan as illustrative examples to deepen the analytical insights.

The focus of this study is the foreign policy of President Moi from 1978 to 1998. It draws primarily from secondary sources such as the Weekly Review, speeches, seminar papers, and peer-reviewed articles. In a supplementary capacity, a limited number of personal statements have been gathered through direct communication with individuals associated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Nation newspaper.

To conduct an analysis of recognition and non-recognition policies, a qualitative assessment was performed on a diverse array of historical documents, official speeches, magazines, weekly publications, newspapers, books, and journals, in conjunction with pertinent scholarly literature. This holistic approach, encompassing both primary

and secondary sources, is designed to shed light on the dynamics of diplomatic landscape that influenced Taiwan's pursuit of international recognition. Consequently, a qualitative research design was selected, as it enables an in-depth exploration of diplomatic materials, official speeches, and historical records originating from both China and Taiwan.

### **Scope and limitations**

This study endeavors to offer an analysis of the dynamics of recognition during President Moi's tenure. However, it is imperative to acknowledge the inherent limitations associated with historical research. Some documents remained inaccessible due to their classified nature and the mazelike nature of international relations during the era. This presented considerable hurdles in deciphering diplomatic subtleties.

Also, despite diligent efforts to maintain objectivity in my arguments and critiques, there were instances where inadvertent personal biases may have influenced the discourse. Additionally, temporal limitations played a pivotal role in shaping the study's parameters. Challenges emerged when attempting to glean profound insights from individuals within foreign affairs offices and conducting interviews, as there was a reticence to delve into sensitive governmental matters, particularly those related to President Moi.

Furthermore, the inability to conduct interviews with certain key figures, due to constraints in time and governmental policies that imposed restrictions on interactions with non-governmental individuals, presented a substantial hurdle in the execution of this study. Additionally, President Moi predominantly communicated his foreign policy orally, primarily through impromptu speeches, resulting in a dearth of written documentation. This paucity of documentation raises scholarly concerns regarding the clarity and consistency of Kenya's foreign policy.

Overall, the research methodology is well-conceived, and the acknowledgment of limitations demonstrates a realistic approach to the study. The chosen methods and sources align with the research objectives, making it a promising approach to uncovering the dynamics of recognition policies during President Moi's tenure.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya**

This text provides a historical overview of Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, Kenya's second President, and touches on some key events and policies during his tenure in relation to his foreign policy. Moi's foreign policy can be characterized as one that initially aligned with the pro-Western stance of his predecessor during the Cold War era. However, it evolved in response to changing global dynamics, with a shift towards multipartyism and democratic reforms in the early 1990s. His commitment to peaceful transitions of power and diplomacy in Africa contributed to Kenya's foreign relations and regional stability.

Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, the second President of Kenya, came into office in 1978 following the passing of Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first President. His ascension to power was constitutional due to his position as Vice President at the time. Born on September 2, 1924, in Kuriengwo, Moi belonged to the Tugen sub-group of the Kalenjin community in the Kenyan Rift Valley (McKenna, 2020). His presidency, from 1978 to 2002, is the second-longest in Kenya's history.

One significant event during Moi's presidency was the thwarting of a coup attempt on August 1, 1982, led by Air Force personnel and university students. Military and police forces, under the leadership of Chief of General Staff Mohamoud Mohamed, decisively suppressed the coup (Nyamora, 1992), leading to the sentencing to death of those involved (Ndunda, 2016).

Moi initially followed the pro-Western policies of his predecessor, Jomo Kenyatta, during the Cold War era, attracting substantial development aid and elevating Kenya's status as a prosperous African nation. However, changes unfolded in the early 1990s as the Cold War ended, oil prices surged, and agricultural commodity prices in Africa declined. Simultaneously, Western engagement with Kenya transformed amid concerns about communist influences from Ethiopia and Tanzania.

Despite Kenya's one-party state status since independence in 1963, Moi responded to Western calls for political and economic reforms in the late 1990s by legalizing opposition parties in 1991. This was a notable shift from his previous stance, further emphasized when he announced his intent to repeal Section 2(A) of the constitution, opening the way for multipartyism during a KANU conference in December 1991 (Throup and Hornsby, 1998). The 1992 and 1997 elections were marred by allegations of electoral fraud and violence, particularly affecting the Kikuyu community. Moi won both elections, serving a total of five terms. However, his eligibility for the 2002 presidential elections faced restrictions. Instead of seeking a third term, Moi endorsed Uhuru Kenyatta, Kenya's first President's son, leading to the formation of the National Rainbow Coalition and the victory of Mwai Kibaki in the 2002 elections (Lacey, 2002).

After leaving office in December 2002, Moi's political influence waned, although he remained popular. He returned to the public eye in 2007 when appointed as a special peace envoy to Sudan, leveraging his expertise in African affairs to facilitate a peace agreement in southern Sudan (Hull, 2007).

Moi's health deteriorated over time, with a dementia diagnosis in August 2017 (Kahawatungu, 2017), and hospitalization in October 2019 due to complications related to pleural effusion (Mphaso, 2019). He passed away on February 4, 2020, with his age being a matter of dispute his family claiming he was 105 though the government stated he was 95 years (Standard Digital, 2020). A state funeral was held in his honor, and he was laid to rest at his Karabak home in Nakuru County alongside his former wife, Lena Bomett (BBC News, February 11, 2020).

