

INDO-KENYAN RELATIONS IN THE POST-NEHRU ERA

BY

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REG. NO: R/50/P/8238/02

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2008

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DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University for any other degree or similar award.

Njoroge Andrew Maina

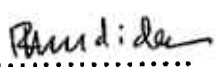
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to all my relatives and friends who have been a source of inspiration and strength. Thank you all for helping me realize my dream of attaining University education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people helped me in one way or another to make this work what it is. First and foremost, special thanks go to Prof. Makumi Mwangi and Mr. Patrick Maluki, my supervisors for having taken the time and trouble to guide me all through. I also thank Mr. Robert Mudida, Mr. Nguru and Mr. Abong'o, lecturers at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Nairobi, for painstakingly going through my proposal and giving constructive comments. My sincere felicitations also to the IDIS teaching and non-teaching staff for their moral support.

I am also greatly indebted to the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library staff members at the University of Nairobi, for their cooperation. The United States International University Library staff members, the Indian Library at the High Commission of India, Nairobi, are all but a few crops of people who ensured I was well informed.

My colleagues at work, Catherine, Titus, Dennis, Martin and Mutua deserve gratitude for burning the mid-night oil typing my work. I am also thankful to my friend Silvanus N. Nyamora for his guidance, unwavering support and encouragement.

Lastly, I would be failing in my duty if I don't mention my parents and my siblings who have been a source of great strength and inspiration that saw me through my darkest moments. The same goes to my wonderful relatives who took keen interest in this venture.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIF	Asian Youth Forum
AIR	All India Radio
ALAF	Asian Leaders Advisory Forum
ARC	Association for Regional Co-operation
AU	African Union
CEMO	Constituency Elected Members Organisation
CEP	Cultural Exchange Programme
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
COMESA	Common Markets for East and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
EADB	East Africa Development Bank
EAINC	East African Indian National Congress
Ed. CIL	Educational Consultants India Limited
EEPC	Engineering, Export Promotion Council
ESC	Electronics Software Export Promotion
EXIM	Export Import
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICCI	Federation of India Chamber of Commerce
FKE	Federation of Kenya Employees
G-15	Group of 15 Ncetilas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOITC	Government of India's Tourist Officers
HCI	High Commission of India
HMT	Hindustan Machinery Tools
IANS	India Abroad News Service
ICAR	Indian Council of Agricultural Research Industrial and Commercial Development Co- operation
ICDC	
ICWAK	Indian Citizens Welfare Association of Kenya
IDB	Industrial Development Bank
IIFT	Indian Institute of Foreign Trade
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IOR	Indian Ocean Rion

IORBFC	Indian Ocean Rim Business Facilitation Network
IORNET	Indian Ocean Rim Network
IPC	Investment Promotion Centre
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation
ITEC	India Technical and Economic Co-operation
JBC	Joint Business Council
JNU	Jawarlal Nehru University
JTC	Joint Trade Committee
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
KICC	Kenyatta International Conference Centre
KIE	Kenya Industrial Estates
KIFA	Kenya India Friendship Association
KIM	Kenya Institute of Management
	Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
KNCCI	
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LOC	Line of Credit
MAU MAU	Mzungu Arudi Ulaya Mwafrika Apate Uhuru
MECON	Metallurgical and Engineering Consultant
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MRA	Moral Rearmament Association
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NIDC	National Industrial Development Corporation
NIEC	New International Economic Order
NIRD	National Institute of Research and Development
NPT	Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty
NSIC	National Small Scale Industrial Corporation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ITES	Rail India Technical Engineering Services
SAFTA	South Asia Free Trade Agreement
SCAAP	Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan
SICS	South Indian Cultural Society

SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SUPKEM	Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS III	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Centre for Trade and Development
USIU	United States International University
WAPCOS	Water and Power Consultancy Services
WTC	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER I

Background to the study

Introduction

The idea of Afro-Asian solidarity was a sign of the emerging trends in relations between India and Kenya. Afro-Asian resurgence, on the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) principle of collective self-reliance is the major determinant of India-Kenya relations, based on south-south cooperation as a guiding principle of interactions between developing countries. These age-old ties between Kenya and India, coupled with a rather historical accident of sharing the British colonial rule, show that Kenya is among India's closest friends in Africa.

In the early 19th Century when imperialism was rife, the British colonialists set a base in Mombasa and laid the foundation of the present day Kenya-Uganda railway. This was done with the assistance of the Indians. These people were imported from India and despite the difficulties they encountered, especially at Tsavo where many lost their lives to man-eaters, they finally reached Nairobi, where they settled and set up *dukas*(shops) while others continued to major towns in Kenya such as Nakuru and Kisumu. In these towns too, the *Banyanis* from Gujarat, India, managed to set up small-scale businesses with help from the local people. After the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1901, most Indians returned home while a small number remained behind and quickly embarked on commerce across the country ¹

The relationship between India and Kenya is characterised by close economic and political ties since time immemorial. Trade links between the two countries strengthened

¹ J.K.T.Bii,*International Marketing: Study of Indo-Kenyan Trade Ties*, (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House,1991) p.288

after Kenya gained independence in 1963. A significant increase in the volume of trade was noticed in the 1980s, following the signing of India-Kenya Trade Agreement in March 1981. This Agreement accorded each other the most favoured nation status. Since the introduction of economic liberalization in both the countries during the 1990s, the trade volume has experienced a further growth.

On the political front, the father of Indian freedom movement, Mahatma Gandhi started his campaign against the British rule in the African Continent. Gandhi, and later India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had a strong bond of friendship and affinity towards the people of Africa. It is therefore, noteworthy that after India's independence in 1947, the Indian leadership and people did not forget Africa. They made the liberation of Africa as a whole and Kenya in particular, one of the main planks of their foreign policy and worked actively to achieve this goal. Their crusade against colonialism, racial discrimination and exploitation was, therefore, reflective of their keen desire to see Africa freed from the colonial yoke. ²

Other factors that have influenced the evolution of India-Kenya relations include, geographical proximity across the Indian Ocean, which brings them together and gives India an advantage over its trading rivals. Kenya's economic and trading requirements which make India the ideal source of goods and technology transfers and the important role of Kenyans of Indian origin, in the development and consolidation of these relations. Above all, the countries enjoy an overall shared perspective on international affairs, especially in the context of south-south Cooperation. ³

2. R.K.Bhatia, *India-Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective*.(Indian High Commission ,2001) p.5

3. Ibid.p.6

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

India having passed through relevant experiences stands as the most ideal source of appropriate technology transfer, a fact perceived by Kenya quite early. The age-old contacts and similarity in socio-economic conditions and over and above all, the desire to draw from each other's experience, places India at a relatively favourable position giving an edge over many countries to join hands with Kenya in their relative well-being.

India has developed technologically and now it has the third largest reservoir of technological and scientific manpower in the world. This technology is relevant for Kenya's needs. The government of Kenya has, therefore, made conscious efforts to establish close economic relations with India. It is in this context that economic and technological, trade and cultural agreements have been signed between the two countries. The long historical association and the emerging potentials in the economies of Kenya and India can, herald a new and mutually beneficial reinforcing cooperation.

Besides these, India has always been a crusader for Afro-Asian cooperation in global and political ends as well as in economic and technical collaboration. This provided a take-off pad for self-reliance and self sustained development path, as strengthened by the Non Aligned Movement. This is what *Sessional Paper No.10 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, 1965* contained. The resultant Third World call for the New International Economic Order (NIEO) was in the same line. Both India and Kenya have been sharing views on the Group of 77, for economic development and collective self-reliance or South-South Cooperation.

OBJECTIVES

Broadly stated, this study analyses and explains the patterns of political, economic, and social-cultural relations between India and Kenya.

More specifically the study:

- a.) Identifies the major determinants of Indo-Kenyan relations.
- b.) Investigates the nature of relations between the two countries.
- c.) Explores and highlights areas of cooperation and concern for the two countries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature reviewed include those works about theoretical framework related to the study. As argued by the proponents of the interdependence theory, interdependence involves benefits and costs, but it is not possible to ascertain whether benefits are more than costs in interdependent relationships⁴. This is exactly the situation in Indo-Kenyan relations, especially in the economic dimension. Again, there is no guarantee that such relations are of mutual benefit. It is true, however that both these two countries get some benefits from their ties which may be said to be of mutual interest. Okumu describes Kenya's quest for its national interest. The author contends that the primary task for foreign policy-makers is to first articulate the country's national interest in some logical order of importance. It is by so doing, that it is impossible to isolate the basic from the peripheral interests.

⁴ R O.Keohane and J. S. Nye Jr.*Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* :(Little Brown, 1977) p.10

Success in achieving objectives may depend on a country's weight or standing in the international community or it may derive from the way the objectives are set in relation to those of other countries whose support may be deemed necessary for achieving them.⁵

The most effective uses of foreign policy should be directed to four main areas:

Foreign policy should provide a framework and an atmosphere of physical security against external aggression.

Joint industrial agricultural and commercial ventures can be initiated in order to rationalize and facilitate effective uses of natural and human resources. Joint ventures between governments may also reduce the parasitic element prevalent in operations involving a multinational and a single developing country.

External interests can emphasize effective diversification of trade partners and aid donors to reduce the potential for the sabotage of the economy. Diversification can also be used as a way of practising non-alignment.

Foreign policy can be geared towards maximizing technical cooperation between African countries and between them and other Third World states. This would reduce heavy dependence on industrialized countries. In sum; developing countries can and should make use of foreign policy as an instrument of development. However, this is not, the focus of the current study, but rather to trace the real course of Indo-Kenyan relations.

⁵ J. Okumu "Kenya's Foreign Policy". In Aluko Oljide Ed. *The Foreign Policies of African States*. London: Hodder, 1977(p.15)

Deutsch evaluates how the centre conducts its relations with the periphery. India with its vast technology and natural resources is a part of the social and economic centre. Its economy is the sixth largest in the world. Its size, population and strategic location gives it a prominent voice in international affairs and its growing industrial base, military strength, scientific and technical capacity give it added weight. India remains one of the most developed of the developing nations. It has strong political and commercial ties with the U.S., Japan, European Union, Iran, China and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Watson underscores the fact that new members of the international political system are not alike. They differ immediately from one another in the capacity to conduct foreign relations and more specifically, to operate the web of diplomatic contacts used by more established and especially by the larger states. Countries like India, Egypt and Israel, which vary enormously in size and population, have shown themselves to be highly competent both at bilateral and collective diplomacy, much more so indeed than many older states at the other end of the scale. In such cases, it is not only the practice of diplomacy and the need for negotiation with other states that the smaller new states have learnt from outside the whole concept of a modern state and modern government has been imported along with the whole range of modern technology. In their efforts to establish acceptable levels of functioning statehood, such governments have a real claim to the understanding, the encouragement and the assistance of the former colonial powers and of the other advanced states, which insisted on their political independence and received them into the international society. This is a useful argument for theoretical

understanding of the subject, but the current study is not specifically aimed at such a conceptual exploration.

The role of Indians in Kenya's freedom struggle is discussed by Seidenberg who focuses on the role of Kenya Indians in Kenya politics and the struggle for freedom between 1939-1963.⁶ while this study examines their role in the independence struggle, it also goes beyond. Even after independence in 1963, the likes of Pio Gama Pinto continued to fight for the rights of the landless and the down-trodden in the country. Unfortunately, he was assassinated in 1965. Others in his league were Makhan Singh and Zarina Patel. Today, Kenya Indians are still active in politics. For instance, in the 1992 elections, Westlands constituency had an Indian origin M.P., Amin Walji. In the 2007 General Elections, a number of Kenya Indians have shown interest in competitive politics. They include are Kamlesh Pattni who is to challenge the incumbent M.P., Fred Gumo and Ms. Nazlin Umar, who has declared interest in the Kamukunji seat. This study unlike previous ones covers this aspect, though in passing.

It is an active member of South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Indian Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARC). Deutsch further explains that explains at the periphery are poor in capital, credit, technology, skilled industrial labour, technical and scientific personnel, component managers, they are constrained to exporting only one or few kinds of agricultural or mining products. This explains the glaring trade imbalance between India and Kenya whereby India benefits more than Kenya. It is however, not right to put relations between two developing

⁶ D A. Seidenberg. *Uhuru and the Kenya Indians: The Role of a Minority Community in Kenyan Politics. 1939-1963.* New Delhi Vikas, 1983(p.50)

countries in the context of centre-periphery syndrome irrespective of difference in stages of development or trade imbalance. The centre-periphery relational pattern applies in relations between a developed nation and a developing nation (north-south) and not south-south as the case in question.

Bii has dwelt squarely on trade relations between the two countries. He has not discussed the political and social aspects of India-Kenya ties to make his study comprehensive. Politics go hand in hand with Sociology and Economics. Therefore, when Bii espouses trade relations between India and Kenya he forgets that man is a political animal and thus, cannot do without politics because he needs an avenue where he can air his grievances.⁷ Similarly, society without values, customs, or traditions is bound to collapse. Man needs values in order to carry out honest business or trade with members of a community, or communities. Therefore, as much as there is trade flourishing between the two nations, members of these two countries need good values to maintain their relations and political good-will.

Biswas only gives an account of the relations between the two states until 1977. Hence, she fails to examine ties between them up to date unlike the current study, which updates the situation. Both countries have gone through numerous political economic and social changes. The scholar also fails to mention that with the demise of Kenya's First President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, a new leader came to power and therefore, there was bound to be some paradigm shift in Indo-Kenyan relations, because with change of leadership, new systems of administration are put in place.

⁷ J. K. T.Bii, *International Marketing: Study of Indo-Kenya Trade Ties*.(Delhi:Kanishka,1991) p.32

However, personality factor has minimal influence if any on India-Kenya relations.⁸

Nyamora is the most useful work that the current one has borrowed heavily. He has attempted a detailed analysis of relations between the two countries upto 1996. His study goes a little bit further. It examines political, social and economic relations bearing in mind that there have been three governments since Kenya's independence in 1963, namely, the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki governments. With each successive regime, policies are formulated and implemented to help foster ties between the two governments. Similarly, there have been numerous regimes in India such that at one point, India was forced to have a coalition government in 1996 when H.D. Deve Gowda from a little known party, the Janata Dal, became Prime Minister. This move was meant to avert a hung parliament. Traditionally, the Congress Party has ruled India since independence in 1947.⁹ But events took a turn that year and the Congress Party had to get an ally later to return to power after a long time. Nyamora's work fails to capture this important aspect, though he rightly though briefly mentioned that personality factor does not greatly influence Indo-Kenyan relations.

It therefore, follows that though this theory best explains the situation, it may not be completely taken to be the whole truth of India-Kenya relations or any other kind of relations between two countries. Ojo, O.J.C.B. et al discusses how African States conduct their relations with other countries. The authors have brought out the fact that the theories in tandem with the African international relationse power and economic

⁸ A Biswas. *Indo-Kenyan Political and Economic Relations*. Delhi: Kanishka, 1992(p.27)

⁹ D.F Gordon., "*Foreign Relations: Dilemmas of Independence and Development*" in Barken J.D., ed *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania* (New York: 1984)

dependency theories. They contend that the conflict between Kenya and neighbouring Tanzania lies in the struggle for economic independence.

David F. Gordon traces the origin and development of the foreign relations of Kenya and Tanzania since independence. He examines the goals of each country, the changes in these goals over time and discusses why the changes in the policies took place. According to the author, changes that took place in Uganda in 1971 and Ethiopia in 1974 had influence on how Kenya and Tanzania conducted their respective foreign relations. He looks at the reasons why Kenya preferred the U.S. to the former Soviet Union. He concludes that Kenyan pro-western became more pronounced after the 1979 elections. He attributes this to the fact that after the elections “Munyua Waiyaki, Kenya’s fiery Third world oriented foreign minister was replaced by the more business like Robert Ouko”¹⁰ Thus Gordon implies that Kenya’s foreign policy is determined by the incumbent foreign affairs minister.

Samuel M. Makinda’s “From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics; Kenya’s Foreign Policy” in Third World Quarterly. Vol.5, No.2 (April,1983) exemplifies Kenya’s behaviour in world politics. He emphasizes that what shaped Kenya’s policy was the quest for and dominance of Western especially British capital in the country. He maintains that that Kenya adopted this policy because of independence. For the author, the era 1974-1979 was characterized by uncertainty and reassessment in Kenya’s foreign policy.

¹⁰ Ibid

Katete Orwa goes through the historical development of Kenya's foreign policy. He asserts that there were no foreign relations in Kenya prior to Kenya's independence. Since Kenya was made up of "diverse nations without a unifying formal state organization" and international relations are phenomena of organized systems with differential hierarchy of functions"¹¹

Orwa dismisses attempts to study Kenya's foreign relations during the colonial period since "a colony has no legal personality in international politics and cannot partake in international relations, its international relations is embodied in the foreign policies of the colonial power".¹² Orwa concludes that after independence Kenya had to form an appropriate foreign policy, set up a system of handling its relations with other nations identify national interests and formulate a fully fledged foreign service. He contends that the three principles that determined the conduct of Kenya's relations with other states included good neighborliness, Pan-Africanism and non-alignment.

Khapoya has based his argument on the fact that Kenyas' economic environment is basically agriculture.¹³ In order to develop; Kenyan leaders went out of their way to attract investments from outside the country. Immediately after independence, Kenya enacted the Foreign Investment Protection Act (FIPA), which in effect guaranteed foreign firms investing in Kenya the repatriation of their profits if they wished to do so, the

¹¹ K.Orwa, op.cit. p.219

¹² 11. Ibid. p.221

¹³ Khapoya, op.cit. p.148

payment of interests and loan capital secured abroad with earnings from Kenya, generous depreciation allowances, for equipment and machinery and the protection of the domestic market against any products which may compete with what the foreign companies were producing.

Bruce Moon has stated that modern theories of foreign policy behaviour are sensitive to the economic instruments of influence and can be used successfully.¹⁴ The current state of the system is a major determinant of foreign policy in both a direct and indirect way. The motivation for foreign policy behaviour may derive from certain functional requisites of foreign maintenance rather than from the imperatives of national interests defined as power.

Walter Elken asserts that Kenya was anxious that the common market and common services that had existed in colonial days should be maintained. He further states that the anxiety of Kenya emanates from the fact that it would be the main beneficiary in form of markets for its industrial products.

