

**EFFICACY OF BILATERAL COOPERATION ON KENYA - INDIA MILITARY-
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1963**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the conferment of
the Degree of Master of Diplomacy and International Relations of Masinde Muliro
University of Science and Technology**

October, 2024

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work, prepared with only the indicated sources and support, and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late parents Karisa Shume Masha and Mary Mwenda Karisa Shume who ensured that I get educated. May their souls continue to rest in eternal peace.

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I take this opportunity to thank God for giving me life, peace, and strength to undertake this study. I also thank my entire family for their financial resources, endless prayers, love, encouragement, patience, and understanding during my absence. I am deeply indebted to several individuals for contributing to this undertaking. First, I am extremely grateful to Prof. Pontian G. Okoth and Rev. Dr. Elijah Onyango Standslause Odhiambo, who not only supervised this work but also for their academic and professional guidance and patience during the development of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. James Juma for rigorous contribution in reviewing my manuscript before publication and Mr. Ochieng' Oduor for his sacrifice and commitment in guiding me to abide by the strictures of thesis development. I also thank my peers for their engagement and encouragement during the entire period of my study.

ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Second World War, bilateral and multilateral agreements have been one of the mechanisms through which growth and development have taken place. For instance, the United States has a series of agreements with countries north and south of its borders and with countries in Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Many of these agreements are in the military, trade and investment, cultural exchanges, diplomacy, and security. In spite of strong and long-standing bilateral relations between Kenya and India, military diplomatic relations remain weak and hence are not efficacious in making the cooperation effective in addressing the military inequalities between the two countries. The study was guided by both general and specific objectives. The general objective was to interrogate the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963. The specific objectives were to examine the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963, assess the dynamics of Kenya-India Military Diplomatic relations since 1963, and evaluate the challenges and opportunities arising from Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963. The specific objectives were complemented with research questions. The literature review was done thematically as guided by specific research objectives. The study was underpinned by neoclassical realism theory, securitization theory, and power theory. The study was guided by a descriptive research design. The study was located in Nairobi, Kenya, with the Indian High Commission and consulate targeted as well. The study population constituted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials, defense ministry officials, military personnel, embassy officials, and consular officials, and a total sample size of 344 was used. Stratified random sampling, purposive, and convenience sampling techniques were used. Semi-structured questionnaires and interview schedules were used to collect data. Thematic analysis was used to analyze qualitative data from the open-ended questions and key informant interviews. Descriptive statistics was used in analyzing quantitative data with the help of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 27) statistical software. Descriptive statistics included frequency distribution, percentages, mean, and standard deviation. The study was guided by both academic and policy justification reflecting on vision 2030 and Agenda 2063. The major findings of the study were: security partnerships were found to be the most pronounced nature of Kenya-India bilateral cooperation with 61.37% indicating so. The study also found that 64.38% respondents stated that strategic geopolitical competition was a key political dynamic factor in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. With regard to the challenges, the study ranked unequal military capacities and capabilities first challenge with 62.66% respondents affirming so. Besides, funding constraints were found to be another challenge facing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Overall, the study concludes that, while bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963 has intensified in the recent past, the cooperation has not been efficacious. Thus, despite the historically strong ties between the two nations, the military relationship has remained largely skewed toward Western alliances, limiting its impact on addressing military inequalities. The study also recommends that more resources be dedicated to capacity building in order to better enhance military capabilities of the two countries.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

ASF	African Standby Force
APF	Panel of the Wise, African Peace Fund
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Region –Association for Regional Cooperation
MOSD	Ministry of State for Defense
MSC	Military Staff Committee
PSOs	Peace Support Operations
PSC	Peace and Security Council
SLOC	Sea Lanes of Communication
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Bilateral cooperation-In this study it implies state-qua-state relations between Kenya and India.

Kenya-India diplomatic relations- It exemplifies the art of diplomacy as a method to secure sustainable relations between the two countries. It embodies the principle that the bonds of friendship, cooperation, and shared values go beyond geographical distances in fortifying both countries' military, in this case Kenya Defence Forces and the Indian military

Kenya-India Military diplomatic relations-This is military-to-military engagements, including Joint Exercises, Training, High Level visits, Expert Exchanges, Industry Cooperation and Cooperation in the field of Research and Development in this case between Kenya Defence Forces and India Military

Military Diplomacy- in this study referred to those activities that are more of a military nature, where the Kenyan and Indian militaries have the leverage and consequently is the lead agent in the conduct of such activities.

State-qua-state diplomacy- In a study of Kenya-India bilateral cooperation, state-qua-state diplomacy refers to the direct interactions and formal negotiations between the governments of Kenya and India. This includes diplomatic engagements, agreements, and policies crafted and

executed by state representatives to advance mutual interests and strategic objectives.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides background information on the study, the problem statement, the main and specific objectives, and the corresponding research questions. It further covers the study's justification and scope and ends with a chapter summary.

1.1 Background to the study

Since the end of the Second World War, bilateral and multilateral agreements have been one of the mechanisms through which growth and development have taken place. According to Atsushi (2017), for instance, the United States has a series of agreements with countries north and south of her borders; and with countries in Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Many of these agreements are in the military, trade and investment, cultural exchanges, diplomacy, and security. France, Britain, Australia, Canada, and many other countries have these instruments in place. The importance and utility of bilateral and multilateral cooperation cannot be overstated, hence, the ever-expanding role of national, regional, and global institutions in the carriage of domestic and global concerns(Atsushi,2017).

As important as state-to-state, multi-state, and multiregional cooperation are, countries in the Global South and especially in the South-South have yet to fully engage in and/or take full advantage of these possibilities even though the relationship between the North and the South has, for the most part, been characterized by grievances of domination, exploitation,

disrespect, and imperialism. This is the case in countries in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The relationship between Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (AfLAC) has its early beginnings in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. However, there was a resurgence during and after the Cold War and which has led to a revival of interest and attention bilaterally, multilaterally, and multi-regionally in the areas of trade and investment, security alliances, diplomacy, and so on and so forth. At the forefront of the movement for a more engaging and mutually beneficial relationship are Angola, Nigeria, Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba (Atsushi,2017).

Global cooperation among states has therefore increased unprecedentedly in an interconnected and interdependent age, where states within the international system unite in pursuit of common military goals (de Nardis,2020). States apprehend that many challenges transcend borders and are past the potential of any lone-ranger state to address on its own. In the contemporary setting, the idea of worldwide cooperation takes root, weaving a complex tapestry of international relations, agreements, and collaborative efforts that span continents and oceans. At the heart of global cooperation lies the United Nations, a discussion board wherein sovereign states convene to talk about, negotiate, and search for resolutions to a myriad of global problems. Here, the voices of each power and smaller nations echo, and decisions made reverberate throughout the globe. From peacekeeping missions in battle zones to efforts to fight climate change and insurgencies the UN exemplifies the shared responsibility of nations to foster international stability and progress. Economic cooperation serves as another cornerstone of global interaction (Drezner,2021).

According to Posada *et al* (2020) trade agreements, inclusive of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and local change blocs, facilitate the movement of goods, services, and thoughts, fueling monetary growth and prosperity. In this area, states negotiate not only for their interest but also to strengthen the interconnected Internet of global commerce (Drezner,2021). Beyond exchange, global cooperation extends to humanitarian efforts. Wars and conflicts displace tens of millions, thus, international community rally collectively to provide aid and relief. Organizations just like the Red Cross and UN businesses work tirelessly to relieve struggling and rebuild shattered lives, epitomizing the spirit of collective compassion. Security challenges, too, necessitate global cooperation. Nations pool their assets and expertise to fight terrorism, piracy, and cyber threats that transcend borders. Peacekeeping missions, often coordinated via supranational corporations like the African Union, embody the collective dedication to retaining peace in afflicted regions. Global cooperation, therefore, encompasses the pursuit of understanding and innovation. The quest to recognize the universe, eradicate diseases, and harness clean energy transcends country wide obstacles (Sabella, 2018).

Despite its plain advantages, international cooperation isn't always without its complexities. Sovereignty issues, conflicting ideologies and military imbalances can impede development. Negotiations may be laborious, and compromises difficult to attain. However, the alternative to face global demanding situations in isolation is more and more untenable. In the problematic net of global cooperation, states locate power in cohesion. They apprehend that their destinies are intertwined, and their fates interwoven. As they

navigate the tumultuous seas of international relations, states are guided by means of the shared popularity that collectively, they are able to chart a direction closer to an extra peaceful, prosperous, and sustainable international system (Kreiman,2016).

The establishment of foreign military bases and facilities in the developing nations of Africa and Latin America can be linked to the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945 (Woodliffe, 1992). The conclusion of this conflict signified the rise of the United States and the Soviet Union as the principal authorities in global matters. Secondly, the Second World War represented a peak of ideological and political engineering that contrasted the West and the East, particularly the formation of the Eastern bloc under communist leadership by the USSR and the Western capitalist-oriented bloc led by the United States of America (Percox, 2004).

The ideological schism between the ascendant military and economic powers significantly shaped the stances adopted by developing nations. For the developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the most pressing influence was the conflict involving the allies and the principal superpowers. Both the United States and the Soviet Union depended on their allies and colonies to assist in the endeavors of this ideological conflict. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the USA emerged as the predominant superpower, grappling with the imperative of sustaining its global stature and security interests, while simultaneously striving to contain the proliferation of communism. Conversely, the USSR endeavored to secure the allegiance of non-communist nations through its aid, thereby strategically redirecting attention to the security dynamics within the developing world (Fawcatt, 2000).

Africa emerged as a significant arena for the extended East-West confrontations that were unfolding in Europe, as the repercussions of this ideological conflict laid the groundwork for the Cold War. These dynamics began to resonate within the liberation and nationalist movements across Africa and other satellite states. In British East Africa, the ramifications of Cold War confrontations were predominantly experienced in Kenya and what is now known as Zimbabwe.

In the African perspective, nation military cooperation is a reaction to multifaceted challenges that go beyond borders. Historically, Africa has borne witness to conflicts, both internal and cross-border, that have tested the resilience of countries. In this context, collaboration amongst states is visible as a way to strengthen collective security and balance. African states recognize the importance of a united front in addressing issues including terrorism, insurgency, and the illicit trafficking of arms and drugs. They apprehend that the fates of their countries are intertwined, and the safety of all, impacts the security of all. Consequently, cooperative frameworks just like the African Standby Force (ASF) and regional companies which include the African Union (AU) are established to foster a sense of collective security. The AU, specifically, represents a visionary approach to military cooperation. It seeks to promote peace and security on the continent through its Peace and Security Council (PSC), peacekeeping missions, and conflict prevention initiatives. African countries' troops under AU banners to areas plagued with warfare exemplify the commitment to peace and unity (African Union, 2018).

Economic considerations also play a giant function in African military cooperation. States acknowledge that balance and security are key pillars for monetary boom and development. Thus, they collaborate in diverse methods, such as regional blocs like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or the East African Community (EAC), whose goal is to create wealth and non-violent monetary zones. Furthermore, the African attitude on state military cooperation entails a recognition of the want for potential-constructing and training of African armies. Many African countries are searching for help from more militarily superior international actors to bolster their militaries and strengthen their response capabilities. In this regard, military partnerships with international actors grow to be essential. Humanitarian crises additionally shape a backdrop in opposition to which country military cooperation unfolds. African states often discover themselves coping with epidemics, and refugee influxes. Cooperative efforts with international groups and other international actors permit them to respond efficiently to these demanding situations, emphasizing the shared duty for collective security (Drezner,2021).

According to Sabella (2018) , demanding situations persist in African military cooperation. Differences in military competencies, resource constraints, and sovereignty complexities complicate partnerships. Negotiating agreements amongst diverse countries is a delicate balancing act. The African attitude on states' military cooperation reflects a continent aware about its particular demanding situations and opportunities. African countries recognize that they are more potent collectively, and they retain to forge

partnerships and collaborations that pave the way for peace, protection, and development. In the wealthy tapestry of Africa's military relations, the threads of cohesion and harmony are woven collectively to shape a steady and rich destiny for the continent (Drezner,2021).

According to Mohamed (2011), the tapestry of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations weaves collectively a narrative of collaboration, strategic alignment, and shared pursuits. In a world shaped by geopolitics and global dynamics, the unique bilateral relations between Kenya and India stands as a testimony to the enduring value of cooperative diplomacy. In the heart of East Africa, Kenya's strategic location and proximity have an effect on India on both economic prowess, and military reinforcements. At its center, Kenya-India military diplomacy is anchored in the pursuit of common goals. Both countries' commitment to regional stability, counterterrorism efforts, and peacekeeping missions is vital. Kenya's function as a local peacekeeping hub aligns with India's aspiration to make contributions to global peace and protection. Their joint involvement in United Nations peacekeeping missions exemplifies the synergy in their diplomatic efforts in this area.

Notably, India's burgeoning defense industry gives possibilities for protection technology, training, and potential relations with Kenya. This cooperation enhances Kenya's protection strategies while fostering economic ties. Also enhancing their maritime protection agenda. With their strategic coastal positions alongside the Indian Ocean, each country recognize the significance of safeguarding maritime exchange routes and countering piracy.

Collaborative efforts in maritime security is a key area of military relations. In the midst of threats such as cyber-attacks, Kenya-India military diplomacy extends its purview to cybersecurity. Both countries are seeking to reinforce their defenses and strengths to counter rising virtual threats, acknowledging the interconnected nature of the cyber domain. Yet, this partnership is not without its complexities. Kenya and India need to navigate diplomatic intricacies and variations in military capabilities. From joint military trainings to agreements, Kenya and India engage in dynamic humanitarian assistance(Mohamed,2011).

In Kenya-India military diplomacy, diplomatic channels are avenues of debate, accept as true with-building, and shared imaginative and prescient. It exemplifies the art of diplomacy as a method to secure sustainable relations. It embodies the principle that the bonds of friendship, cooperation, and shared values go beyond geographical distances. As these countries navigate the complexities of the current international landscape, their military diplomacy serves as a beacon of wish, resilience, and partnership. Kenya and India's collaboration therefore, speaks to the long-lasting relevance of state-qua-state diplomacy in forging peaceful and sustainable relations.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The diplomatic and military relations between Kenya and India have historically been characterized by cooperation and mutual pursuits. However, a sizable disparity emerges while examining the nature of those relations. It is evident that the dynamics of the Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations tend to choose India in numerous key aspects, elevating questions on the equity and strategic stability of this partnership (Jain, 2024). One foremost

component of this imbalance is the disproportionate military education arrangements, in which a drastically large variety of Kenyan Defense Forces personnel receive education in India compared to a small variety of Indian military personnel trained in Kenya. This disparity is huge in both the frequency and scale of exchange programmes. Therefore, despite the longstanding diplomatic ties between Kenya and India, a gap exists in understanding the extent to which bilateral cooperation has effectively contributed to enhancing military diplomatic relations between the two nations (Jain,2024).

Therefore, in spite of strong and long-standing Kenya-India bilateral relations, military diplomatic relations remain weak and hence not efficacious to make the cooperation effective in addressing the military inequalities between the two countries. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, collaborative military diplomacy with India has existed, yet India's military technology far surpasses Kenya's, creating concerns about inequality in defense collaboration. This disparity raises the question of how effective Kenya-India military diplomacy is in strengthening Kenya's defense forces, especially when juxtaposed with Kenya's reliance on Western military alliances, which dominate its defense strategy.

Further ,despite collaborative military diplomacy between Kenya and India since 1963, India's military capabilities are appreciably superior to Kenya's, raising concerns about the balance of strength within the partnership and its implications for future diplomatic relations (Mohammed, 2011). The study addresses the imbalances in bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India, which have raised concerns about the efficacy of their partnership. It is against this backdrop that the current study determined the efficacy of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military Diplomatic relations since 1963.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study was guided by both general objective and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the study was to interrogate the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military Diplomatic relations since 1963.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific research objectives were to:

- i. Examine the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963.
- ii. Assess the dynamics of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963.
- iii. Evaluate the bilateral challenges and opportunities arising from Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

- i. What is the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963?
- ii. What are the dynamics of Kenya-India Military diplomatic relations since 1963?
- iii. What are the bilateral challenges and opportunities arising from Kenya-India Military Diplomatic relations since 1963?

1.5 Justification of the study

This study was guided by both academic and policy justification.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The academic justification for Kenya-India military diplomacy rests upon a multifaceted analysis that encompasses realm, strategic, safety, financial, and diplomatic considerations. A study on enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963 is academically justified due to the evolving geopolitical landscape and the opportunities that lie in harnessing India's superior military technology. Though Kenya-India bilateral ties have largely focused on economic ties, there is need to explore the dynamics that come with military diplomatic relations. India, being a middle power with advanced defense capabilities, can offer Kenya access to cutting-edge technology, training, and military strategies. India's military prowess, especially in areas such as defense manufacturing, missile technology, and cybersecurity, makes it a crucial partner for Kenya, whose defense apparatus is comparatively underdeveloped (Gruzman,2018).

Climatically, Kenya is considered as a littoral state. Albeit Adar (1985) in his article entitled, 'The Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: A gamble or reality,' talks of policy orientation of Kenya as a free enterprise, his article largely ignored the geopolitical gains that Kenya would reap through pacification of Indian Ocean, consequently ignoring India in his analysis. In this light, this study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by focusing on Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Kenya, despite being militarily stronger in the East African region, faces significant security threats, particularly from terrorist groups like Al-Shabaab (Anderson & McKnight, 2015). Strengthening military ties with a technologically advanced partner like India can help Kenya enhance its defense capabilities and better respond to these threats. Furthermore, Kenya's alignment with a

rising power like India can reduce its over-reliance on Western military partnerships, thus diversifying its defense strategy. Through bilateral cooperation, Kenya stands to benefit from India's defense expertise, while India expands its influence in the strategically vital East African region, promoting stability (Gruzman,2018).

This alignment serves as a case for understanding the dynamics of strategic partnerships within the contemporary international military relations. Inasmuch as Odhiambo (2021) on a study on the Origins and Evolution of Anglo-Kenyan Military Diplomatic Relations Since 1963, acknowledged the need for bilateral relations to bolster military engagement, his study, did not address Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Imbiakha's (2021) Ph.D. Thesis entitled "Dynamics of Military Diplomacy and Intra State Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa", looked at the Dynamics of Military Diplomacy and Intra State Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa but not Kenya-India military diplomacy relationship. Therefore, the instructional discourse on Kenya-India military diplomacy delves into the shared security challenges and opportunities faced by both states. This consists of counterterrorism efforts, peacekeeping missions, and maritime security.

In his 2024 article, "Conceptualizing Kenya's Foreign Policy at Regional, Continental, and Global Levels: Emerging Issues," Matanga (2024) highlights Kenya's pragmatic approach to foreign policy, shaped by its regional leadership ambitions and continental engagement through the African Union. He notes that Kenya strategically balances its role in East Africa, addressing security and economic concerns, while also protecting its influence

continentally and globally. Matanga (2024) emphasizes that Kenya's diplomatic focus includes security cooperation, economic diplomacy, and fostering South-South partnerships. Consequently, the South-South relations will benefit Kenya with India being a key partner and . This bilateral strategy aims to enhance Kenya's geopolitical standing and national security objectives.

The study, therefore, would contribute to existing body of knowledge by re-conceptualizing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

As is the case with most nations in the contemporary world, Kenya and India have concerns of terrorism and insurgency. Hence, the need to embark on the research on bilateral cooperation towards the enhancement of the Kenya-India military diplomatic relations, especially post-Independence 1963 cannot be overemphasized due to the various Kenyan regimes that have gone through these policy deficits. Under Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi administrations, Kenya foreign policy was officially non-aligned and Pan-African oriented , and had no substantial military relations with states outside the western world (Makinda 1983; Maberu 2016). Likewise, after Kibaki, Uhuru Kenyatta continued to orient Kenyan policy of diplomatic relations to the East, further shifting from the Western countries, which makes the necessity of the official military relations with counterparts like India. But most especially, military relations between Kenya and India had not begun to foster until recent years because of insecurity threats and the arrival of India as a middle power player (Mohamed,2011).