### **Development of Kenya's recognition policy**

#### ***Contextualizing recognition in the cold war era***

Within the tangled landscape of the Cold War, Kenya's approach to recognition policy mirrored wider global trends. Like many nations, Kenya adhered to the Estrada Doctrine, a framework advocating the automatic recognition of governments without regard to specific circumstances (Jessup, 1931). This doctrine sought to establish a clear-cut benchmark for recognition that often-bypassed political considerations and state exigencies. Nonetheless, it faced criticism for blurring the distinction between recognition and the maintenance of diplomatic relations. Furthermore, its applicability was a subject of dispute when confronted with situations involving competing governments.

#### ***Alternative perspectives- The Tobar doctrine***

In stark contrast to the Estrada Doctrine, the Tobar Doctrine, also known as the Doctrine of Legitimacy (Stansifer, 1967), posits that governments that come to power through extra-constitutional means should not receive recognition until such changes gain the acceptance of the populace. Essentially, the Tobar Doctrine advocates for non-recognition in revolutionary contexts, although its alignment with political realities and considerations has historically been precarious (Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations).

As the circuitous dynamics of recognition policies and nonrecognition stances unfolded during the late 20th century, notable cases, such as those involving China and Taiwan between 1990 and 1998, stand as compelling examples for in-depth examination. Delving into the complexities of these cases will shed light on the nuanced

factors influencing recognition decisions, providing insights into the broader international dynamics of that era.

### ***Rationale and evolution of recognition policy***

As previously mentioned, Kenya, following a pattern observed in many nations, and adopted a policy of selective recognition during President Moi's tenure. This strategic choice aimed to mitigate potential conflicts arising from the act of recognizing governments. This policy allowed Kenya to openly acknowledge governments it might otherwise have abstained from recognizing (Galloway, as cited in op. cit., p. 142).

In the initial years, the direction of Kenya's recognition policy remained unclear due to the absence of a well-defined tradition or established pattern of interests. Howell (1968) identified two distinct strands within Kenya's foreign policy: a conservative strand and a radical one. The conservative approach revolved around maintaining the regional status quo that existed before independence, thereby preserving Kenya's dominant role in Eastern Africa. Conversely, the radical strand manifested itself internationally through non-alignment, reflecting the newly independent state's assertion of sovereignty. It is essential to note, however, that Kenya's non-alignment coexisted with clandestine engagements with the South African regime.

Furthermore, the principle of non-alignment, integral to Kenya's foreign policy, was grounded in self-determination and respect for the territorial integrity of other states, as evident in the charters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN) (Olatunde et al., 1985).

Overall, the text provides insights into the complexity of international recognition policies and the diverse approaches that nations may adopt. It also touches on the historical and geopolitical context in which these policies evolve. This information is relevant for understanding the intricacies of international diplomacy and the considerations that underpin decisions related to recognizing governments.

### **International actors**

#### ***Influence of the organization of African Unity (OAU) on Kenya's foreign policy***

This section provides a profound understanding of how the Organization of African Unity (OAU) played a pivotal role in shaping Kenya's recognition policy after gaining independence. It highlights the ever-evolving global landscape and the complex challenges faced by newly sovereign African nations. The OAU significantly influenced Kenya's approach to recognition, carefully navigating the recognition of governments while upholding the principle of noninterference. It showcases the OAU's role as a platform for African nations to address emerging challenges and promote stability across the continent. Furthermore, it underscores the formidable dilemmas faced by leaders like Daniel arap Moi, who had to grapple with mediating conflicts in other African regions while simultaneously managing domestic crises.

Kenya's foreign policy has been significantly molded by international factors and actors. Within the context of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Kenya's recognition policy, as articulated in its foreign policy, has experienced a noticeable transformation since gaining independence. This transformation has been influenced by the ever-changing dynamics within the global arena.

After attaining independence, Kenya eagerly embraced OAU membership, aligning itself with the fundamental principles enshrined in the OAU Charter. The initial version of this Charter encouraged member states to contribute to a fund aimed at supporting nations still in their quest for independence, providing assistance during their struggles for liberation (Worrall, 1982).

However, the initial euphoria accompanying the attainment of independence in many African nations often proved short-lived. It swiftly became apparent that numerous newly independent states were vulnerable to coups and the emergence of military regimes. This introduced a novel and complex challenge for both the OAU and regional



governments. In response, the OAU promptly embarked on a strategic reassessment, culminating in the establishment of a Conflict Management Department tasked with addressing this emerging trend. Despite these endeavors, the proliferation of states governed by extra-constitutional means imposed a substantial burden on the OAU (Muyangwa and Vogt, 2000).

This conundrum prompted a significant debate on the recognition of such regimes, accompanied by apprehensions that such recognition could potentially inspire other states to pursue a similar path. Kenya, alongside other nations, opted to uphold its policy of recognizing states rather than governments. Nonetheless, this stance brought its own set of challenges. Firstly, states lacking international recognition often found themselves isolated from the global community. Secondly, non-recognizing states faced the risk of missing out on crucial bilateral trade opportunities with these unrecognized entities, which might possess valuable resources. Thirdly, the consideration of national interest emerged, raising questions about the potential repercussions of such actions.

During this era of uncertainty, Daniel arap Moi assumed leadership in Kenya. Despite the complexities, Kenya remained steadfast in adhering to its principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. It is within this context that Kenya established diplomatic ties with military regimes, most notably in its dealings with the oppressive Idi Amin regime in Uganda.