R. H. Green examines the collapse of the East African Community. He argues that the different positions Kenya and neighbouring Tanzania have taken were the root cause for the collapse of the community.

¹⁴ B. E. Moon "Political Economy Approaches to the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy" in J.N. Rosenau, Kegley and Herman (eds) *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987) p.35

Theoretical Framework

Interdependence Theory

The old international patterns are fast crumbling; old slogans are unconstructive; and old solutions to global problems unavailing. The world has become interdependent in economics, communications and in human aspirations (Keohane and Nye, 1977)¹⁵. In order to understand the meaning of “interdependence”, it is necessary to start from the meaning of “dependence”. In common parlance, “dependence” means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. “Interdependence”, therefore, in simple terms, means mutual dependence.

Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries or among actors in different countries. We live in an era of interdependence. This vague phrase expresses a poorly understood but widespread feeling that the nature of world politics is changing.

The power of nations – that age touchstone of analysts and statesmen has become more elusive: calculations of power are even more delicate and deceptive than in previous ages. Henry Kissinger, though deeply rooted in the classical tradition has stated that the traditional agenda of international affairs – the balance among major powers, the security of nations no longer defines our perils or our possibilities...Now we are entering a new era. Old international patterns are crumbling; old slogans are unconstructive, old solutions are unavailing. The world has become interdependent in economics, communications and human aspirations. Interdependence affects world politics and the behaviour of states but governmental action also influence patterns of interdependence.

¹⁵ R. O.Keohane and J. S. Nye Jr.*Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little Brown, 1977(p.55)

By creating or accepting procedures, rules or institutions for certain kinds of activity, governments regulate and control transnational and interstate relations. Political leaders often use interdependence rhetoric to portray it as a natural necessity, as a fact to which policy (and domestic interest groups) must adjust, rather than as a situation partially created by policy itself. They argue that conflicts of interest are reduced by interdependence and the cooperation alone holds the answer to world problems.

Hypotheses of the Study

The study will proceed along the premises that:

- a) Indo-Kenyan relations have not been a blend of cordiality and continuity.
- b) Trade relations between India and Kenya are not of mutual economic benefit.
- c) Personality factor is a minor determinant of India-Kenya relations.

Justification of Study

The scarcity of adequate information on the relations between Kenya and India calls for such a study. This study is an attempt to fill the void left by preceding works on the relations between the two states. This study is an attempt to piece-in most of the available source materials in order to give a historical account of relations between the two states. Since Kenya and India are developing countries with a common history in the struggle for independence, it is important for policy-makers to recognize this fact. For instance, both countries were the founder members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1960s, they are both members of the Commonwealth of Nations and also belong to the G-77 comprising of developing nations.

In addition, the study on Kenya's relations with India has been prompted by the increased presence of Indians in Kenya, increased volume of trade between the two countries and the role the two countries played in fending off colonial rule.

Research Methodology

Secondary sources available at universities, research centres and institutions of higher learning were analysed. Journals, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, books, handouts, bulletins, catalogues were other sources of information. The data would subsequently be recorded and analysed using tables and graphs with an aim of detecting and explaining trends of trade, aid and investments and other variables as related to co-operation which characterize Kenya –India relations.

Secondary data was collected from the Kenya National Archives, Central Bureau of Statistics, Central of Bank of Kenya, Joint Communiqués, Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru and Official Press Releases.

Frequent visits were made to Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation's Asia Desk to collect and collate information about the relations between the two countries. In addition, I visited the Indian Library situated at the Indian High Commission in Nairobi. Indian companies/multinationals including banks based in Kenya were also useful sources of information.

Scope and Limitations

The study covers over a period of 30 years whereby political, economic and socio-cultural aspects of Indo-Kenyan relations are highlighted. Again, this study only touches on some of the main issues in relations between India and Kenya in the said period. This

is aimed at drawing generalisations on relations between two developing nations, though not at the same stage of development.

One of the impediments encountered by the interviewer was the unwillingness by the top officials at the Indian High Commission to be interviewed. The researcher strongly believed that they had crucial information that could explain the nature of ties between the two countries. The researcher would get flimsy excuses like they were in meetings or out of town. The researcher would at times be referred to the junior diplomats for more information.

Unfortunately, junior diplomats accredited to Kenya from India hardly complete two years. Their knowledge despite their willingness to help was not quite comprehensive. Another problem the researcher encountered was the delay in getting information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, most of the information available both from primary and secondary sources was on India as compared to Kenya, thereby hampering the researcher's objectivity.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND INDIA

Introduction

There have been age-old trade exchanges between Kenya and India, which of course have undergone several changes both in form and size. Though they have not yet reached the most favoured nation (MFN) status, India and Kenya are great trading partners and if the trend continues they may reach that stage.

In studying economic relations between states, the 'political economy' approach as a conceptual framework has been widely used in the recent past. At the international level, it refers to the interplay between economic relationships that exist between countries and how these relationships determine prestige and status in the world community and what a given country can or cannot, may or may not want to pursue in the international community. This approach does not presuppose dependence or underdevelopment as this attribute is dynamic rather than static, changes over the time, acquiring a distinct character at each stage.¹⁶

This chapter elaborates India-Kenya economic ties to underscore how the relations at bilateral level could provide a more acceptable frame of reference granting the mutually beneficial objectives, and the means through which they can be attained. Such an interaction among the post-colonial third world states is a new experience. The situation had been that of "master-servant dependency syndrome", but now it is more of homogeneous interaction among equals towards a more equitable world order.

¹⁶ V B. Khapoya "Kenya" in Timothy M. Shaw and Oljide Aluko, (eds.) *The Political Economy of African Foreign Policy: Comparative Analysis*, (Gower, 1984) p.147

Among sub-Saharan African countries, Kenya has relatively occupied a significant position in India's overall trade with Africa. This has been the case since the colonial times. The study of Indo-Kenyan trade ties has shown that there exists very wide scope of give and take between Kenya and India.¹⁷ In the area of joint ventures and technical collaboration, Kenya and India should come together for mutual benefits. Due to remarkable political stability, Kenya has been able to offer considerable scope for collaboration with other countries in a variety of ventures.¹⁸

Kenya is endowed with unexploited natural resources and in a view that India has no motive for economic exploitation, there is an enormous scope for cooperation with a major ingredient of India's capabilities to provide the appropriate technological expertise which compares with any other in the world today.¹⁹ Kenya has for long depended on the Western countries like Britain and USA, which provide inappropriate technology. India is best suited to assist Kenya in the technological know-how, having undergone through a similar experience, relevant to the developing world. It thus, stands as the most ideal source of technology, which is more relevant to Kenya's needs. Therefore, Kenya should come closer to India and benefit from this relatively cheaper and suitable technology.

Historical Legacies

The economic ties between these two former British subjects were conditioned by the colonial compulsions. Two factors influenced India-Kenya relations:

¹⁷ J K.T. Bii, *International Marketing: Study of Indo-Kenyan Trade Ties*, (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1992) P.2

¹⁸ See Ibid., Pp.2-3

¹⁹ See Ibid.

Factor augmentation process by way of large Indian immigration, as early as during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway in the late 19th century.

Racial structuring of the East African economy with a highly distorted distribution of income of racial line this relegated the native African to a subordinate bottom plank in their own country. The built-in friction between the three groups was a notable feature the Kenyan Socio-economic frame around the time of her independence. The African animosity towards Asians was traceable to the fact that the latter were more conspicuous in the market place the post-war boom raised the living standards of the Asians much higher than that of Africans here a situation arose where the Africans felt doubly colonised – by Asians and Whites.²⁰

The imperial interests thus, determined economic relations between colonial peoples. Even after independence, the colonies deeply depended on the metropolitan countries for almost all their commercial needs that is exports, imports, technical skills, finance means of transport and communication. The international division of labour theorem advocated by Adam Smith and other European writers of the day allotted the role of providing industrial goods through concentration of capital enterprise and technical skills to Europe, while the colonial Asian and African countries were subordinated to producing raw material and cheap labour²¹.

In short, the colonial period framed India- Kenya economic relations on the colonial mould. During this period, Indians in Kenya emerged as a prominent economic factor.

This shows that there were not much economic relations between the two colonies. The next important stage is to assess briefly the ties between independent India and colonial

²⁰ S. Nyamora, *India: A Force to Reckon with in Forelites* (A foreign students association publication. Pondicherry University Vol 1 No. 1 March 1995 p 15.

²¹ Ibid

Kenya before taking up the focus period of economic and technical collaboration between independent India and Kenya i.e. since 1963, when Kenya became independent.

Independent India's early attempts at improving relations with Kenyans were seen among other things, in search for a solution to the problem of ethnic Asians in Kenya, and simultaneously promoting a mutually beneficial pattern of economic and technological cooperation different from the colonial equation. The second aspects drew Indian impetus from its concern for a new equation despite of the fact that Kenya was still conditioned by the colonial framework in 1940s and 1950s. Even right through 1963 when Kenya attained independence, the global development strategy for Africans did not contemplate any significant change from the traditional production structure.

This was a period when the significance of industrial development, as a mode of economic advancement of developing countries, was not disputed, but the industrial development strategy for sub-Saharan Africa continued to harp on scarcity cost of capital and social opportunity cost of labour. Kenya was no exception to this.²²

Meanwhile, as said earlier, India was looking for new avenues of economic and technical collaboration with Kenya, which was hampered by the Asian factor. It was therefore necessary to remove the racial sting before embarking on healthy economic relation. The Nehru years thus witnessed two policy initiatives to overcome the stalemate.

In the first place, India was now strongly moving away from narrow nationalism to a broad humanitarianism, shown by Nehru policy of upholding "African paramountcy".²³

²² R.R. Ramachandani and A Biswas, "India-Kenya Economic Relations in Retrospect and Prospect" in IASSI Quarterly, Vol.10, no.11991, P.151.

²³ Quoted in Ibid.

Secondly, it was projected that non- alignment was India's major plank of foreign policy and it was a collective movement relevant for both Indians and African countries like Kenya.

This implies non-involvement in international power politics, to promote south –south economic linkages. However, while the parameters of the new order were yet to be identified, and the collective self-reliance principle was yet to be articulated, the Nehru era marked the beginning of the new set of initiatives by India aimed at a more meaningful and mutually beneficial relationship with African countries such as Kenya.

Nehru was thus, the architect of India's economic and technical programme, which has now taken a firm shape. In concrete terms he conceived economic cooperation with the African countries in a three-tier set up; balanced trade joint ventures and technical assistance.

Nehru laid emphasis on the fact that freedom does not only cannot mere political independence, but economic welfare and social justice. Independence can only be safe guarded through a strong economic base.²⁴ Economic independences is an urgent preconditions for the success of independent foreign policy.

Trade Linkages

There was rising trend in India's trade Kenya in terms of value 1965-66 India's trade with Kenya in terms of value. In 1965-66 India's exports to Kenya for instance, were

²⁴ H S Chhabra "*Jawarlal Nehru and Africa*" in Verinder Grover (ed.), *International Relations and Foreign Policy of India: Africa and India's Foreign Policy* (Book no.8) (New Delhi: Deep Publications, 1992) P.79.

placed at Rs. 49 million while by 1977-78 they touched a figure of around Rs. 287.4 million i.e. more than five times rise in value terms.

However, India's imports from Kenya after showing an impressive rise, from around Rs. 46.0 million in 1965-66 to Rs. 174.2 million in 1973-74 rapidly declined to Rs. 42.5 million by 1977-78.

In relative terms while India's exports to Africa stagnated at around six percent to ten percent in this period, her imports from Kenya exports also declined from 8.24 percent of her imports from Africa in 1965-66 to meager 1.53% by 1977-78.²⁵ This is partly because the external trade relations of Kenya did not change to any significant degree. Kenya's major trading partners since independence continued to be the UK and the rest of the Western Europe. India's decline in trade with Kenya's can be partially attributed to the general economic decline since the early 1970s resulting in critical foreign exchange shortage and tight money market.

The African social crisis is characterised by a persistent drop in the overall growth. Most of these countries were dangerously exposed, being critically linked to global developmental phenomenon.²⁶

Secondly, there was a shift in the pattern of composition of trade between India and Kenya. This is mainly because India largely escaped the worst aspects of the world's crisis. Its independent stance on self-reliance has enabled it to acquire industrial and technological capabilities, which provide a plausible alternative viable valiance system. It

²⁵ Aprajita Biswas, *Indo-Kenyan Political and Economic Relations*, (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1992) P.210 and Table 6.2, P. 211.

²⁶ See *Ibid.*, P.212.

is learnt that non-traditional industrial products, mainly engineering goods chemical and allied products accounted for much larger percentage of Indian export to most African countries in the 1970s.

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Another reason is that, at the overall pattern of the exports of India and Kenya, it is realized that there are a number of common agricultural products, which the two countries export as cash crops: like tea and coffee. These cause losses to both India and Kenya. Coming to India's commodity imports from Kenya, there was only a marginal change as compared to the composition of her commodity exports, and balance of trade had switched in favor of India by a substantial margin.

²⁷ See Ibid., P.214

There was therefore, a need for identifying more products, which could be imported from Kenya in order to reduce trade gap.²⁸ Therefore, India's trade relations with Kenya in this period showed significant change in the commodity composition. This indicated the emergence of a new relationship inspired by growing differential and complementary development pattern, which was quite in line with the spirit of collective self-reliance. The disturbing factor, however, was that, relatively India's trade with Kenya, in this period, declined when compared to her trade with African countries put together.

Meanwhile, the oil price hike and the Sahelian drought had involved many African countries in an economic crisis situation and Kenya was no exception. The change in commodity composition provided a saving grace, more was to watch the recovery of Kenyan economy.²⁹ Apart from sudden spurt during the coffee boom years of 1977 and 1978, trade between India and Kenya has been steadily growing. Though the balance of trade has been favourable to India's Kenya export to India have been registering a marked increase in 1980 they were 100% higher than in 1979.³⁰

President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya visited India in February 1981 during which a trade agreement was signed between the two countries.

This agreement envisaged most-favoured nation treatment in all matters with respect to trade between the two countries, and to promote cooperation between their state trading

²⁸ See *Ibid.*, P. 219 and Table 6.5, P. 220

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Pp.219-21.

³⁰ See *Bii, op cit*, P. 228.

organizations.³¹ In this, the two countries agreed to facilitate within the framework of their laws and regulation the widest possible trade between them.

The contracting parties agreed to encourage participation in trade fairs and exhibitions organized by each other and also to provide assistance and cooperation in organising the same. As a positive gesture, Kenya participated in the Indian International Trade Fair in November 1981. Also a number of trade and industrial delegations from India visited Kenya and vice versa. An Indian Trade exhibition was organized in March 1986 at Kenyatta International Conference Center (KICC), Nairobi in which about seventy Indian companies took part.³²

A Joint Trade Committee was established, which has been holding periodical deliberations and has proved an effective instrument for promoting trade between the two countries. It reviews the implementation of the agreement and gives suggestion for specific proposals for expansion and diversification of trade between India and Kenya.³³

Trade balance has always been in favour of India, but it is expected to improve in the long run when India's increased technical cooperation makes Kenya more self-reliant. With the political with translate into deeds, the pronouncement of the agreements India and Kenya are bond to emerge as major trading partners. It is note worthy that the bilateral trade agreement conclude during President Moi's visit to India laid the

³¹ See Ibid

³² Ibid., P.232

³³ Ibid., P. 233

groundwork for a beneficial relationship that could now be a model for South-South Cooperation.

In the 1980s, India's exports to Kenya, thus rose rapidly and jumped to more than that Rs. 330 million by 1980-81. On the other hand, imports from Kenya stagnated during this period, leading to this substantial surplus balance of trade in favour of India. Subsequently, India's exports to Kenya have largely stagnated around 1980-81 figures and by 1985-86 exports were just around Rs. 300 million while imports from Kenya had by then gone down to around Rs. 87 million resulting in surplus balance of Rs. 220 million, in favour of India. However, India's exports to Kenya amounted to only 1.4% of Kenya's total imports in 1985-86, while India's imports from Kenya were only 0.9 % of Kenya's total exports. This could be hardly be considered a promising trend for expanding package of economic relations between the two countries.³⁴

In late 1980s and early 1990s, India's trade relations with Kenya witnessed some improvement. Now India is among the top ten trading partners of Kenya. India's exports to Kenya have risen by 3.25 times in the five years between 1989 and 1993. While its imports from Kenya have also gone up by 3.5 times in the same period.

This has taken place after the lifting of virtually all foreign exchange controls in May 1994 when India exported goods worth US \$ 160, 000. This figure rocketed to a new record of US \$2.6 million in August the same year.³⁵

³⁴ See Ibid

³⁵ See Ramchandani and Biswas, n.5, p.153.

Over 75% of India exports are engineering goods – transport equipment e.g. trucks, cars and four-wheel drive vehicles, industrial machinery e.g. irrigation pumps flour mills, sugar and tea machinery and some electrical goods. Indian engineering goods are suitable for Kenya because they are designed for tropical and rugged conditions.

The other major area is pharmaceuticals and chemicals, manufactured goods are also getting important Kenyan exports.³⁶ Kenya is able to supply India with soda ash fluorspar diatomite cashew nuts pyrethrum gum Arabic tannin or wattle, hides, and skin gemstones sisal and Africa handicrafts.³⁷ Trading with Kenya, thus, is very smooth as virtually all foreign exchange controls were removed in May 1994.

Import licensing has been abolished except for a single. Import Declaration Form (IDF) is now approved by any commercial bank .All limits on foreign exchange remittances from Kenya have been abolished and Kenya can make offshore investments up to US\$ 500,000 without any permission.