Other elements of bolstering the policy are the Mahatma Gandhi Nonviolent Policy / Civilian Disarmament approach to diplomacy and humanitarianism principles of Mother Teresa cooperation with the intention to improve each other's welfare that has expanded harmonious connection with Military diplomacy principles (Mohan, 2018). The study also aligns with sustainable peace and security goals thus echoing the sustainable development goal number 17 that deals with partnership. For these reasons the military relation is crucial since Kenya is progressively becoming way powerful in the region and India is interested in extending its international influence. The study on Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963 is relevant in filling existing policy gaps that have occurred under different Kenyan regimes.

Currently, the general guard for the Kenyan-Indian military cooperation is rooted on the Memorandum of Understanding of Defense Cooperation that was signed in 2016 with the aim of entrenching missions, training, and sharing of technology. On the positive side this policy has brought about a number of cooperative activities but on the negative side it has the following flaws; there is inadequate consideration of how the emerging security threats can be handled, or how the older technologies can be integrated with the Vision 2030. Vision 2030 underlines the role of technology in transforming Kenya into an industrialized middle income country and therefore the study fosters joint development in defence technologies including drones and cybersecurity tools. The study also informs policy makers on the need to leverage on Agenda 2063-the Africa that we want, a secure Africa, a stable Africa. Based on the finding, the policy emerging from this study aims at filling the aforementioned mentioned gaps through the implementation of contingency measures and

enhancement of provisions on emergent defence technologies to enhance the bilateral relation and operational preparedness in the context of the changing security environment.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study focused on bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military Diplomatic relations since 1963. Kenya and India were both colonized by the British. India got its independence in 1947 while Kenya got its independence in 1963. Despite not being traditionally seen as a major military partner, India has played a significant role in providing military training, defense cooperation, and peacekeeping initiatives in Africa. The choice of India stems from its strategic importance in the region, its growing defense capabilities, and its interest in enhancing security cooperation in the Indian Ocean and Africa.

Setting the timeframe from 1963, the study follows the evolution of the initial formal cooperation in the bilateral relations of the two countries, including their defense, diplomacy, and various outcomes, and consequences that followed. This study was done in Nairobi with ministries of defense and foreign affairs targeted. The Indian High commission and Indian consulate was also targeted. This study investigated the efficacy of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Kenya like other nations, has a desire to pursue its national interests in furtherance of its foreign military objectives. Although India has not engaged robustly in the past in this regard, the Indian authorities endeavour to adopt a more aggressive posture to maximize relative gains. In addition, Kenya-India's military diplomatic relations has been widened to

include defense exchanges especially in joint training with militaries of foreign countries. This study was conducted in Kenya from April to July 2024.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the background to the study, problem statement, research objectives, and research questions, justification of the study as well as the scope of the study in terms of research, geography and time. The next chapter provides the review of various literature on the ongoing discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents a thematic review of various literature per the study's specific objectives. It delves into the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India Military Diplomatic relations since 1963 and the dynamics of these relations. It assesses the bilateral strategies and reviews the literature on challenges encountered in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. It ends with a chapter summary.

2.1 Nature of bilateral cooperation and military diplomatic relations

The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, and South Korea collectively provide surveillance aircraft and personnel to bolster efforts aimed at deterring North Korea's advancement of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile capabilities, as mandated by the United Nations Security Cooperation (UNSC) resolution (Panda, 2022). Nevertheless, all partners were sidelined during the Trump administration's focus on denuclearization, compelling Japan and South Korea to navigate their own paths, absent the United States as a mediator. As the U.S. presence diminished, military-to-military relations subsequently declined, with South Korea retracting its support for the Intelligence Sharing Pact in late August of 2019. Yoon observes that the absence of U.S. intervention has not only diminished military relations but also impaired the capacity to confront the nuclear threat posed by North Korea. Furthermore, the bilateral relations undermine both regional security and the economic dynamics between Japan and South Korea (Yoon, 2019).

Panda (2022) highlights the increasing tensions surrounding the collaborative military efforts between Japan and South Korea, notably in the absence of the United States. Direct interactions between the South Korean and Japanese armed forces have frequently been marred by their extensive history of mutual skepticism. Yoon (2021) asserts, "South Korea

and Japan have experienced seven decades of significant distrust, yet it is imperative to recognize the security concerns and broader geopolitical interests at play.” The prevailing distrust has significantly influenced military-to-military relations, given the grave implications of potential lethal force inherent in foreign military interactions. Panda (2022) describes the timeframe as a moment of unprecedented decline in relations between the two nations, following the incident where a South Korean warship locked onto a Japanese ISR plane. It is asserted that North Korea previously served as the unifying factor in trilateral relations; however, with the Trump administration's pursuit of diplomacy with Pyongyang, there is a possibility that all previous efforts may be rendered ineffective. The considerations surrounding multilateral security and military coordination between Japan and South Korea must extend beyond the confines of the immediate region.

Yoon (2021) posits that the advantages arising from enhanced multinational military cooperation would be profound for the three allies: the U.S., Japan, and South Korea. The current capabilities in operation include the surveillance of illicit ship-to-ship oil transfers involving Chinese oil tankers and North Korean vessels in the East China Sea, the interception of unauthorized flights conducted by Russian reconnaissance aircraft over the East Sea, and the integration of anti-ballistic missile defense systems aimed at curbing North Korean progress. The extensive range of defense that these capabilities afford to the global community underscores the significance of the military relationship between Japan and South Korea (Yoon, 2019).

In an age of globalization, nation-states must form broad alliances and engage in state-to-state, multi-state, and regional cooperation if they want to broaden and enhance their social, cultural, economic, and political standing in the world. And even for hegemons like the United States, the days of unilateralism is long gone. And for closed-societies like North Korea, conditions are likely to worsen if they fail to reach out to other countries in and outside of their region. Democratic or non-democratic, the state and its people must not only survive, but they must also prosper. This is linked to any state's fundamental goals: citizens' safety and security and institutions' tenability (Kwon ,2018).

Safety and security imply being able to provide basic human needs; the provision of safety nets; the expansion of the economy through domestic and foreign mechanisms; and the ability to play roles and fulfill obligations at the international fora. Safety and security have been difficult for many African countries to achieve— even if they have been at it since independence in the 1960s. Other than imperialistic interferences, African states have not been able to get the fundamentals of development right because of complex endogenous factors. As a result, several decades after independence, many African states have not been able to get governance and leadership right; many have very weak institutions and a political culture that stunts progress and development (Kwon , 2018).

Collaboration between nation-states either at the state-to-state, multistate, or regional level may yet be one of the formulas that help African countries and countries in Latin America and the Caribbean Island nations move out of poverty, inequality, and challenges of governance. The reason for this is simple: all the regions have resources they can exchange

and trade in instead of relying on other regions of the world they have historically accused of exploitation, subjugation, and indifference. State-to-state and multi-state cooperation is the new norm in trade and investment, security and terrorism-related issues, and in other areas of regional, sub-regional, and global affairs. Over the years, nation-states, multinational corporations, intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations have come to realize that in a complex, interconnected, and interchanging world— no state or non-state actor can go it alone: it is in their best interest and in the interest of all to collectively find common ground and common solution to many of the problems and challenges we face domestically and internationally (Kwon , 2018).

The territorial disagreements between Chile and Argentina trace their origins to the late 19th century, resulting in a profound division between the two nations. Throughout the historical context of relations between Chile and Argentina, a significant point of contention has been the disputes regarding the ownership of Patagonia, the Beagle Channel, and certain areas of Antarctica. Oelsner and Howkins examine the profound implications of these tensions globally, highlighting the occasional necessity for third-party intervention to resolve disputes effectively.

Howkins posits that the inconsistencies in territorial claims among nations, coupled with an absence of geographical evidence, have resulted in ongoing disputes (Seong-Hyon, 2019).

A significant factor contributing to the strained military relations was the pervasive mutual

mistrust between Chile and Argentina, stemming from conflicting border claims, which in turn incited an arms race. In 1902, the governments of Chile and Argentina entered into the “May Pacts,” facilitated by British intervention as a neutral party, aimed at curbing the tumultuous escalation of naval armaments and military forces that were accumulating. Nevertheless, several decades later, explorations in Antarctica persisted in unsettling the political maneuvers of Chile and Argentina concerning their border disagreements.

Howkins observes that the strategic imperative of establishing legitimacy on the Antarctic Peninsula has escalated military tensions, particularly in light of the competitive dynamics between the U.S. and Great Britain regarding the area. Another analytical perspective on the factors contributing to strained military relations points to the volatile political systems of Chile and Argentina. During the mid-20th century, Argentina and Chile underwent coups that echoed the efforts to enhance military collaboration and resolve border disputes. An advantageous scenario emerged between the two nations, swiftly facilitating economic trade and political partnership agreements. Although these negotiations appeared promising in theory, they were fundamentally flawed, considering the condition of either government following the coup (Howkins, 2008).

The third causal factor emphasized by scholars regarding incompatible military partnerships was the failure of Chile and Argentina to reach consensus on concrete treaties in an effective manner. The evolution of disputes persisted throughout the latter part of the

19th century, as Chile and Argentina engaged in a series of negotiations for peace, oscillating between agreement and discord. Treaties were established, yet they lacked substance and typically endured for less than ten years, resulting in elevated tensions among military forces. The inconsistency precipitated an escalation in the arms race among military forces, leading to incidents such as the 1965 border dispute in the Beagle Channel. Experts widely acknowledge that, despite the ratification of the 1984 Peace and Friendship Treaty, it required many years for military relations to improve significantly. Oelsner (2005) posits that this outcome stemmed from “sporadic attempts and frequent rhetoric, with the states lacking mutual trust.” Nonetheless, both Howkins and Oelsner assert that the distinction was evident; the Peace Treaty of 1984 fostered a sense of relief that ultimately led to improved military relations between Chile and Argentina.

The dynamics of bilateral military relations, whether cooperative or conflictual, remain a crucial element in shaping and executing states' foreign policies, as they are deemed vital for achieving the perceived interests of the two entities engaged in such relations. These policies may manifest as city-states such as Athens and Corcyra, empires like the Ottoman Empire and the German Reich, nation-states including the People's Republic of China and Bulgaria, or international organizations such as the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The interests of these two distinct polities may not align perfectly; however, they can be pursued concurrently. During the Cold War, Turkish-American military relations were designed not only to advance the United States strategy of containing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) but also to bolster Turkey's

efforts in securing NATO, particularly American, support and in deterring any potential Soviet aggression (Onur, 2023).

An economical explanation of the goals that political entities seek to accomplish through the formation of bilateral military relations encompasses deterring prospective aggressors by obtaining the backing of another participant, as well as balancing adversaries by enhancing the collective strength of cooperating entities. This account also encompasses the persuasion of adversaries to adopt specific policies by demonstrating the resolve and intent of collaborative entities to undertake joint operations when required, as well as confronting and, if feasible, penalizing shared adversaries through the implementation of punitive actions. In addition to the conventional strategic objectives observed, such as those evident in British foreign policy during the Napoleonic Wars, a state may engage in bilateral military relations to enhance its position in the global defense market by securing contracts for its military products, to augment its military capabilities through the acquisition of additional weapon systems, to ensure the preparedness of its armed forces by participating in joint exercises with other states' militaries, or to convey its purported commitment to the security and stability of another state by deploying a segment of its military personnel and resources within that state (Onur, 2023).

The examination and discussion of bilateral military relations between states typically occur within an analytical framework that is structured into four distinct categories:

political relations, economic relations, military relations, and social and cultural relations. This traditional analytical framework, while exhibiting a subtle progression, encounters several shortcomings as an optimal structure for examining bilateral military relations. Notably, it neglects the economic aspect of these relations, which inevitably complicates any simplistic categorization between bilateral economic and military interactions. Nevertheless, the conventional analytical framework possesses distinct advantages; it is, for instance, particularly effective in uncovering the disparities between bilateral political and economic relations, as well as between economic and military relations (Onur, 2023).

Furthermore, the relationship between Turkey and China is steadily advancing, particularly in light of the recent dynamism evident in the foreign policies of both nations. With China's growing influence in global politics, it is viewed as a potential candidate for a central role in the international power framework. In addition to the worldwide implications of the 'dragon's ascent,' its engagement in areas historically deemed vital for safeguarding Turkey's security and promoting Turkish interests renders any examination of the speed and direction of Turkish-Chinese relations essential. Furthermore, due in part to the demands of economic advancement, such as the pursuit of new markets, Turkey has recently not only re-engaged with the Middle East but has also redirected its focus towards other regions, as evidenced by Ankara's proclamations of 2005 as 'Africa Year' and 2006 as 'Latin America Year'. Another area in which Turkey is progressively increasing its engagement is the Far East. Given its status as a significant and evolving East Asian market, alongside its position as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, China emerges as a pivotal entity with which fostering close economic and

political ties could prove advantageous for achieving Turkey's foreign policy goals. Therefore, it is essential to conduct a thorough examination of the pace and trajectory of relations between Turkey and China. The military relations between Turkey and China, conversely, do not match the level of their political and economic interactions, as they have diminished in intensity compared to the robust bilateral military relations observed in the mid-1990s. Despite the existence of bilateral military relations (Onur, 2023).

The essence of bilateral cooperation in advancing military diplomacy is a complex and evolving process that involves collaboration between two nations to achieve common objectives within the domain of defense and security. This collaboration transcends national boundaries and encompasses various dimensions that significantly contribute to the enhancement of naval and diplomatic aspirations. In this discourse, we explore the intricacies of bilateral cooperation within the realm of military diplomacy. The evolution of bilateral cooperation in military diplomacy has been marked by the recognition of common interests and goals. Nations recognize shared safety issues, the pursuit of equilibrium in aspirations, and the collective benefits of collaboration. The commonalities in our interests establish a robust basis for collaborative endeavors. The collaboration in military endeavors between nations often signifies a congruence in their strategic interests. The partnership encompasses a shared acknowledgment of its strategic costs, while also enhancing local security, addressing common threats, and achieving diplomatic leverage. Moreover, confidence in oneself and the establishment of trust are essential components of military diplomacy. Nations engage in routine dialogue, collaborative

exercises, and the sharing of military intelligence. This holds significant value for the facilitation of collaboration and the exchange of records (Lusiola, 2021).

Bilateral cooperation frequently encompasses protective technologies and equipment. This also encompasses the sale or modification of military equipment, the exchange of military research and advancements, or joint defense initiatives. Such transfers augment the operational capacities of the military forces of each nation. Military diplomacy fosters collaboration through the development of joint training initiatives, the exchange of military education, and the pooling of talent for various projects. Such initiatives enhance the professionalism and efficacy of their military forces. The scope of bilateral cooperation encompasses engagement in peacekeeping missions as well as humanitarian operations. Nations engage in collaborative deployments, sharing the burden of obligations, and contributing troops and resources to address international security and humanitarian challenges. The interplay between military diplomacy and traditional diplomacy is crafted. Bilateral cooperation entails diplomatic endeavors aimed at promoting mutual objectives within the international landscape (Lusiola, 2021).

The diplomatic and bilateral interactions between India and Kenya India shares a profound connection with the ambitions of the populace in Sub-Saharan Africa. Mahatma Gandhi asserted that India's quest for freedom would be deemed incomplete until the entire African continent was liberated from oppression. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru cultivated profound relationships with the people of Africa. He prominently integrated the 'liberation of Africa' into India's foreign policy and diligently worked towards realizing this objective. India has

significantly contributed to the decolonization of Africa and has championed the freedom struggle of Kenya, which subsequently established the groundwork for a strong and collaborative relationship between the two nations. India designated Appa Saheb Pant as its ambassador to East Africa, based in Nairobi, whose presence significantly influenced Kenya's quest for independence. India's establishment of its inaugural diplomatic mission in Nairobi, aimed at managing its relations with the broader region, highlights its intent to cultivate deeper connections with Kenya. The endeavor to cultivate intimate connections with Kenya persisted even following the nation's independence in 1963. The historical ties between the two nations trace back to the period when Indians were transported to Kenya as indentured laborers by the British for the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1896. In due course, the Indians became participants in Kenya's flourishing coastal commerce. Consequently, by the year 1921, nearly 25,000 Indians had established their residence in Kenya. Nonetheless, the growing presence of the Indian population has fostered a sense of racial discord within the local community (Mohamed, 2011).

With the enhancement of their economic power, Indians sought to secure a place in the local legislative council. The tensions persisted until 1927, at which point the Indians ultimately secured the right to five seats in the Council. However, discrimination persisted, even following Kenya's attainment of independence. In light of the discriminatory practices instituted by the post-independence nationalist government and the escalating atrocities, several thousand Indians sought refuge in the United Kingdom, fleeing Kenya. In 1968, Kenya enacted the first of several legislations that prohibited Indians possessing British passports from securing gainful employment. In a concurrent development, the

Labour government in Britain, anticipating a surge of its citizens of color from East African nations, imposed a cap on the number of Indian families holding British passports, restricting it to merely 1,500. Since that time, relations have gradually improved. At present, the population of individuals of Indian descent in Kenya is approximately 100,000, with a significant concentration in the urban centers of Nairobi and Mombasa. Nonetheless, this figure remains significantly lower than the peak of 175,000 recorded in 1962, which was the year preceding independence. Among the present group, 75 percent possess Kenyan citizenship, 104 percent are classified as British overseas citizens, while the remainder consists of Indian nationals. Collectively, they possess a stake of 30-35 percent in the Kenyan economy. A significant number of individuals in Kenya continue to adhere to the longstanding notion that Indians were exploitative figures who arrived and appropriated numerous jobs and businesses. One additional factor contributing to the mistrust of Indians in Kenya is the realm of domestic politics. In the realm of Kenyan party politics, the Indian community has historically been linked to the Party of National Unity (PNU), which was led by former President Mwai Kibaki. The Party has consistently held a position of dominance in the political landscape of the country since 1963. Kibaki is a member of the Kikuyu tribe, which is recognized as the principal business community in Kenya, and there exists a significant business relationship between Indians and this tribe. This equation provoked discontent among the opposing Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), which is predominantly composed of the Luo tribe. Nonetheless, in the 2007 general elections, the ODM ultimately prevailed over the PNU. Subsequently, in 2008, disturbances erupted, specifically aimed at individuals of Indian descent, with a particular focus on the Gujarati community (Mohamed, 2011).

In 1981, the Kenyan-Indians established the Kenya-India Friendship Association (KIFA) to promote social, cultural, educational, and economic relations. The association, with its headquarters in Nairobi, boasts a robust membership presence in both Mombasa and Kisumu. It orchestrates initiatives aimed at fostering camaraderie between the two communities and boasts numerous success narratives to share. The presence of Indian culture is evident across various aspects of life in Kenya. Indian cuisine, along with an array of malls, shops, and wares, can be found at nearly every corner of Kenya. The geographical proximity afforded by the Indian Ocean facilitates a closer relationship between India and Kenya, conferring upon India a significant strategic advantage in the realm of trade competition. Indeed, India serves as a significant provider of goods and technology for Kenya. The contributions of individuals of Indian descent in Kenya are significant in fostering and advancing these relationships. Primarily, the two nations possess a common viewpoint regarding international relations, particularly within the framework of South-South collaboration. The mutual connection stemming from a collective aspiration for a liberated and equitable global landscape has facilitated a rapprochement between the two nations. The political leadership of both nations has demonstrated a notable degree of rapport and mutual understanding. Both nations are participants in the Commonwealth, the Group of 77, the Indian Ocean Region Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), and G-15. They typically align their strategies to shape discussions in order to convey the perspective of developing nations. India has established multifaceted relations with Kenya encompassing economic, social, political, and cultural dimensions (Mohamed, 2011).

2.1.1 Military Diplomacy

Over time, states recognized the fundamental importance of persuasion in their diplomatic relations. It is evident that states recognized the efficacy of persuasion often surpassing that of direct force. Nonetheless, the application of the carrot and stick approach emerged as an effective strategy in the analysis of interstate relations. It is not unusual, then, to observe the utilization of military power to lend strength to diplomatic discussions. For centuries, states have employed diplomacy and military force, which can be regarded as the conventional tools of foreign policy. In this context, diplomacy is integrated with various tools beyond the military, encompassing economic strategies and subversive tactics, collectively referred to as “mixed” diplomacy. In this context, diplomacy serves as a conduit for conveying the potential application of alternative measures to other parties (Lusiola, 2021).