Ironically, just four years later, in 1981, Moi assumed the role of Chairman of the OAU. Among his initial challenges in this capacity was the pressing need to address conflicts in various African regions, encompassing Chad, Western Sahara, apartheid-era South Africa, Namibia, Sudan, Angola, and Mozambique. However, even as Moi sought resolutions to conflicts elsewhere in Africa, domestic affairs in Kenya were spiraling out of control. In 1982, the Kenyan Air Force launched an unsuccessful coup attempt against Moi regime (Nyamora, 1992), thrusting Moi into a challenging role as a mediator and peacemaker.

### ***Role of the United States in international affairs***

The following section discusses the role of the United States in international affairs, particularly regarding Taiwan and China. While this section may not delve directly into Moi's specific actions, it provides critical background information and a broader international context that influenced Kenya's foreign policy choices during his presidency. It serves as a foundational piece in understanding the complexities of Kenya's recognition and non-recognition policies in the global arena.

Despite the limited scholarly attention accorded to Kenya's foreign policy during this era, especially in relation to South Africa, this study serves to elucidate the complicated dimensions of recognition within the realm of global politics. Drawing upon the foundational American doctrine articulated by U.S. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in 1793, which underscored a nation's entitlement to self-governance and the prerogative to conduct its foreign affairs according to its own volition, this paper delves into the ramifications of recognition within the context of international relations.

Historically, the United States' recognition policy mandated that governments demonstrate adherence to international obligations as a prerequisite for diplomatic recognition. However, it was President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points speech to Congress on January 8, 1918, that introduced a novel criterion emphasizing the necessity for governments to be established through constitutional procedures and to respect the will of the people (Throntveit, 2011). Wilson's concept marked a significant shift in international diplomacy, emphasizing the importance of governments being established through constitutional procedures and respecting the will of the people. This principle transformed recognition into a diplomatic instrument, as exemplified by the sixteen-year nonrecognition of the Soviet Union.

### ***U.S. policy towards Taiwan***

During this period, the U.S. extended support to China's sovereignty claims over Taiwan while adhering to the One-China policy. This entailed diplomatic recognition and the absence of formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Concurrently, the U.S. engaged in arms sales to Taiwan under the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act, thereby maintaining unofficial relations and offering support for Taiwan's defense capabilities. Periodic diplomatic tensions between the U.S. and China, stemming from arms sales to Taiwan and other issues, were managed with a delicate equilibrium in their bilateral relations. Although formal diplomatic ties were absent, the United States maintained a robust relationship with Taiwan, particularly in the domains of trade, security, and the promotion of democratic values.

### **Evolution of Kenya's foreign policy towards china and Taiwan under moi**

The era spanning from 1978 to 1998 marked a significant transformation in Kenya's foreign policy landscape, coinciding with the presidency of Daniel arap Moi. Following the passing of Kenya's founding father, President Kenyatta, in August 1978, Moi assumed office as the second president. While Moi aimed to uphold the principles of his predecessor's "Nyayo philosophy," his approach to recognition policy exhibited periodic shifts in response to changing domestic and international circumstances (Adar and Munyae, 2001). More especially when it comes to China and Taiwan changing trends.

### ***China's diplomatic leverage***

To comprehend Moi's influence, this paper delves into Kenya's recognition and non-recognition policies regarding China and Taiwan. The dichotomy between Kenya's relationship with China, bolstered by Moi's proactive diplomacy, and the non-recognition of Taiwan exemplifies the president's pivotal role in shaping foreign policy. Existing literature has underscored China's significant diplomatic leverage in swaying recognition decisions by other nations. This underscores the necessity of scrutinizing how Taiwan, in its efforts to counterbalance China's influence, adopted nuanced diplomatic strategies.

### ***Consequences and their broader implications***

My literature review exposes notable disparities in foreign policy formulation under Presidents Kenyatta and Moi. Kenyatta's approach was marked by caution, with State House retaining exclusive authority over foreign policy decisions. In contrast, Moi's leadership witnessed a shift towards a more personalized diplomacy, frequently involving the President deeply in foreign policy management. This occasionally led to the marginalization of relevant institutions in the policy-making process (Adar and Munyae, 2001).

### ***Determinants of foreign policy***

Kenya's foreign policy was molded by multiple factors, including economic performance and internal opposition to the Moi regime. As the regional landscape evolved, particularly with the resolution of conflicts in Ethiopia, new dynamics emerged. This resulted in a recalibration towards a novel regional equilibrium, exemplified by the resolution of ethnic sub-nationalism-induced instability in Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In this evolving environment, Kenya's recognition policies had to consider the imperative of mediating internal conflicts across the region (Adar and Munyae, 2001).

### ***Complex interplay of factors***

This literature review emphasizes the complexity inherent in Moi's recognition and non-recognition policies. By exploring the sophisticated interplay between shifting regional dynamics, economic considerations, domestic opposition, and personal diplomacy, it seeks to provide a detailed understanding of the evolution of Kenya's

foreign policy during the Moi era. Furthermore, by employing China and Taiwan as case studies, this research endeavors to illuminate how these detailed factors influenced Kenya's stance on recognition and non-recognition.

***Moi's transformation of foreign policy***

Moi's distinct approach marked a departure from his predecessor's practice of delegating foreign policy decisions. He not only cherished international summits but also engaged in foreign policy discourse during his political rallies (Musambayi, 1995). A remarkable shift emerged as Moi moved the foreign policy office from Harambee Avenue to the President's office at Harambee House, signifying his central role in policy formulation. However, this centralized approach led to the personalization of foreign policy, as underscored by Dr. Robert Ouko, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, who recognized Moi as the "chief architect of Kenya's foreign policy" (Oketch, 2013).