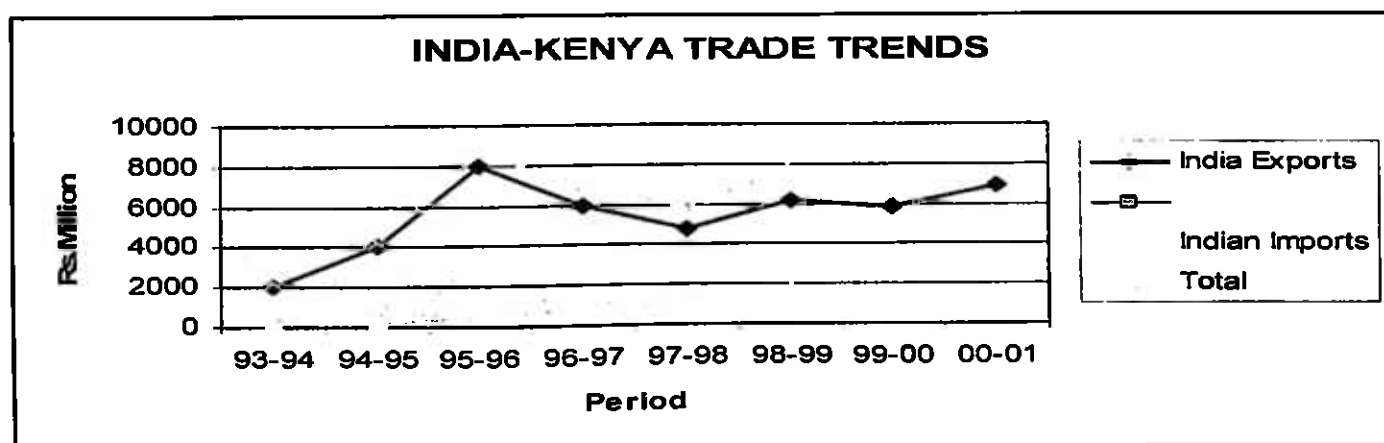
People entering or leaving Kenya can carry up to US \$5,000 in currency notes.³⁸ Thus, Kenya has made her “open –door” policy more open for trade and investment. Another important area is Indo–Kenya joint ventures.

³⁶ *Kenya Trade and Travel* (New Delhi: Newstech Publishing Inc. For Kenya High Commission, New Delhi) Vol.1, No.1/94, 1994) P. 2.

³⁷ See Ibid

³⁸ Ibid.

Annexure I



Annexure II

	1998-99		1999-00		2000-01	
	Rs.Millio	%	Rs.Millio	%	Rs.Millio	%
Main Exports of India						
	ns	Share	ns	Share	ns	Share
Total	4603		5741		6362	
Textiles	937	20	808	14	827	13
Drugs, pharmaceuticals, fine chemicals	592	13	725	13	799	13
Manufactures of metals	398	9	514	9	604	9
Transport equipment	308	7	432	8	484	8
Primary & Semi-finished iron & Steel	201	4	414	7	435	7
Inorganic/Organic & Agrochemicals	393	9	370	6	405	6

Plastic & Linoleum products	164	4	383	7	413	6
Machinery And instruments	574	12	830	14	93	1

	1998-99		1999-2000		2000-01	
Main Imports of India	Rs.Milns	%	Rs.Milns	%	Rs.Milns	%
		Share		Share		Share
Total	1501		896		855	
Cashew nuts	406	27	94	10	219	26
Pearls, precious & semi-precious stones	0.006	0	.065	0	122	14
Dyeing, Tanning, colouring materials	283	19	117	13	111	13
Metalliferous ores & meta l scrap	23	2	49	5	61	7
Leather	13	1	17	2	49	6
Raw hides & skin	62	4	22	2	33	4
Cereal preparations	361	24	9	1	2	0
Medicinal &Pharmaceutical products	142	9	134	15	0.00	0

Source: R.K. Bhatia, *India-Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective* (Nairobi: Indian High Commission, 2001) p.28

TABLE I

Exports from India

Item	Value in KSH	Percentage
Other crude Minerals	309,400,000	25.6
Tea and Mate	216,491,000	17.9
Fruits and Nuts (not including oil nuts) fresh or dried.	210,500,000	17.4
Dyeing & Tanning Extracts Synthetic Tanning Materials	183,136,700	15.1
Pearls, Precious & Semi Precious Stones (Polished or unpolished)	96,469,000	7.9
Leather	49,871,920	4.1
Crude vegetable materials N.E.S	45,232,700	3.7
Non-Ferrous Base Metal Water & Scrap	38,872,170	3.2
Cotton	31,155,650	2.7
Hides & Skin (except fur for skins raw)	28,582,720	2.4

TABLE II***Imports from India***

Kenya primarily imports manufactured products from India which include:

Item	Value in KSH	Percentage
Medicaments (including veterinary)	865,608,510	26.9
Motor cycles (motorized & Mopeds)	442,455,620	13.6
Textile yarn	352,634,560	10.9
Flat rolled iron (non-alloy steel) unplated, uncoated.	310,839,850	9.7
Fabrics woven, man-made (non narrow or special fabrics)	258,276,620	8.0
Other Machinery & Industrial equipment & spares	212,227,070	6.6
Industrial food processing machines and arts thereof	199,073,780	6.2
Plates and arts thereof plastics	188,053,120	5.9
Other plastic in primary	180,352,000	5.9

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TABLE III

Kenya-India Trade Figures in Kenya Shillings

Year	Imports	Exports	Balance
2002	13,809,759,000	2,486,908,000	-11,322,851,000
2001	12,830,234	2,361,398	-10,468,296
2000	10,087,493,661	1,323,440,827	-8,764,052,834
1999	7,361,488,257,	1,460,539,658	-5,900,928,598
1998	8,642,434,746	1,824,580,640	-6,817,854,106
1997	8,209,302,786	1,184,249,754	-7,025,053,032
1996	9,611,728,434	726,468,482	-8,885,259,952
1995	7,952,643,014	691,524,998	-7,261,118,016
1994	4,850,129,997	679,841,696	-4,170,288,301

Source: *Brief on India* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nairobi, 2004) Pp. 9-10

Joint Ventures

Joint ventures have been recognized all over the world as one of the positive ways of fostering economic cooperation as part of the global strategy for development.³⁹ This cooperation helps to achieve greater specialization and diversification of production structure by making efficient allocation and utilization of available factor of production.

Joint Venture means any form of association implying collaboration for more than transitory period. It includes commercial and industrial enterprises in which two or more countries share responsibility for the operations of the company by providing risk capital, goodwill, know-how, and management in an agreed manner. The joint international in developing countries is phenomenon of post war-period. This development is increasingly supplemented and substituted by the establishment of subsidiaries or branch offices by the transnational corporations.⁴⁰

India's policy of setting up ventures abroad was evolved when industrializations received a thrust during India's second Five-Year Plan (1956-61). This laid emphasis on industrialisation at a rapid pace. Thus, it laid a solid foundation for achieving a self-sustained and a self-reliant economy. It was therefore, natural that some Indians firms started searching for opportunities abroad.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ J Tabassum, *Economic and Technical Cooperation between India and Africa* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1992) P. 92.

⁴¹ See Bii, P.287.

Their efforts were directed to the export of capital equipment, scope for financial and technological participation, especially in other developing countries because Indian direct investment abroad depend heavily only on indigenous technology and equipment. Thus, Kenya welcomed India for the same.

Like India, Kenya followed a mixed economic development strategy since independent in 1963. But since 1991 it is pursuing the path of privatization and liberalization.⁴²

Unlike India, however, Kenya has a long established tradition of welcoming foreign investors. Foreign investment is as old as 1965 Sessional Paper No.10 on “African Socialism and its application of planning in Kenya” which become an economic development guideline in the country.

Kenya’s political system, though essentially different from political systems in countries with viable investor interest, has for over 30 years proved resilient enough to provide a stable niche for foreign investment. The policy objectives, strategies and programmes pursued towards establishing a firm basis for industrial development have prompted expansion of infrastructural facilities and the enthusiasm of Kenyans to actively participate in industry.

The fruitful cooperation existing between the Government of Kenya and foreign investors indicates the trust and confidence the investors have in the future of the country. Further Kenya’s constitutional guarantees against acquisition; and investments and an abundant, intelligent and trainable labour force attract foreign investors.

⁴² Ibid., Pp.223-24.

That is why Kenya has been able to attract several Indian firms to the country or enter into collaboration with them. Some of these are as follows:

Pan African Paper Mills: This was set up in 1972 with Orient Paper Industries Ltd. of Calcutta. This Birla Group Project produces over 100,000 tonnes of paper annually. The Indian equity is only 30% and Kenya Government at 34% and other multinational financiers own the rest. In addition to supplying the domestic market, Pan Paper has exported its product to earn foreign exchange for the country and employs about 1,800 Kenyans.⁴³

Raymond Wollen Mills Ltd: It was the first textile unit to be established in 1969 and is the biggest fully integrated textile unit employing 2,500 Kenyans. Everything, from the processing of the wool to the production of ready to wear men's wear is done under one roof. It produces a wide range of quality fabrics and it has also entered the export market to supply leading stores in Britain. With share-holding by the Kenya Government, Raymond's owns majority stake in the company.⁴⁴

Indian Motor Vehicles have entered the Kenyan market in a big way. Suzuki Maruti has established it self as the leading four-wheel drive vehicle in its category. Tata trucks have become more popular and are now being assembled in Kenya Mahindra and Mahindra sold their jeeps to the Kenya police and defence services. However, these vehicles proved inefficient and therefore, plans to set up an assembly unit service in Nairobi, during the 1990s were cancelled.⁴⁵

⁴³ A Biswas, Indo-Kenyan Political and Economic Reflections, (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing house, 1992) p79

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

Auto-ancillaries Ltd., in partnership with Bolton India is manufacturing auto springs for Kenya's motor vehicle assemblers.⁴⁶

Kirloskars have an assembly-unit in Nairobi to market their electrical and other machinery in Kenya.

Kenya Castings Ltd. in partnership with Salve Ltd., have setup cast iron foundry to manufacture machinery parts and manhole covers.

Coast Cables, Mombasa, established in 1979 in partnership with Gangappa Cables Ltd. to produce enamelled copper and aluminium wires.

Mohan Meakin Kenya Ltd., Athi River has put up a distillery in partnership with Mohan Meakin India.

In the service sector, four India's biggest insurance companies – LIC, New India Assurance, United India Assurance, and Oriental Insurance formed Kenindia Assurance with Kenyan partners, to become the biggest insurance company in general insurance, with an equity base of Kshs. 60 million and reserves of 113 million. It was formed in 1978 and has shown phenomenal growth of eight times. It has been a pioneer to launch pension funds scheme.

Bank of India and Bank of Baroda have branches in the country and provide service like other commercial bank since 1953.

In addition to these, many large and small Indian companies have appointed Kenyan distribution agents for their products and are successfully marketing their goods in Kenya. The emerging trend has revealed by the preceding outline, is that indo-Kenyan economic collaboration is expanding. This may be attributed to ripe friendly relations and

⁴⁶ Ibid

cooperation between the two countries. Now we have a look at the production cooperation.

Production Cooperation

Production Cooperation implies long-term commitments and a high degree of faith between the partners in cooperation. The concept also offers a certain way for promoting intra or inter –regional trade among developing states.⁴⁷

India has had all the ingredients and the mix of rural and small industry, which provided a shining example. Soon most African countries like Kenya recognized India's capability to share her considerable expertise and experience in the development of small-scale industries in the following areas:

- a) Technical know-how in the manufacturing of goods under viable but small- scale production.
- b) Assistance to national planning apparatus by way of integrating industry development of small-scale operation sectorally and regionally with those of large- scale sectors.
- c) Extension service in industrial promotion and in fractural development.
- d) Establishment of national institutions for providing investment capital, entrepreneurial development, training facilities, establishment of production cum –training centers in specific technologies, technology transfer and development facilities like industrial estates common facility centers and services.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Kenya Trade and Travel*, P.4.

⁴⁸ Biswas, P.234

Indo-Kenyan production cooperation was first seen in 1967 with the establishment of Kenya Industrial Estates Limited (KIE). This was started as subsidiary of Industrial and Commercial Development Cooperation (ICDC) with the help of a three man expert team from India.

With this establishment of the technical sector in 1967, the first pilot industrial estates with 25 sheds was completed: and by 1978 Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE) had already emerged as a major organization to under take jobs like feasibility studies, technology identification ordering and delivering of machines, layout of factory floors installation of machinery commissioning of machinery and training entrepreneurs locally or sending them to machinery suppliers for training, after having been identified. By 1972, rural industrial development program was started under the aegis of KIE in 1971.⁴⁹

The other area that has attracted attention of the two countries related to food security and agro-based industries. This presents plentiful built-in complementarities in the production structures of the two countries. Kenya's agricultural sector undoubtedly occupies a key position. The 1983 Economic survey reports, "As the single most important sector the performance of the agriculture has a crucial impact on the overall growth of GDP".⁵⁰

Droughts in the 1970s affected this sector drastically in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa.

To solve food insecurity problem, thus, India and Kenya could share experiences in food supply and distribution planning. India's long experience in procurement and public distribution system of wheat, paddy, cotton, jute and sugar should be of help to Kenya. In

⁴⁹ Ibid Pp.242-43.

⁵⁰ Ibid., P.243.

turn, the procurement and storage mechanism of coarse cereals and some commercial crop should be of interest to India. Moreover, India has an excellent network of agricultural research institutes and universities to impart relevant knowledge. At the national level for example, there is the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR).

Kenya could borrow a leaf. Kenyan research scholars are now using facilities like Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme for financial assistance.

Consultancy services, also calls for closer cooperation. India has over 100 professional consulting firms. Some of these are like, Water and Power Consultancy Services (India) Ltd. (WAPCOS), Rail India Technical Engineering Services (RITES), Metallurgical and Engineering Consultant (I) Ltd, MECON, HMT, National Industrial Development Corporation (NIDC), etc.⁵¹

Besides these, other areas of interest to Kenya are like; manpower training. India has a very large number of institutions, which offer short as well as long term facilities in various industrial disciplines. Examples are: Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), National Institute for Training in Industrial Engineering (NITEI), Indian Institute of Foreign Trade (IIFT), National Small Scale Industries Corporation (NSIC), National Institute of Research and Development (NIRD), etc.

Emerging Trends

The technological and economic front has increasingly been enhanced. This extends to grants in form of soft loans and credit facilities to Kenya, though not so pronounced. This

⁵¹ S Nyamora *Towards a New Equation Indo-Kenyan Relations in the Post-Colonial Era*. M. A. Dissertation, Pondicherry University, 1996 p 72

is because India is not fully capable to provide economic aid like the industrialized countries.

Apart from these, India and Kenya have been responsive and participative in international economic issues like WTO, UNCTAD, Group of 77, NIEO, and ultimately the formation of the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) economic grouping. We see the two countries having a common stand in most of these developments.

They have always converged with a common cause of spearheading efforts towards South-South cooperation. It will not be out of place, thus, to point out that Indo-Kenyan economic relationship is a model of South-South cooperation, though not a pace setter, as such. There is a long way to go to achieve this goal. Again with the re-establishment of the East African Community (EAC) and the signing of the COMESA Agreement, Indian investors in Kenya will have a larger market for their products.

Further, both India and Kenya occupy strategic positions in their respective regions. Kenya is in East Africa what India is, in South Asia, in terms of economic and political development. This is a commonality and similarity, which binds the two countries together. India is emerging as South Asia's most dynamic economic power, so it is important that Kenya's bilateral relations with New Delhi be intensified to identify more opportunities for trade and investment.

However, the economic ties between Kenya and India are on the right track. But still much is expected at this age of economic liberalisation, globalization and multilateralism. The developed want to take advantage of this and continue exploiting the third world states

The latest developments between India and some developed powers prove that it has become a force to reckon with, both economically and politically in the “New World Disorder”.⁵² No doubt, India is the largest democracy in the world, while Kenya is at its youthful stage, but not worse-off. Political development being a pre-requisite for economic advancement, the two countries should strive towards more political understanding to attain greater heights in mutual economic cooperation.

Nonetheless, continued cordial relations between India and Kenya have seen Kenya as India’s leading trading partner in the whole of Africa. This, as former Minister Kalonzo Musyoka, holds is testimony to the political and economic stability Kenya has enjoyed since independence.³⁰⁵³ Kenya and India enjoy strong trade relations. In 1991 the two countries signed a trade agreement during which the Kenya/India Joint Trade Committee was formed. The last Session of the Indo-Kenya Joint Trade Committee meeting was held on 29th November 2001 in Nairobi. During the meeting the two sides reviewed the progress of bilateral trade, explored the new areas of cooperation between Kenya and India.⁵⁴

India is an important economic partner of Kenya and falls within the category of the top ten major trading partners of Kenya. Kenya has ranked India as the sixth biggest source of imports, whose value stood at Kenya shillings 12,830,000 billion in 2002.

⁵² Quoted in *Ibid.*, P.244.

⁵³ S Nyamora, “*India: A Force to Reckon With*”, in *Forelite* (A Foreign Students Association Publication, Pondicherry University, Vol. 1., No.1, March 1995).

⁵⁴ Kenya Trade and Travel, n. 20. P.1.

Export values stood at Kenya shillings 2,361,398 billion in 2002, and ranked eighteenth overall as a destination for exports. India ranks Kenya as one of its major trading partners from Africa.⁵⁵

India exports manufactured goods such as home appliances, industrial and farm machinery, pharmaceuticals, synthetic products, motor vehicles, dyed fabric, rice and aluminium hydroxide Kenya exports soda ash, fluorspar, diatomite, inorganic chemicals, precious and semi-precious stones, cashew nuts, pulses, wattle bark extract, dyeing, tanning and colouring material, hides and skins, steel and African handicrafts to India.⁵⁶

Although Kenya's trade with India has shown marked improvement over the years, the balance has remained heavily in India's favour. India could help reduce the trade imbalance between the two countries through transfer of technology and diversification of trade. India could also increase its existing sourcing in respect of soda ash, horticulture, coffee, sisal, precious and semi-precious stones, wool, wet blue leather, wattle and pyrethrum extracts. Kenya in turn could source for more in engineering, electronics, pharmaceuticals, textiles and information technology sectors from India.⁵⁷

During the 12th South Asia Association Regional Cooperation Summit held in Pakistan from 4th - 6th January 2004 all member states including India signed a South Asia Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA). The SAFTA agreement will create a Free Trade Area in the region by the year 2015. This may affect Kenya's tea exports to Pakistan as India is

⁵⁵ Brief on India (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nairobi, July 2004) P. 7.

⁵⁶ Ibid., P.7-8.

⁵⁷ Ibid., P. 8.

expected to increase its tea exports to Pakistan due to the removal of tariffs on the same by the latter.⁵⁸

Indo-Kenyan Joint Commission

In December 1999 Kenya and India signed an Agreement establishing a Joint Commission on Political, Trade, Economic, Technical and Cultural cooperation.