2.1.2 India’s Perspective on the Practice of Military Diplomatic Relations

India, akin to other nations, harbors a keen aspiration to advance its national interests in alignment with its foreign policy goals. As noted by Rajagopalan (2017), military diplomacy is regarded as a strategic instrument utilized in the execution of a nation's diplomatic efforts. While India has historically not participated vigorously in this domain, the Indian authorities are now striving to adopt a more assertive stance to optimize their relative advantages. Rajagopalan elaborates on what he perceives as a definition of military diplomacy. He asserts that military diplomacy involves the management of foreign relations by those in uniform, as well as the civilians employed within defense ministries.

Furthermore, its purview has been expanded to encompass defense exchanges, particularly in collaborative training with the armed forces of other nations. The engagement in military diplomacy has become increasingly sophisticated with China, despite their seemingly more restricted interpretation of the concept, which encompasses foreign relations managed by defense institutions and armed forces (Rajagopalan, 2017).

Wuthnow and Baughman (2023) articulate a differentiation between military diplomacy and the realms of political or conventional diplomacy in their analysis of Chinese military diplomacy. He perceives military diplomacy as encompassing the entirety of diplomatic endeavors associated with national security and military-related engagements. Despite the previous considerations, considerable common ground has been recognized concerning both traditional diplomacy and military diplomacy. Common activities encompass visits, meetings, exchanges, negotiations, participation in international conferences, and the exchange of diplomatic documents. The activities undertaken by both uniformed personnel and civilians within the ministries of defense encapsulate the overarching foreign and security directives as articulated by the political leadership. Their importance extends to both strategic and military dimensions. In a general sense, military diplomacy encompasses several key aspects: the preparation of armed forces to effectively address emergency scenarios, the cultivation of relationships with foreign nations, the trade of armaments and military technologies, the creation of spheres of influence, and the understanding of foreign military capabilities and operational methodologies. It is evident from the preceding discussion that military diplomacy can reveal a nation's national security interests and threats in relation to its interactions with other nations. It is also possible to discern a

military's organizational ethos, philosophies, culture, strengths, and weaknesses (Wuthnow & Baughman, 2023).

Military diplomacy encompasses various dimensions, particularly at the strategic level. The elements encompass defense consultations, strategic dialogues, arms transfers, and regional activities. Additional elements encompass state-to-state military protocols, the establishment of military facilities, participation in bilateral and multilateral exercises, and professional military educational exchanges, which may involve both Track 1.5 and Track 11 diplomacy. Military diplomacy encompasses various dimensions, including the deployment of armed forces for counter-terrorism exercises, participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, the exchange of defense advisors, engagement in military studies abroad, and the provision of military assistance to allied nations. It additionally emphasizes the necessity of engaging neighboring nations and identifying those that may present potential threats in the future. Rajagopalan (2017) asserts that India has lagged in the proficient application of military diplomacy. Plans are underway to alter this trend, extending beyond the conventional scope of bilateral joint exercises to encompass multilateral initiatives that specifically target neighboring countries such as Pakistan and China. There are ongoing initiatives aimed at extending India's influence beyond its immediate vicinity to encompass nations such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and Singapore.

Certainly, the establishment of a defense pact with Singapore in 2004 reflects India's increasingly assertive approach to military diplomacy (Rajagopalan, 2017). India's military

diplomacy has been evident in South East Asia through its participation in relief and rescue operations alongside other armed forces during the recent tsunami that struck Japan. The exchange of knowledge, particularly regarding maritime issues, organized patrols, and dialogues concerning the security of Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) highlight the increasing importance of India's military diplomacy. Additional domains where this has been substantiated encompass participation in collaborative military exercises alongside allied navies from France, the United Kingdom, China, Russia, Singapore, and Japan. The military relations between India and Myanmar have drawn scrutiny, particularly regarding the proposed arms sales to the latter, which are concerning given its dismal human rights record and authoritarian military governance. This role is perceived not primarily as a means to augment India's sphere of influence, but rather as a strategy to counterbalance China's influence. In summary, India's military diplomacy is integrated into the nation's broader diplomatic efforts, particularly concerning its commercial and strategic interests, both within its sub-region and in the larger regional context (Rajagopalan, 2017).

2.1.3 India's peace and security engagement

India's involvement in peacekeeping in Africa is articulated through its endorsement of 'African initiatives for peace and security,' thereby integrating multilateral engagement with the United Nations alongside efforts to bolster initiatives led by African nations. A significant portion of this is fundamentally based on the essential requirement of peace for broader socio-economic and political developmental objectives. As stated by Singh (2013) at the March 2013 BRICS summit in Durban: 'Sustainable economic development necessitates an environment of social and political stability'. India's participation in UN

peacekeeping, however, surpasses this mode of involvement. One facet of India's involvement in peace and security has been its support for regional organizations in Africa. Consequently, it has provided financial assistance to the African Union Mission in Somalia and, in the wake of the January 2013 French military intervention, to the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (Singh, 2013). India presently holds the position of the third largest contributor to UN peacekeeping efforts globally, with a deployment of approximately 7,840 military and police personnel. India possesses a rich legacy of involvement in UN peacekeeping missions across Africa, tracing back to its military engagement in the UN Operation in the Congo in 1960. This reflects a substantial accumulation of experience over the years, significantly shaped by the Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping in New Delhi. The present Indian deployments within the United Nations framework encompass the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, alongside substantial contingents in the UN Mission in South Sudan and the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The role of UN peacekeeping is frequently referenced as a justification for India's aspirations regarding a position on the Security Council. It serves a significant function for India as a global participant, and is a topic that garners support not only domestically but can also, in a secondary manner, advance Indian national interests (Hazra, 2024). In addition to its engagement in multilateral forums and backing for African institutions concerning security issues, India actively seeks to advance its own strategic objectives. The imperative of resource supply is notably complicated by competition, primarily from China. New Delhi took measures to address the increasing Chinese presence following the

conclusion of former Chinese president Hu Jintao's 2007 tour of Africa, which ended in the Seychelles. India has been enhancing its military relationships with African nations situated along the Indian Ocean, notably Madagascar and Tanzania. The Indian Navy has been actively engaged in anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden since 2008. The record of enforcement actions is noteworthy, particularly highlighted by the sinking of a hijacked Thai trawler in 2008 and the recent apprehension of a Somali pirate vessel off the southwestern coast of India in early 2013. In conclusion, India is neither a novel participant in East Africa nor is it simply “emerging.” In 2010, President Obama garnered applause from the Indian parliament by asserting that “India is not simply emerging; India has already emerged” and by referring to it as “a rising global power.” The characterization of India as a “rising power” or “emerging actor” is conveniently situated within the broader meta-narrative of a “rising East Africa” and the global economic ascendancy of Asia. Nevertheless, this approach proves inadequate in representing a straightforward, linear progression, neglecting the intricacies involved and accepting official discourse without scrutiny. It is noteworthy that certain individuals in New Delhi contest such terminology, contending that it fosters a mindset among leaders who are disconnected from the seriousness of the situation. This entry point, at a fundamental level, overlooks the more profound, intriguing, and complex histories that extend beyond a multifaceted and diverse Indian role in the African continent, as well as the new narratives currently being formed. India has strategically sidestepped direct rivalry with China in East Africa, opting instead to carve out its own niche. This approach has led to its perception as a collaborator in the development of Africa, drawing interest both from within the continent and beyond its borders. Prominent development agencies from the United States, the United Kingdom,

and Japan are progressively looking to collaborate with India on initiatives related to African development cooperation, all the while recalibrating their own developmental interactions with India. (Nouck, 2021)

In the aftermath of the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in late 2011 in South Korea, India expressed its support for the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, indicating a potential inclination towards a more significant international presence, should it opt to engage more proactively in this arena. At present, in its relations with Africa, it seems to emphasize its own methodology and favor the South-to-South partnership trajectory. In earlier decades, India's economic interactions with East Africa remained confined to mere verbal reiterations of the South-South initiative. The recent evolution of intensified business relations, augmented investment, and deeper governmental involvement signifies a notable shift that, if perpetuated and maintained, appears poised to yield increasingly substantial implications. Historically, India's connections with the continent were more ideologically driven than materially substantial. However, recent developments indicate a shift towards a more concrete, business-oriented engagement, which is now accompanied by official discourse on South-South partnership. This rhetoric, however, is increasingly tested by the evolving dynamics of India's relationships with East Africa. The contemporary dynamics of India's relations with East Africa represent a relatively recent revitalization, characterized by intentional governmental focus and engagement. With a transition to a more significant role in India's foreign policy, Africa has emerged as a matter of policy interest, albeit not yet a definitive

priority. This shift occurred following the active mobilization of Indian businesses to engage with diverse opportunities (Nouck, 2021).

The Indian government was increasingly being called upon to transition from mere agreements to tangible actions in its relations with Africa. This raises the inquiry of how, given the Indian government's capacity constraints and practical limitations regarding its endeavors in Africa, India can not only articulate but also pursue an engagement with Africa that effectively delivers and realizes the substantive principles and commitments upon which it is founded (Nouck, 2021).

2.1.4 Kenya- British Military relations

The trajectory of relations between Kenya and Britain can be traced to the period of British colonial dominance in Kenya, initiated during the Scramble for Africa in 1876. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 subsequently established the regulations governing colonial occupation, leading to the division of Africa into distinct spheres of influence. In the context of geopolitical disputes, the 1890 Anglo-German Agreement, commonly referred to as the Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty, stands out as a significant resolution to the intricate colonial challenges stemming from the aspirations of Great Britain and Germany in Africa. The treaty signed in 1890 ostensibly aimed at the exchange of Helgoland for Zanzibar; however, its primary impetus lay in the resolution of Anglo-German colonial boundaries and disputes in Africa, particularly in the East African region. The two diminutive islands of Zanzibar and Helgoland, the former situated off the coast of contemporary Tanzania and the latter positioned in the North Sea near Germany, were strategically incorporated into

this accord and played a significant role in various inter-European territorial arrangements (Pyeatt, 1988). The conclusion reached was that Britain would exert its influence over the North, encompassing Uganda, while Germany would oversee the South. This accord was officially established, placing Kenya under British governance (Odhiambo, 2021).

The Berlin conference significantly contributed to the establishment of artificial boundaries that define modern-day Kenya, while simultaneously undermining the diplomatic agency of the Kenyan populace. In the years 1894 and 1895, Britain established a protectorate over Uganda and Kenya, respectively. The demarcation of Kenya's boundaries occurred without engaging the input of its populace. The colonial boundaries can be seen as having resulted in the formation of a substantial territorial entity that indiscriminately unified more than forty formerly autonomous communities into a single political unit (Ogot, 2000). The colonial state, and subsequently the post-colonial state as posited by Ogot, would encounter significant challenges in unifying these communities into a singular nation-state, a point that will be elaborated upon later in the study. The Berlin Conference delineated Africa into spheres of influence primarily among the principal European imperial powers, including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal. Each of these powers employed distinct strategies for the governance of their respective territories. This phase signified the beginning of British colonial and imperial endeavors on the African continent, commonly referred to as the Scramble for Africa. In Kenya, British interests crystallized with the granting of a royal charter to The Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) in 1888, followed by the declaration of the East African protectorate in 1895. This strategic move aimed to preempt the encroachment of

other European powers in the region and to define the Sultan of Zanzibar's authority on the mainland (Kanyinga, 2000).

It is significant to observe that the political, economic, and geo-strategic factors pertaining to the East Coast of Africa have drawn the interest of various other prominent colonial powers in addition to Britain and Germany, all of whom sought to assert their claims over this region. The East African Protectorate, established in 1895 to succeed the Imperial British East Africa Company, encompassed the territories of contemporary Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The latter, initially colonized by the Germans, transitioned to a British protectorate following World War I, ultimately evolving into what is known today as Tanzania. The concept of Kenya as a colonial entity commenced with the incursion of British military forces in 1895. It is essential to recognize that the motivations behind the European powers' claims over portions of East Africa were multifaceted. Key factors included the prestige associated with holding colonies beyond Europe, the resettlement of surplus populations, the pursuit of raw materials and new markets, the ambition to disseminate Christianity, and notably for this analysis, the quest for and control of the Nile River's source. The origin of the Nile River held significant importance for the strategic defense of the British Empire. It was posited that the entity possessing dominion over the Nile's source wielded significant influence over North Africa and Egypt, thereby extending its reach to the Suez Canal and the vital trade routes leading to India and Asia (Olson, 2008).

The various Kenyan nationalities exhibited a formidable resistance to British dominion

through multifaceted struggles. Notably, forces led by Waiyaki wa Hinga launched an assault on the British station in Dagoretti in 1890, while the Nandi resistance, characterized by its remarkable tenacity under the leadership of Koitalel arap Samoei in the same year, stands out. Additionally, the Bukusu resistance of 1896, the Giriama resistance of 1900, and the Gusii resistance of 1907 serve as significant milestones in the early African opposition to colonial rule, collectively representing the initial assertive actions against British authority in Kenya. Consequently, they emerged as the catalysts for the initial military expeditions and have been thoroughly examined by researchers such as Maxon (1971), Matson (1972), and Bantley (1981). This East African protectorate was governed by a territorial force known as the Kings African Rifles (KAR), whose primary responsibility was to safeguard and uphold the economic and strategic interests established by the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). The Portuguese clearly achieved dominance over a significant portion of the Kenyan coast, as demonstrated by the remnants they left, such as Fort Jesus, constructed in 1593, and the pillar of Vasco da Gama located in Malindi. The Portuguese pursuits in Kenya and East Africa primarily revolved around the regulation of trade routes leading to India.

Kenya's advantageous position in East Africa and its significant role as a gateway to the Horn of Africa have afforded it considerable influence among its East African counterparts since the early days of colonial governance, a reality that aligned closely with British interests along the East Coast of Africa. The colonial history of Kenya is distinctive, as Britain's colonial strategy was primarily focused on establishing a substantial white settler community, effectively transforming Kenya into a dominion for white inhabitants. The

Imperial British East Africa Company, serving as the primary commercial administrator of British East Africa, initiated the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway at Kilindini Harbour in Mombasa in 1895. By approximately 1900, the rail line reached the city of Nairobi, and by around 1901, it extended to Port Florence, now known as Kisumu city. The establishment of the Railway line marked the commencement of white settlers' arrival in Kenya, which began as early as 1902. The Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 initiated the sale and leasing of land to settlers (Sorrenson, 1968:55, Okoth-Ogendo, 1991).

Moreover, this ordinance emphasized that the crown possessed the original title to the land, and any deserted or vacated land would revert to the crown. In 1920, Kenya was designated as a crown colony under white administration, leading to the emergence of two distinct yet parallel economies: the native economy and the settler economy (Dilley, 1966). In the aftermath, the colonial administration recognized the necessity of displacing Africans from their territories to facilitate colonial settlements in the Kenyan highlands, referred to as the 'White Highlands.' This area was designated for white settlers, who were to establish extensive plantation farming to support their livelihoods and bolster their economic interests. Over time, as Leys elucidates, the colonial administration solidified its presence through various legislative measures, predominantly designed to safeguard the interests of state officials and white settler farmers (Leys, 1975).

The Kenya (Annexation) Order-in-Council of 1920 and the subsequent Kenya Colony Order-in-Council of 1921 are significant as they conferred ownership of all arable land to the British Crown, thereby completely dispossessing the indigenous Kenyan population of their land (Dilley, 1966). The enactment of these legislations established reserves for

indigenous populations, strategically positioning them away from regions designated for European settlement. This maneuver enabled the colonial administration to exert control and mitigate the anticipated competition posed by the native African and Asian economies. The colonial authority implemented punitive local legislations and taxation laws that prohibited Africans from engaging in cash crop farming. This coercive measure compelled Africans to labor on settler farms after they were forcibly removed from their own lands and relegated to reserves, where the concept of land ownership was actively discouraged. The Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance of 1938 established a legal framework for the dual policy concerning European “White Highlands” (or high potential areas) and African “Native Reserves” (or marginal lands) (Okoth, 1991). During the international landscape of the Second World War (1939–45), Kenya emerged as a significant ally to Britain, serving as a crucial military base for effective operations against Italy in both the Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. It is important to acknowledge that the British military had previously conscripted Kenyans to fulfil their objectives during both the First and Second World Wars. Shiroya’s study on the role of African soldiers in World War II underscores the notion that their participation enabled these individuals to politically mobilize against colonial rule, a development stemming from their wartime experiences (Shiroya, 1992). Shiroya’s study highlights that the African soldiers who participated in the war did so alongside British soldiers, advocating for Britain’s freedom, while simultaneously believing they deserved liberation for their own nation from British rule.

Shiroya posits that the military backgrounds of many Kenyans significantly influenced the Mau Mau war, a point that will be elaborated upon later in the study. Numerous ex-servicemen participated in the freedom struggle, often taking on leadership roles within the

Mau Mau forces, drawing upon their military training and combat experiences. It is important to highlight that in the period leading up to independence, the military relations between the British and Kenya were primarily focused on colonial policing. This involved initial collaboration between British military forces, specifically the First Lancashire Fusiliers from the Canal Zone, and the local African troops referred to as the King's African Rifles. The British forces would predominantly oversee law enforcement in the predominantly white highlands, whereas the KAR troops would be tasked with patrolling and confronting the Mau Mau in areas identified as trouble spots (Wunyabari, 1993).

2.1.5 India-British military diplomatic relations

When Thomas Skinner reached India in 1826, the dynamics of Britain's engagement with the subcontinent and the broader world had evolved significantly since the era of William Hedges' governance in mid-seventeenth-century Madras, and particularly during John MacDonald's tenure in late eighteenth-century Bombay. By the year 1826, the East India Company had established dominion over vast regions stretching from Bengal to Bombay, effectively eliminating France as a competing force in India. The Mughal Empire persisted in a theoretical sense; however, in practical terms, the authority of the Mughal Emperor was largely confined to his own residence. Britain established a preeminent status in India across political, economic, and military dimensions. Nevertheless, individuals of Indian origin continued to wield considerable influence within the military and civil administration of the

East India Company.

Although Britain evidently maintained a dominant position in this relationship, Indians persisted in wielding a considerable, albeit reduced, degree of political and economic influence within their own territory. Similarly, Thomas Skinner's standing within British society was distinct from that of Sir Thomas Roe, William Hedges, and John MacDonald. Skinner emulated his father's path by enlisting in the British Army in 1816, ultimately attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842) before succumbing to health issues in 1843. Consequently, akin to Roe and Hedges, Skinner occupied a position within the upper strata of British society, albeit not to the same extent as those two individuals. Skinner's endeavors in India and his leadership during the Afghan War facilitated direct engagement with the local populace, akin to MacDonald; however, Skinner wielded significantly greater authority in his role compared to MacDonald. Consequently, the power dynamic between Britain and India during the period of this source contrasts markedly with that of other sources, while the power dynamic within British society as perceived by the author of this source also exhibits significant differences from those employed in this analysis (Gray, 2019).

Mary Procida's *Married to Empire: Gender, Politics, and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* illustrates how the colonial administration of British India underwent significant changes following the 1857 Rebellion. While Indians occupied significant positions as administrators and military officers during the period of Company rule, the governance under the Raj was comprised solely of white British men, at least in an official capacity. The British conviction in their own superiority, coupled with the intense disdain the British populace harbored towards Indian behavior during the Rebellion (both actual and

perceived), led to a dismissal of Indians as being suitably “civilized” or capable of wielding any significant authority within the Raj. Beyond the collaborators in the Princely States, a significant number of whom were ultimately removed under the Doctrine of Lapse, Indians ceased to participate in the governance of India (Gray, 2019).

2.1.6 The Kenyatta Era 1963- 1978-Kenya’s military perspectives

During the era of Jomo Kenyatta, the first President of Kenya, from its independence in 1963 till his death in 1978, Kenya-India military diplomatic relations have been characterized by cooperation and mutual respect. The relationship between the two countries in the course of this period became marked by means of numerous key trends and priorities: For instance, both Kenya and India had these days received independence from colonial rule. This not-unusual history of anti-colonial war created a sturdy bond between the two nations. Kenya saw India as an associate that might apprehend its journey to nationhood and provide hope.