***Complexities and drawbacks of singular leadership***

While Moi's engagement demonstrated his commitment, the complexity of foreign policy required broader participation. Relying heavily on one individual yielded consequence, often leading Kenya to prioritize principles over long-term commitments. This one-man style left the country susceptible to potential shortcomings.

***Shift in foreign policy: The Democratic Republic of Congo case***

A compelling illustration of President Moi's influential role lay in the sudden transformation of Kenya's foreign policy towards the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly known as Zaire). This abrupt shift, emblematic of Moi's personal influence, underscores the imperative need for holistic deliberation before embarking on policy shifts of such substantial magnitude.

In his work titled "Conflict in Contemporary Africa" (2000), specifically in Chapter 14, Makumi Mwagiru argues that Kenya's handling of the Zaire conflict exposed a lack of diplomatic maturity in addressing regional conflicts at that time. Despite being unforeseen, it became apparent that Kenya was caught off guard by the unfolding events in Zaire. Rather than proactively engaging, Kenya found itself reacting, trailing events as they occurred and struggling to adapt swiftly to the dynamic and volatile situation in Zaire (Mwagiru, 2000).

In 1997, the civil war in Zaire, which pitted rebels led by Mr. Laurent Kabila against government forces under President Mobutu Sese Seko, reached its zenith. President Moi convened a summit in Nairobi to address the deteriorating situation in Zaire. Remarkably, President Mobutu attended the summit before his ouster, even though he had not been officially invited as he was not recognized as a Head of Government internationally (The Daily Nation, March 7, 1997). Kenya's government had previously aligned itself with the Mobutu regime, implicitly placing blame on Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda for the crisis in Zaire. Ultimately, President Moi found himself aligning with the faction that would eventually lose in the conflict. When Kabila took control of Kinshasa in May 1997, Mobutu departed Kinshasa, taking with him the old name of the country, Zaire. By renaming it the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kabila signaled a new era. Governments across the continent rushed to recognize Kabila's government, even before it was formally established. The Organization of African Unity initiated this recognition, and soon afterward, messages of direct or implied recognition began pouring in from around the world (Weekly Review, May 16, 1997).

Subsequently, Moi handed over the chairmanship of the Great Lakes conflict to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN) in Lome, Togo. The responsibility for the peace initiative was later transferred to then South African President Nelson Mandela, who initiated clandestine talks with Kabila. These pivotal discussions were immortalized in a photograph capturing Kabila and Mandela during their secret meeting,

marking Kabila's first international recognition. Notably, South Africa and Kenya were among the first countries to embrace the new regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Weekly Review, May 16, 1997).

### **Kenya's relations with China/Taiwan in the post-cold war era (1990-1998)**

#### ***Historical context***

The historical dynamics between China and Taiwan have been sinuous and enduring. The roots of their relationship trace back to the earliest known inhabitants of Taiwan, believed to have migrated from southern China. In AD 239, Chinese historical records documented the island's existence when an imperial expedition ventured into the region, laying the foundation for China's territorial claims over Taiwan. Despite a brief period as a Dutch colony from 1624 to 1661, Taiwan remained under the dominion of China's Qing dynasty from 1683 to 1895 (BBC, 2021). Subsequently, a substantial influx of Chinese immigrants, primarily Hoklo Chinese from Fujian and Hakka Chinese from Guangdong, reshaped Taiwan's demographics (BBC, 2021).

#### ***Post-cold war era (1990-1998)***

The post-Cold War period from 1990 to 1998 marked a significant juncture in Kenya's foreign policy toward China, characterized by evolving geopolitical and economic considerations. This phase witnessed the transformation of Kenya's diplomatic relationships with both China and Taiwan, characterized by enhanced economic collaboration, bilateral trade, and shifts in international recognition. This was a time of burgeoning amicability and collaboration between Kenya and China; particularly Moi's stance on recognizing or not recognizing China and Taiwan.

#### ***Diplomatic ties and economic partnerships***

Upon assuming office in 1978, President Moi initiated a discernible shift towards forging closer ties with China. This transformation was underscored by the establishment of diplomatic relations and the subsequent fostering of economic cooperation. Moi actively encouraged Chinese investments and bilateral trade, resulting in financial aid, infrastructure development projects, and technical assistance spanning multiple sectors, including transportation, industry, energy, and telecommunications. Furthermore, social and cultural exchanges flourished, fostering mutual understanding and cooperation (Cheng-Yi, 2000).

#### ***Defense infrastructure and expenditure***

The formal presence of US military bases in Taiwan concluded in 1979, coinciding with the United States' shift in diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to China. Nonetheless, a small contingent of the US military personnel continues to maintain a presence in Taiwan (Ripley et al., 2021). Although there are no formal treaties binding the US and Taiwan, both the United States and Japan have publicly affirmed their commitment to defending Taiwan.

#### ***Kenya's position on the Taiwan question***

The tenure of President Lee Teng-hui (1990-1998) in Taiwan marked a crucial period of significant international developments and evolving relations with China. Central to this diplomatic landscape was the One-China policy, which played a pivotal role. Analyzing Taiwan's endeavors to secure and maintain international recognition, despite opposition from China, warrants an extensive exploration (Lin, 2000).

President Moi, known for his commitment to strengthening Taiwan's democratic institutions and advocating for international recognition, adopted a cautious and strategic stance on the Taiwan issue. Despite Taiwan's economic prosperity, Kenya chose to downplay its ties with the island to solidify its relationship with China. This approach was exemplified in statements by Kenyan officials, such as Mr. Musalia Mudavadi, who downplayed the presence of Taiwanese enterprises in the country. Kenya's position mirrored that of several nations, including the United

States, which prioritized the "One China" policy to avoid antagonizing the mainland Chinese government (People's Daily Online).