The Inaugural Kenya-India Joint Commission was held on 21st and 22nd July in Nairobi during which discussions were held between the two countries on a number of bilateral issues, including Health, Transport and Communications, Technical and Educational

Cooperation, Information and Communications Technology, Agriculture, Housing and infrastructure development, Information and the Mass media sector, Immigration matters and Micro and Small Enterprises. It was agreed that the two countries should undertake Joint Ventures and other interaction within these sectors. Under Health cooperation, India offered to give Kenya drugs worth US \$ 100,000, which were delivered in March 2004, and to undertake cooperation between the Apollo Hospitals Group of India and Kenyan Hospitals such as Kenyatta Hospital on a variety of issues including treatment (operations) on Kenyan patients in India at concessional rates. The two countries also signed a Memorandum of Understanding on consultation between their Foreign Ministries.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Exim Bank Loans

India and Kenya have signed a total of three agreements by which India through its EXIM Bank provided Kenya with Line of Credit (LOC) through the Industrial Development Bank (IDB). The agreements were signed in 1980 (for 20 million Indian rupees), 1987 (100 million rupees) and 1997 US \$ 5 MILLION. The IDB thereafter applied for fourth LOC for US\$20 million but had difficulties accessing it due to certain conditions imposed by EXIM Bank.⁶⁰

During the Joint Commission Meeting, the Indian side agreed to consider converting the USD \$20 million LOC to the concessional terms available under the “India Development Initiative”. Possibilities of making the loan a revolving one were also to be considered.⁶¹

Trade links between the two countries strengthened after India attained its independence in 1947 and Kenya in 1963. Following the signing increase in the volume of trade was noticed in the 1980s. The Agreement accorded each other the most favored nation status. Since the introduction of economic liberalization in both the countries in early 1990s, the trade volume experienced a further growth.⁶²

Other important aspects have been investments by Indian companies in Kenya in various fields such as banking; paper industry, insurance, textiles, Information Technology, pharmaceuticals and chemicals. The Ken-India Assurance Company, Bank of Baroda, Bank of India, Air India, etc provide notable visibility to India’s economic presence in Kenya.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Pp.10-11.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² R.K. Bhatia, *India-Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective* (Indian High Commission, Nairobi, 2001).

Strong ties have provided basis for technology transfers between India and Kenya. The process of technology transfers takes place in four main forms:

- a) Joint ventures
- b) Export of machinery and equipment
- c) Technical assistance
- d) Training of manpower.

Today, India has several joint venture companies successfully operating in Kenya.

India has also extended to Kenya consultancy services through technical assistance and execution of turnkey projects.

Between 1960-70, Kenya was the second largest recipient abroad; Kenya had 10, placing it in the third position after Malaysia and Indonesia. According to the Investment Promotion Centre (IPC), actual equity of Indian joint venture companies in Kenya was

worth about Rs.1 billion (1.5 billion) in 1998, representing 20% of total investments.⁶³

These projects have helped Kenya to diversify its industrial production and set up a base for the development of local technology capabilities. On its part, India has earned considerable goodwill and other benefits from these joint ventures. Export of industrial and farm machinery from India to Kenya is another example of technology transfer. The significance of machinery and other capital goods from India in the Kenyan economy could be appreciated by perusing details of bilateral trade provided in Annexure-II & III.⁶⁴

⁶³ Ibid., p.9

⁶⁴ Ibid

India-Kenya partnership in technology transfer for small and medium industries has been very strong in the areas of technical assistance involving the exchange of experts and know-how. National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC) helped Kenya Industrial Estate and Appropriate Technology Advisory to develop and promote small and medium industries in Kenya. The Indian Government provided assistance by way of supply of machinery and equipment and started industries under the Kenya Industrial Estate Limited programme. In addition, NSIC organized a technological exposition in their use to Kenyan entrepreneurs of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). On 12th September 2000, NSIC concluded an agreement on cooperation with the Coast Development Authority of Kenya to promote cooperation in the field of small-scale industry.⁶⁵

Indian technology has found acceptance among Kenyan entrepreneurs, especially in the small and medium scale sector. The “Jua kali” businessmen as well as medium sized manufactures, ranging from chalk, are utilizing Indian machinery and candle making to medium sized firms in plastic extrusion, textiles, steel making and printing presses⁶⁶

The “Made in India Show” organised by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and the High Commission in Nairobi from 15-18 August 1996, was a major promotion and exposition of modern India in Africa. It presented a wide variety of Indian goods and services of high quality focusing on the East Africa region. The Show inaugurated by former President Moi witnessed a number of associated events, viz. seminars on Investment and Indian Small and Medium Enterprises Sector, CEOs dinner, Cultural

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., P.10

Shows, signing of agreements between the CII, Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) and Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE).⁶⁷

The Engineering Export Promotion Council (EEPC) and Electronics Software Export Promotion (ESC) jointly organised the “India Tech 98”, an exclusive Indian exhibition on technology, services and products, with the assistance of the Indian High Commission and the Ministry of Commerce at the prestigious Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) in Nairobi from 1st - 4th September 1998. A sequel to the Made in India Show, India Tech 98 was a premier technology exposition demonstrating the appropriateness of Indian tech to Africa. The main sectors covered were engineering, electronics, telecommunications and Information Technology.⁶⁸

India extended three lines of Credit, through the EXIM Bank of India, over the years to the Industrial Development Bank of Kenya to promote Indian exports to Kenya. In 1998, for instance, the EXIM Bank extended another line of credit to the PTA Bank for the same purpose.

Other credit lines are available through the LOC to the East Africa Development Bank (EADB).⁶⁹ Under the bilateral Trade Agreement, a Joint Trade Committee (JTC) was set up in 1986. The JTC last met in November 1998 in New Delhi and the next meeting was held in November 2001 in Nairobi. A joint Business Council (JBC) was set up linking Chambers of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) in 1985. It has met four times since then. KNCCI also has agreements with CII, Indian Merchants Chamber of Mumbai and a few other regional Chambers in India.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Ibid

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN KENYA AND INDIA

Introduction

Like in other spheres of Indo-Kenyan relations, socio-cultural and educational linkages between India and Kenya in the post-colonial era have been considerably influenced by early cultural contacts between the peoples of these two countries. For, when two or more groups of people intermingle, they tend to influence each other. That is why, the Kenyans of Indian origin influence the cultural interactions between their land of origin and that adopted as they did in case of political sphere. It is, therefore useful to recall in this context that though the Arab traders opened the door to the African continent for India, yet unlike the Arabs, Indians could not socially mix with the Africans.⁷¹

The Indians kept themselves aloof from others due to social inhibitions and never entered into religions and matrimonial alliances with Africans or Arabs. Indians did not have any commercial liaison with Africans. This went on until a sizeable number of Afro-Arab people - Swahili (the Coastal people) increased and started participating in trade at the coast and in the interior. Indians did not go to the interior, but only financed the Afro-Arabs to bring ivory and slaves because they fetched good money in Arab Sheikdoms. These were sold to their Emirs of Arabia and Nawabs of Bengal and Hyderabad in India. While the Arabs could thus freely mix the Africans, the relationship between the Indians and Africans remained that of oil in water. Arabs took Africans concubines and married them and had children. These were converted to Islam and free entry to the mosques while the Indian Hindus never embarked on this mission. Even the Indian Muslims did

⁷¹ S Nyamora, *Towards a New Equation: Indo-Kenyan Relations in the Post-Colonial Era*. M. A. Dissertation Pondicherry University 1996 p 77.

not do any missionary work and it was hard to get them even praying together with the Swahilis in a mosque.

With the growth of the economy, however, interactions between Indians and Africans gradually developed. Wherever an Indian could go into remote areas and found some kind of settled community, he set up a *duka* (shop) and opened the doorway to the world economy.⁷²

During this period, relationship between customers and shopkeepers grew into multiple contacts, though the Indians kept on preserving their social distance. Thus, except the social platform, other contacts based on mutual needs are permanent. This is the kind of cultural influence of the Indians, which filtered down into the Swahili life, the British later did pioneering jobs in establishing their domains. Needless to say, the Indians did not have any political ambition.

The Indians also avoided the controversy concerning the doctrine of identity and differentiation, which led to racial segregation and apartheid in some parts of Africa. They instead concentrated on commercial activities among the Swahilis and thereby were able to influence various aspects in the latter's life. To begin with, though the Indians were unable to influence the Swahili language as the Arabs, yet the Indian influence in this regard cannot be negated. A few examples from the list Virmani gives, will illustrate some of the marks of India in Swahili culture. For instance, the word *Kuli* means labourer in both Hindi and Swahili, *Banyani* in Swahili or *Bania* in Hindi means an Indian trader, *Kima* means minced meat, *Gunia* in Swahili or *Guni* in Hindi refers to bag or sack *Pesa*

⁷² K. K. Virmani, "Marks of India in Swahili Culture", in Verinder Grover, (ed.), *International Relations and Foreign Policy of India: Africa and India's Foreign Policy* (Book no.8), (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1992) P.258.

Pesa means pice or money, *Rupia* means rupee and *Rangi* in Swahili or *Rang* in Hindi connotes colour.

These and many more other words clearly manifest the Indian influence in every aspect of Swahili life except on social, religious and matrimonial planes.⁷³ Borrowing thus, is a usual thing between languages, since no language even advanced ones like French and English is complete. This effort is in line with self-reliance and cooperation among members of the less developed societies. This is what Kenyan playwright and novelist, Ngugi wa Thiongo means when says "language is power".⁷⁴

Another important aspect reflecting the nature of socio-cultural interactions between Indians and Africans is inter-marriages. Marriage is an important postulate of a people's way of life. This is the best way to bring about social integration and round off the racial, social and psychological angularities of the communities. Girls of the Ismaili sect (followers of the Aga Khan) are marrying African boys. Some Indians have also married African girls in country townships and are living happily with their families.⁷⁵ Their number is small but inter-marriage cannot be imposed on society. It comes gradually with the growth of education. Marriage is linked up with religion and customs of a people and they are keen to preserve, through adopting them to new environments. Therefore, lack of inter-marriage has caused a divide between the two communities.

⁷³ Ibid., Pp.260-62.

⁷⁴ Prof. N Thiongo's Interview, *The World this Week, Doordashan (D.D) T.V*, New Delhi, 3 March 1996.

⁷⁵ A Prasad, "*Indians in East Africa*", in Grover,(ed.) n.1., P.531-32.

Hence, it has hindered Indo-Kenyan Socio-Cultural intercourse. As regards religion, the greatest impediment to integration between Indians and Africans has come from the Christian Missions and Europeans. They did not want any impact of Indian religion and culture upon the Africans.⁷⁶ They wanted to keep the Indian influence out so as to implant Western culture and religion in Kenya. This has made Africans ignorant of the deeper aspects of Hindu religion and its values. Culture is a universal heritage and both the Africans and Indians have to learn from each other's culture. Kenyan students in India, for higher studies, can learn a lot about Indian way of life and share this with others when they return home. Let political pride or past inhibitions not be a stumbling block on the way to a healthy cultural exchange.

To remove these hindrances of cohesion, emotional integration is perhaps the most important way. Indians in Kenya have to develop an outlook that they belong to Kenya and thus, they have to live and die for their nation (Kenya). The true basis of integration has to be sought in common political and economic ideas and ideals, whose aim should be: unity in diversity – unity in political outlook with diversity in culture⁷⁷

Social Experiences of Kenyans in India

Most of the Kenyans go to India to study under different kinds of sponsorship. The number of Kenyan Indians is negligible and nothing is heard about them, unlike Indians

⁷⁶ Ibid., P. 532.

⁷⁷ Ibid

in Kenya. All has not been well with Africans in India. At first it was difficult for them to enter Indian homes to see how people live. Though there is no colour bar as such, there are caste prejudices, social snobbery and other barriers to easy social intercourse. Many upper-class Indians are said to feel that "Africans... are Christianized savages, people without real indigenous culture"; they look down on them much as their own Nagas - "Primitive people who have to be educated".⁷⁸ Taya Zinkin and Khushwant Singh in a 1960 article, recording the complaints of an African student observed that, it will take long before the colour complex is erased from the Indian minds because the caste system, which the Indian government is trying to wipe out "essentially is based on colour complexes". The Sanskrit word for caste is *Varna*, which literally means colour, and for the "untouchables" are "dark negroid".⁷⁹

These reactions to life in India, however, are similar to African reactions to life in the U.S. and elsewhere and they are therefore, only short-range partial reactions. In the long run, however, the personal contacts and friendships between the Kenyans in India are not being developed.⁸⁰

The situation now, as we see it, has improved due to the growth of education and movement of Indians to Kenya and vice versa, which has intensified contacts. The two races have to accept life realities of each other. Cultural links are developing rapidly. It is not absurd to note that some Kenyans have married Indian girls, when pursuing their studies in India. Also the number of such cases in Kenya is in the rise. This inter-mixture

⁷⁸ V McKay, *Africa in World Politics* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), P.179.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, P.180.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*

of culture will improve the social relations between India and Kenya. It will again, remove scepticism from among the two peoples and create one people.

The Educational Dimension

Education occupies an important place in the cultural linkages between countries. For India and Kenya, it is not unexpected to learn that Nehru was the architect of educational programmes between the two countries. It will be recalled that the Indian government instituted scholarships for African students in the Indian universities during the early 1950s. This was done after Mbiyu Koinange's visit to India in 1949. Commenting about it in a letter to the Chief Ministers on 15 August 1949, Prime Minister Nehru, explained that Koinange's visit was important in bringing the question of Africa before the Indian people. He wrote:

Africa is undoubtedly going to play an important part in the future and many people look to India for help and sympathy. We have made it clear that we do not count any Indian interests in Africa or elsewhere which in any way come in the way of the people there, we hope to go much further and help in this progress by scholarships for the education of their students.⁸¹

This was an outcome of Kenyatta's personal letter to Nehru soon after India's independence, requesting Nehru to provide facilities for education and technical training to Kenyan students.⁸² It is against this background that this has become a massive programme, with Kenyan students topping the list of not only African students in India, but also those from other parts all over the world, as we shall see later.

⁸¹ A Biswas, *Indo-Kenyan Political and Economic Relations* (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1992) P. 117.

⁸² H S Chhabra, "*Jawaharlal Nehru and Africa*", in Grover (ed.), P.79.

The government of India took these steps similar to those of the U.S. and other countries to improve its knowledge of and contacts with Africans. With a staff recruited from Africa and Britain as well as India and including a Director, five Associate Professors, and two African-language Lecturers, the University of Delhi opened the School of African Studies in August 1995, to give a two-year Post-graduate diploma course.⁸³ During the same time, an African and Asian study group in Bombay organized a visual exposition on Africa. A similar group was later formed in Delhi. An African Society of India was also established along the lines of learned Societies in America and Europe, such societies have now come up with publications on Africa like *Africa Diary*, *Africa Quarterly*, etc. The latter is published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and others by Indian Society of African Studies etc. Also, some institutes like Centre for African Studies (CAS), Jawaharlal Nehru University, Department of African Studies, Delhi University and Centre of East African Studies, University of Bombay have been established to promote African Studies in India.

Efforts by India to bring more African students to India continued and by 1956, about 250 African students were studying in India, 122 of them under the Government of India cultural scholarships scheme, 69 of the 122 students were from British East Africa. By 1959, this number had risen to 350, most of them from Kenya. The number of Kenyan students further went up; when Kenya recognized that the standard of education in India

⁸³ McKay, n. 7. P.178.

is no less in value than that of Western countries. At the same time, the cost of education in India is much lower comparatively.⁸⁴

It is within this context that cultural agreements have been entered between the governments of Kenya and India. These have widened the scope of cooperation in the cultural and educational front. With each new agreement or extension of the past ones, new areas of cooperation have been identified.

In 1981, during President Moi's visit to India, a cultural agreement was signed. This aimed at promoting and developing in all possible ways the relations and understanding between India and Kenya. It covered areas like art, cultural heritage, academic activities, research and training in education, science and technology, sports, public health and Mass Media of information and education – films, T.V., Radio and press.⁸⁵

The agreement remained in force for five years and automatically is extended thereafter for further periods of five years unless either party desires to terminate it after a six months notice. (Documentation III).

On the same line, a cultural exchange programme for 1986-88 was in force. Apart from the agreed quarter, the Indian Government made institutions of higher learning opened for Kenyan self-sponsored students. On 26th May 1994, another cultural agreement was concluded between the two countries, for 1994-97, at Nairobi. This was signed by former Kenyan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka and the Indian High Commissioner to Kenya. This agreement sought to build on and extend cooperation between the countries in the field of Education, Culture, Archaeology, Library Science,

⁸⁴ V MacKay, *Africa in World Politics*. New York: Harper, 1963 p 27.

⁸⁵ *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. XX, nos. 3-4.

Tourism and Mass Media, and Technical training⁸⁶. After the signing, Mr. Musyoka said that the agreement “is only but of Kenya and India”⁸⁷. He added that the programme would also provide for cooperation in textbook production, exchange of lecturers, researchers etc. These agreements have seen cultural exchange activities in the rise between the contracting parties. There is a good number of students and research scholars in Indian universities like Jawaharlal Nehru University, and institutes like the Indian

15. Quoted in *Ibid*.

Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) New Delhi. Kenyan journalists in IIMC learn Non-Aligned Journalism courses etc. According to statistics released by the Association of Indian Universities (AIU), in 1992, Kenya topped the list of foreign students with about 4,000 students, whereas Sudan had 1657 students, Jordan 1299, Nepal 725 and Ethiopia 674 students’ neighbouring Malaysia, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka trailed behind with 597,565 and 485 students respectively. Iran had 348 students and Palestine 250. The U.S had only 105 students in Indian Universities⁸⁸. These figures show that the Kenyan students constitute the majority of foreign students in India.

Another significant area of friendly cooperation between Kenya and India is technical training. About 6000 Kenyan students were studying in Indian universities and technical institutes, by 1994. The then acting Kenyan high Commissioner to India, Dr. Kipyego Cheluget, urged the Indian Government to avail more seats on professional courses to

⁸⁶ *Foreign Affairs Record*, Vol. XL, no.5, (May 1994) P. 86.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ *The Hindu* (Madras), 11 January 1995.