Besides, Jomo Kenyatta's overseas travels became anchored in the non-alignment narrative, a stance that India also adopted. Both diplomatic relations were dedicated to staying neutral inside the Cold War and preserving non-violent relations with each superpower blocs. This stance allowed them to collaborate on various global platforms, together with peacekeeping missions. During this period, both Kenya and India actively participated in UN peacekeeping missions. Kenya contributed troops to numerous UN operations, in Congo and Lebanon, at the same time as India became one in the most important individuals of peacekeeping forces globally. These joint peacekeeping efforts fostered military-to-military cooperation and diplomatic ties (Mabeya,2023).

Beyond military collaboration, Kenya and India also engaged in financial and technical cooperation. India provided technical assistance to Kenya in areas together with agriculture, training, and healthcare, and this collaboration prolonged to capacity-building within the military and security sectors. Additionally, cultural and academic exchange programs among the two countries became an important yardstick to foster military relations. Kenyan college students frequently pursued better education in India. These academic connections additionally benefited the military through the alternate of military officials and education programs. Both Kenya and India had been supportive of liberation struggle in Africa and different parts of the sector. This shared dedication to decolonization and anti-imperialist activities improved their diplomatic relations, which include their military collaboration. Overall, throughout Jomo Kenyatta's leadership, Kenya-India military diplomatic relations was characterized with shared values, mutual history, and a dedication to peace, non-alignment, and cooperation in diverse international relations. These diplomatic ties set the stage for continued collaboration among the two nations within the years that followed, as each countries labored to strengthen their partnership throughout a couple of sectors (Makinda,1983).

When Kenya gained independence in 1963, it inherited its political structure from the colonial rulers and assumed rights, privileges, and responsibilities under international law. In the lead-up to Kenya's independence, a series of three constitutional conferences took place at Lancaster House in London during the years 1960, 1962, and 1963, aimed at facilitating the transition to independence and self-governance for Kenya from British colonial rule. Ogot (1995) elucidates that there were three primary interests the British sought to protect during these negotiations: their military installations, Kenya's economic

connections to the UK, and the concerns of the immigrant communities. It is important to acknowledge that various matters were deliberated during the Lancaster House conference discussions in 1962, including the prospective role of the British military in Kenya. Kyle (1999) discusses the White settler population in the country, the complexities surrounding the Somali question, and the failed attempts by Kenyan Somalis to secure a plebiscite in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, an expanse exceeding 100,000 square miles, in pursuit of union with Somalia. The government of independence under Kenyatta encountered numerous internal and territorial challenges that likely played a role in the sustained presence of British military forces in Kenya. The new regime encountered persistent challenges stemming from ethnic and ideological divisions, notably in relation to secessionist movements and the expansionist policies of neighboring countries. Initially, the Somalis in Ogaden and the Haud in Ethiopia commenced the entire campaign by establishing an irredentist movement in the pre-colonial period. The assertion made in 1961 regarding the Northern Frontier District, now known as the North Eastern Province, by the Somalis was grounded in historical, cultural, and racial arguments, and this contention continued into the post-independence era (Biwott, 1992).

Among the various dialogues at the Lancaster House Conference, the pre-independence discussions in Kenya prominently showcased the rivalry between KANU and KADU, the two principal political parties of the time. Their ideological differences significantly influenced the composition and perspectives of the Kenyan delegations at Lancaster. Parsons (2003) observes that Britain was coordinating these discussions, with the British government maintaining a vigilant oversight of the events as they transpired. In this

context, Britain aimed to guarantee that the newly established government of Kenya would maintain amicable relations with Britain, safeguarding British interests. To facilitate this objective, Britain endeavored to negotiate a constitution for Kenya under terms that can be characterized as advantageous to British interests. In their endeavor to facilitate a transition to independence that aligned with their interests, British authorities exchanged essential political and economic concessions for a tacit assurance of ongoing influence in the post-independent landscape of Kenya (Miller and Yeager 1994: 30-31).

The British post-colonial approach in Kenya involved the gradual withdrawal of formal political authority, while simultaneously maintaining significant influence through cultural, trade, economic, and notably military connections, which became particularly evident during the discussions surrounding independence. Shikuku (2008), a prominent figure in the Kenyan independence movement and a delegate at the Lancaster House Conference during the 1963 independence negotiations, highlights that the issue of British military bases was a subject of considerable debate within both the Kenya Legislative Council and the British House of Commons, as documented in the UK Parliament Hansard reports of 1961 and 1962. The British government articulated concerns regarding the prospects and security of the white settler population in Kenya during the impending independence era. Tom Mboya, for instance, had persistently articulated as early as 1961 that the presence of foreign military bases on the sovereign territory of Kenya was untenable. He even introduced several private member's motions in the Legislative Council to underscore this position. Nevertheless, the British maintained an expectation that a 'responsible' African government would acknowledge the advantages of British troops concerning external defense needs (Shikuku, 2008).

In November 1962, Kenyatta, then President of KANU, extended his congratulations to the Permanent Representative of the Saudi-Arabian Delegation to the UN for his recent call for the withdrawal of British military bases in Kenya and Aden. This marked a definitive turning point, establishing that the retention of substantial British troop presence would be politically untenable for any extended duration, irrespective of the eventual governance of Kenya (Percox, 2001). It is important to emphasize that this did not signify the conclusion of Britain's strategic interests in Kenya. The Lancaster discussions elicited significant apprehension in Britain regarding the preparations for Kenya's impending independence. Britain aspired to establish a political framework that would ensure the protection of their essential interests. Foremost among these interests was, naturally, the British Army's base at Kahawa, along with the RAF installations located in Nairobi and various other sites throughout Kenya. A significant challenge for Britain during this period was the ambiguity surrounding the number of British forces, if any, that would remain in Kenya following its independence. By January 1963, the prospect of British troop withdrawal from Kenya, along with anticipated limitations on their deployment post-independence, compelled British ministers to acknowledge the necessity of robustly enhancing Kenya's military capabilities. Britain must persist in strategizing for the gradual withdrawal of its military personnel, rendering any suggested initiatives to enhance and, crucially, to educate Kenya's forces subsequently, exceedingly essential (Percox, 269; 2001). For the British, Kenya emerged as the most appropriate site for a theatre reserve following the rather dramatic denial of the Suez Canal Aden base. A military base had been under construction at Kahawa for several years, and with the impending call for independence, concerns arose

regarding the feasibility of the military installation, particularly considering the limited timeframe of less than twelve months to finalize independence discussions (Kyle, 1999).

The study examined the future sustenance and utilization of the military installation at Kahawa, indicating that the relocation of British soldiers to the Aden base in the Suez was necessary for Kenya to achieve independence. The primary alteration involved replacing the term 'base' with 'facilities,' which would be designated solely for rapid deployment purposes (Kyle, 1999). While Kenya may not achieve the defensive prominence attributed to Aden, Cyprus, Egypt, Singapore, or Malaya, it will continue to serve as a crucial fallback option, thereby sustaining a notable level of British influence in a sensitive global region (Percox, 2004).

Percox observes that the public acceptance in Britain of KANU's demands for the closure of the Kahawa base indicates a strategic move to alleviate one of the primary African 'extremist' objections to the independence settlement, as well as to address the concerns regarding the erosion of sovereignty symbolized by the presence of a British military base in Kenya. The Lancaster House discussions prominently featured the proposal for a federal system of governance, deemed appropriate for accommodating the diverse landscape of Kenya. The structure of Parliament was modeled on the Westminster system, featuring both lower and upper chambers. The prime minister, serving as the head of government, was to be accountable to the queen during the interim period, with full autonomy to be conferred at a later stage. These actions exemplified Britain's endeavors to fortify her military, economic, and strategic interests in the context of Kenya's independence.

Underlying these strategies employed by Britain were apprehensions that Kenya, following its independence, might gravitate towards a socialist orientation unless significant endeavors were undertaken to persuade the political leaders to endorse the principles of Western capitalism (Meredith, 2011).

In the context of pre-independence politics, Kenyatta swiftly sought to assuage the apprehensions of European settlers, persuading them to maintain their presence in Kenya due to their expertise and investments. He addressed a gathering of concerned British settlers regarding their future role in the country, stating, 'But let me tell you, Jomo Kenyatta has no intention of retaliating or looking backwards.' We shall set aside the past and direct our focus towards the future.

Consequently, the British forces departed from the country, leaving in their wake a military training team referred to as 'BATTUK,' which comprised approximately British officers and Newly Commissioned Officers. This mission was designed to offer training and logistical support to the army, navy, and air force. Although this was deemed politically acceptable due to the fact that the mission officers had ceased to hold command roles within the Kenyan army, it is noteworthy that this study highlights an informal defense arrangement with Britain, which provided Kenyatta with the assurance of direct British military support should there be an army mutiny or an attempted coup. In exchange for this assistance, Kenyatta permitted the British military ongoing access to the airfields at Eastleigh and Embakasi in Nairobi and the port facilities in Mombasa (Parson 2003).

President Kenyatta granted the British Army, through the British Army Training Liaison Staff Kenya, a 15-year contract to conduct training in Kenya (DN: 11/14/2005). This

agreement was established during the visit of Duncan Sandys, the then Commonwealth and colonial secretary, to Kenya on 12th March 1964. He informed the British cabinet that he had achieved a 'broad agreement' whereby Britain would assist in training the Kenyan army and air force and transfer 'certain items of equipment and accommodation' to the Kenyan forces. In return, Kenya would permit British military units access to training and exercise facilities (Percox, 2004).

In return, the government of Kenya would provide overflying and staging rights to British military aircraft, along with access to naval facilities in Mombasa. It was also concurred that British units could periodically engage in military training and exercises in Kenya (Percox, 2001). The prevailing notion suggested that the military installations were associated with the safeguarding of their interests, primarily aimed at facilitating the sale of British arms to Kenya, and in reality, the military would persist in functioning as advocates for these substantial transactions. Percox observes that the pinnacle of this arrangement was encapsulated in a telegram from the then British High Commissioner, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, dated 10th March 1964. In this communication, he delineated the contents of a recent correspondence from Kenyatta: 'I shall be grateful if the British Government will agree to retain in Kenya after 12th December 1964 sufficient British Army and Royal Air Force personnel to carry out these duties in Kenya which are beyond the present capability of Kenya Armed Forces (Percox, 2001).

In 1969, Britain played a pivotal role in assisting Kenya in the formation of its Army, providing essential resources necessary for the establishment of the Kenyan defense forces. As a result, Britain emerged as Kenya's principal supplier of arms and training for its

troops. Nonetheless, robust military connections between the two nations were firmly established and aligned with longstanding traditions. Kenyatta upheld the colonial customs of a politically integrated military, which effectively translated to unwavering loyalty to his administration (Parsons, 2003).

In the military, Kenyatta preserved the customs of the former colonial army, with the KAR battalions maintaining the ceremonial silver services and memorabilia of their predecessors. The command rank and file structure remained intact, with the sole alteration being the substitution of the royal emblems with the Kenyan coat of arms. The attire of the Kenyan Army has largely retained its form since the era of independence, and it is noteworthy that the British government provided financial assistance for the armament of the Kenyan Army. In the course of their training, a significant number of Kenyan military personnel commissioned post-independence have undergone instruction at the Sandhurst military academy in Britain. Consequently, it is not unexpected that Kenya's military stands as the most westernized among all inherited institutions (Nying'uro, 1999).

2.1.7 The Moi Era: Kenya's military perspectives 1978-2002

In the wake of the succession politics that unfolded, following the death of President Kenyatta on August 22, 1978, Vice-President Moi assumed leadership in alignment with the constitutional provisions. The demise of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978 marked the onset of a tumultuous political landscape in the nation. Upon assuming the presidency, Moi underscored his allegiance to Kenyatta, reaffirmed existing governmental policies, aligned himself with the established capitalist political elite, and proclaimed his intention to emulate Kenyatta's legacy, a concept encapsulated in the term 'Nyayo' (Swahili for

footsteps), seemingly to assuage the anxieties of a grieving populace regarding his dedication to the vision of the founding father. Moi's foreign policy and economic development initiatives were merely an extension of the policies established during the Kenyatta era (Mahoney, 2010). Moi similarly perpetuated Kenyatta's approach to the centralization of authority within the executive branch.

Similar to Kenyatta, he amplified the notion of unity to suppress anticipated or perceived political dissent by solidifying the dominance of the one-party system and a notable absence of opposition, which notably enabled him to pursue capitalist development and expand markets for foreign investment (Mahoney 2010). Similar to Kenyatta in his approach, Moi exercised caution in avoiding the establishment of any political party centered around socialist ideology. He also maintained the nonalignment stance regarding Kenya's foreign policy practice. While this position was an external development influenced by the Cold War, this study observes that its adoption by Kenya as the nation's approach to international relations did not reflect any form of idealism or radicalism in the realm of international affairs. The response from the Kenyatta regime, followed by Moi, was grounded in a pragmatic understanding of the uncertainties surrounding the reliability of the existing bipolar international system, as well as the persistent apprehension that the independence of the nascent state could be jeopardized by the resurgence of neo-colonialism. It thus served as a testament to Kenya's sovereignty and resolve to engage comprehensively and impartially in global matters.

While Kenyatta's administration maintained strong economic and diplomatic connections

with Western nations, Moi's government, particularly from 1988 onward, experienced a deteriorating relationship with these countries, which Moi perceived as interference in domestic matters (Orwa, 1992). Consequently, the dynamics of political power remained entrenched in both ideological and ethnic divisions, with Moi persistently championing communism and socialism as mechanisms to marginalize and discredit his adversaries. Subsequent communications from high-ranking government officials emerged when, in 1978, Mwai Kibaki, who was then the Vice-President selected by Moi, made a public declaration stating, "there is no room for communists in Kenya" (Miller & Yeager, 1994).

In his study, Magero (2007) observes that during Moi's regime, there was a notable enhancement in diplomatic relations with the Eastern bloc, highlighted by President Moi's visit to China in 1980 and the subsequent signing of economic and cultural agreements. This development represented a pivotal shift in foreign policy and diplomacy. He observes that President Moi, who had consistently alleged that China was orchestrating a revolution in Kenya during the 1960s, swiftly sought to engage with the post-Mao People's Republic of China. Moi's primary objective was to broaden the avenues for Kenya's external development financing, engaging in discussions with China's de facto leader, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping, as well as Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang. In late 1978, Kenya appointed an ambassador to China, thereby reopening the embassy that had been effectively shuttered during the peak of the "Cultural Revolution" in 1967. In the interim, China has designated an ambassador to Kenya. In August 1980, Ji Pengfei, who was the vice premier of China's State Council, made a visit to Kenya. Subsequently, in September of the same year, Moi embarked on a state visit to China, marking the first of three such visits he would undertake before his retirement in 2002 (Chege, 2008).

The individual who had previously criticized China in the Kenyan parliament in 1966 has now returned, extolling the virtues of China's modernization, orderliness, and cleanliness. Following Moi's inaugural visit to China in 1980, Kenya and China formalized two agreements. The initial discussion focused on “economic and technological cooperation,” encompassing a diverse array of initiatives: the construction of a new sports stadium (a topic of deliberation since 1977); provision of technical support for two emerging universities; the establishment of scholarships; and the facilitation of military and cultural exchanges. The paramount element of the economic cooperation agreement, nonetheless, was the Moi International Sports Centre located in a suburb just beyond Nairobi’s central business district. The construction incurred an expenditure of 930 million Kenya shillings (around \$52 million), with 48 percent of the funding sourced from Kenya (Chege, 2008).

The complex featured a sports stadium accommodating 60,000 spectators, an Olympic-standard swimming pool, and a contemporary gymnasium included as part of the offering. The objective was to finalize the project in time to host the fourth All-Africa Games in 1987, thereby demonstrating the burgeoning cooperation between China and Africa to the entire continent. In 1980, the government led by President Moi entered into a facilities access agreement with the United States, permitting overflights, landing rights at three airfields, and access to the Mombasa seaport. In exchange, Kenya was to receive military assistance (Macharia, 1995). A significant occurrence in this context was the ability of the United States, a principal ally of Britain, to deploy and dock their warships within Kenyan territorial waters during the Gulf War of 1990-1991. This signified that Kenya became

intricately involved in the United States' global coalition opposing the late Saddam Hussein by granting the US military the privileges of over-flying rights and the ability to dock their warships at Mombasa port. This represented a significant advancement in foreign relations during President Moi's tenure, illustrating that, over time, the United States' approach to Africa has been shaped by largely consistent considerations and parameters. It prioritized geo-strategic interests above considerations for democracy in US-African policy (Macharia, 1995).

Nevertheless, President Moi also encountered instances of insurrection and challenges to national security throughout his presidency. In August of 1982, junior members of the Air Force orchestrated a coup against the government, taking control of Jomo Kenyatta and Wilson Airports in Nairobi, as well as the general post office and the office of the Voice of Kenya radio station (Morton, 1998). Gradually, information surfaced suggesting that the coup was funded by foreign communists; however, substantial evidence to substantiate this claim was lacking, and it appears that the individuals involved in the coup lacked any ideological motivations (Time Magazine, 16 August, 1982). The coup attempt on August 1, 1982, orchestrated by certain factions within the Kenya Air Force, resulted in significant limitations on political and social activities within the nation. The political landscape was marred by court martials, political trials, the prohibition of publications, and the intimidation of critics and perceived adversaries of the regime. In this manner, President Moi endeavored to strengthen his control and diminish the influence of his adversaries. Certainly, one of the discontentments that may have contributed to the unsuccessful coup in August 1982 was the constitutional amendment that established section 2a, occurring in

June of that same year. The coup was, consequently, a result rather than a catalyst for the amendment (Dianga, 2001).

Significant to the study was the observation made by the then Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, who later stated in August 1982 during the unsuccessful Kenya Air Force coup d'état that Britain was attentively monitoring the situation (Miller & Yeager, 1994). The statement from the Prime Minister of Britain carries considerable weight, suggesting that the presence of British military forces in Kenya warrants renewed attention and cannot be overlooked. A swift series of occurrences in Europe has culminated in a significant reconfiguration of East-West relations. The significant markers of this geopolitical reconfiguration encompassed the unification of Germany in 1990, the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in 1991, the rise of democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, and the liberalization of the Soviet economic and political framework. During the Cold War era, Britain and its allies prioritized countering Soviet influence in the region over the advancement of democratic ideals. The conclusion of the ideological conflict resulted in a transformation of the international political landscape, notably introducing the concept of collective security and the initiatives of the NATO alliance, which sought to render it exceedingly challenging for either faction to reignite hostilities (Woodliffe, 1992). The policies of the Cold War were discarded, compelling undemocratic regimes to embrace democratization, while the associated mutual obligations gradually diminished in credibility. The strategic significance of Kenya had diminished considerably. The strategic significance, which stemmed from its geographical closeness to the Middle East, diminished following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the establishment of military

bases in the region for US forces. The role of Kenya in the geopolitical considerations of Washington, London, and Brussels has become marginal (Branch, 2011).

The leadership of the nation faced significant pressure to amend the constitution to facilitate the implementation of multiparty elections. The repeal of the Kenyan constitution not only revitalized the democratic landscape in the nation but also profoundly influenced the political culture within it. In a demonstration of adherence to the precedents set by the inaugural president, Moi's foreign policy and economic development initiatives were essentially extensions of the policies established during the Kenyatta era. A significant observation from the study was the persistent allowance for the British military to enhance their presence and training operations within Kenya. President Kenyatta initially granted the British Army, through the British Army Training Liaison Staff Kenya, a 15-year contract for training activities in Kenya. Subsequently, in 1988, President Moi extended this agreement for an additional 10 years. However, when the British government aligned with other Western nations in advocating for increased democratic space in Kenya, the Moi administration curtailed the duration to five years and later further diminished it to three years (Branch, 2011). The action taken by President Moi holds considerable importance for the analysis, as the timeframe in question aligns with the growing demand for multiparty politics in Kenya, during which Western nations advocated for the constitutional amendments necessary to facilitate such a political landscape (Branch, 2011).