### ***African perspectives: South Africa's dual recognition challenge***

Beyond Kenya, South Africa's engagement with Taiwan and China presents a compelling case study. President Nelson Mandela's historical connections with Taiwan, including financial support to the African National Congress, exemplify the knotty nuances of international relations. However, South Africa's delicate balancing act between these two influential powers ultimately led to an unexpected decision to exclusively recognize Beijing. This shift represented a significant departure from its previous stance and underscored the influence of geopolitical considerations (McNeil Jr., 1996).

Moi's foreign policy towards China during the years 1990-1998 reflected a dynamic interplay of economic cooperation, diplomatic considerations, and global politics. The contrasting cases of Kenya and South Africa demonstrated the challenges nations faced in navigating recognition and non-recognition policies concerning China and Taiwan. By analyzing these case studies, we gain a deeper understanding of the complex choices and negotiations that shape international relations.

### **Key figures shaping moi's foreign policy**

#### ***Historical context***

During the era of Kenyatta, discussing Kenya's foreign policy inevitably involves considering the roles played by influential personalities such as James Gichuru, Njoroge Mungai, Peter Mbiyu Koinange, Joseph Murumbi, and Charles Mugane Njonjo. These individuals significantly contributed to the formulation and execution of Kenya's foreign policy during that period (Musambayi, 1995).

#### ***Continuity into Moi's government***

Foreign policy formulation continued to be shaped by figures like Dr. Njoroge Mungai, Charles Njonjo, and Mbiyu Koinange even after Kenyatta's passing in 1978. Charles Njonjo, in particular, retained his influential position in Moi's new government, and his assistance in securing Moi's presidency showcased his enduring power. Despite the gradual departure of his colleagues from the Kenyatta era, Njonjo's influence remained significant (Musambayi, 1995).

During Kenyatta's tenure, Njonjo attempted to shift Kenya's recognition policy by advocating for recognition of the Boer regime in South Africa. However, Mr. Munyua Waiyaki, the then foreign affairs minister, vehemently opposed this change. This clash of perspectives led to the continuation of Kenya's non-recognition policy toward the Boer regime. Despite this official stance, unofficial engagements still transpired (Munene, 1997b).

#### ***Njonjo's influence and role***

Njonjo wielded substantial power, even extending his influence to bodies like the criminal investigation department. As the Attorney General, his impact on appointments within the judiciary and his role in facilitating a smooth transition from President Kenyatta to Moi were notable. Njonjo's departure from the Attorney General's office marked a challenging period of adjustment for both the nation and the office itself (Weekly Review, July 22, 1983). After Njonjo's downfall in 1983, Kenya underwent a transition from the "Njonjo era" to a post-Njonjo era. This period brought about changes in power dynamics and marked shifts in Kenya's foreign policy landscape.

#### ***Njonjo's successor: Nicholas Kipyatur arap Biwott***

Mr. Nicholas Kipyatur Kiprono arap Biwott emerged as a significant figure after Njonjo. Biwott held the role of the president's trusted advisor, strategist, confidant, and business partner. Despite his power and influence,

Biwott's legacy was tainted by allegations of mystery, scandals, and corruption. He was even rumored to be involved in the demise of Dr. Robert Ouko, the former foreign affairs minister (Weekly Review, May 7, 1993).

***Dr. Robert Ouko's mysterious death***

In February 1990, Dr. Robert Ouko, the then minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation, tragically passed away under mysterious circumstances. His body was discovered burnt a few kilometers away from his home. Moi expressed deep sorrow over his death and praised his contributions to Kenya's foreign affairs. Notably, Dr. Ouko's death followed his return from a visit to the US with President Moi (Weekly Review, December 1, 1995).

The United States embassy's gesture of flying their flags at halfmast in honor of Dr. Ouko was remarkable, as it is unusual for a foreign country to pay such respect to a non-head-of-state individual. This contrasted with the Kenyan government's response (Weekly Review, August 16, 1991).

This text provides a historical overview of key figures who influenced Kenya's foreign policy, with a focus on their roles and the continuity of their influence during the transition from Kenyatta to Moi's leadership. It also introduces the complexities and controversies associated with figures like Njonjo and Biwott and touches on the mysterious circumstances surrounding Dr. Robert Ouko's death. This historical context adds depth to the understanding of Kenya's foreign policy during this period.

**Moi's predecessors: foreign policy continuity and discontinuity situations**

A look at Kenya's foreign policy evolution reveals a long-standing commitment to the "one China policy," recognizing Taiwan as part of the People's Republic of China. This policy has been consistent through the tenures of Presidents Moi, Kibaki, Uhuru, and Ruto. However, recent diplomatic interactions and shifting foreign policy approaches under President Ruto have introduced a degree of uncertainty regarding Kenya's commitment to the One-China principle. These developments add complexity to Kenya's stance on regions with unconventional international recognition, making it a topic of growing international interest and scrutiny.

***President Mwai Emilio Kibaki (2002–2013)***

In the initial phase of Kibaki's leadership (2002-2013), Western nations exerted significant diplomatic and economic influence across various African countries. However, they regularly reduced financial aid while advocating for democratic reforms. In response, Kenya, along with several other nations, opted to form alliances with nations like China, which pledged to uphold their sovereignty and abstain from meddling in their domestic affairs. Subsequently, Kibaki promptly launched a substantial economic pivot towards Asia with his "Look East Policy," a strategic initiative credited with effectively drawing Asian capital for a myriad of vital projects, encompassing the development of ports, highways, and airports (South China Morning Post, 2022).