Kenyan students⁸⁹. The number of Kenyan students is of late, declining due to introduction of capital fees on foreign students. This has greatly barred self-sponsored students most of whom don't afford to pay fees.

A number of Kenyan personnel have been receiving advanced training in India under Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP) and the India Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) of the government of India. The fields covered here include; management, rural administration and administration of development programmes, agriculture, small industries, etc. The number of training slots for Kenya under SCAAP was raised by India from 8 to 15, vide the 1981 cultural agreement.⁹⁰

This is in order to assist the development of human resources as a rapid device for development in Kenya. Besides these, a larger number of technical experts from the Indian government parastatals have been deputed to assist Kenya in its development programmes. Other than official channels, a big number of Indian engineers, chartered accountants, doctors, teachers, and specialists in other fields are occupying key positions in private industries in Kenya and play a vital role in the transfer of Indian technology.

Kenya and India signed the First Agreement on Cultural Co-operation on 24th February 1981 and a Cultural Exchange programme for 1994-1997 on 26th May 1997. A new Cultural Exchange Programme for 2003-2006 was signed during the Joint Commission

⁸⁹ Kenya Trade and Travel (New Delhi: Newstech Publishing Inc. for Kenya High Commission-New Delhi: Vol.1, no.1/94) P.20.

⁹⁰ J K.T. Bii, International Marketing: Study Indo-Kenyan Trade Ties (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1991) P.236.

Meeting on 22nd July 2003. The Agreements provide for exchange in Education, Art and Culture, Mass Media, Tourism and Cooperative Societies.⁹¹

There were over 8000 Kenyan Students studying in India by 2004. Kenya is urging for student admissions in professional courses as more than 90% of these students were enrolled in Social Sciences. The Government of Kenya has partial scholarships for about 200 students with only 30 being sponsored by the Indian Government. Many privately sponsored students are facing financial problems, which unfortunately, leads to commit petty crimes.⁹²

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology operates a bursary scheme for needy students. However, the Kenya High Commission in New Delhi has no provision for financial assistance for students studying in India either for upkeep, medical, tuition otherwise. Students are therefore urged to ensure prior to their travel, they will be able to sustain themselves financially throughout their stay in India. Students applying for the partial bursary, submit their applications between February and June every year. The successful applications usually receive partial bursary twice within the financial year.⁹³

Kenya is a beneficiary of the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), a programme of bilateral assistance, which was launched by the Government of India in

⁹¹ Brief on India, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 2004.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

1964 under which about 141 countries in Asia, East Europe, Africa and Latin America are invited to share in the Indian Development experience. The main components of the programme are vocational training, project and project related activities, deputation of experts and study visits. ITEC also trains defence personnel in various defence institutions, the best known of which are the National Defence (New Delhi) and the Defence Services Staff College (Wellington, South India). Under ITEC training is provided free of charge to nominees of foreign governments. By 1998, ITEC had trained alumni numbering 604 in Kenya. The Jua Kali sector has also been a beneficiary of this training. During the Joint Commission Meeting on 21st and 22nd July 2003, India increased the number of ITEC and SCAAP Fellowship slots for Kenya from 40 to 50 per annum.⁹⁴

The Indian High Commission held its first Technological Exhibition from 1st-4th September 1998, bringing together prominent Indian industrialists with the aim of increasing bilateral trade.⁹⁵

From the beginning, education and technical cooperation have been one of the focal points in the relationship between independent India and Kenya. During the pre-independence era, educational cooperation between India and Kenya was mainly confined to higher education in Indian universities. However, the focus shifted to technical and professional courses later. Late President Jomo Kenyatta demonstrated his keen interest in securing higher education facilities for Kenyan students in India.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Brief on India, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 2004*

Top education forms a major facet of India-Kenya relations. Kenya has a significant number of alumni from Indian universities who symbolize the special link, friendship and goodwill between the two countries. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and other institutions provide a total of about 34 scholarships, research fellowships etc. to Kenyan students every year. Every year, the Government of India offers scholarships under the following schemes to international students wishing to study in various programmes and disciplines.

Cultural Exchange Programmes

Scholarships are offered to students according to the terms and conditions of the Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) signed between the Government of India and Government of Kenya for studying, training and research in various fields. The number of such scholarships is six.

General Cultural Scholarship Scheme

Scholarships are awarded under this scheme for undergraduate, post-graduate degree and for pursuing research at Indian universities. However, scholarships for medical studies and research are not offered under this scheme. The number of such scholarships is twelve.⁹⁶

Apasaheb Pant Scholarship

One scholarship is offered to a Kenyan national under this scheme to pursue studies at post-graduate level in the field of Economics or International Relations at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi.

⁹⁶ R. K. Bhatia, *India- Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective* (Indian High Commission, 2001).

Commonwealth Fellowships

Four scholarships are offered under this scheme to candidates from Commonwealth countries to pursue post-graduate studies. Kenyan students can avail themselves of these scholarships.

Educational Fairs and Visits by Academicians

The Indian High Commission in collaboration with the Educational Consultants India Ltd. (Ed.CIL), organized an Educational Fair in Nairobi on 31st January 2001. Twenty five universities from India, offering professional courses, took part in the fair. The response to the fair was highly encouraging. Of late, interest on the part of the Kenyan people including Asians in sending their children to India for higher studies has increased significantly.

The Indian High Commission facilitated the visit of the Vice-Chancellor of USIU to India with two faculty members from 11th -18th February, 2001. The visit paved the way for establishment of institutional linkages between USIU and Indian Universities (Indian High Commission, 2001).

The Indian High Commission has pursued a programme to develop cooperation between Indian and Kenyan universities. Books from India were presented to University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University, Moi University, United States International University (USIU), Kenya Institute of Management (KIM) and Kenya National Library Services, etc. The Indian High Commissioner, while presenting books to these universities, addressed the faculties and students of these institutions.

The USIU bestowed a rare honour on R.K. Bhatia, the former Indian High Commissioner when they invited him to deliver the convocation address on 17th June 2000 (Indian High Commission, 2001).

Technical Cooperation

Apart from higher education at institutions of excellence in India, Kenyans are also benefiting from technical training programmes provided under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme. Since the inception of ITEC more than 600 trainees from Kenya have received training in areas like agricultural science, banking, computer technology, industrial development, journalism, etc. Presently, 43 fellowships are available annually for qualified Kenyans under the programme.

The Government of India on 15 September 1964 instituted ITEC. The ITEC programme is administered by the Technical Cooperation Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. The programme is an expression of India's earnest desire to share within its limited resources, the fruits of its socio-economic development with other developing countries. The ITEC programme operates through a series of bilateral programmes with recipient countries in core areas of technical institutions as follows:

- (a) Training of experts from these countries in a wide variety of disciplines.
- (b) Making available services of highly qualified Indian experts to assist in development activities in partner countries.
- (c) Assistance in setting up projects.
- (d) Provision of consultancy services and undertaking techno-economic surveys.

(e) Sponsoring foreign study teams to visit India in order to gain insights into India's economic and technical capabilities.⁹⁷

By 2001, there were 123 regular training programmes organized in 52 premier institutes in India. These were in various disciplines such as banking and finance, cooperatives, teacher training, rural development, small industry, textiles, packaging, standardization, manpower planning, audit and accounts, sericulture, fluid control and tool designing, as well as mass communication, computers, telecommunications engineering, diplomacy, foreign service activities, and parliamentary studies.⁹⁸

Tourism

Tourism is now Kenya's biggest forex earner. The unique combination of sun, sea and safari attracts over 800,000 tourists a year to Kenya, earning US \$360 million. The number of Indian tourists is small, but the trend is promising. Following India's foreign

exchange liberalizations, an increasing number of Indians have been visiting Kenya in the last five years. Indian visitors have gone up to 10,400 in 1992, to 11,600 in 1993. Kenya's former Foreign Minister, Kalonzo Musyoka", welcomed those who may wish to mix business with pleasure" to enjoy the "tourism delights of Kenya". Tourism is, thus, a new development in indo-Kenyan cultural talk's links with a bright future.

The number of Indian nationals traveling to Kenya for various reasons, mainly tourists and business was 4898 in 2002. This is very low. India has a highly mobile middle class, who have money and hence there is need of more aggressive marketing of Kenya as a tourist destination of choice in Africa.

⁹⁷ Interview – Commercial Attache, Indian High Commission Nairobi (November 2005)

⁹⁸ Ibid.

The Indian High Commission in Nairobi India organized, in collaboration with the Government of India Tourist Office, Dubai and Johannesburg and Air India, two highly successful events to promote bilateral tourism in Kenya in the context of India Explore Millennium Year 199-2000. The event was held on 9 March, 1999 in Nairobi at the Hilton hotel and was attended by the Assistant Minister of Tourism, besides 200 other persons from the industry, travel trade, the Hoteliers' Association and the media. Highlight of this event was the presence of over half-a-dozen major tour operators of Mumbai and Delhi at the meeting. This was followed up by a similar event in Mombasa 6th October 1999 at the Travellers Beach Hotel in which over 100 persons representing a cross section of the travel, tourism and the hotel industry, along with senior officials of the coast participated. In the year 2000, the High Commission of India again, in collaboration with the Government of India Tourist Office, Johannesburg and Air India, organized a series of tourism promotion events on 14th February in Nairobi, 15th February in Kisumu and 17th February in Mombasa.

In March 1999, the Government of India's Tourist Offices (GOITO) Air India, Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA) and the High Commission of India in Kenya organized a Seminar on India-Kenya Tourism: Challenges and Opportunities.⁹⁹

Sports And Audio Visual Media

Sport is one of the most important phenomena that bring both national and international integration. India and Kenya are no exception. Hockey and cricket teams from both sides have been playing friendly matches. Kenya's recent participation in the cricket world cup in the sub -continent is fresh in our minds. In the team there were Kenya Indian s. this

⁹⁹ Ibid.

really brings social proximity between the two countries. In Kenya, Indian clubs like the Nairobi Gymkhana and others have become important centers for socialization. Motor racing is a famous sport in both India and Kenya. Kenya Indian safari rally drivers like Joginder Singh and the late Shekhar Mehta become heroes and their names are household names in Kenya. Other famous Kenyan Indian drivers are Jayant Shah, Irish Shah, Prem and Pauru Choda, Anwar Sidi to name but a few.

The High Commission maintains close liaison with the Kenyan media in order to ensure adequate and objective coverage of developments in India. A series of articles authored by Mr. R.K Bhatia, former High Commissioner of India, the media published India-Kenya Relations and development issues. The mission, in cooperation with the articles and pictures on India were carried in these supplements. The High Commission organized a visit of the Executive Chairman of the "Kenyan Times" to India in July 2000. A senior *East African Standard* journalist also visited India in March 1999 on an official invitation. Institutional linkage was established between 'Kenya Times' and India Abroad News Service (IANS).

Indian movies provide one of the best entertainments in Kenya. Some cinema shooting is also in the country, for example *Vishwatma*. In audio media, the government has included *Hindustani* service in the states owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) radio. With the influx of FM channels in the late 1990's, the Kenya Government through the CCK issued licences to private radio stations that serve the Kenyan Indian Community. These include East FM and ZEE TV. All India Radio (AIR) also provides a Swahili (Kenya's national language) service, which puts Kenyans in India quite at home and vice versa.

The socio cultural and educational front thus plays an important role in friendship, cooperation and understanding between Kenya and India. In the light of these multifaceted and linkages, we may proceed to the concluding part of the whole story to ascertain the nature and future of Indo-Kenyan relations.

Culture

The bilateral Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) links the two countries at present. Cultural relations between the two countries are institutionalized through the Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP). However, cultural exchange goes beyond the CEP. Nairobi and other Kenyan towns are favorite and regular destinations for visiting Indian cultural troupes. Audiences in India are also interested in savoring samples of Kenya music, arts and culture through periodic visits of troupes to India. ¹⁰⁰

The Asian community in Kenya, with a wealth of high quality artistic talent, has a vibrant cultural life with several well-established schools of music and dance. Some of the well-known artists and teachers are Ustad Basharat Khan (sitar), Ustad Bashir Bhatt, Mr. Upkar Singh, and Dr. Mujahid Din (ghazal artists), Ms. Rajshree Mukherjee, classical vocalist who runs the Ma Sharda School of Music, Ms. Uma Hassluer of the Uma Devi Hassleur Corps de Ballet, Ms. Chandanna Sengupta (Rabindra Sangeet and Manipuri dance). Ms. Kamini Thakkar, a Bharatnatyam teacher with her own school, and Ms. Harsha Shah, an Odissi dance teacher.

There are also well known instrumentalists such as Mr. Kirit Pattni (flute), Mr. Gurdev Singh, Mr. Umesh Pandey, Mr. Paramajit Singh (Tabla), Mr. Shailesh Savani (keyboard) and Mr. Gurpeet Singh (dhols). The expatriate community has also introduced some highly talented artists such as Ms. Rimi Sinha, Ms. Radha Mathur and Mr. Nelson Assuaz

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

to the local population. The High Commission has been privileged to be associated with almost all these artists on one occasion or the other. The South Indian Cultural Society has a very dynamic leadership that organizes high-quality cultural events. Their 'Thyagaraj Aradhana', conducted annually in January, is a landmark event that brings some eminent artists from India every year.

Indian Cultural Fortnight

An Indian Cultural Fortnight, the first ever cultural event organized by the High Commission of that magnitude and duration, comprising an exhibition of paintings, music concerts, dance recitals and a festival of Indian cinema was held from 18 to 29 September 2001. A significant aspect of this event was that all artistes were Kenyans of Indian origin. The paintings were by noted artists such as Mr. Kamal Shah, Mr. Dinesh Revankar, Ms. Jaya Malde, Ms. Dipti Fernandes, Ms. Shaila Darr and Ms. Milli Soni.¹⁰¹

Over 300 persons attended the event, inaugurated by Prof. George Saitoti, Vice President and Minister of Home Affairs Government of Kenya on 18 September at the French cultural centre from the Kenyan Government, the diplomatic corps, leaders of Asian community and local Media apart from the general public.

It was a cultural extravaganza put up essentially to promote local Asian artists, with great cooperation from the French cultural centre and KIFA. It attracted enormous media and popular attention.¹⁰²

The inaugural event included classical and semi classical dances by the students of Ms. Kamini Thakkar as well as Ms. Suki Mwendwa, a student of Ms. Harsha Shah. Other attractions of the fortnight were the flute recital by Mr. Kirit Pattni, Odissi dance by Ms.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Harsha Shah, Sitar recital by Ustad Basharat Khan and Kuchipudi dance by the students of Ms. Rashmita Shah.

The festival of India cinema brought to discerning cine-goers of Nairobi, a mileage of art, cinema, as well commercial films from India by the great masters such as Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen, Ritwik Ghatak, Shyam Benegal and Guru Dutt.¹⁰³

Concerts by Visiting Artists from India

The most significant visit by a Indian artist to Kenya, in recent times was the visit of Pandit Jasraj in March 2001. Accompanied by Ms. Kala Ramnath (violin), Shri Vijay Ghate (Tabla), and two other disciples (vocalists), Pandit Ramnath enthralled the art loving audience of Kenya, on 31 March at a gathering of over 1000 people at Havelli in the Swaminarayan Temple Complex on Forest Road Nairobi.¹⁰⁴

Pandit Jasraj is no stranger to Kenyan Asians and had visited Nairobi earlier on privately organized tours and had performed to smaller audience. However in March 2001 his impact was unprecedented as hundreds of Asians braving a heavy downpour crowded one of the largest auditoriums in Nairobi and gave a standing ovation to the maestro after a 3 hr long programme.

His visit was sponsored by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and was organized in collaboration with KIFA and Bochasanwasi Shree Akshara Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha.¹⁰⁵ Smt. Kalpana Zokarkar, an eminent singer of the Gwalior Gharana came to Nairobi on a private visit in April-May 2001. The High Commissioner

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

of India organized a series of concerts by her and her husband in Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu. The concerts were greatly appreciated by the Indian community in Kenya.

Kumar Sunil Mungee accompanied by his wife Ms. Preeti Mungee, Mr. Hitendra Dixit (Tabla Artists) and Rajendra Kumar Gohil (Keyboard artist) visited Kenya on her own initiative from 24 August to 3 September 2001. The High Commission organized four concerts by the, two at Nairobi one at Kisumu and one in Mombasa. The Nairobi Utumishi Rotary Club and the South India Cultural Society hosted the Nairobi events. The KIFA Chapters of Kisumu and Mombasa organized the Kisumu and Mombasa events.

Asian-African Heritage Exhibition

A landmark event in history of the Asian community was the launching of the Exhibition on Asian-African Heritage: Identity and History at the National Museums of Kenya by

32. Ibid.
the Asian-African Heritage trust, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Pheroze Nowrojee, in February 2000. Sultan H. Somjee, till recently Head of Ethnography Division at the National Museums of Kenya, founds the exhibition on a concept paper. It focuses on three major themes of 'Asian heritage', 'the labor heritage', 'the social heritage' and 'the intellectual heritage'. The exhibition not only provides an excellent opportunity to see the context of the Asian-African presence in Kenya's history but also assesses and redefines the community's role. A visit to this exhibition has now become an essential part of every Indian VIP'S itinerary in Kenya.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA)

Another important community organ is the Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA). It was established on 11 August 1981. The decision to form this association was taken during the first visit of late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi to Nairobi. KIFA has played a useful role in the promotion of Kenya-India relations. It uniquely brings together Kenyans of African and Asian origin as well as Indian expatriates. It seeks to promote and foster closer relations between the people of two countries. A list of major activities of KIFA (1998-2001) is at Annexure- IV.

During its visit to Nairobi, in January 2001, the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora set up by the Prime Minister under the leadership of Dr. L.M Singhvi had an opportunity to interact with the leaders of the Hindu Council, KIFA and other leaders. It was greatly impressed by the goodwill for India and the Indian community in Kenya among prominent local Kenyans at large.

With the strengthening of bilateral relations between Kenya and India in the recent years and the increased interaction between the two peoples, a keen desire for greater knowledge of India has been felt in several parts of the country from the Coastal province to the Lake regions of Kenya. Responding to this, KIFA set up two new Chapters of KIFA in Mombasa and Kisumu in December 1999 and August 2000 respectively.¹⁰⁷

Community Organisations

The Indian community has continued to strengthen the associations based on place of origin, language and religion that formed several decades ago. Each community has

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

added to the variety and richness of Kenyan culture. There are now more than 125 associations of the Hindu community alone in Kenya. In almost every major town such as Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru, Thika etc. there are at least two or more such associations. Various organizations of Indian community, catering to regional diversity, organize cultural and religious functions and celebrate Indian festivals.