Particularly during an era when the Moi administration faced allegations from Western nations regarding a dismal human rights record characterized by systematic oppression of

political adversaries, China chose to disregard these circumstances while enhancing its economic ties with Kenya. Notably, certain Western governments, including Britain (up until the late 1990s) and France, exhibited similar tendencies (Chege 2008). Similar to Kenyatta, Moi engaged in direct initiatives aimed at mediating internal conflicts within the African sub-region, specifically in Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Mozambique. In contrast to Kenyatta, President Moi demonstrated a greater engagement in peace mediation efforts. Upon taking on the role of OAU chairman in June 1981 during the annual summit known as Nairobi I, he swiftly established himself as a significant figure in the endeavor to reconcile the factions in Chad. The execution of foreign policy during the tenure of former President Moi was markedly centralized, revealing a pronounced inclination towards safeguarding his administration from both international and domestic scrutiny. Moi consequently developed a heightened interest in neutralizing those he perceived as adversaries. He consolidated and individualized authority through the lens of the 'Nyayo' philosophy, reflecting Kenyatta's leadership style and enveloped in the ideals of peace, love, and unity, striving to distinguish himself as a nationalist in his own capacity. He endeavored to establish his regime and Kenya as a cornerstone of diplomacy within the African landscape, particularly focusing on the Horn of Africa and the East Africa subregion, by seeking to address the complexities of internationalized conflicts in the area. This represented a pivotal advancement in determining the trajectory of Kenyan foreign policy during President Moi's administration. This is illustrated by the efforts to address the Uganda conflict involving Tito Okello's government and Yoweri Museveni's rebel faction in 1985, as well as the Mozambique conflict between the Frelimo government and

the Renamo rebel group in 1989, alongside the management of the Sudan conflict from approximately 1995 and the Somalia conflict from 2000 (Munene, 2013).

Although the management of the Sudan and Somalia conflicts was not exclusively a Kenyan matter, Kenya, under Moi's leadership, played a pivotal role by hosting and supplying the principal mediators. During his tenure, the revival of the East African community gained prominence on 30th November 1993, when the heads of state from the three nations signed the Agreement for the Establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation, signifying the commencement of a new era of collaboration. Since that time, the three nations have revitalized the East African Community and are engaging in collaborative efforts across various domains, encompassing education, cultural affairs, and defense. Following the conclusion of the IGAD mediation regarding the conflicts in Sudan and Somalia, along with the subsequent signing of peace accords, Kenya garnered considerable recognition for its diplomatic efforts in conflict management within the region. The conclusion of the Cold War catalyzed a significant demand for multiparty politics in Kenya, alongside a movement to amend the constitution to facilitate such a political landscape. This development posed a considerable challenge to President Moi's regime, particularly as Western nations collectively applied pressure for the implementation of these essential reforms. During Moi's regime, foreign interference prominently emerged, particularly concerning Western nations, which Moi perceived as an intrusion into domestic matters (Orwa, 1992). One significant advancement during Moi's tenure was the 1980 and 1988 visits to China, which culminated in the signing of various economic and cultural agreements between the two

nations. It can be contended that, despite the numerous shortcomings of the Moi administration, a noteworthy advancement was the establishment of a framework for enhanced trade and economic collaboration with China. This initiative served to diversify the nation's investment avenues and broaden access to international markets, all while safeguarding existing relationships (Chege, 2008).

On the international stage, Moi focused on enhancing Kenya's reputation by engaging in military peacekeeping missions and facilitating peace agreements under the guidance of the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the United Nations (UN). The nation upheld its conventional stance while simultaneously amplifying its efforts to advance its interests via the international organizations to which it belonged. It participated in conferences and became a signatory to numerous international charters, including the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in Nairobi in 1986; however, it showed little regard for its implementation (Adar, 2000). This elevated the nation's standing both on the continent and globally; however, it failed to mitigate the surge of criticism regarding governance, particularly in a post-Cold War context marked by persistent domestic challenges, economic downturns, rising corruption, and human rights abuses (Munene, 2013).

2.1.8 Kenya's military under Kibaki's regime

Kibaki's administration incited considerable ire from both the international community and local diplomats, notably including the then British high commissioner to Kenya, Sir Edward Clay. This tension culminated in a diplomatic disagreement with various Kenyan

officials when the actions of the British military in Kenya were highlighted. On the 14th of August 2003, more than 200 Kenyan women, accompanied by their mixed-race children, marched to the British High Commission in Nairobi to present a petition to the Ambassador. Many of these women were of Maasai and Samburu descent, asserting that they were raising mixed-race children as a consequence of being raped by British soldiers during training exercises in the country, and they proceeded to the offices of the British High Commissioner. Nonetheless, the choice made by Kenya to implement a tendering system for the procurement of military equipment can be traced back to the diplomatic tensions between Britain and Kenya. (Daily Nation, 2005).

Indeed, the British military maintains a series of military bases in Kenya, facilitated by the Status of Foreign Forces Agreement established between the two nations, which allows the British military to conduct training exercises within Kenya's interior. The presence of British military forces in service to Her Majesty within the territory of Kenya has sparked a discourse regarding the nation's status of independence, persisting well beyond the conclusion of formal colonial rule. Prior to deployment to the frontline, recruits of the British army typically engage in live ammunition drills at the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK), utilizing artillery ranges located in the arid and desolate northern rangelands of Samburu and Dol Dol, Archers Post, frequently in collaboration with the Kenyan military. The region's formidable escarpments, intense 35 degree Celsius temperatures, and semi-arid conditions present a quintessential evaluation of a soldier's preparedness for combat, mirroring the geographical features found in southern Iraq. Major Tony Finn, the officer commanding, articulated the importance of these exercises in an

interview with a local daily in 2005, stating, "The exercise provides a wonderful opportunity to conduct training in arduous and unfamiliar territory with extended lines of communication." It mirrors existing operational contexts and is essential for soldiers to absorb these experiences, derive insights from them, and carry that understanding into future deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan. The observations presented hold considerable importance for this study, as they delve into the foreign relations between Kenya and various Middle Eastern nations. It is noteworthy that Pakistan and Afghanistan rank as the second- and third-largest purchasers of Kenyan tea, respectively. This evolving dynamic has the potential to significantly disrupt tea exports to these markets. The statement issued by the British authorities, coupled with recent events in Kenya, has ignited a discussion within the House of Commons, highlighting Britain's military human rights record both in Kenya and globally.

The indictment of corruption allegations within the Kibaki administration, as articulated by the then British High Commissioner to Kenya, alongside the rape claims involving British soldiers in Laikipia and Samburu districts, significantly jeopardized the diplomatic relations between Nairobi and London (DN:18/9/2005). The NARC government postponed the renewal of the annual permit for British military training exercises, a decision influenced in part by Britain's sluggish advancement in addressing the 694 allegations of human rights violations and rape attributed to its servicemen over the past three decades, leading to growing frustration within the British High Commission office. An official associated with the British High Commission in Nairobi was also reported expressing these frustrations, stating, "Kenya has been ideal for a long time, but it is not without parallel," (Daily Telegraph 6/12/2005).

2.1.9 Kenya's military under Uhuru Kenyatta's regime

Under President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime (2013–2022), Kenya's military grew in both scope and involvement in regional security issues. During this period, Kenya became an integral player in the fight against terrorism, particularly through its involvement in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) against Al-Shabaab. Despite this growing military presence, Kenya's defense capabilities remained limited compared to global powers, and the country continued to depend heavily on Western alliances for military support, training, and equipment (Makinda, 2018).

There is a strategic need for Kenya to diversify its military partnerships, especially by aligning with middle powers like India. India's growing influence on the global stage, coupled with its technologically advanced military, makes it an ideal partner for Kenya. India's expertise in areas like defense manufacturing, cyber warfare, and missile technology can provide a boost to Kenya's relatively modest defense infrastructure. Makinda (2018) argues that Kenya's over-reliance on Western military powers, especially the U.S. and the U.K., leaves it vulnerable to the geopolitical interests of these nations, which may not always align with Kenya's national security objectives (Matanga,2024).

Aligning with India offers Kenya access to advanced military technology while benefiting from India's non-interventionist approach to international relations. Moreover, India's position as a middle power allows for a more balanced partnership, unlike the asymmetrical relationships Kenya has with global superpowers. Furthermore, India's

expertise in counterterrorism strategies could directly benefit Kenya in addressing the persistent threat of terrorism from groups like Al-Shabaab (Makinda & Okumu, 2018). Therefore, aligning with India can help Kenya modernize its military while building a more diversified and balanced network of international military partnerships, critical for regional stability and Kenya's national security.

2.1.10 Kenya-India bilateral diplomatic relations since 1963

Since achieving independence in 1963, Kenya and India have fostered a harmonious relationship in the sphere of military collaboration. Kenya and India share a significant maritime relationship characterized by a dynamic and multifaceted partnership, highlighted by frequent high-level exchanges, a growing volume of trade and investment, and extensive interactions among their populations. In 1948, India inaugurated the office of Commissioner for British East Africa, situated in Nairobi. In the wake of Kenya's independence in December 1963, a High Commission was instituted. India has maintained an Assistant High Commission in Mombasa. In July 1956, Vice President Dr. S Radhakrishnan embarked on a visit to Kenya. Smt. Indira Gandhi was present at the Kenyan Independence celebrations in 1963. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made visits to Kenya in the years 1970 and 1981. In 1978, Prime Minister Morarji Desai undertook a visit to Kenya. In 1981, President Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy embarked on a visit to Kenya. In 1981, President Moi undertook a bilateral visit to India, followed by his participation in the NAM Summit in 1983. The state visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Kenya on July 10-11, 2016, provided a significant boost to the bilateral partnership. Prime Minister

Narendra Modi and President Uhuru Kenyatta engaged in a comprehensive dialogue concerning various bilateral matters.

The two leaders observed the signing of seven Memoranda of Understanding and Agreements pertaining to defense, trade, and developmental assistance. The Prime Minister has delivered 30 field ambulances for the operational use of the Kenya Defence Forces. The Prime Minister and President Kenyatta engaged in discourse at an India-Kenya Business Forum. Five business-to-business memoranda of understanding were executed during the course of the business event. Discourse transpired regarding fundamental aspects of the bilateral relationship, encompassing the augmentation of cooperation in defense and maritime security, the enhancement of trade and investment relations, and the strategies for counterterrorism. An MoU regarding collaboration in the agriculture sector and its allied fields, along with a Line of Credit amounting to US\$100 million for agricultural mechanization, was formalized during the visit. In October 2015, President Uhuru Kenyatta participated in the 3rd India-Africa Forum Summit and engaged in a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Modi. The Bilateral Joint Commission Meeting (JCM) at the ministerial level was established in 1999. The inaugural JCM occurred in 2003 in Nairobi, followed by the second iteration in March 2019 in New Delhi. An agreement regarding Foreign Office Consultations (FOCs) was formalized in 2003. The inaugural bilateral FOCs took place in Nairobi in June 2016 (Khalid, 2011).

In the early years following Kenya's independence, the military ties between the two nations were exceedingly restricted. However, as both countries recognized the importance of regional stability and protection, they commenced to deepen their defense cooperation

through training and Education. India has performed an essential role in educating Kenyan military employees. Kenyan officers have attended diverse Indian military academies and education establishments, enhancing their capabilities and understanding. This educational alternate has been instrumental in building a competent Kenyan military. However, as Migue (2014) observes there is still funding gaps that exist while undertaking military training.

Additionally, Kenya has procured military system and guns from India over time. This consists of numerous kinds of arms, ammunition, and military motors. India has been a dealer of defense hardware to Kenya, contributing to its country wide security infrastructure. Both countries have engaged in military protection, with high-level military exchanges and visits. These interactions have fostered cooperation among their defense force. Migue further observes that Kenya and India have cooperated in counterterrorism efforts, sharing intelligence and knowledge to fight threats posed via extremist corporations in East Africa and South Asia. This collaboration has been specifically critical given the global nature of terrorism. The two countries have participated in joint military activities aimed toward improving interoperability and strengthening their capacity to reply regional threats.

Kenya and India have contributed troops to United Nations peacekeeping missions. Their joint involvement in those operations underscores their dedication to keeping international peace and security. Beyond military cooperation, Kenya and India have additionally developed broader strategic partnerships in regions together with exchange, era, and

cultural trade. These partnerships have created a greater comprehensive framework for collaboration. In recent years, the Kenya-India military diplomatic relations has evolved to recognize the importance of a stable and secure East African area and the Indian Ocean, and their cooperation within military sphere reflects those shared objectives (Khalid, 2011).

In 2004, the total strength of the Kenyan armed forces was approximately 24,120, encompassing the army, navy, and air force. Possessing the third largest military force globally and commanding the most extensive naval presence in the Indian Ocean area. India demonstrates its commitment as a responsible participant in the global framework and asserts itself as a significant force within the Indian Ocean region. In the realm of defense collaboration, India has provided extensive training to numerous African military officers throughout the years within its diverse military institutions. At present, India engages in military-to-military cooperation activities, chiefly focused on training, with numerous African nations. India stands as a significant contributor to UN peacekeeping missions across Africa, presently maintaining substantial contingents in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea (Khalid, 2011).

India has strategically positioned military training teams across several African nations, including Botswana, Zambia, and Lesotho. In the pursuit of enhancing Kenya's defense capabilities, India has previously provided military hardware. The two nations engage in collaborative military exercises involving their armed forces. A significant number of Kenyan military commanders, including those who are retired, have participated in various

courses in India. This collaboration has been broadened to include military personnel engaging in civil initiatives, particularly in the domains of health and education, with a notable focus on Kenya. In February 2001, the International Fleet Review took place off the coast of Mumbai, with participation from 30 nations, including Kenya, which contributed two ships to the event.

2.1.11 Kenya Defense Forces' Military Diplomacy

This study argued that KDF has participated in military diplomacy throughout the years. In the context of this study, a differentiation was established between defense diplomacy and military diplomacy. Defense diplomacy pertains to the various forms of engagement that the Ministry for State for Defense (MOSD) undertakes with external organizations and governments. The emphasis of defense diplomacy centers on the function of the civilian sector within the ministry. The civilian component's role is predominantly one of oversight. The civilian oversight authority comprises several key figures, including the president, who concurrently serves as the Commander in Chief of the KDF, along with the Cabinet Secretary for Defense and the Principal Secretary for Defense. Additional individuals within the civilian sector operate under the Cabinet Secretary, engaging in the daily functions of the ministry. This study posits that the endeavors undertaken by the civilian sector of the ministry of defense embody the principles of defense diplomacy (Migue, 2014).

Military diplomacy, conversely, was limited to the nature of interactions or the management of military operations by the personnel in uniform, the soldiers. It is sufficient to note that there exists a considerable intersection between these two realms of diplomacy.

The rationale for this is, without question, the element of oversight mentioned previously, specifically that the military operates under the overarching guidance of the civilian sector. It is important to acknowledge that, in many instances, certain interactions may encompass the involvement of both civilian and military elements. Despite these observations, military diplomacy pertains to activities that are predominantly military in nature, wherein the military possesses leverage and thus assumes the primary role in executing such endeavors. A prominent theme in the context of military diplomacy, particularly regarding the KDF, lies in the notion of Peace Support Operations (PSOs), commonly referred to as Peace Keeping Missions, alongside war operations (Migue, 2014). As previously mentioned, there exists a significant interface between defense diplomacy and military diplomacy, particularly at the strategic level. This distinction holds significant relevance, as the primary emphasis of this study was predominantly on military diplomacy. The research further suggests that KDF's participation in PSOs throughout the years exemplifies the practice of military diplomacy. Additionally, its involvement in Operation Linda Nchi is also indicative of military diplomacy, highlighting potential areas for cooperation between Kenya and India (Migue, 2014).

2.2 Dynamics of Kenya-India Military Diplomatic relations

The strategic deployment of military forces to safeguard one's territory in the face of aggression from adversaries has been a universally recognized approach. This approach has been utilized by the United States to extend assistance to the state, thereby fostering regional stability, projecting influence, and reinforcing deterrence to guarantee ongoing access and security commitments. Since the 1990s, a notable trend has emerged regarding the reduction of forward posture, as military forces are no longer anticipated to engage in

combat at their stationed locations, in contrast to the dynamics observed during the Cold War era. The 1989 case of the United States serves as a quintessential illustration of the reduction of European command forces, which diminished from approximately 240,000 to around 100,000 personnel in that year. In general, during the 1990s, the United States delegated 60% of local government oversight responsibilities. Similarly, EUCOM adjusted its geographical focus to encompass Eastern Europe and Africa. Since 2004, empirical evidence indicates a downward trajectory, as reflected in the global posture review and BRAC 2005 (Mohammed, 2011).

Concurrently, the Navy fleet has also experienced a reduction, influenced by the diminishing time base inventory. Despite the contraction that has occurred, the limited force remains capable of engaging, as the global posture review predominantly emphasizes effectiveness in relation to tasks during zero operation phases. The U.S. Navy has devised additional strategies to augment its presence, incorporating global fleet stations designed to facilitate the establishment of self-sustaining operations that will support regional activities through customized adaptive packages. The same holds true for the military, whose presence is of significant importance in their operations (Lusiola, 2021).

Security cooperation represents a strategic approach frequently utilized by various militant groups, primarily involving the cultivation of relationships within foreign defense establishments to advance particular security interests. For example, in the United States, particular security interests have ensured the advancement of allied and cooperative

military capabilities for self-defense and collective operations. This collaboration encompasses the enhancement of information exchange, the sharing of intelligence, and the evolution of allies to facilitate the alignment of diverse perspectives on security challenges, while ensuring access to both peacetime and contingency operations within U.S. forces (Lusiola, 2021).

The primary aims of security cooperation encompass the fight against terrorism, the establishment of future coalitions, collaboration on regional disputes, the transformation of alliances, the counteraction of mass weapon destruction, and the realignment of global defense posture, all while deterring and isolating problematic states and addressing the threat of terrorism. Collaboration has proven effective for numerous military factions in their engagements with terrorist entities. For example, the African Union, United Nations, and Intergovernmental Authority on Development, among other regional organizations, have united nations to address not only developmental concerns but also matters pertaining to the security of the states within these unions. The establishment of entities such as AMISOM can be attributed to collective security agreements aimed at fostering peace and addressing conflict in the Horn of Africa (Lusiola, 2021).

In Africa, numerous organizations exist within the regions that were not specifically established to address conflict resolution and management. For example, IGAD initially focused on the development of the North-East Africa region but gradually took on the responsibility of restoring peace and security, particularly in Sudan and Somalia. In recent times, African regional institutions have undertaken notable advancements in taking on the principal role of fostering peace and security (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2010). The

conflicts encountered in Africa necessitate more proactive strategies for resolution. In truth, without addressing the myriad conflicts that have proliferated across various regions, the prospects for development, economic integration, and prosperity remain bleak. The attainment of numerous objectives becomes unfeasible within environments characterized by instability. African regional and sub-regional organizations have significantly engaged in security and conflict resolution, particularly through mechanisms of conflict prevention and mediation (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2010).

The African Union (AU), founded in 2002, has engaged proactively in tackling enduring conflicts across the continent, implementing peace operations and entering conflict zones often overlooked by multilateral entities such as the United Nations. The evolution from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) was characterized by a fundamental shift in principle, moving from a stance of non-interference to one of non-indifference. As a result, this has enabled member states to engage in internal matters that encompass concerns related to crimes against humanity and genocide. The establishment of a thorough security agenda, known as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which consists of six components, aims to reframe the approach to African issues by advocating for solutions conceived within the continent itself. The APSA thus possessed a definitive mandate to implement peace operations in conflict regions throughout the continent. The elements comprising APSA encompass the African Standby Force (ASF), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Panel of the Wise, the African Peace Fund (APF), and the Military Staff Committee (MSC) (Lusiola, 2021).

The bilateral strategies employed by African nations to bolster military diplomacy highlight the continent's dedication to fostering peace, security, and collaborative efforts. These strategies, marked by a complex approach, illustrate the prevalence of collective security challenges, the significance of regional stability, and the necessity for economic and technological advancement. African armed forces frequently participate in bilateral security partnerships to address common security challenges. These partnerships encompass agreements for the exchange of intelligence, collaborative military training exercises, and initiatives to counter terrorism. The focus is on enhancing national and regional security through collaborative efforts to address shared threats, such as terrorism, insurgency, and transnational crime (Lusiola, 2021).