His foreign affairs with China and Taiwan, Kibaki maintained a consistent "one-China policy", similar to his predecessor, President Daniel arap Moi. This policy aligned with Beijing's resolute stance, emphasizing the unshakable foundation of the one-China principle, which asserts Taiwan's historical ties to China dating back to 230 AD. President Kibaki's pivotal state visit to China in August 2005 had a primary focus on securing financial and technical support for Kenya's ambitious economic recovery plan.

This diplomatic effort resulted in cooperation agreements covering diverse areas, including infrastructure development, energy initiatives, and the expansion of air services between the two nations, as documented by Chege (2008). A notable achievement of this collaboration was the establishment of the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway, a monumental project funded by the China Exim Bank and executed by China Road

and Bridge Corporation, as reported by Kable (2017). The CNN Travel ranking also recognized the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway as one of the "20 Best Things to Experience in Kenya."

Additionally, the mutual designation of Kenya as an approved tourist destination by China stimulated an upsurge in Chinese tourism to Kenya. Furthermore, Kenya became home to two Confucius Institutes and served as a base for several Chinese state media headquarters, solidifying cultural exchange and media cooperation. These initiatives collectively reinforced the perception that Taiwan is an integral part of China, emphasizing China's preeminent role in the region and Taiwan's alignment with its jurisdiction.

However, there have been concerns due to the utilization of Chinese laborers on Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects, leading to potential displacement of local informal sector workers along project corridors and exacerbating poor working conditions.

Nonetheless, the surge in Chinese tourism presents economic opportunities for Kenya's hospitality and service sectors, while the presence of Confucius Institutes and Chinese media outlets underscores China's strategic efforts to enhance its cultural influence in Africa.

#### ***President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta (2013 to 2022)***

Kenya's fourth President Uhuru Kenyatta's foreign policy toward China can be summed up as continuity with previous administrations "one china policy." This can be illustrated by an incident in April 2016, involving Taiwanese citizens in Kenya that brought the country into the center of a longstanding diplomatic dispute between China and Taiwan. The Kenyan government detained and subsequently deported a group of Taiwanese individuals to mainland China at China's request, citing their alleged involvement in a telecom fraud ring. This incident highlights Kenya's complex position in the crossfire of the China-Taiwan conflict, raising questions about its motivations and the diplomatic message it conveys. The dispute between China and Taiwan stems from a historical conflict that began in 1949, and despite economic cooperation, it remains a sensitive and unresolved issue. The deportation of Taiwanese citizens to China signifies a political move, potentially influenced by Kenya's diplomatic recognition of mainland China over Taiwan (Williams, 2016).

#### ***President William Samoei Ruto (2022-Present)***

Kenya's fifth President, William Ruto, has adopted a foreign policy approach reminiscent of former President Daniel arap Moi, notably utilizing social media platforms, particularly Twitter, to communicate foreign policy matters. Ruto assumed office following a contentious national election on August 9, 2022.

This shift in foreign policy communication was exemplified when Ruto's tweet on September 14, 2022, declared that Kenya would no longer recognize the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), a territory in Western Sahara administered by the Polisario Front in exile in Algeria. Despite both SADR and Morocco being African Union members, Morocco has contested this territory since 1975 (The East African, 2022). However, Kenya's Foreign Ministry later clarified that it would maintain diplomatic relations with the SADR, retracting Ruto's tweet and expressing support for the SADR's right to self-determination, in alignment with the United Nations and African Union positions. It is worth noting that Kenya's historical support for the SADR, including hosting its embassy in Nairobi since 2014, adds complexity to this matter (Anadolu Agency, 2022).

President Ruto's foreign policy approach diverges from his initial alignment with Western nations, as demonstrated by his visit to China on October 14, 2023. This visit coincided with the 10th anniversary conference of the Belt and Road Initiative, focusing on infrastructure development, trade, investment, the digital economy, and Kenya's growing debt concerns, largely stemming from Chinese loans funding essential infrastructure projects (The Standard, 2023).

The intricate issue of Taiwan plays a significant role in this visit, as China aims to strengthen its influence in Kenya and secure pivotal agreements. Kenya officially adheres to the One-China policy, recognizing Taiwan as an integral part of the People's Republic of China. However, recent diplomatic interactions between Kenyan officials and representatives from Taiwan, Kosovo, and Somaliland have raised questions about Kenya's stance on regions lacking conventional international recognition (The Standard, 2023).

In contrast to Kenya's stance on Taiwan, the country has recognized Kosovo passports and even appointed an ambassador to Somaliland, a self-declared autonomous region in northern Somalia seeking global recognition as an independent sovereign state. These diplomatic moves have generated tensions and raised concerns about Kenya's consistency in its foreign policy toward regions that deviate from the standard norms of international recognition (The Standard, 2023).

Somaliland's quest for recognition is intricately connected with the broader international dynamics related to Taiwan. China vigorously upholds the One-China policy and views Taiwan as an inseparable part of China, striving for Taiwan's reunification with the mainland. Kenya's diplomatic interactions with regions like Somaliland and Taiwan have raised concerns within China about the continuity of Kenya's adherence to the One-China principle, even though Kenya lacks official relations with Taiwan. Moreover, the presence of the Taiwan Trade Centre in Nairobi adds to the complexity of the diplomatic landscape (The Standard, 2023).