The Hindu Council of Kenya, established in 1973 to form an umbrella organization of all Hindu associations, set out to promote religious, social and cultural unity and welfare of Hindus residing in Kenya. In pursuance of this objective, the Council oversees and coordinates the activities of all Hindu, Sikh and Jain communities in Kenya. The Hindu Council also undertakes charitable and social work, on its own, as well as in conjunction with its member institutions.

The beneficiaries are not only members of the Indian community but also indigenous Kenyans. As part of its welfare activities, the Council distributes food, clothing and medicines to needy people in very poor areas. It also organizes medical camps for them and donates wheel chairs and artificial legs to disabled people.¹⁰⁸

All gurudwaras in Kenya are affiliated to the Sikh Supreme Council of Kenya. The religious/cultural affairs of the Muslim community in general, including the Muslims (SUPKEM). The Ismailis and Bohras have also established their own institutions.

Ahemadiya sect too has its network. A small Christian community, mainly from Goa and Kerala, also resides in Kenya. Various associations of Non-Resident Indians such as Indian Citizens Welfare Association of Kenya (ICWAK) and South Indian Cultural Society (SICS) have also been active in promoting community welfare.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

The Indian High Commission enjoys excellent relations with these organizations and has attempted to bring them together on a platform to increase their interaction and cooperation in recent years.

Asian Leaders Advisory Forum (ALAF)

Considering the large number and diversity of community associations, the need for unifying the Asian community less than one common platform was acutely felt. Responding to this challenge, the Mission facilitated the launch of an informal body called the Asian Leaders Advisory Forum (ALAF) on 30th September 1998. The objective of this association is to unite all Asians in Kenya into a cohesively organized and internally harmonious community and encourage the community to contribute more towards health, education, cultural and social welfare of the Kenyan people in such a manner that the long-term interest of the Asian community (despite their enormous contribution to social and charitable causes) has motivated them to come together to deal with these problems jointly.¹⁰⁹

The Asian Leaders Advisory Forum (ALAF) has had considerable success in mobilizing the support of leaders of diverse groups such as the Hindu Council of Kenya, Visa Oshwal Community, Ismaili Council of Kenya, the Dawoodi Bhora Community, Sikh Supreme Council, the Goan Welfare Association and other community associations.

Asian Youth Forum

The ALAF, after about six meetings, decided to carry on a similar experiment of unifying their respective youth wings.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Accordingly, the Indian High Commission assisted in organizing a meeting of various youth wings of the Asian communities on 25th November 2000. At this meeting, leaders of the youth wings expressed amazement at the fact that such an interaction had not taken place in the past. The interaction, based on a keen desire to know and understand each other, proved a great success. In that meeting it was decided to create an institutional structure for the Asian Youth Forum (AYF) and to carry forward a similar exchange of views with their Kenyan African youths. ¹¹¹

In the second meeting of AYF, held on 25th August 2001 at the High Commission of India Auditorium, some Kenyan African youths were invited to participate. Attended by over 60 youths from the Kenyan African and Asian communities, the forum provided an excellent opportunity for a useful dialogue on shared problems of perception and misperception. The participants consists of groups from the Moral Rearmament Association (MRA), Youth Wings of the Hindu Council, Ismaili Council, Visa Oshwal Community, Lohana Manal and some Kenyan graduates of Indian universities.

KIFA of Nairobi, in its attempt to extend its outreach to the youth of Kenya hosted an inter-school elocution contest on 'The Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi Today' on 2 October 2001 at the High Commission auditorium. Six prominent school of the Asian community, the premium academy, Oshwal High School, Aga Khan Academy, Cutchi Levi Patel Samaj School, Arya Samaj Boys School and Arya Samaj Girls school sent 3

contestants each from the O and A levels classes. Over 200 persons from among the school children, parents, leaders of Asian community and KIFA members attended the

¹¹¹ Ibid.

programme. Three of the top contestants were awarded individual prizes. The trophy for the best school was awarded to the Oshwal High School.

Publications Programme

In order to disseminate information on the activities of the Indian High Commission, the Mission undertook publications programme and published some useful booklets as below:

(a) Two booklets were published on the proceedings of the Seminar on *India-Kenya Relations: Vision 2000*. One was a Discussion paper and the other contained Presentations and Assessment of the Seminar.

(b) A handbook was published on *India-Kenya: Opportunities and Challenges*. It was published in conjunction with a seminar, held in March 1999, which was attended by major tour operators and travel agents of India and Kenya. It carried an assessment on the prospects for promotion of two-way tourism between India and Kenya as seen by key players in the industry.

(c) A booklet was published on *Mahatma Gandhi Reflections in Kenya*. This carried lectures by Prof. Justin Irina, former Secretary, Commission for Higher Education, Ms. Zarina Patel, a well-known author and R.K. Bhatia, former High Commissioner of India, delivered at the HCI auditorium on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti in October 1999.

(d) *A Handbook on India Tech 98* contained useful information on the exhibition and its participants.

(e) A booklet was also published on *Travel to India: Visa Passport Services: Procedural Information to enable the general public easy access to all consular information*.

(f) A booklet entitled: *Chairman's Annual Report on Activities and Achievements of Group of 77 Nairobi Chapter*, 2001.

Book Launch

On 3 July 2001, the High Commissioner of India in collaboration with Kenya-India in association with KIFA organized the launch of a book, 'Bridge of God', written by two eminent Indians, and Ms. Sanjna Kapoor, a T.V Anchor person and daughter of film star Shashi Kapoor, and Mr. Valmik Thapar, a well known tiger conservationists of India. The book, illustrated with over 100 color photographs of Maasai Mara, was seen as a tribute by two Indians to the famous wildlife destination of Kenya and as an effort in promoting awareness about it among discerning travellers of India.

The function, organized at the High Commission Auditorium, was very well attended with over 250 people from a cross section of Kenyan Government, tourism and travel industry and prominent members of the Asian community in Nairobi. Mr. Charles Njonjo, former Chairman KWS was the chief guest, Mohamed Abdi Affey, former Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs was the guest of honour, Nehemiah Rotich, former KWS Director and Dennis Afande, Chairman of Kenya-India Friendship Association, also attended the function.¹¹²

Iornet Puts Kenya on the Internet

Under the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), India was allocated a project to set up the Indian Ocean Rim Business Centre (IORBC). This project is co-ordinated in India by the Federation of India Chambers of Commerce and

¹¹² Ibid.

Industry FICCI and the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. The project has two components viz, the Indian Ocean Rim Business Facilitation Centre (IORBFC) and Indian Ocean Rim Network (IORNET).

The IORBFC acts as a clearinghouse of trade and investment related practical value-added information on real or near real time basis of actual utility to business. The activities of IORNET involves the setting up of an IOR website for providing a virtual information services centre over internet.¹¹³

The objective of IORNET is to provide on-line information on potential policy incentives, impediments and infrastructure in IOR-ARC countries. The IOR Website is linked with FICCI'S BISNET and Website on the internet setup by different international and national organizations. The IORBFC Project has already become operational and the services are available on the internet. The IORNET gives an introduction to the 14 members of the IOR-ARC. It provides country profiles, business opportunities, and registers enquiries on the Net for interested businessmen.

If the site for Kenya is accessed through IORNET, nine different segments are accessed. The option of general information provides information on Kenya including population and the prevailing political and monetary systems. Similarly, the economic profile provides information on Kenya's natural resources, market size and infrastructure. Information pertaining to Kenya's GDP, external trade, the financial sector and exchange rate trends can be seen.

The segment on policy framework covers the macro-economic policies, exchange controls, company and tax laws, and practical guidelines for investment and trade policy

¹¹³ *The East African Standard*, Nairobi (January 26th, 1998) p22

regime. A separate option covers the trade pattern including the composition and direction of Kenya's external trade. For those interested in investing in Kenya a different option is available to them. The scope for FDI covers investment opportunities available in Kenya and useful information on who to contact is available under the option Key Contacts.

There is a separate option for those interested in travel information, which includes items on visa regulation, local transport arrangements, tourist sports and hotels in Kenya.

The IORNET set-up by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry is the first step under the private sector cooperation of Indian Ocean Rim countries to make available information on each country in one website on the internet.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND KENYA

Introduction

The political leadership of both India and Kenya has enjoyed close friendship, rapport and understanding of each other's point of view on bilateral and multilateral issues. This understanding enabled the countries to think alike on many international issues concerning the developing countries and led them to adopt common strategies to advance their agendas.¹¹⁵

Both countries are members of the United Nations, Commonwealth, Non-aligned Movement, Group of 77, Indian Ocean Rim-Association For Regional Co-operation Group of 15. They coordinate their strategies to influence and lead deliberations in these bodies in order to put across the point of view of the third world countries and to act in concert.¹¹⁶

Bilateral relations have been marked by warmth and substantive cooperation. Of late, increased political level interaction and the endeavour to create an institutional foundation have a new impetus to India-Kenya relations. Details of exchange of High-Level visits may be seen in Annexure-I.¹¹⁷

India's Support to Kenya's Liberation Movement

The Indian freedom fighters perceived their struggle for independence as a part of larger anti-colonial movement elsewhere in the world. This is particularly true in the case of their policy towards Kenya. They inspired Indians in Kenya to support the African cause,

¹¹⁵ R. K Bhatia India-Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective (High Commission of India, 2001) P.9.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

who therefore kept on supporting that cause even when their political and economic status was violated. They did this whole-heartedly.

The British (even the missionaries) understandably resented Indian-African burgeoning alliance. Dr. John W. Arthur, a missionary head in Kikuyu, for instance, warned London of the growing unrest and wrote that Thuku was trying to become Gandhi of Kenya.¹¹⁸ In the late 1920s through the 1930s, there was cooperation between Africans and Indians in resenting British rule. After World War II, more political organizations, newspapers and trade unionism emerged to fight for a common just cause, self-rule. By the end of the 1940s, Africans had registered a considerable development in politics and developed close contacts with Indians in Kenya and India nationalist leaders in India.

The formation of an interim government in 1946 in India with Nehru as Vice-President brought out enthusiasm among Kenyan nationalists like Henry Masinde Muliro, K.N. Degra, Zambrom Oti, and Jesse Kariuki Kahugu, who offered their sincere felicitations to the people of India. In his reply, Nehru assured them that the voice of India would always articulate the cause of African freedom.¹¹⁹

In the same year, the Kenya African Union (KAU), the largest and strongest of all African political groups, was formed. Kenyatta who had returned from Britain after 15 years got elected as its leader. Soon after his election, in an interview with the *Colonial Times*, Kenyatta complained that Indo-African unity had been hindered by the British

¹¹⁸ H Thuku, The most militant youth of the day formed the Young Kikuyu Association (Y.K.A.) – the first African political Organisation which later became East African Association (EAA).

¹¹⁹ A Biswas, *Indo-Kenyan Political and Economic Relations* (Delhi: Kanishka Publishing House, 1992), P.114.

during the White Paper controversy of 1923 and urged the two communities to be alert against further attempts to divide them. He asserted: "Indians and Africans have politically many things in common and a common platform can be built where the members of the communities can work together on complete equal footing".¹²⁰

By this time, every African was disgusted with the colonial rule and the spirit of nationalism was mounting. The Europeans sympathised with Kenyatta, while the Indians saw him as a great leader and cooperated with him. This did not augur well for the whites. They saw the Indian community, which was larger than them, as India's future design to colonize Africa. In a 1948 secret letter to the Colonial Secretary, the Governor of Kenya described Nehru as a *Hindu Communist* who was plotting to grab Tanganyika under the cloak of UN Trusteeship.¹²¹

This caused riots between Africans and Indians in South Africa, Kenya and Uganda in 1948-49. The European view of Indians as a "dirty, unscrupulous, and generally harmful" race also came to be shared by Africans. However, soon this animosity was curbed by Apa Pant's the first Indian High Commissioner to Kenya. He spread the gospel of India's solidarity with the African cause even if it amounted to abandoning the Indian settlers' interest. Soon after, the Indian political activities in Kenya joined the freedom struggle in the early 1950s.¹²² He also encouraged social and cultural unity between the two communities. Apa Pant was hailed as a friend, philosopher and guide of African radical

¹²⁰ D. A. Seidenberg, *Uhuru and the Kenya Indians: The Role of a Minority Community in Kenya Politics 1939-1963* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983), P.81.

¹²¹ A Gupta, "India and Africa South of the Sahara" *International Studies*, vol.17, nos.3-4, (July-December 1978), P.643.

¹²² Ibid.

leaders. Leaders like Mbiyu Koinange, a Senior Chief acknowledged Pant's spirited anti-colonial stance, adopted him as his eightieth son and gave him land in Kiambu.¹²³

In 1949 Apa Pant arranged for an official visit to India by Koinange, a KAU leader and a trade unionist. Soon after his visit, India instituted scholarships for African students in Indian universities. Koinange appreciated this when he said, "Africans are grateful to pioneer Indians in Africa who had fought for the rights of native Africans even when they did not know how to do it".¹²⁴

A new turn of closer India-African unity was seen, when KAU and the East African Indian National Congress (EAINC) held joint meetings and issued joint resolutions about their problems. This was called a fraternal delegation. In one such gatherings, A.B. Patel moved a resolution which was seconded by Tom Mbotela, Vice-President of KAU; that: "The time had now come when non-European Communities must form a constructive political unit to fight and overthrow the unscrupulous domination which some irresponsible unofficial Europeans intended to enforce."¹²⁵

In 1951, J.M. Nazareth, EAINC President was invited to speak at a KAU meeting. He assured Africans that "the Indians will help you and support you in your claims". In reply, Kenyatta asked him to tell the Indians that Africans wanted friendship with them but added, "they wanted it be shown by deeds and not by words".¹²⁶

¹²³ Seidenberg n.4, P.119.

¹²⁴ A Prasad, "Indians in East Africa" in Verinder Grover (ed.) *International Relations and Foreign Policy of India: Africa and India's Foreign Policy* (Book no.8) (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1992) P. 523.

¹²⁵ Seidenberg, P.103.

¹²⁶ Biswas, P.118.

The developments in late 1940s and early 1950s led to a formidable resistance as the government resorted to stringent measures. This situation gave birth to a movement known as *Mau Mau*.¹²⁷

During this time, the Asians were confused which camp to join. Some supported the British while others gave full support to the African cause. However the Asia-African relationship deteriorated at the leadership level. Mangat observes, "In fact the Indians generally regarded the *Mau Mau* movement as an orthodox nationalist struggle on the lines of India and they sympathised with its aims, if not its methods".¹²⁸

The *Mau Mau* militancy started in 1952 when Kenyatta addressed a KAU meeting in Nyeri. There were over 40 busloads of Africans decked in *Mau Mau* symbols. In October, *Mau Mau* attacked several European farmers and also killed Senior Chief Waruhiu then seen as a key collaborator. In retaliation for this, on 20th October 1952, the government declared emergency and arrested Kenyatta and 98 others. Though some Asians supported the movement, none of them fought in the forest. The radicals who supported *Mau Mau* were a generation of Asians educated abroad and inspired by libertarian ideals of John Stuart Mill and the socialist precepts of Karl Marx.¹²⁹ Asian leaders like Pio Gama Pinto stood by Kenyatta who had become a hero and this led to his (Pinto's) imprisonment. Kenyatta's trial started on 24th November 1952 and ended in March 1953, when he and his retinue got a seven-year imprisonment.

¹²⁷ MAU MAU means "Mzungu Aende Ulaya Mwafrika Apate Uhuru", in Swahili. It literally means the Whiteman to go to Europe, the African to get freedom. This is the message and it can be likened to "Quit India Movement".

¹²⁸ A.S. Kala, "*The Role of Asians in Kenya's Nationalist Movement*" in Ramchandani (ed.) *India and Africa* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1980) P.217.

¹²⁹ Seidenberg, P.111.

Apa Pant condemned this crackdown on people fighting for a just cause. In India, Nehru was greatly perturbed.

His gesture of sending two Indian lawyers to defend Kenyatta for his alleged complicity in *Mau Mau* activities is still remembered by Kenyans, as it was a symbol of Indian solidarity with the struggling people of Kenya.¹³⁰ However, in supporting *Mau Mau*, India duly cautioned Africans against resorting to violence in the struggle for freedom as “undesirable and harmful”.¹³¹

In India, the *Mau Mau* days witnessed India’s fresh interest in Kenya to cooperate with Africans as that alone could help build up a multi-racial society based on goodwill and tolerance. This movement gave a shape to the Kenyan nationalism. In his words, Apa Pant says that only the blood bath of the *Mau Mau* movement in 1951-53 opened the eyes of Indians and Europeans to the realities of the situation.¹³² Others condemned the movement, but all in all, the means can always justify the end when it comes to fighting for a common just cause. Hence, *Mau Mau* spearheaded efforts towards self-rule in Kenya.

In April 1959, the Constituency Elected Members Organisation (CEMO) demanded self-government on a democratic basis. Indians in the Council raised the issue of releasing Kenyatta and others. Appreciating this, Tom Mboya said; “The overwhelming majority of the Indian community in Kenya supported the African stand and wanted to adhere to

¹³⁰ H. S. Chhabra, *Jawaharlal Nehru and Africa* in Grover (ed.) P.70.

¹³¹ A Gupta, *India and Africa South of the Sahara* in Grover, n. 8, P.139.

¹³² A P, Mandala: *An Awakening* (Bombay: Orient, Longman, 1978) P.23.

the standards set by Nehru and Gandhi as friends and allies in the struggle for freedom and democracy".¹³³ The Indians sincerely continued to support African demands and the issue of releasing Kenyatta in the early 1960s.

Emergency was lifted in 1960 and two big political parties were formed that is Kenya African National Union (KANU) representing urban nationalism, formed mainly by the Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba tribes, and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), an alliance of minority tribes. These led to remarkable changes and campaigning on Kenyatta's release, in February 1961 election, KANU won. Kenyatta was released in August and soon, due to his charisma, the whole country rallied behind him. In the May 1963 general election, the first ever to be held on full franchise, in Kenya, KANU won again. On 12th December 1963, Kenya became a fully independent republic. With this, the Indians were free to stay as full-fledged Kenyan citizens and many preferred to settle. The Indians played a substantial role towards Kenya's freedom. The Kenyans of Indian origin served as a prominent factor linking independent India and Kenya during the difficult days of nationalism. It is then that Indo-Kenyan relations were most cordial.