A considerable number of African nations provide military personnel for United Nations peacekeeping operations. The establishment of bilateral agreements and partnerships with various international locales enhances the deployment of peacekeeping forces. These collaborations significantly contribute to global peace and security while simultaneously enhancing the diplomatic and peacekeeping capabilities within African international relations. Bilateral agreements for the generation of protection switches and the procurement of military equipment are fundamental strategies. These agreements facilitate the modernization of militias in African nations and enhance their protective capabilities. Collaborating with nations at the forefront of technology facilitates the attainment of advanced weaponry, knowledge, and technological insight. African militaries are pursuing educational and capacity-building opportunities for their personnel. Collaborative alliances

with nations that have military proficiency provide opportunities for advanced training methodologies.

This approach seeks to enhance the professionalism, skills, and efficacy of the African defense force (Muthanna, 2011). Considering the significance of maritime security, African military diplomacy frequently engages in collaborative efforts to protect their coastal waters and combat piracy. The establishment of bilateral agreements concerning joint naval patrols, the exchange of information, and initiatives aimed at combating piracy significantly enhance the protection of maritime trade routes and promote stability within the region. Collaborations in humanitarian assistance and disaster response are crucial for effectively tackling natural disasters and humanitarian emergencies. African nations engage in bilateral collaborations to effectively coordinate disaster relief initiatives, allocate resources judiciously, and respond promptly to emergencies, thereby demonstrating their dedication to humanitarian ideals (Williams, 2013).

According to Migue (2014) African nations forge diplomatic alliances with like-minded international actors to advocate for commonplace protection interests on the international stage. These alliances function as a platform for diplomatic engagement, information sharing, and coordinated responses to international protection challenges. Economic collaboration is a key bilateral approach. African nations are looking for partnerships for defense industry improvement, joint ventures, and technology transfer. These agreements not only strengthen protection capabilities but additionally promote financial growth and technological development. These bilateral strategies highlight the dynamic and

multifaceted nature of military diplomacy in Africa. By taking part with other nations, African countries aim to address protection challenges, bolster their defense competencies, foster regional stability, and make contributions to global peace and protection.

For Kenya-India relations, the bilateral strategies aims at bolstering Kenya-India military diplomacy, characterized by means of a multifaceted approach that leverages their complementary strengths and aligns with their shared goals. However, a significant gap lies in the lack of in-depth analysis on the long-term effects of bilateral military-diplomatic relations on national security and the limited exploration of non-traditional military partners like India in Africa.

These strategies mirror a dedication to local balance, protection cooperation, monetary collaboration, and diplomatic engagement. One of the key techniques is the establishment of ordinary strategic dialogues and high-degree visits between military and political leaders of Kenya and India. These dialogues provide a platform for open discussions on protection challenges, shared targets, and the coordination of military efforts. Kenya and India conduct joint military sporting activities, inclusive of military drills, military maneuvers, and counterterrorism simulations. These trainings promote interoperability in response to security threats (Mohammed,2011).

It is against this backdrop that this study assessed the effectiveness of bilateral strategies in fostering Kenya-India diplomatic relations since 1963.

2.3 Bilateral challenges and opportunities arising from military Diplomatic relations

From a global perspective, the early military engagements between China and the United States commenced in the early 17th century with the arrival of the United States on the newly accessible shores of China. In 1842, following the conclusion of the First Opium War, the inaugural Sino-US Treaty was established: the Treaty of Wanghia. The United States maintained its engagement in Chinese affairs, particularly during the political conflict between Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang Party (KMT) on one side and the Communist Party on the other, with the US aligning itself in support of the former. This assistance persisted following the war, most prominently exemplified by the American advocacy for the sovereignty of Taiwan Island. In the autumn of 1944, the dynamics between Washington and Chiang Kai-shek's government were not aligned, influenced by the emerging prospects for amicable relations with the opposing faction, the Chinese Communist Party. The fluctuations in Sino-US relations persisted throughout the Cold War period, during which China aligned itself with the Soviet Union in opposition to the perceived "imperialist" objectives of the United States. Initiating the policy of containment by Washington D.C., which encompassed communist nations such as China and its neighboring states like Vietnam (Barbosa, 2014).

Moreover, in an effort to assist the South Vietnamese in preserving their non-communist position, the Lyndon B. Johnson administration persisted with the Vietnam War and sustained aspirations for containment. Conversely, Chairman Mao Zedong articulated that "your [Vietnamese] business is my business; my business is your business," thereby positioning China on a direct trajectory toward military confrontation with the United States. The animosity and the lack of dialogue that characterized the Sino-US military

relationship during the Cold War appeared to be diminishing with President Richard M. Nixon's historic visit to Beijing in 1972. President Nixon subsequently acknowledged the necessity for the United States to assist in alleviating China's international isolation, paralleling the efforts of his predecessor Theodore Roosevelt, who had championed and facilitated the integration of the Soviet Union into the global framework in 1940 (Barbosa, 2014).

The relationship between Washington and Beijing underwent significant evolution in the 1980s, marked by the visits of high-ranking officials and the historic trip of Deng Xiaoping, the first Chinese head of state to the United States. However, the 1990s saw a deterioration in Sino-US military relations, with the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade emerging as a pivotal moment in this complex dynamic. While the United States asserted that the bombings were unintentional, China contended that they were carried out with intent. The President of the United States, Bill Clinton, extended a formal apology to China. Recently, the concepts of the "China Threat," the military build-up in Beijing, China's economic growth, and the independence of Taiwan have gained significant prominence in influencing the direction of the Sino-US military agenda. The leadership in the United States frequently employs this rationale while closely monitoring the Asian nation, particularly in light of the recent military positioning along the Pacific coast. The involvement of Chinese and American military forces in Africa can be traced back to the lingering uncertainties stemming from the Cold War era. Throughout the tenure of Mao Zedong, China sought to position itself as a vanguard for the Third World. In its quest for liberation and social revolution, the Chinese government allocated substantial financial

resources to the newly independent nations of Africa. The United States promptly reacted by generating anti-China narratives, firmly backing Taiwan's independence, and assisting in the preservation of the KMT's government seat within the UN Security Council (Cohen, 2010).

In light of this context, this study assessed the challenges stemming from bilateral cooperation and the diplomatic relations between Kenya and India since 1963.

2.4 Conceptual framework

This study was underpinned by three theories, namely neoclassical realism theory supporting the independent variable and securitization theory supporting the dependent variable. The study also adopted power theory to show the power nexus between Kenya and India as far as military diplomatic relations are concerned.

2.4.1 Neo-classical realism theory

Neoclassical realism, also known as structural realism, provides an account of nations' foreign policy through systemic, domestic and other influences. It strikes at the complex relations between foreign policy within the international structure and domestic influences (Juneau, 2010). According to Waltz (1979) the structure of the international system is the driving force for states' relations and not the internal characteristics of the states. This theory emphasizes on the relative distribution of power. It rejects explanations developed at state-level analysis and vouches for systemic level. Thus, neoclassical realists have incorporated domestic level variables in the analysis of international politics. Rose (1996) argues that neoclassical realism is a theory of foreign policy that focuses on the outcomes of units' interaction. In this study, focus was on the outcomes of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. The strengths of neoclassical theory include but not limited to :

bringing together units and structural level causes and effects into a coherent theoretical framework; also it considers the complex interactions between the structure of the international system and domestic factors in shaping foreign policy thus providing a more nuanced understanding of state behavior and lastly, it explains the salient logical statement on the interaction between internal and external factors of both Kenya and India in foreign policy decision making pertaining to military relations.

This theory also has drawbacks. Although neoclassical realism has provided a rich context with which to analyze the relationships between domestic politics and international relations, applying securitization theory to Kenya-India military diplomatic relations has several drawbacks that are noteworthy. Another potential weakness of neoclassical realism is its tendency to provide highly miscellaneous theoretical accounts where the core premise is not always well-defined. Sometimes the theoretical aspect may give a disjointed account of international relations, and this may lead to a disparate account of IR in different political contexts facing Kenyan-Indo relationship. Third, some scholars have criticized neoclassical realism for failing to provide clear concepts for the apparent tectonic shifts in world politics, specifically the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The key weakness of this form of analysis is that it may not be able to capture the dynamism and emergent nature of power relations in the global system—a factor that is vital in explaining the shifting military and diplomatic relations between Kenya and India. The third major problem with neoclassical realism is its imprecise definition of security, an important factor when considering military diplomatic relations. In contrast, securitization theory provides a more detailed and stronger framework to register the process by which security issues are socially constructed and prioritized by states. Consequently, by applying

securitization theory, this study avoids the limitations of neoclassical realism while offering a more groundbreaking explanation of how security considerations have influenced the nature of military and diplomatic relations between Kenya and India. For this reason, this study used another theory, that is, securitization theory.

2.4.2 Securitization theory

Securitization theory, developed by the Copenhagen School, focuses on how certain issues are constructed as security threats through the speech acts of securitizing actors. Applying this theory to the study of bilateral cooperation influencing Kenya-Indian military-diplomatic relations since 1963 would involve analyzing how specific issues have been securitized, leading to changes in military and diplomatic interactions. Securitization theory provides a valuable lens to explore the evolution of Kenya-Indian military-diplomatic relations, emphasizing the role of speech acts in framing certain issues as security concerns.

Speech acts and military cooperation exemplify the securitization of piracy in the Indian Ocean by both Kenya and India, which led to increased military cooperation, as seen in joint patrols and information sharing (Waeber, 1995). Besides, diplomatic speech acts by leaders from Kenya and India have played a crucial role in securitizing issues like terrorism and influencing military strategies and cooperation (Balzacq, 2005). Concerning the influence of bilateral agreements, securitization of cross-border terrorism has influenced the signing of bilateral agreements on intelligence-sharing and coordinated military responses (Bigo, 2002). Further, public discourse, shaped by securitizing actors, has influenced military policy, which is evident in the allocation of resources and military

strategies in response to perceived security threats (McDonald, 2008). Therefore, securitization theory provides a nuanced understanding of how speech acts by key actors have shaped the security discourse, influencing the trajectory of military-diplomatic relations between Kenya and India since 1963. One of the strengths of this theory is that it acknowledges that securitization can be a strategic tool. However, this recognition raises concerns about the potential for leaders to manipulate security narratives for political purposes and power, which the theory may not adequately address. Thus, there is a need for another theory.

2.4.3 Power theory

Weber (1947) articulated power as the likelihood that one participant in a social relationship can execute his own will in the face of opposition. Dahl (1957) suggested referring to the entities involved in power dynamics as actors. The actor designation encompasses a broad spectrum, referring to individuals, collectives, roles, offices, governments, nation-states, or other forms of human aggregation. Arendt (1970) articulated that power should not be viewed as an individual possession; instead, she posited that it is a collective attribute, persisting only as long as the group maintains its cohesion.

Morgenthau (1954) notes that international politics, akin to all forms of politics, constitutes a contest for power, and regardless of the ultimate objectives of international relations, power remains the immediate goal.

All states endeavor to enhance their power; international politics can be understood and examined as a contest among autonomous entities striving for supremacy over one another. The differences among states lie less in their objectives and more in their abilities to attain

goals that are predominantly common. Waltz contends that each state functions as a distinct, self-governing, and formally equivalent political entity that must ultimately rely on its own resources to achieve its objectives. In chaotic settings, the motivation of each unit is to ensure its own survival, as reliance on others is fundamentally unreliable (Waltz, 1979).

Power concept, a cornerstone of International Relations analysis, presents a lens through which an understanding of the dynamics of Kenya-India military diplomatic Relations is premised. Proponents of Power Theory include Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, and Joseph Nye, who have contributed to its development. They have explored the various dimensions of power, its effect on diplomatic relations, and the way power dynamics shape states' conduct and diplomatic relations. One of the strengths of power theory, is the fact that it recognizes power disparities amongst nations. In Kenya-India military diplomacy, a considerable power asymmetry is obvious. India, with its larger and technologically superior military, enjoys a dominant position in the partnership. This power imbalance without delay affects the relationship's dynamics. Besides, power principle emphasizes the significance of relative power, which includes comparing the power of one actor to that of another. In this context, India's superior military competencies, economic power, and geopolitical effect significantly affect the relative power dynamic. Kenya's constrained military resources and financial constraints insubordinate Kenya in this relations

One of the core tenets of the power principle is the utility of power, which effective actors can utilize to shape their influence and decisions with much less effective partners. In Kenya-India military relations, India's greater strength is leveraged to outline the phrases

of engagement, have an effect on strategic alternatives, and steer the partnership in a direction that aligns with its pastimes. Thus, the power principle recognizes that less effective actors may additionally use strategies to address power disparities. Kenya can decide to balance, seek alliances or strengthen its military capabilities to counter power imbalance, or it can choose bandwagoning, aligning itself so closely with India to benefit from its power and protection.

Waltz notes that the dynamics of power politics are evident whenever “two or more states coexist” within an anarchic framework devoid of a superior authority to assist weakening states or to restrict any of them from employing whatever means they deem necessary to achieve their objectives (Waltz, 1979). A state should consistently regard its comparative strength. The influence of others—particularly those wielding significant power—constitutes a perpetual threat rather than a remedy. States that lack strength may find themselves compelled to make educated guesses, placing their hopes on the prospect that early alignment with the eventual victor will secure their survival and safeguard at least some of their essential interests (Donnelly, 2000). The assertion posits that when two preeminent powers confront one another, each emerges as the singular genuine threat to the other's security, inevitably rendering them adversaries. Each entity, regardless of its preferences or inclinations, must calibrate its power in relation to the others.

2.5 Conceptual Model

This model demonstrated the nexus between independent variable and dependent variable as well as the intervening variables of the study. It demonstrates how bilateral cooperation affects Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963.

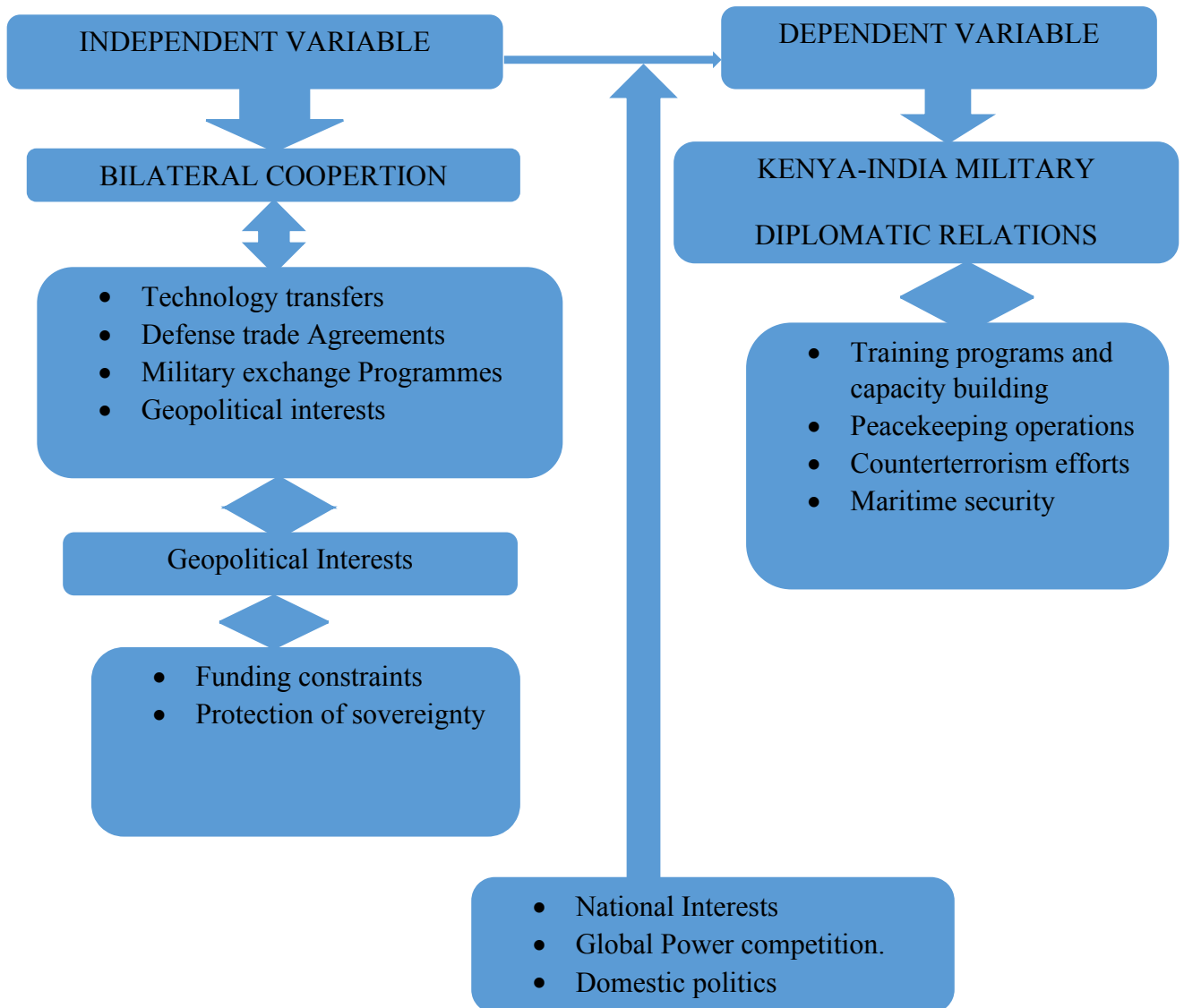


Figure 2.1 Conceptual model showing the relationship among independent, dependent and intervening variables

Source: Researchers, 2023

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed various literature on bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India Military Diplomatic relations since 1963. It has identified various gaps that the study seeks to fill. This study is underpinned by three theories. The next chapter, is chapter three on research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter elucidates the research design employed, the study area, the population under investigation, the methods and size of sample selection, the techniques for data collection, and considerations of validity and reliability. It further details the procedures for data collection and the analytical methods utilized. The study's limitations are delineated, accompanied by proposed solutions. Considerations of an ethical nature are also taken into account. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive summary.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed cross-sectional and historical research designs. This approach enabled the researcher to use cross-sectional and historical designs, which facilitate the generation and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously. Cross-sectional surveys are investigations conducted to assess the prevalence of cases within a population at a specific time (Creswel & Creswel, 2017).

In order to satisfy the first objective of this study which aims at analyzing the characteristics of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India since 1963, a historical design was used. This design enables historical examination of the antecedent events, policies, and treaties that defined the military diplomatic relationship. It is also critical in gaining a deeper understanding of the emergence and historical setting of the relationship between Kenya and India's military diplomacy based on the current system concerning the roles and contributions of the two countries in this partnership. Regarding objective two, which established the dynamic of this relationship, the cross-sectional survey design makes it possible to study the relationship between Kenya and India's military diplomacy based

on the current system concerning the roles and contributions of the two countries in this partnership.

This study, therefore, employed quantitative and qualitative designs, which facilitated the integration of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. It gave insight into the bilateral cooperation's influence on Kenya-India Military diplomatic relations since 1963.

3.2 Study area

A study area according to Kombo and Tromp (2006) is a place that the research study takes place and is relevant to the objectives of the study. The study was carried out in Nairobi County, Kenya with specific focus to Ministry of foreign affairs, Defence ministry and Indian High Commission. The study location was based on the high profile diplomatic visits, exchange programs between Kenya and India since 1963. Kenya and India are members of international fora like United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth of Nations, G-77 and G-15 and the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation and often cooperate with each other on these for a (Tanui, 2015).

In the realm of politics, India instituted the position of Commissioner for British East Africa, with the office located in Nairobi, in the year 1948. In the wake of Kenya's independence in December 1963, a High Commission was instituted. India has maintained an Assistant High Commission in Mombasa. In July 1956, Vice President Dr. S Radhakrishnan embarked on a visit to Kenya. Smt. Indira Gandhi was present at the Kenyan Independence celebrations in 1963. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made visits to

Kenya in the years 1970 and 1981. Prime Minister Morarji Desai embarked on a visit to Kenya in the year 1978. In 1981, President Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy embarked on a visit to Kenya. In 1981, President Moi embarked on a bilateral visit to India, followed by his participation in the NAM Summit in 1983(Mohamed,2011).

3.2.1 Rationale for the study

The reason why Nairobi County was adopted for this study on bilateral cooperation in promoting Kenya-Indian military diplomacy since 1963 bears plausible reasoning since Nairobi is both the diplomatic and military centre of Kenya. Although Kenya has other major cities, most of Kenya's foreign and defence policy-making institutions are found in Nairobi. Indian High Commission is seated in this city and it has core responsibilities of overseeing all relevant diplomatic and military interactions between Kenya and India. Also, Nairobi hosts the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is in charge of bilateral and multilateral cooperation(Tanui,2015).