President Ruto's diplomatic efforts, particularly regarding regions without traditional international recognition, will undergo close scrutiny by Western capitals as China intensifies its influence in Kenya. This complex diplomatic balancing act between Kenya and regions that deviate from established international norms adds a layer of complexity to the evolving dynamics of international diplomacy in the region.

The above text provides an analysis of Kenya's foreign policy evolution, highlighting the continuity of the "one China policy" while also shedding light on President Ruto's approach and the complexities of international diplomacy. It underscores the significance of Kenya's stance on regions with unconventional international recognition and the challenges it poses to its foreign policy.

## **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

In the case study analyzing Kenya's recognition and nonrecognition policy toward China and Taiwan during the Moi era (1990-1998), several significant findings and conclusions have emerged. This study sheds light on Kenya's complex diplomatic strategies, its evolving international relationships, and the implications for its foreign policy.

### **Dynamic diplomacy with pragmatic shifts**

One of the key outcomes of the case study is the demonstration of Kenya's pragmatic approach to diplomatic recognition. During the Moi era, Kenya underwent a significant shift from recognizing Taiwan to recognizing the People's Republic of China. This transition, primarily driven by economic and geopolitical considerations, reflects Kenya's adaptability and pragmatism in international relations. The analysis highlights that Kenya was willing to realign its foreign policy in pursuit of economic benefits and international support.

### **Economic interests and bilateral relations**

The study underscores the importance of economic interests in shaping Kenya's foreign policy decisions. The shift from recognizing Taiwan to embracing China as a strategic partner was motivated by the potential for increased economic cooperation, trade opportunities, and financial aid. Kenya's interest in securing investments, development projects, and access to China's burgeoning market played a pivotal role in the reorientation of its foreign policy.



### **Implications for Africa's diplomatic landscape**

This case study contributes to a broader understanding of how the recognition or non-recognition of China and Taiwan can impact African nations' diplomatic choices. As Kenya shifted allegiance from Taipei to Beijing, it demonstrated the influence China wields in the African continent and its ability to shape the diplomatic landscape. This underscores the importance of African countries navigating a complex web of international alliances and economic partnerships.

### **Non-recognition's implications for Taiwan**

The case study highlights the diplomatic isolation faced by Taiwan as a result of non-recognition by Kenya and other countries in Africa. Kenya's shift to recognize China was not an isolated event but part of a broader trend on the continent. This emphasizes the diplomatic challenges that Taiwan faces in maintaining its global presence and securing international support.

### **Lessons for contemporary diplomacy**

The evolving recognition and non-recognition policy in Kenya offers valuable insights for contemporary diplomacy. It illustrates the role of economic interests and geopolitical considerations in shaping diplomatic relations. Furthermore, it underscores the importance of African nations carefully balancing their interests and alliances to navigate the complexities of international diplomacy effectively.

In conclusion, the case study of Kenya's evolving recognition and non-recognition policy under President Moi provides a comprehensive analysis of the diplomatic choices made during a pivotal period in Kenya's history. It highlights the intricate interplay between economic interests, international relations, and the shifting dynamics of global politics. The lessons derived from this case study have broader implications for understanding the ever-evolving nature of diplomatic relationships in the international arena, with particular relevance to the African context.

## **DUSCUSSION**

The study provides an analysis of recognition policies in the context of Taiwan's evolving identity during the Moi era and offers valuable insights into Kenya's foreign policy continuity and change under subsequent presidents, including Kibaki, Uhuru, and Ruto. The use of a fusion of descriptive and analytical methodologies, including a diverse range of sources, demonstrates the rigor and depth of the research. This approach enables a nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between global diplomatic dynamics, recognition decisions, and the strategies adopted by Kenyan leaders.

The study underscores the multifaceted challenge posed by Taiwan's democratic accomplishments and evolving identity to China's One-China policy. During Moi's presidency, Kenya adhered to the One-China principle, recognizing Taiwan as part of the People's Republic of China. This policy continuity was largely maintained under subsequent administrations of Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta. However, President Ruto's diplomatic interactions with regions like Taiwan, Kosovo, and Somaliland suggest a potential shift in Kenya's foreign policy, raising questions about the continuity of its adherence to the One-China principle.

The study highlights the power dynamics inherent in global diplomacy, with China utilizing economic incentives to influence countries away from recognizing Taiwan. The examination of case studies reveals the intricacies of recognition decisions, influenced by economic interests and political alliances. Countries often navigate the complexities of maintaining relationships with both China and Taiwan while adhering to the parameters of the OneChina policy.

The historical legacy of recognition and non-recognition policies during the Moi era continues to impact Taiwan's diplomatic landscape. This legacy shape Taiwan's engagement with international organizations and its ongoing quest for substantive global recognition.

In summary, the study provides a robust framework for analyzing Kenya's foreign policy evolution, especially in relation to China and Taiwan, under different presidential administrations. It sheds light on the delicate balance between diplomatic relationships, economic interests, and adherence to the One-China policy, offering a compelling exploration of the complexities of global diplomacy.

### **Conclusion**

This paper delved into the sinuous realm of recognition and non-recognition policies under Moi's presidency, shedding light on the multifaceted dynamics that defined Taiwan's diplomatic efforts during this transformative era. Through an analysis of case studies, the delicate interplay of economic interests, political allegiances, and global power dynamics in shaping recognition decisions was revealed.