This has continued to this day. The racial friction between Indians and Africans during the early days drove the relationship between the two communities to its lowest ebb, but this could not substantially embitter India-Kenya relations.

¹³³ A.S. Kala, *The Role of Asians in Kenya's Nationalist Movement* in R.R. Ramchandani (ed.) P.218.

Racial Friction Between Kenya And India

One of the important factors that contributed to the friction was the expansion of Asian population in Kenya. For example, the population nearly doubled between 1948 and 1963, leading to urbanization, resulting in overpopulation in towns. The 1962 census in Kenya showed more Asians in Nairobi than in all big towns in Tanganyika and Uganda.

This made Asians socially more exclusive and economically less dependent on other races. It also gave an *Asian look* to all major towns of Kenya.

The first and most important factor was the growth of African nationalism. They had become aware and were fighting for a common cause against the alien communities.

Secondly, an African middle class was now emerging, hence competition arose with the Indian middle class for jobs and trade. Thirdly, sometimes unwise words or abuses were used by some Indian leaders or the ill-treatment meted out by Indian employers to their African employees or their desire to display wealth like, expensive cars and big houses.

Fourthly, the subtle European propaganda was aimed at putting a wedge between the two communities. This started and continued since 1923, when the doctrine of *Trusteeship Natives* was propounded in a White Paper as a measure of expediency.¹³⁴

Finally, the general ignorance about the political and economic role that the Indian Settlers had played in Kenya's life since their settlement allowed the growth of anti-India sentiments in Kenya.

¹³⁴ A Prasad, *Indians in East Africa* in Grover (ed.) P.523.

The African dislike of Asians was not rooted in the willful avoidance of social integration by the latter. The basic cause was the warped colonial pattern of economic development in the making, whereby the Africans had become insignificant. It looked as if the country was doubly colonised by the British masters and white settlers on one hand and Indians on the other.¹³⁵ However, this social aloofness by the Indians also caused social antagonism.

This continues up to now because most Kenyan Indians do not freely interact with Africans. However, the situation is improving though it may take long before the Indians become part of the real social fabric, for, social change takes different paces in different societies.

Nehru was aware of Indians' problems in Kenya, but he always advised them to recognise the paramountcy of African interests without seeking any special privileges at the cost of Africans, in order to win African confidence. Thus, while the Nehru years laid down the basis of India's policy parameters with regard to Kenyan Asians, the racial friction survived him. It still continues to be an issue in Indo-Kenyan relations.¹³⁶

Contemporary Role of Indians in Kenya

As discussed earlier, the racial friction between Kenyan Indians and Africans had assumed greater urgency, after Kenya's independence in 1963. The government then became keenly eager to remove the built-in racial sting from the socio-economic life of the country. A fresh approach was, therefore, needed to undo the racial injustice of the colonial days. This called for several administrative and legislative measures, related to

¹³⁵ R. R. Ramchandani *The Role of Asians in Kenya's Nationalist Movement* (ed) India and Africa (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers 1980) p 217.

¹³⁶ Biswas, P.128

immigration, citizenship and Africanisation. It was clear that these would lead to an Indian exodus. This could be explained by referring to measures concerning contemporary issues pertaining to citizenship, immigration and Africanisation (Kenyanisation), as they affected the Indian community.

With the dawn of independence, almost all native Africans automatically became citizens of Kenya overnight. This did not apply to white or Indian settlers. In short, the Indians were more disadvantaged and became apprehensive of their future in Kenya. They felt that Kenyanisation on the one hand and closure of the British citizenship door on the other, would lead to no option for Asians. So they became victims of fear psychosis. This led to their exodus to Britain, which too, was later restricted in 1968.

The Government of Kenya Act of 1967 introduced sweeping changes in the system of entry and work permits. An order to that effect was published on November 10, in the *Kenya Gazette* by the then Vice-President, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi. This made it compulsory that all private employees would have to get work permits with surety bonds from employers. It was obvious that those Indians who had not got Kenyan citizenship were to be automatically debarred from the grant of work permits. This meant expulsion from the country or denial of rights, same as those enjoyed by citizens. Thus, this act too, led to exodus of Asians from Kenya.

The Kenyan government also worked out a comprehensive programme of services as also trading and business avenues. The private sector was instructed to introduce Kenyanisation of services in general and specific training programme to integrate *native Africans* into commercial and industrial activity by appointing them to responsible

positions. This brought to an end, the small business in rural areas. Even the rural *dukawallas* (shopkeepers) were affected and, therefore lost their livelihood.

This policy was in line with the basic objectives laid down by the constitution and KANU manifesto. This was reflected in the 1964-70 Development plan, which specified the strategy for placing the production and distribution, means in the Kenyan citizens' hands as a whole.

In response to these developments, the India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Surendra Pal Singh stated in Rajya Sabha on 22 February 1968:

The Government of India have in the past given permission to persons of Indian origin who have felt obliged to leave their adopted countries, to settle in India and have in some cases, extended certain customs facilities to them. They will be prepared to consider any future cases on the same basis although they hope that those Indians who have settled abroad will adjust themselves to the changing circumstances in their countries of adoption.¹³⁷

This statement shows that the Kenyan government policies did not strain its relationship with India. New Delhi has often taken the same stand when it comes to the question of Kenyans of Indian origin. The expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 1972, by President Idi Amin, instilled fear among Asians in Kenya. They started moving out of Kenya and Tanzania and thousands left by early 1970s.

On his historic visit to India, in 1981, President Daniel Arap Moi, said: "The Indian community has made a tremendous contribution to our national development, not least in

¹³⁷ S. P. Singh's statement in Rajya Sabha, *Foreign Affairs Record*, vol.14, no.2, (February 1968) P.37.

such fields as transfer of technology and development of commerce and industry”¹³⁸. He repeated the same sentiment during India’s External Affairs Minister N.D. Diwari’s stopover at Nairobi on his way to Harare, in 1988.

However, the community is looked at with suspicion in some circles. This is because of some shady deals involving a few corrupt Kenyan Indians like tycoons Ketan Somaia and Kamlesh Pattni both of the infamous Goldenberg scandal where the country lost billions of shillings through fake export compensation schemes.

In a new development, Indians have become active not only in the economic life, but also in politics. The late Amin Walji, a former M.P. for Westlands in Nairobi, was appointed Assistant Minister after the 1992 General Election. Kamlesh Pattni declared that he would vie for the Westlands seat on a KENDA (Kenya National Democratic Alliance) ticket. Nazlin Umar a political activist is vying for President. Irshad Sumra has declared his intention to upstage Mr. David Mwenje. All of them are participating in the 2007 General Elections. This is a new wave in the multiparty Kenya, since the days of Gama Pinto, in the 1960s.

This, however, does not augur well to some politicians. In 1992, at a campaign rally, Mr. Wanguhu Ng’ang’a a political activist stated, “Indians have been allowed to take over the economy of Kenya, and the only thing remaining is to buy political power”.¹³⁹

Also John Keen, the then Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) Secretary-General warned that the Idi Amin episode would be staged in Kenya “When the DP comes to power”.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ President Moi’s speech in *Ibid.*, vol.27 no.2, (Feb.1981) P.53.

¹³⁹ *Society Magazine (Nairobi)* 28th September 1992, vol.2, and no.31, P.22.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.2, (Aug.17,1992), P.16.

Similar views were held by Martin Shikuku, a veteran politician and foremost crusader against “domination of the economy by Asian businessmen who have enriched themselves through corruption and exploiting indigenous Kenyans”.¹⁴¹ He even applauded Idi Amin in 1972 following the expulsion of Asians from Uganda. The Kenya government policy, however, is not against the Indians. During these attacks, mostly from opposition legislators, President Moi defended them. A Nairobi lawyer, Lee Muthoga said, “a Kenyan is a Kenyan whatever the colour or tribe, Asian or European”. Some Asians also came out to defend their community. On the whole, however, it may be asserted that although some Asians have been involved in corrupt deals not all Asians are crooks, as Zarina Patel and others hold. Classic examples of Asians who have contributed significantly to the growth of the economy such as, Naushad Merali of Sameer Group of companies, whose enterprises have provided employment to thousands of Kenyans. Others include Manu Chandaria, a prominent businessman and philanthropist through his Chandaria Foundation.

Thus, the community cannot be blamed in wholesale. In turn, the community should condemn such ills in society so as to avoid animosity between the Indians and Africans. At the same time Kenyans appreciate the community’s role in the economic development of the country but, they should not expect special treatment since, there is no “reservation” in Kenya.

This analysis reflects the role of the Indian community in Kenya.

Kenya’s Response to Sino-Indian Conflict

One of the most important factors that brought the two countries closer is the Chinese aggression on India in 1962. As Pandit Nehru had supported the African cause, he expected their sympathy during this crisis. For this, a number of missions were sent to

¹⁴¹ Ibid

Africa. For instance, Deputy External Affairs Minister, Laxmi Menon, went to East Africa – Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1962, to seek for their support and explain the danger that the Chinese aggression could pose not only to India, but also to the whole world. As China was pushing forward in Africa with a kind of economic diplomacy, that was timely in the newly emerging radical quarters in the region, it gained diplomatic victory over India. Most of the African countries did not extend diplomatic support to New Delhi, irrespective of its earlier support to them in their struggle for freedom.

As regards Kenya, the Sino-Indian dispute precipitated differences of opinion among leaders of the two main political parties. KANU's view was not to exploit Sino-Indian conflict, to avoid conflict involved into Kenya's domestic politics – in the hope of winning the votes of the Kenya Indian community on the score of sympathy.¹⁴²

It was not clear about the sympathies towards India by the Kenyan leaders like Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. On 1st November 1962, Kenyatta declared that KANU would not follow a policy of "positive neutrality" and it would not allow the Sino-Indian conflict to lure us into the western or eastern camps. He sent a cable to Nehru, hoping that the dispute between India and China would be settled peacefully through negotiation.¹⁴³

When Laxmi Menon visited Kenya in December 1962, she was apprised of the pro-Chinese group in KANU as the main cause of the party's wavering stand on the issue. However, privately, some top leaders supported India. For example, in a private meeting,

¹⁴² Biswas, P.133.

¹⁴³ M. Kumar, *Reactions and Attitudes of African Countries to the Chinese Aggression on India* in Grover (ed.), P.251.

Tom Mboya, KANU Secretary General supported the anti-Chinese statement, which had been expressed at the same gathering by the Pan-Africanist Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa. Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, Kenyatta's compatriot said that the situation: "constitutes a most dangerous threat to world peace".¹⁴⁴ He appealed to the Afro-Asian group at the UN itself to give top priority to consideration of and mediation in the grave situation which could provide an excuse for a third war.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, KADU openly supported India, as a democrat resisting communism and dictatorship. Masinde Muliro, then Commerce and Industry Minister, and KADU Vice-President stated in Nairobi during a mass rally on 30th October 1962 thus: "Communism must not be allowed to further its plans for world domination by making inroads in Africa. The situation was a challenge to the Free World and not just to India".¹⁴⁶ The meeting passed a resolution moved by Muliro, condemning the treacherous and unprovoked attacks on democratic and freedom loving India.

In Nairobi, several hundreds of Africans offered to fight for India. Mr. Ronald Ngala, KADU President offered to donate blood. Some Kenyan newspapers adopted an unequivocal attitude in regard to Chinese aggression. *The Daily Nation* of 1st November 1961 called Red China "the most ruthlessly aggressive military power in the world".

In an effort to isolate China and Pakistan, who were then becoming great friends, India took a diplomatic initiative to mobilise support in East Africa.¹⁴⁷ In 1963, a high level

¹⁴⁴ Biswas, P.134.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Pp.134-35.

¹⁴⁷ M. Kumar, *Reactions and Attitudes of African Countries to the Chinese Aggression on India* in Grover (ed.), n.26, P.252. in Grover (ed.) P.252.

delegation led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited the region with a view to assess China's influence in Africa; explain the factors behind India's reverses in the border area; assess the future of Indians who Indira Gandhi called "ambassadors of India" in the region; and effect technical and economic collaboration with African countries.¹⁴⁸

The delegation's report underlined two firm conclusions; that Africa's new leaders were not pro-Chinese; and that there was abundant goodwill for India which ought to be made use of.¹⁴⁹

This tour was, therefore, a pointer for India to build more understanding and mutual goodwill through economic cooperation. This added a new premise to India's Africa policy. It had now become more selective unlike the past days when India treated the African continent as one country. It was felt that India should cultivate more diplomatic relations with those African countries, which had stood by it during the crises. In East Africa, winning Kenya's goodwill became a matter of central importance. This policy was influenced by three factors: a comparatively free Kenya's economy would encourage foreign investment, and India could comparatively explore more avenues of economic and technical cooperation with Kenya and other East African countries. In contrast with Tanzania, where Chinese influence then appeared to be on the rise, Kenya was eager to stand by India and cooperate in promoting its adequate economic relationship with Kenya in line with India's policy goals.¹⁵⁰ The Chinese aggression was thus important in bringing India and Kenya closer. Kenya became a beneficiary in the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., Pp.142-43

¹⁴⁹ Gupta, *India and Africa South of Sahara* in Grover (ed.) Pp.138-39.

¹⁵⁰ Biswas, P.136.

Africa region due to its unequivocal stand on the issue. Another important issue to be looked at is NAM as a cementing factor in India-Kenya relations.

Partnership In Non-Aligned Movement (Nam)

Kenya's commitment to non-alignment was expressed by its representative, Joseph Murumbi in the Cairo NAM meeting, 1964. He carried Prime Minister Kenyatta's message that his faith in non-alignment "remains unabated" and Kenya would abide by the final recommendations of the conference. KANU's election manifesto of 1965 also reiterated: "our policy is one of non-alignment, not of non-commitment".¹⁵¹ Kenya's attitude towards the NAM was thus, similar to India's stand. This policy made India-Kenya relations highly cordial. Global issues like racialism, colonialism, world peace and north-south economic relations influenced not only continuity and change in India's Africa policy, but also the policies of newly independent African countries, like Kenya towards India in the context of their national interests.

NAM, thus, has been a unifying and guiding principle in Indo-Kenyan relations since the Nehru era. In Kenya, Moi who took over leadership after Mzee Kenyatta's death in 1978 carried on this commitment. In a statement, President Moi, notes that "we shall continue to be strong members of OAU and the U.N. We shall conduct our relations with other nations in accordance with our policy of non-alignment."¹⁵²

During Moi's visit to New Delhi, in 1981, both Kenya and India reaffirmed their faith in Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), which represented the hopes, and aspirations of the

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Society Magazine, n. 22, vol.3, no. 25, August 30, 1993, P.19.

majority of mankind, and become an independent and positive force for world peace. Though, in most instances Kenya has not been active enough due to its "quiet diplomacy"¹⁵³ since independence, President Moi's presence in New Delhi for NAM meeting in 1983 deepened understanding between the two countries. With the changing international in the post-Cold War era, it was hoped that Nairobi and New Delhi would read the signs of the times and update their policy perspectives and the objectives of NAM for south-south cooperation and collective self-reliance.

Crusade Against Racialism

Fighting racialism has been a matter of common concern among the Afro-Asian countries in general and Kenya and India in particular. The problem of racialism emerged with colonialism. Thus, decolonization and condemning colonial white supremacist regimes in Africa became the basic policy objective of India and Kenya after independence.

In a joint communiqué in 1981, when President Moi visited India, the two countries condemned apartheid colonialism in southern Africa. They agreed that tension and confrontation in the region could not be abolished and peace established until the liberation of Namibia was achieved and apartheid in South Africa dismantled. Again, the President of Kenya and Prime Minister of India reaffirmed their total support for Namibia's inalienable right to freedom and their solidarity with the struggle led by South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

Both New Delhi and Nairobi condemned all attempts by South Africa to subvert the U.N. plan for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi expressed

¹⁵³ J. Okumu, Kenya's Foreign Policy: in Olajide Aluko (ed.). *The Foreign Policies of African States* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), P.136.

India's strong condemnation of the acts of unprovoked armed aggression carried out by the South African regime against the frontline states. President Moi expressed his appreciation of India's unwavering support for the cause of liberation in Southern Africa.¹⁵⁴

The Kenyan leader reiterated this message in April 1988 during the then Indian External Minister N.D. Diwari's stop-over in Nairobi, on his way to Harare. President Moi said the situation in South Africa cast a great responsibility on the international community, especially NAM, to galvanise support for the frontline states and stand up to the machinations of the racist South African regime.¹⁵⁵

International Peace and Security

India and Kenya have always condemned global tensions over the years. Their major concerns here have been the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan crisis, the Arab-Israel conflict, Congo crisis, Angola problem, the Gulf-war, Somalia, Yugoslavia and disarmament.

To start with, India and Kenya have always stood for peaceful settlement of disputes through the U.N, NAM, OAU now AU. Both countries have consistently advocated for strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states. Thus, they support the principle of non-intervention.

The two countries have time and again reaffirmed their commitment to make the world free from nuclear weapons. India is one of the staunch advocates of disarmament. Its efforts at the U.N. and refusal to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) are notable. Kenya, however, has not come clearly on this line since it has signed the

¹⁵⁴ *Foreign Affairs Record*, vol.27, (February 1981), P.56.

¹⁵⁵ S. Kumar, *India and Africa* in Satish Kumar (ed.) *Yearbook on India's Foreign Policy 1987/88* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1988) P.54.

NPT, but all in all, its efforts at disarmament have been similar to those of India over the years.

The two countries are shore neighbours in the Indian Ocean. If this ocean is insecure, their security is threatened. Thus, every effort has been made towards making the ocean safe and a zone of peace. They have always condemned the super power presence and rivalry in the Indian Ocean and called for complete dismantling from the ocean (Diego Garcia).

In 1981, the two countries agreed that the ocean was far from being a zone of peace. On the contrary there was an intensification of military presence and rivalry in the area; in utter disregard of the U.N declaration to that effect. It was, felt necessary for the littoral and hinterland states of the region to put up a united front to devise concrete plans to secure the U.N Declaration.