It also hosts significant military training facilities, including the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), which supports regional endeavours in maintaining peace and security, something in which India has had experience. The existence of diplomatic missions in Nairobi, including embassies, military attachés and international organizations, create a favorable environment that promote diplomatic relations within the countries' defence departments. Also, Nairobi is strategically close to Kenya Military Headquarters thus making it convenient in tracing and dissecting the developmental changes in military diplomacy between Kenya & India.

The location is suitable to study bilateral military training exercises because Nairobi is commonly used to host both, high level defense moots and exercises, and training. Through concentrating only on Nairobi County, the study can identify and cover the major aspects of diplomacy as well as policy and training relations between the Kenya and Indian militaries since 1963.

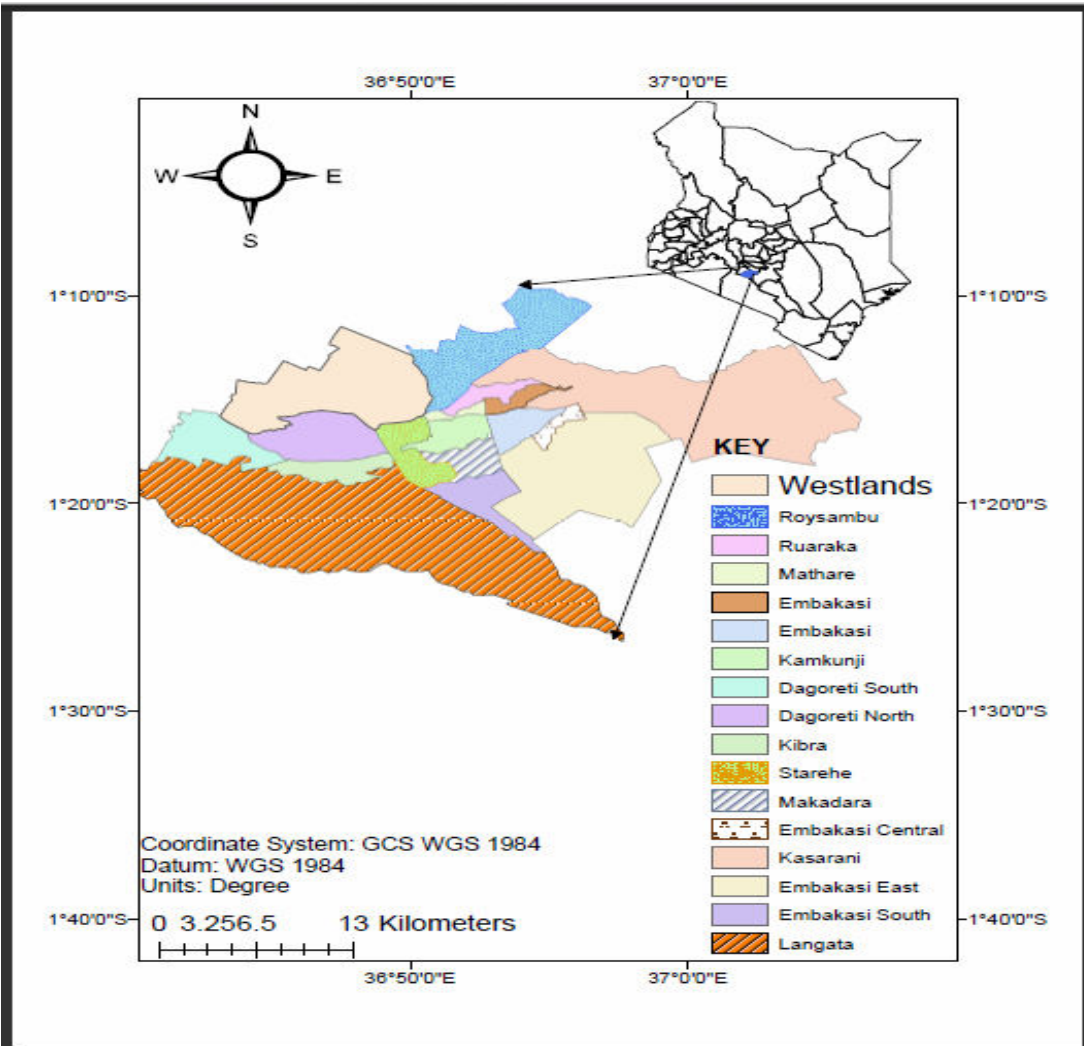


Figure 3. 1: Map of Nairobi County

Source: GIS Expert, 2024.

3.3 Target Population

The target population denotes the particular cohort of individuals or entities that a research study seeks to examine or derive conclusions regarding. This cohort is delineated by specific attributes pertinent to the research inquiry, including age, gender, geographical location, or professional background. The target population constitutes the foundation for sample selection and the extrapolation of findings. Creswell and Creswell (2018) assert that a precise definition of the target population is crucial for maintaining the validity and relevance of the study's findings.

The term population denotes the collection of entities concerning which the researcher aims to formulate a conclusion. This also pertains to the collective set of individual instances or entities that share comparable observable characteristics (Young, 2016). Furthermore, the target population comprises the group of individuals to whom the findings of the study are relevant. Cooper and Schindler (2014) define the population as a comprehensive assembly of individuals possessing particular characteristics pertinent to the research inquiry. All these authors perceive a population as a "universe" comprising a collection of individuals, objects, or items from which samples are extracted for measurement purposes. Cooper and Schindler (2014) noted that the target population encompasses the entire set of elements concerning which inferences are to be drawn. A study population comprises the individuals who align with the parameters established by the researcher for the investigation.

The target population for the study comprised military personnel from the Kenya Army, Kenya Air Force, and Kenya Navy. In Kenya Army, the study targeted 250 personnel (On a strategic basis) 600 personnel (Operational level), and 400 personnel (tactical level).In Kenya Airforce, the study targeted 180 personnel(Strategic level),250 personnel (operational level), and 320 personnel (tactical level). It also targeted Kenya Navy respondents, where 120 military personnel were targeted (Strategic level),230 personnel (Operational level), and 150 personnel (tactical level).On KIIs, the study targeted the senior civilian officials from the defense ministry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (40), officials (10) from the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) (20), senior military officials (50) and security as well as defense analysts (25). From the Indian side, KIIs targeted were the Indian Military Attaché (40) Indian Defence attaché (30), Indian Consulate officials (20), officials from the High Commission of India (50), Indian business representatives from the defense sector (25), and Indian defense contractors and advisors(35). According to Bryman & Bell (2015), the choice of these officials is based on the fact that they have vast knowledge of the matters relating to bilateral relations between Kenya and India. The target population for this study comprised a diverse group of military personnel and officials with extensive knowledge of bilateral relations between Kenya and India.

These specific individuals and groups in the target population are included because of their direct involvement in and understanding of the military and diplomatic dynamics between Kenya and India. Military personnel from the mentioned camps are actively engaged in defense operations, making them well-positioned to provide insights into the practical

aspects of defense cooperation and challenges. Senior officials from the Ministry of Defense and Foreign Affairs, including the permanent secretaries, are critical decision-makers who shape the policies governing bilateral relations, thus offering a strategic perspective on the cooperation between the two nations. The Indian Military and Defense Attachés and Consulate officials are instrumental in executing India's defense diplomacy with Kenya, ensuring their participation in the study captures the Indian perspective on these relations.

Furthermore, officials from the IPSTC bring a broader understanding of international peace support operations, which are a significant area of cooperation between Kenya and India. According to Bryman and Bell (2015), selecting participants with relevant expertise ensures that the study gathers accurate, reliable, and contextually relevant data. This approach enhances the validity of the research findings by focusing on individuals who possess in-depth knowledge and experience in the matters being investigated, thereby offering a comprehensive understanding of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. The target population is summarized in table 3.1.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample size

The section of research pertains to the sampling technique employed in the study and the methods employed to collect the sample size. The researcher examined and elucidated the various processes undertaken to establish a justifiable sample size. The departments involved were instrumental in evaluating the effectiveness of the bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India. The researcher employed Yamane's (1967) formula to

determine the necessary sample size. The participants are enumerated in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

$$n = N (1+Ne^2)$$

Where: n = minimum sample size

N = Population

E = precision set at 95% (5% = 0.05)

Hence; $n = 2500/1+ (2500 \times 0.0025)$

n = 250 participants

This section's investigation implemented stratified random sampling with the proportional allocation method to acquire a sample of the phenomenon under investigation. Stratified random sampling entails the division of sampling elements into distinct strata, subsequently leading to the random selection of subjects from each individual stratum (Sekaran, 2015).

The primary benefit of stratified sampling lies in its ability to accurately reflect essential characteristics of the population within the sample. Employing a weighted average ensures that the traits represented in the sample are proportionate to those found in the broader population. This study necessitated this technique as it aims to elucidate either similarities or differences, taking into account the diverse aspects associated with democratization processes in a broader context. Consequently, the researcher employed purposive sampling to discern the principal stakeholders engaged in military, and diplomatic relations between

Kenya and India. This encompassed military officials, diplomats, policymakers, and specialists well-versed in both the historical and modern dimensions of the relationship. The investigator additionally focused on individuals who have occupied or presently occupy prominent roles within the Indian government and military, particularly those engaged in the formulation and execution of policies pertaining to bilateral collaboration with Kenya. The investigator incorporated scholars and experts focused on international relations, security studies, and the historical context of diplomacy. They offered insightful analyses regarding the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation throughout history. Furthermore, the researcher took into account individuals possessing practical, first-hand experience in military exchanges, joint exercises, or other collaborative initiatives between India and Kenya. Their direct experiences provided profound insights.

Table 3. 1 Target Population for military personnel

The target population of Military personnel (KA, KAF, and KN)				
CSIs	Strategic Level	Operational Level	Tactical Level	Total
Kenya Army	250	600	400	1250
Kenya Air Force	180	250	320	750
Kenya Navy	120	230	150	500
Total	550	1080	870	2500

Source: Ministry of Defence Staff Establishment Report, 2023

Table 3. 2 Sample of Military Personnel

CSIs	Strategic level		Operational		Tactical level		Total
	N	(n)	N	(n)	N	(n)	(n)

Kenya Army	250 15	600	65	400	40	120
Air Force	180 10	250	55	320	15	80
Kenya Navy	120 10	230	35	150	05	50
Total	550 35	1080	155	870	60	250

Source: Ministry of Defence Staff Establishment Report, 2023

3.4.1 Sampling Frame for KIIs from Kenya

For KIIs from Kenya, the study targeted 165 respondents using the 30% formula for each identified stratum. The categories of target population included senior civilian officials from the defense ministry, senior officials from the Foreign Affairs ministry, officials from the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), senior military officials and security as well as defense analysts. The researcher estimated the total population of each stratum, that is, the total number of individuals in each category. The researcher then applied the 30% formula to calculate the sample size for each stratum, that is, the researcher multiplied the total population by 30%. For the senior civilian officials from the defense ministry, the researcher targeted 30 respondents. For senior officials from the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the researcher targeted 40 respondents, for officials from IPSTC the researcher targeted 20 respondents, for senior military officials, the researcher targeted 50 respondents, and for security and defense analysts the researcher targeted 25 respondents. The researcher then calculated each stratum by applying 30% to each category. The sample size for KIIs from Kenya was 50, senior civilian officials 9, senior officials from the Foreign Affairs Ministry 12, IPSTC 6, senior military officials 15, and security and defense analysts 8. The summary is given in table 3.3.

Table 3. 3 Sample frame for KIIs from Kenya

Category	Target Population	Sample size	Sampling technique	Data collection method
Senior Civilian Officials from the defense ministry	30	9	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Senior officials from the Foreign Affairs Ministry	40	12	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Officials from IPSTC	20	6	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Senior Military officials	50	15	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Security and Defense Analyst	25	8	Convenience	Interview Schedule
	165	50		

Source: Researcher, 2023

3.4.2 Sampling Frame for KIIs from India

In this study, the researcher employed a purposive sampling technique to select respondents from the Indian side, specifically choosing one individual from every ten in the strata of the identified categories. This approach ensured each stratum contributed a representative with specialized knowledge pertinent to Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations.

For KIIs from India, the study targeted 200 respondents using the 30% formula for each identified stratum. The categories of target population included Indian military attaches, defense attaches, officials from the High Commission of India, Indian Consulate officials, Indian business representatives in the defense sector, and Indian defense contractors and advisors. The researcher estimated the total population of each stratum, that is, the total number of individuals in each category. The researcher then applied the 30% formula to calculate the sample size for each stratum, that is, the researcher multiplied the total population by 30%. For the Indian military attaches, the

researcher targeted 40 respondents. For defense attaches, the researcher targeted 30 respondents, officials from the High Commission of India, the researcher targeted 50 respondents, for Indian Consulate officials, the researcher targeted 20 respondents, for Indian business representatives in the defense sector the researcher targeted 25 respondents and for Indian defense contractors and advisors, the researcher targeted 35 respondents. The researcher then calculated each stratum by applying 30% to each category. The sample size for KIIs from India was 61, Indian military attaches were 12, defense attaches were 9, officials from the High Commission of India were 15, Indian consulate officials were 6, Indian business representatives in the defense sector were 8, and Indian defense contractors and advisors were 11. The summary is provided in Table 3.4.

Table 3. 4 Sampling frame for KIIs from India

Category	Target Population	Sample size	Sampling technique	Data collection method
Indian Military Attachés:	40	12	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Indian Defense Attachés:	30	9	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Officials from the Indian High Commission	50	15	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Indian Consulate	20	6	Purposive	Interview

Officials						Schedule
Indian Business Representatives in the Defense Sector	25	8		Convenience		Interview Schedule
Indian Defense Contractors or Advisors	35	11		Purposive		Interview Schedule
	200	61				

Source: Researcher, 2023

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The research gathered an array of both primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources were utilized to gather data from chosen respondents through interviews and questionnaires, whereas secondary data was obtained via document analysis. The study encompassed both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Employing both approaches concurrently in fundamental research is advocated as the most effective method for obtaining adequate results (Hall & Du Gay, 1996).

3.5.1 Interviews

The use of interviews in this study is justified as they offer several advantages over other research methods. According to Koul and Mukherjee (1993), interviews allow for deeper exploration of the subject matter, providing more nuanced and comprehensive data. This method enables the interviewer to clarify and probe responses, ensuring that any incomplete or unclear answers are followed up on, which enhances the accuracy and reliability of the information gathered. Additionally, interviews allow the researcher to assess the sincerity and credibility of the respondents' answers through direct interaction, a benefit highlighted by Koul (1993) and Patton (1990).

For this study, semi-structured interviews were prepared to engage key informants in the field, including officials from the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Indian High Commission. These interviews were designed to capture detailed insights into Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations, leveraging the expertise of individuals directly involved in or knowledgeable about the bilateral cooperation between the two nations. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to explore relevant topics in depth while maintaining a consistent framework for comparison across different respondents. This method ensures that the study captures rich, contextually relevant data that other research tools might not reveal, making it an invaluable approach for understanding the complexities of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations.

3.5.2 Questionnaires

The study employed a mixed-methods approach by administering a semi-structured questionnaire containing both open and closed-ended questions to gather data from military personnel. The questions were designed to capture a comprehensive understanding of the respondents' perspectives on Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations (see Appendix 3). The questionnaire was distributed to 250 military personnel, but only 233 completed questionnaires were returned, resulting in a 93.2% response rate.

The use of closed-ended questions was chosen because they are easier to analyze, as the responses are in a readily usable format with predefined answer choices. This structure facilitates efficient data processing and allows for straightforward comparison across respondents. On the other hand, open-ended questions were included to allow respondents the flexibility to provide more detailed and nuanced responses. These questions enabled

participants to express their personal views and elaborate on the reasons behind their answers, adding depth to the data collected.

The administration of the questionnaire followed a systematic process. First, the questionnaires were distributed to the selected military personnel, ensuring that participants were given sufficient time to respond. To enhance the accuracy of responses, respondents were encouraged to consult relevant records before answering, particularly for sensitive questions. This approach aligns with the recommendations of Floyd and Jacobson (1993), who emphasize the importance of providing respondents with adequate time and resources to ensure truthful and well-considered responses. The questionnaire method was also favored for its efficiency in gathering information from many respondents within a relatively short period, as supported by Gupta (1999). This combination of open and closed-ended questions and careful administration ensured that the data collected was rich in detail and easy to analyze.

3.5.4 Secondary Data

Secondary data was derived from document analysis, research publications, policy and government reports, website inquiries, and newspaper articles. The existing literature was examined to furnish a theoretical and conceptual framework of the variables, thereby enhancing the discourse surrounding the cases.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Instruments

This study was underpinned by both reliability and validity of Instruments.

3.6.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to the accuracy or precision of a measuring instrument (Orodho, 2003). To improve reliability, the researcher examined the errors in the instruments based on expert advice and implemented the necessary corrections. Reliability refers to the degree to which results maintain consistency across different time periods. The focus lies on the likelihood of reproducing findings from a study utilizing an analogous methodology. This is accomplished when the research instruments are deemed dependable. Elevated degrees of consistency and precision address the challenges posed by unreliability. To guarantee the reliability and validity of the research instruments, a pre-testing phase was conducted involving a small, randomly selected group of respondents from each category. A tool is deemed reliable when administered to the same participants across different intervals, yielding consistent responses (Weiner, 2007). The reliability assessment encompassed the quantifiable responses to the research components of the pilot study tools, specifically the questionnaire and interview guide.

3.6.2 Validity

Validity pertains to the question of whether an indicator or a collection of indicators designed to assess a concept effectively measures that concept (Allan, 2001). Cohen and Marion (1994) assert that the assessment of the research instrument's validity ought to be conducted by specialists in the field. To ascertain the validity of the research instruments, they were submitted to specialists at the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology for a thorough evaluation of the

items within the data collection tools. This guaranteed that the instruments employed addressed the objectives in a systematic manner.

The researcher provided training to two research assistants over a two-week period prior to the commencement of data collection. The participants received comprehensive training regarding the study's objectives, as well as the purpose and methodologies employed for data collection. The research assistants were informed about the study's objectives and the methodologies employed for data collection. The participants were brought to the study area to become acquainted with it, ensuring their preparedness to assist the researcher (Allan, 2001).

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis involves scrutinizing the collected information and drawing conclusions and inferences from it. The analysis adhered to the methodology of editing, coding, classification, and tabulation of raw data, as outlined by Kothari (2004). The qualitative data gathered from interviews were subjected to analysis through narrative reports employing thematic techniques. The quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires underwent editing, coding, and subsequent entry into a computer spreadsheet, adhering to a standardized format to facilitate the analysis of descriptive statistics. The quantitative data were analyzed utilizing Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) edition 27 and Microsoft Office Excel 2013. The information was conveyed descriptively, utilizing frequencies and percentages for clarity. The results of the study were subsequently illustrated through tables, bar charts, and pie charts. Thematic analysis was conducted on the data derived from the interviews and documents. In this context, it was transcribed and subsequently structured into emerging themes and categories. This was succeeded by a

thorough examination, classification, tabulation, and synthesis of evidence to derive significance in relation to the study's foundational objectives, research inquiries, and pertinent issues (Kothari, 2004). The newly uncovered insights were utilized to bolster the conclusions drawn from the questionnaires. The findings of the data analysis are presented in table 3.5.

Table 3. 5 Summary of Data Analysis

	Objective .1: Nature of Bilateral Cooperation	Objective.2: Dynamics of Military- Diplomatic Relations	Objective.3: Challenges and Opportunities:
Variables Analysed	Bilateral Cooperation Strategic Partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military agreements • Visits of military personnel • Exchange between military education • Joint military exercises 	Funding Constraints Unequal military capabilities

Research design	Cross-sectional survey Historical	Cross-sectional survey Historical	Cross-sectional survey Historical
Instrument Utilized	Questionnaire Interviews	Questionnaire Interviews	Questionnaire Interviews
Data Analysis	Quantitative Qualitative	Quantitative Qualitative	Quantitative Qualitative analysis
Desired Output	A comprehensive understanding of the historical context, evolution, and potential future of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations	Strategic outcomes for both nations to enhance cooperation, address any tensions, and capitalize on mutual interests.	Capitalizing on potential areas for collaboration, such as defense technology sharing, training programs, counter-terrorism efforts, or regional stability initiatives.