Kenya's foreign policy towards China during the postCold War era, particularly under the leadership of President Moi (1990-1998), was marked by a strategic alignment with its own interests, deftly navigating the complex global landscape. This approach to foreign policy was characterized by pragmatism and a keen awareness of economic benefits. Throughout this period, Kenya's interactions with China were firmly rooted in its pursuit of economic advantages, often coinciding with China's aspirations for international recognition within the United Nations.

The examination of Kenya's recognition policy towards China under President Moi's administration, when viewed through the lens of International Law, has shed light on several critical dimensions. One significant aspect addressed in this study was the sensitive issue of Taiwan's legitimacy. In delving into the rationale for recognition, the study considered factors such as contextual circumstances, national interests, and the unique dynamics of the Post-Cold War era.

Furthermore, the study has elucidated how regional diplomatic shifts and the evolving global landscape necessitated Kenya's strategic realignment to avoid isolation. As the world underwent rapid transformations, Kenya's foreign policy adapted accordingly. The theoretical framework underpinning this study provided the essential structure for analyzing these nuanced shifts.

The importance of this research lies in its contribution to understanding the intricacies of Kenya's recognition policy and the subsequent evaluation of emerging strategies. The study meticulously examined the fluidity of regional and international policy landscapes and their impact on Kenya's foreign policy towards China. Notably, Kenya's recalibration of its recognition policy offered a fresh perspective on both regional and global affairs, infusing its foreign policy with renewed dynamism.

The guiding principle of any nation's foreign policy must be firmly grounded in reality rather than conjecture. President Moi's tenure exemplified this axiom through his foreign policy of good neighborliness, which cultivated robust relationships with various Asian nations. Over time, his approach towards Asia evolved in response to changing geopolitics, economic dynamics, and regional developments. Significantly, Moi's focus extended beyond economic ties, encompassing diplomatic relations, technological collaboration, and socio-economic progress. Moi's adept facilitation of an enabling environment for investments and partnerships contributed to enhanced economic cooperation with countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, and India. This collaboration was driven by the pursuit of advanced technology and expertise in sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure, and manufacturing. Simultaneously, Moi recognized the pivotal role of social development, fostering exchanges in

education, culture, and healthcare. Through active efforts to secure technology transfer, scholarships, and cultural engagement, Moi's administration actively worked towards Kenya's economic advancement and comprehensive development.

To reiterate, Kenya's foreign policy under President Moi vis-à-vis China encapsulated a pragmatic and selfinterested approach, adeptly seizing opportunities for economic growth. This study has not only dissected the raveled layers of Kenya's recognition policy within the context of International Law but has also contextualized it within the broader dynamics of regional and global diplomacy. Through the lens of President Moi's engagement with Asian countries, particularly China, the study underscores the centrality of a tailored, realitybased foreign policy in advancing a nation's interests and fostering international collaboration.

### **Legacy and modern relevance**

The legacy of recognition and non-recognition policies during President Moi's tenure continues to exert a profound influence on contemporary Taiwan-China relations. As Taiwan endeavors to affirm its identity and actively engage with the global community, the strategies employed during this period remain pertinent. The lessons derived from my analysis shed light on potential pathways for Taiwan's diplomacy in an ever-evolving global landscape.

### ***Implications and recommendations of this study***

The outcomes of this study bear significant implications that transcend the realm of Taiwan's recognition status. The research delves deeply into the strategies employed by Taiwan to navigate the complexities of recognition challenges, shedding light on the manner in which smaller states assert their sovereignty in intricate geopolitical scenarios. Furthermore, the analysis of China's diplomatic influence underscores the intricate dynamics of global diplomacy and the underpinning power dynamics.

The study's application of theoretical frameworks, including sovereignty and the One-China policy, provides valuable insights into the motivations and consequences associated with recognition dynamics. These concepts enrich our comprehension of how states grapple with recognition decisions, which often encompass not only political acknowledgment but also extend into domains involving economic partnerships and regional alliances. Drawing from the analysis presented, a series of recommendations emerges to guide Kenya's foreign policy, particularly concerning China and Taiwan, amidst the evolving dynamics of recognition policy. These recommendations encompass maintaining a balanced approach that respects the One-China policy while upholding democratic values, ensuring clear and consistent communication to avoid mixed messaging, fostering collaboration with regional entities to coordinate recognition policies, conducting a thorough review of economic partnerships, engaging in long-term strategic planning, promoting cultural and educational exchanges, offering diplomatic training, monitoring global developments, enhancing parliamentary oversight, and improving public diplomacy efforts.

These suggestions are intended to serve as a compass for Kenya, helping it uphold a balanced foreign policy stance, adapt to global shifts, and safeguard its interests while adhering to international norms and principles.

### ***Future research directions***

While this study offers an analysis of recognition dynamics during the Moi era, there exists room for further investigation into the evolving recognition landscape in the years following this period. Additionally, delving into the impact of recognition decisions on trade relations, international organizations, and regional stability could yield invaluable insights. Also, a follow-up of the future of China-Taiwan relations is invaluable.

### ***Final reflection***

In the scrutiny of recognition and non-recognition policies during the Moi era, a narrative of diplomatic intricacies, national identities, and global power dynamics have been unraveled. As Taiwan continues its journey on the global stage, the experiences of this era serve as a poignant reminder of the challenges and triumphs that mold the course of international relations and diplomacy. Recognizing the drawbacks of singular leadership, future foreign policy endeavors could benefit from a more inclusive approach. Public and parliamentary participation can serve as a safeguard against potential misalignments between foreign policy decisions and the interests of Kenyans.

### **CONFLICT OF INTERESTS**

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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