Kenya has been accused of offering to the U.S. the Mombasa port to airlift support to the U.S. warships and also docking facilities. The government has since denied these allegations, but a U.S. official said, " In Kenya we have reached an agreement to use and improve air and naval facilities".¹⁵⁶

However, Kenya supports the littoral countries and protests against militarization of the Indian Ocean and building of a nuclear base in Diego Garcia atoll. At the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi on 28th October 1975, Kenya's delegate supported India's demand for dismantling the U.S. base in Diego Garcia and for keeping the Indian Ocean free from big power rivalries. In February 1981 the Kenyan President, while on a visit to India, referred to his country's desire to oppose big power

¹⁵⁶ A. Bhatt, *The Strategic Role of Indian Ocean in World Politics: The Case of Diego Garcia* (New Delhi: Ajanta, 1992) P.109.

military competition in the Indian Ocean, but refrained from mentioning Diego Garcia anywhere in his statement.¹⁵⁷ This leads to uncertainty on Kenya's stand, but by and large it shares similar views with India on the subject.

With the emergence of the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR), the issue has taken an economic dimension. The Indian Ocean economic bloc is expected to be the largest and both India and Kenya are bound to benefit from this initiative.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing analysis amply clarifies the determinants and actual course of Indo-Kenyan relations in the post-colonial era. An important determinant of this relationship has been the Afro-Asian resurgence on the NAM principle of collective self-reliance and South-South cooperation, aimed at breaking of the north-south dependence syndromes amid formulating a new post-colonial development and cooperation strategy among developing nations in general and Indo-Kenyan relations in particular.¹⁵⁸

The factors that have influenced Indo-Kenyan relations are numerous. Their geographical proximity across the Indian Ocean for instance, automatically brings them together. This locational proximity may, therefore, be regarded as a major determinant of Indo Kenyan trade ties, as India's strategic position pits her a locational advantage over her main trading rivals from Western Europe and Americas.¹⁵⁹

Economically Kenya's economic compulsions make India its most ideal sources of appropriate technology transfer as India has passed through the relevant experiences for the developing world. Kenya perceived this, early enough. The age old contacts and similar socio-economic conditions and over and above, the desire to draw from each other's experience, place India at a relatively favorable position, giving an advantage over many countries to cooperate with Kenya in their mutual self sustained growth.

Kenyans of Indian origin, are being the main socio fabric of society in Kenya, are also an important factor in influencing indo-Kenya relations. Mrs. Indira Gandhi described them

¹⁵⁸ A. Mazrui, *Africa's International Relations. The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change* (London Heinemann, 1977) p 50.

¹⁵⁹ A. Bhatt. *The Strategic Role of Indian Ocean in World Politics. The case of Diego Garcia*, New Delhi Ajanta, 1992.

as “ambassadors of India”. It is in these lines that cultural agreements have been concluded between the two countries, for closer socio-cultural interactions.

No less remarkable is India’s role in creating political consciousness in Kenya, which led to its independence. In fact, India’s struggle for independence set the ball rolling not only for Kenya’s freedom fighters, but also created political consciousness in the whole African continent, thereby motivating the then existing liberation movements. Historical legacies between the two countries have thus remarkably influenced their relations. The two countries share a common past since the British colonized them.¹⁶⁰

Politically, India-Kenya relations are based on membership in NAM and Commonwealth. The two countries are democracies and thus a commonality that pulls them closer. India’s Africa policy in general and its policy towards Kenya in particular has been guided by three main considerations: decolonization, opposition to all forms of domination, and building of a fresh bond of economic cooperation.¹⁶¹

In the light of the aforesaid factors, it is not difficult to understand the actual conduct of India-Kenya relations. As stated earlier, the Kenyan Indians teamed up with the Africans despite of efforts to divide the two communities by the colonialists. Indian’s first Commissioner-General, Apa Pant was posted in Nairobi in 1948 to spear-head India’s role in struggle for freedom in Kenya. He played a key role in this regard. Indian freedom fighters perceived their struggle as part of the struggle to free all colonial people from the

¹⁶⁰ A. S. Kala. *The Role of Asians in Kenya’s Nationalist Movement*. In R.R. Ramchandani *India and Africa* (New Delhi: Radiant 1980) p 30.

¹⁶¹ W.K. Hancock, *Indians in Kenya*, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. (London OUP, 1964) vol 1 chap 4. p 209

colonial yoke. Indian leaders like Pandit Nehru to support the African cause so as to form a multi-racial society based on goodwill advised Indians in Kenya. It is through this that political organisation, trade unions and newspapers came up. These increased political consciousness among the Africans, who formed *Mau Mau* movement in 1952, which led the fight for freedom. Ultimately these activities brought Kenya's independence in 1963. India's role thus, was significant towards this goal.

The racial friction between Indians and Africans during the early days, however, pushed their relationship to its lowest ebb. The main cause for this friction was socio-economic. Indians had become a major economic factor between India and Kenya. Shaddy deals by some rich Kenya Indians have led to suspicion and hatred of the community. After independence, the Kenya government took several measures aimed at exodus of some Indians. These were with respect to citizenship, immigration and Kenyanisation. They affected the community and led to their exodus.

The Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 added a new dimension to India's Africa policy. In this new set of premises, India preferred to cultivate closer diplomatic relations with those countries, which stood by her during the crisis – "tit for tat policy". It thus, embarked on winning Kenya's goodwill, because it was openly anti-China. This was the time when India-Kenya relations became highly cordial and reached the peak of a "honeymoon".

The two countries have also cooperated at NAM forums. Like India, Kenya too has perceived non-alignment as an instrument of promoting peace and justice in international relations. This has enabled the two countries to understand and appreciate each other better, despite of the growing pressures on Asian Kenyans to leave Kenya. In the matters concerning international conflicts, both India and Kenya have stood against global

tensions like: Congo crisis, Iran-Iraq war, Afghan crisis, etc. The two countries have always voiced their common stand on such issues in Third World for a like: NAM, OAU, etc. In order to foster international peace and security, India and Kenya have continuously opposed big power rivalry and militarisation of the Indian Ocean. They have supported the concept of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Regarding the crusade against racialism, the two countries' role in dismantling apartheid and all forms of discrimination and elsewhere is notable. It is through such condemnation that Namibia and South Africa have become independent.

India's independence in 1947 spelt a new equation based on equal regard and concern for each other. This was based on economic independence as an urgent precondition for the success of independent foreign policy. Nehru was the architect of India's economic and technical assistance programme, conceived in economic cooperation with African countries in a three-dimensional set-up, balanced trade, joint ventures and technical assistance.

Kenya is one of the largest markets amongst African countries in terms of volumes of trade. India's exports to Kenya which now consist of more than 50% of engineering goods, crossed Rs.21 crores in 1978-79. Kenya has been the venue of the largest single Indian joint venture projects abroad in recent years. Projects in operation include paper and pulp mill, woolen and textile mills, synthetic yarn plants, automobile ancillary manufacturing units, pharmaceuticals, services, machines and tools etc. India and Kenya are thus, great trading partners towards reaching the (Most Favoured Nation) status. Kenya's open-door policy makes it appropriate to trade and attracts investment. It is

within this context that trade, economic and technical agreements have been entered between the two countries.

The two countries have always collaborated in training personnel, transfer of technology, rural development, agriculture, and consultancy services. India and Kenya are partners in the emerging global economic trends. They have converged on various international economic issues like: Group of 77, WTO, NIEO, UNCTAD, etc.

In the social-cultural plane the early contacts between Kenyan Indians and Africans had profound impact on their ways of life. The Indians did not mix freely with other races, but their influence on every aspect of Africans' life except the social, religious and matrimonial front is notable. Africans in India were earlier seen as Christianised savages and primitive people to be educated. This was caused by caste prejudice, social snobbery etc. The situation has improved and the two communities have come to accept life realities of each other.¹⁶²

Kenyan students in India have always occupied a major portion among foreign students this country. These students belong to different schemes of sponsorship. The cultural agreements entered between the two countries have resulted in a number of cultural exchange programmes of students, research scholars and lectures.

A number of Kenyan personnel have been receiving advanced training under various schemes like SCAAP and ITEC. This is in line to the development of human resources as a device for rapid advancement in Kenya.

¹⁶² N. Mugo. *Asians in East Africa: The case of Kenya*. Journal of African Studies Vol 1 (Summer, 1974) p205.

Tourism is new field with a bright future in Indo-Kenyan cultural links. The number of Indian tourists to Kenya is small but prospective. It is hoped that this area will grow rapidly in future.

The two countries have commonalities in sports such as cricket, hockey and motor racing. Friendly matches may promote social intercourse between the peoples of these countries.

Indian movies have become a way of life in Kenya. They have large audiences and even some of them are produced in Kenya. Radio and television services in the languages of the countries bring them even closer. The Hindi feature films aired in our local T.V. stations K.B.C. and Metro Channels can attribute this. Thus, cultural, social and educational aspects have brought more cooperation and understanding between the two countries.¹⁶³

The relations between India and Kenya have thus been cordial throughout the period of study, although not all areas have been exploited. In the political sphere, the two countries should move more closely, especially in exchanging visits. It is through these that new areas of mutual interest may be identified to widen the scope of Indo-Kenyan relations.

The two countries should unequivocally declare their policies towards each other. Kenya should cultivate selective policies towards countries of South Asia and distinguish Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, etc from among the Kenyan Asians. This will help in ascertaining how these people influence the country's relations with their

¹⁶³ N Thiong'o – Interview. *The World This Week*, Delhi Doordashan, 3rd March, 1996

countries of origin. On its part, India should realize that Africa is a continent composing of more than 50 countries. This is essential to formulate specific policy towards each of them, depending on each other's national interest, as was done during and after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962.

India and Kenya, being important countries in the developed world, should strengthen genuine South-South cooperation and collective self-reliance under NAM. This can be done by cooperation and collective self-reliance under NAM. This can be done by cooperating in areas such as democratization of the UN, Nuclear Non-Proliferation, etc. It should stop its quiet diplomacy or disengagement and come out clearly on global burning issues. It should not be non-committed or non-involved.¹⁶⁴

Other global issues that need to be addressed to are: the third United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOSIII). The two countries are littoral states and have played a key role in the adoption and ratification of UNCLOSIII. They should further exploit this "Common Heritage of Mankind". Trafficking of narcotic drugs is an international menace. Kenya and India should therefore, also cooperate in "Narco-Diplomacy". International terrorism ought to be fought by the two countries, hand in hand with others, so as to make the globe inhabitable. India and Kenya should also forge partnership in defence and strategic matters, given that India has advanced in this field. Kenya can also borrow a leaf from India's democracy.¹⁶⁵

The NAM needs to be adjusted to the emerging post-Cold War realities. It should embark on the burning questions of the day among member countries, without of course deviating from its basic principles. It is argued that the two countries have been partners in NAM,

¹⁶⁴ H. S Chhabra *India's African Policy*. World Focus vol 12, (Nov-Dec 1991) p60.

¹⁶⁵ K. B International Economic Relations: Struggle for Change (New Delhi: Allied Publishers 1992) p27.

but it goes without saying that they have often deviated from the track. While India has been friendly to the former USSR, Kenya has often behaved like an American satellite. It is however satisfying to me that these divergences could not derail the Indo-Kenya relations.

Economically, several issues need attention of the two countries. India and Kenya are, no doubt great trading partners, but why have they not reached the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status. They should speed up towards this, for self-sustained growth.

Trade between them, based on Ricardo's Comparative Advantage Theory should be enhanced. Through this, India and Kenya would benefit mutually, since the two countries' exports are relatively similar.

The two countries should also increase the number and size of their joint ventures. Kenya should turn east, towards India for her needs, which may be got cheaply than from the West. India should modify its non-traditional exports to Kenya, so as to compete with those from industrialized countries like Japan. The perception among Kenyans that India's products are sub-standard should now change, since the Narasimha Rao government has initiated bold steps towards generating competitiveness in India.¹⁶⁶

In technical cooperation, India and Kenya should increase slots of training facilities and promote exchange of specialists on various fields in order to accelerate development. The two countries should also come closer in international economic matters. The initiation of the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) economic grouping is a gesture towards the right direction and it should be promoted further with the help of the two countries.

India, having the largest railway network in the world, may assist Kenya to develop its railways. Kenya should realize and seek this assistance from the South Asian giant.

¹⁶⁶ R. K. Bhatia *India Kenya Relations: 2001 Perspective* (High Commission of India) p37

Coming to the Socio-cultural interactions, Kenyan Indians should stop their conservative tendencies and socialize with Africans freely. They should stop keeping aloof from the social and national mainstream as Indian leaders have always advised them.

Educational facilities should be increased, as well, especially for Kenyan students in Indian universities. The Government of India should re-consider its policy of increasing fees for foreign students. The two governments should increase scholarships for poor bright students for higher studies.

Cricket is now an important sport in Kenya. This is expected to promote cordial relations between the two countries. The frequency of test matches between the two countries should therefore be increased. It is through these steps, that friendship between India and Kenya can be deepened.

The Kenya High Commission in New Delhi should be more dynamic in organizing multifaceted interactions between Indians and Kenyans. It should initiate seminars on African studies in collaboration with other missions from African countries and Indian governmental and non-governmental organizations. This will promote understanding of Africa in general and Kenya in particular. Let Kenya not remain in the backyard in the present dynamic world.

It is worthwhile to note that should Kenya fail to take urgent steps towards deepening its bonds of ties with India, its significance for New Delhi may soon be overtaken by the emerging South Africa, seen as the "the Japan of Africa" and other countries like Uganda, Tanzania and others. Kenya should realize this and take necessary steps to retain and assert her status.

To sum up, the two countries are prospective partners in progress. In order to strengthen this partnership, feasibility studies should be carried out between them. The present era of liberalization, globalization, democracy and transparency leaves no room for “quiet” or “latent” diplomacy in Indo-Kenyan relations. It is only through this that the relationship will take a new turn and become a model for South-South Cooperation and a trend-setter for collective self-reliance under NAM precepts. There are high hopes towards achieving this goal among the developing nations. May the current cordial relations between the two countries strengthen and proliferate to new heights with every passing day.

The relations show the promise and potential of further expansion in future. The Indian Government has been able to enhance its outreach and interaction with all segments of the Kenyan society, namely the government, business and cultural organizations, media, academic and other institutions as well as the Asian community and Indian expatriates. The magnitude and frequency of interaction have reached a new dynamism and depth. Though much has been achieved in the recent years, much more remains to be done to strengthen the friendship and relations linking India with Kenya. In this mission lie the seeds of greater mutual benefit of the two countries.

Annexure IV
Major Activities of KIFA: 1998-2001

July 1998: Seminar on 'India-Kenya Relations: Vision 2000'. Two booklets were published on the occasion: one Discussion paper and the other containing Presentations and Assessments of the Seminar.

March 1999: Seminar on 'India-Kenya Tourism: Opportunities & Challenges'. A booklet was published on the proceedings of the Seminar.

October 1999: Remembering Gandhi lectures by Prof. Justin Irina, Ms, Zarina Patel and Mr. K. Bhatia, High Commissioner of India at the HCI auditorium. A booklet was published on 'Mahatma Gandhi-Reflections' in Kenya.

February 2000: Hosted a 10 – day long Photographic Exhibition on the theme My Land People at the National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi.

March 2000: Mombasa Chapter of KIFA hosted the Photographic Exhibition at Fort Jesus, Mombasa in collaboration with the assistance of High Commission of India. The first event organised by the Mombassa Chapter of KIFA.

August 2000: A fund-raising Golf Tournament organized at the Windsor Golf and Country Club Nairobi.

September 2000: Reception for the visiting Indian Cricket Team and the Home of Kenya at India House.

January 2001: A luncheon meeting for the visiting High Level Delegation on Indian Diaspora led by Dr. L.M Singhvi and other senior officials of Government of India.

April 2001: Lecture on the medical facilities available in India was organized jointly with the Kenya Medical Hospital at the Imperial Hotel, Kisumu, wherein eminent doctors from India participated.

May 2001: Hindustani classical gum ghazal programme by Ms. Kalpana Zokarkar, an artist from India was organized at the Simba Club Hall, Kisumu.

June 2001: Launching of a book Bridge of God on Maasai Mara by Mr. Valmik Thapar, a famous tiger conservationist of India and Ms. Sanjna Kapoor, a well-known TV anchorperson. Mr. Charles Njonjo, former Chairman of Kenya Wildlife Service, released the book.

August 2001: The Indian High Commission hosted a reception on the occasion of the presentation of a bust of Mahatma Gandhi by a famous Indian sculptor Mr. Ram Sutar to the National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi.

August 2001: The Dhols and Drums of Africa a program of percussion – a dialogue between the Dhols of India and the Drums of Africa, at the Independence Day reception held at India House.

August 2001: A lecture on 25 years of economic development of India and how Kenya can benefit from this by Mr. N.M. Brahbhatt, an eminent economist from India was organized at Shri Lohana Mahajan Hall, Kisumu.

September 2001: 'Indian Cultural Fortnight' at the French Cultural Centre. Events included a fortnight long (18th to 29th September) exhibition of paintings, dance and music concerts by Asian artists of repute and a mini film festival from India showing some of the best works of Satyajit Ray, Ghatak, Shyam Benegal and Guru Dutt (co-sponsored by the High Commission of India and the French Cultural Centre).

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What was the role of Indians in the struggle for freedom in Kenya?

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2. Is the Balance of Trade favourable to India vis-à-vis India?

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3. Does Kenya import more goods compared to its counter part India?

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4. Does the Kenyan culture blend well with the Indian?

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5. What is the role of Kenya in India's nuclear program?

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6. What incentives do the Indian government offer to Kenyans studying in their country.

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7. Is the Balance of Payments favourable to India or Kenya.?

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8. Is the influx of Foreign Direct Investments from India to Kenya, favourable to the local Kenyans?

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9. Do Kenyans in India experience racial inequality vis-à-vis Indians in Kenya.

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10. Does India and Kenya share the same perception of democracy, respect for human life and freedoms?

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11. What is the two countries stand- India and Kenya on international terrorism?

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12. What is Kenya's stand on the Kashmir issue?

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13. Has Information Technology benefited one country?

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14. Are the terms of trade equal for both Kenya and India?

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15. What is the role of Kenya in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir?

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16. Did the two countries India and Kenya strongly believed in the Non aligned movement?

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