Source: Researcher,2024

3.8 Limitations

Like all other studies, studying Kenya-India relations comes with its limitations. Identifying those barriers is essential for ensuring the accuracy and validity of the study. The first limitation of the study that the researcher anticipated was based on geographical scope. To overcome this limitation the researcher relied on Indian personnel, such as military attachés, High Commission of India officials to collect data. The researcher anticipated that, there would be limited data available for this nature of study. This is because there was a paucity of literature on Kenya-India military Diplomatic relations. Access to up-to-date records on bilateral military cooperation would be difficult. Therefore, to overcome this limitation, the researcher mitigated this difficulty by relying

on numerous resources, consisting of authorities' guides, instructional studies, think tank reports, and interviews with specialists or officials who have insights into the research topic. The researcher, therefore, sought advice and insights from experts in the field. Experts provided valuable perspectives, suggested alternative data sources, and recommended methodologies to address the lack of data. International relations are dynamic and can change swiftly because of geopolitical shifts, leadership changes, or unforeseen occasions. Therefore, to overcome this challenge, the researcher acknowledged the dynamic nature of global relations to stay current.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethics represent the foundational moral principles that dictate an individual's conduct. Ethics may be characterized as a framework of principles delineating right from wrong, guiding human conduct in relation to rights, responsibilities, societal benefits, equity, or particular virtues. Showcat and Parveen (2017) contend that while specific legal obligations are imposed on researchers, the ethical principles of respect and honesty hold significant importance in the realm of research. Fouka and Mantzorou (2011) contend that all human activities are regulated by individual, community, and social values, emphasizing that in research, safeguarding the dignity of respondents is paramount. A fundamental aspect of research is the necessity of obtaining informed consent from participants, as studies involving personal information are inherently sensitive and require handling.

Informed consent constitutes a process whereby a capable individual, having received and comprehended all pertinent information regarding the research, thus allowing participants to voluntarily express their intention to participate. Following the endorsement of the research proposal, the researcher was granted an introductory letter from the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. The proposal was submitted to the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) in order to obtain authorization for conducting the research. Moreover, the investigator guaranteed that all data supplied would be handled with the highest degree of privacy and confidentiality, ensuring that no information would be disclosed to any third party without obtaining written consent from the source (Okoth, 2012). Information obtained from the works of other scholars was appropriately cited to prevent plagiarism.

3.10 Chapter Summary

The chapter discusses the research design, area of study, population of the study, sample selection methods and size, data collection methods, validity and reliability, data collection procedures, and data analysis methods that were adopted. The study's limitations have also been identified, and solutions are provided. Ethical considerations were also made. The subsequent chapters were based on the three specific objectives. As such, chapter four, which is the next chapter, examines the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURE OF BILATERAL COOPERATION IN KENYA –INDIA MILITARY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents findings on the nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India. The nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India is multifaceted, encompassing various dimensions such as defense, trade, technology, and cultural exchanges. This partnership is characterized by mutual respect and strategic alignment to address shared challenges and advance common interests. Both nations enhance their economic and security frameworks through collaborative initiatives, strengthen diplomatic

ties, and promote regional stability. The dynamic and evolving nature of this cooperation reflects Kenya and India's commitment to building a robust and sustainable relationship. It ends with a chapter summary.

4.1 Whether there is awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India

The study examined whether there is awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents, 105(48.84%) said yes to the inquiry, 78(36.28%) said no, and 50 (14.88%) were not sure whether there are Kenya-India bilateral relations. The results are illustrated in Figure 4.1.

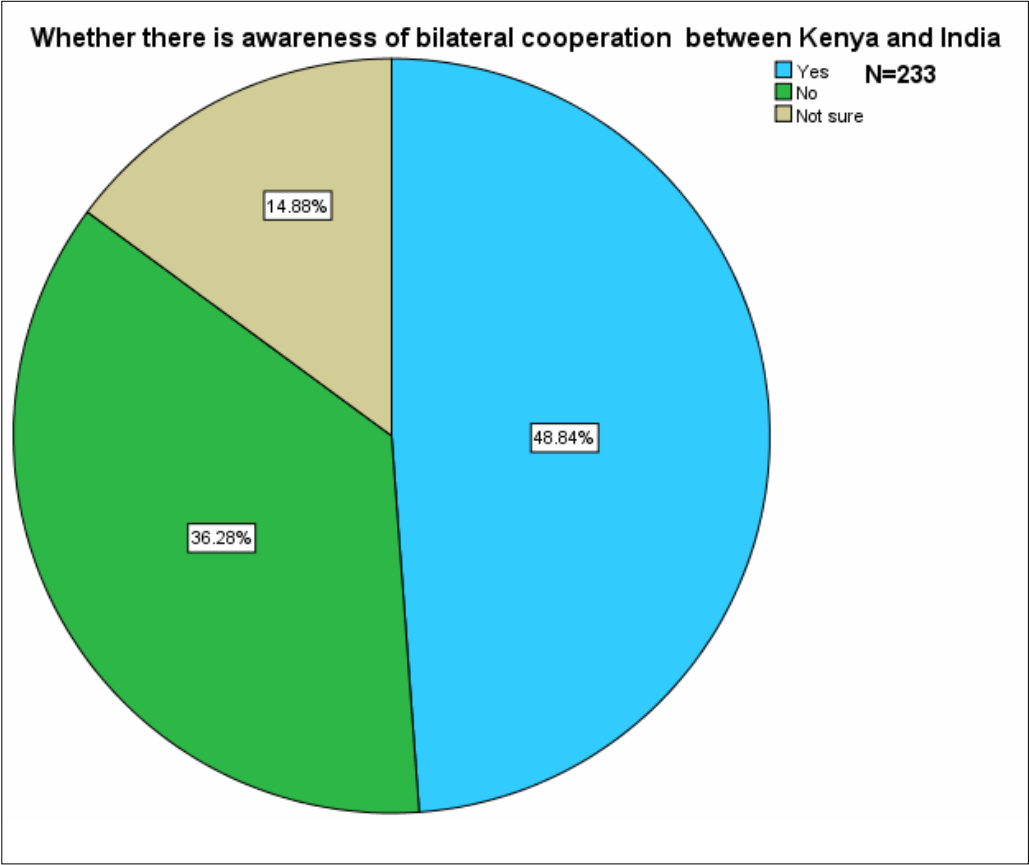


Figure 4. 1 Awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India

Source: Field Data,2024

The study exploring awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India reveals a divided understanding among the respondents. Out of 233 individuals surveyed, 105 respondents, or 48.84%, affirmed that they were aware of the Kenya-India bilateral relationship. This group represents a significant portion of the population, suggesting that there is a fair level of awareness about the diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties between the two countries. This awareness could be attributed to historical connections, trade partnerships, educational exchanges, and the presence of the Indian diaspora in Kenya, which has fostered mutual engagement over the years.

However, 78 respondents, or 34.67%, indicated that they were unaware of these bilateral relations. This substantial percentage highlights a gap in public knowledge, which could stem from a lack of communication or public engagement on the part of both governments. It suggests that while formal relations exist, they are not as visible or well-publicized to the general population. This lack of awareness could undermine the potential benefits of the bilateral relationship, as public support and understanding are crucial for the success of international partnerships.

Additionally, 50 respondents, or 22.22%, were uncertain about whether there were bilateral relations between Kenya and India. This uncertainty indicates a level of ambiguity in public perception, where individuals have some awareness but lack concrete information about the nature and scope of the relationship. This finding suggests that more efforts are needed to educate and inform the public about the existing ties between the two nations. While a significant portion of the population is aware of the Kenya-India bilateral

relationship, there remains a considerable lack of knowledge and certainty among many. To strengthen these ties, both countries need to enhance public diplomacy efforts to increase visibility and understanding of their cooperation.

In light of the preceding statement one of the respondents stated that:

There is awareness. This awareness indicates a growing recognition of the strategic and economic partnerships between the two nations. However, there remains a notable portion of the population that is either unaware or uncertain about these relations, highlighting the need for increased public awareness and educational initiatives to enhance understanding of the importance and impact of this bilateral cooperation (Interview with KII at the defense ministry, on 10/7/2024, Nairobi).

The study's findings align with scholarly research on public awareness of international bilateral relations. According to Ochieng (2022), understanding and recognizing bilateral relationships are crucial for fostering effective diplomacy and cooperation between nations. The study's indication that a substantial segment of respondents are aware of Kenya-India relations supports the notion that strategic partnerships are gaining visibility and impact. However, Karanja and Mwangi (2021) emphasize that continued efforts are necessary to bridge public awareness and understanding gaps. Enhanced educational initiatives and targeted communication strategies can help address uncertainties and increase knowledge about international collaborations. As Patel (2023) suggests, disseminating information about bilateral relations is critical in promoting informed public discourse and engagement, ultimately supporting stronger and more informed diplomatic ties.

4.2 Nature of bilateral relations between Kenya and India

Several elements dictate Kenya-India bilateral relations. As such, this study examined the nature of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents 11(4.72%) indicated that Kenya-India bilateral relations are characterized by high-profile visits, 7(3.00%) stated that it manifests itself through space cooperation, 23(9.87%) reasoned that technological transfer characterizes the relations, 43(20%) stated defense trade and trade agreements as an element defining relations between Kenya and India. Besides, 143(61.37%) stated security partnerships as an element of relations, 13 (5.58%) indicated defense investment as a factor, and 15 (6.44%) reasoned that humanitarian assistance defined relations between Kenya and India. The results are illustrated in Figure 4.2.

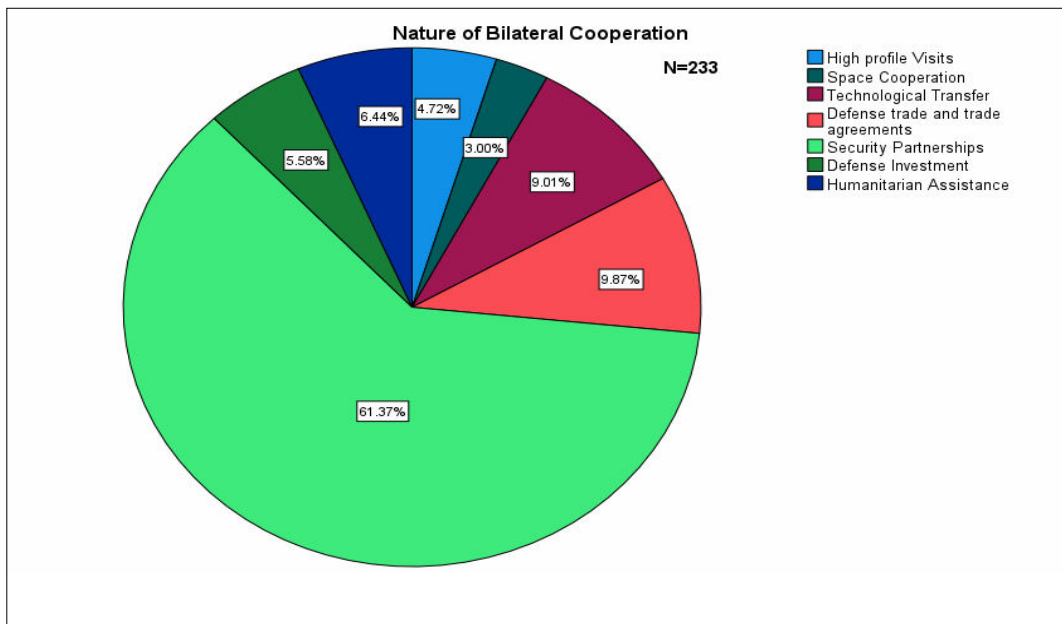


Figure 4. 2 Nature of Bilateral Cooperation between Kenya and India

Source: Field Data,2024

The study exploring the elements that dictate Kenya-India bilateral relations highlights several key factors that shape the nature of the relationship between these two countries.

The findings reveal a multifaceted relationship characterized by high-profile visits, space cooperation, technological transfer, defense trade and trade agreements, security partnerships, defense investments, and humanitarian assistance. These elements are not only reflective of the respondents' perceptions but are also supported by contemporary scholarly works that examine the evolving dynamics of Kenya-India relations.

A significant portion of the respondents, 29 out of 233(13.49%), indicated that Kenya-India bilateral relations are characterized by high-profile visits. This finding aligns with the scholarly view that diplomatic visits are crucial in reinforcing bilateral ties. High-profile visits by leaders and officials from both countries serve to strengthen political and economic cooperation, sign new agreements, and signal the importance of the relationship. According to Chand (2018), such visits often lead to the signing of MoUs (Memorandums of Understanding) that pave the way for deeper cooperation in various sectors, including trade, education, and defense.

Another aspect highlighted by the study is space cooperation, noted by 7 respondents (3.00%). This reflects a growing area of collaboration between Kenya and India. India's space agency, ISRO, has been instrumental in providing satellite technology and training to Kenya, enhancing the country's capabilities in weather forecasting, disaster management, and telecommunications. According to Singh and Chauhan (2020), space cooperation between India and African nations, including Kenya, is part of India's broader strategy to build soft power and foster development partnerships in the Global South.

Technological transfer was identified by 21 respondents (9.01%) as a key element of Kenya-India relations. This is supported by contemporary literature, which notes that India has been a significant source of affordable technology for Kenya, particularly in the areas of information and communication technology (ICT), pharmaceuticals, and renewable energy. According to Chaturvedi (2019), technology transfer from India to Kenya has contributed to the growth of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Kenya, fostering innovation and entrepreneurship.

Defense trade and trade agreements were highlighted by 23 respondents (9.87%) as defining the bilateral relationship. This is consistent with scholarly analyses that emphasize the importance of trade in strengthening Kenya-India relations. India is one of Kenya's top trading partners, with significant exports in pharmaceuticals, machinery, and textiles. Additionally, defense trade has gained prominence, with India supplying military equipment and training to Kenyan forces. Bhatia (2021) notes that the defense trade is a critical component of India's engagement with African countries, reflecting India's strategic interests in maintaining security and stability in the region.

143 respondents (61.37%) identified security partnership as the most frequently cited element. This finding underscores the importance of security cooperation in the bilateral relationship. Kenya and India have collaborated on counterterrorism efforts, maritime security, and intelligence sharing, particularly in the Indian Ocean region. According to Pant (2022), the security partnership between Kenya and India is part of a broader regional security framework aimed at combating piracy, terrorism, and other transnational threats.

Thirteen respondents (5.58%) noted defense investment, reflecting the growing focus on defense-related infrastructure and capabilities. India has invested in the modernization of Kenya's defense sector, providing training, equipment, and infrastructure support. As per Menon (2020), such investments are part of India's strategy to build long-term defense partnerships in Africa, ensuring that African nations can address their security challenges.

In light of the foregoing, one of the respondents stated that:

India's strategic investment in Kenya's defense sector, including modernization efforts, training, and infrastructure support, underscores our commitment to building enduring defense partnerships across Africa. By enhancing Kenya's defense capabilities, we not only strengthen our bilateral relations but also contribute to regional security stability. This approach aligns with India's broader strategy to support African nations in addressing their security challenges and fostering long-term, strategic alliances (Interview with KII at the defense ministry, on 10/7/2024, Nairobi).

Finally, 15 respondents (6.44%) identified humanitarian assistance as a defining element of the relationship. India has provided humanitarian aid to Kenya, particularly during crises such as droughts and pandemics. This aligns with India's broader development cooperation agenda, which emphasizes support for health, education, and disaster relief in Africa (Mishra, 2019). The study's findings reveal that Kenya-India bilateral relations are shaped by a diverse set of elements, each contributing to the overall strength and depth of the relationship. Supported by contemporary scholarly works, these elements highlight the multifaceted nature of the partnership, which spans diplomacy, technology, defense, security, and humanitarian cooperation. As the relationship continues to evolve, these

elements will likely play an increasingly important role in shaping the future of Kenya-India relations.

4.2.1 High-profile diplomatic visits

International working visits between Kenya and India are significant in enhancing bilateral relations. High profile visits happen at the level of heads of state and ministers. Such visits enhance regional political, economic, and defense relations by having close consultations between such political and economic entities. They increase the identification of shared goals and common goals in areas such as trade, security, and technology cooperation. These visits help to build the basis for a long-term healthy partnership between the two nations by suggesting compatibility and interest in each other's progress. Concerning the study's findings on high-profile visits as a strategic dimension of the Kenya–India bilateral relations, the information gathered from the respondents was supplemented by existing literature.

Given the foregoing, one of the key informants averred that:

The constant interchanges of delegation between the two countries demonstrate the level of commitment of the two in realising a synergy. Most of the agreements are signed during these visits (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 11/7/2024, Nairobi).

These findings are underscored by scholarly works that underscore the key emphasis of high-level diplomacy on promoting bilateral relations. Similarly to the previous studies, Gupta (2024) pointed out that political attention and support are vital to creating appropriate conditions for negotiations, and high-profile visits can contribute to the enhancement of that effect. Such trips led to the establishment of significant MOUs, which

paved the way for future cooperation in numerous fields, including defence, trade, and technology.

In light of the foregoing statement, another respondent remarked,

In essence, unlike a simple sportsman's handshake or hug for the camera, when our leaders come over, they do not come just to shake hands and move on. They focus on real factors that impact our commerce and defence (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 10/7/2024, Nairobi).

The researcher argues that, this perspective emphasises the functions of such visits, which extend from gestures of goodwill all the way down to deals in trade, security and culture. These visits are routine in focus and act as a platform for enhancing cooperation and resolving bilateral issues to strengthen the strategic bilateral partnership between Kenya and India. Moreover, Guzman (2018) notes that official trips increase confidence and analysis of nations between themselves. They make it possible for leaders to sit down and discuss bilateral issues affecting their countries personally, thus creating time to learn other areas of partnership. Such interactions are important to keep up the pace of bilateral cooperation and guarantee that both countries still aim their activities at achieving these goals.

4.2.2 Space Cooperation

Currently, space cooperation has become one fundamental aspect of Kenya-India relations as the two countries seek to expand technological partnerships. This kind of relationship benefits India's space technology and advanced satellites and harnesses Kenya's consolidation position to realise cooperation objectives in satellite telecommunications, earth observation, and scientific exploration (Otieno, 2024). Thus, both countries have

stated and unexpressed goals through cooperation in space exploration to improve their standard in space technology and to also solve regional problems like weather, climate change, disaster response and management and so on (Otieno, 2024). This shift of focus on space cooperation shows the enhanced dynamics and novelty of Kenya-India relations, particularly in the aspect of innovation diplomacy. Research evidence establishing space cooperation as an important aspect of Kenya-India relations based on the study is well elaborated and supported by respondent's observations and research findings.

In light of the foregoing statement, another respondent observed that:

Satellite technology has been helpful to Kenya through cooperation with India. As partners, we have been able to enhance our efforts to arrive at the right weather predictions or disaster response. This is not just a technology thing but all about fostering our ability to harness issues individually (Interview with KII at the Indian Consulate, on 22/7/2024, Mombasa).

The relationship described the benefits of space cooperation between the two countries and how India has helped to improve Kenya's infrastructure and capacity regarding development through technology. These observations are underpinned by scholarly works which assert that space cooperation is a strategic area in South-South relations. According to Otieno (2024), there is strategic cooperation in space with Indian and African countries, including Kenya, which is strategic in supporting developmental agendas for the Global South and strengthening technology and infrastructure. As such, it is believed that this cooperation aims to promote development, climate change adaptation, and communication in partner countries.

Another respondent stated that:

Space cooperation between Kenya and India is a model example of how developing nations can help each other to develop. Today, with the help of India, Kenya is moving forward in fields we never even dreamed of, such as satellite communication and studying our environment. Knowledge ain't power in the 21st century; let others know who can power themselves when the tables turn tomorrow (Interview with KII at the Indian Consulate on 22/7/2024 Mombasa).

In the foregoing, statement, it is essential to point to the potential gains of the cooperation, where the emphasis is on something different than the utilisation of the technology itself and on the success, which has a more distant aim: the development of the independent Kenyan initiative in the field of space activities. Gurjar (2023) notes the same thought and states that such affiliations are highly relevant to Indian diplomacy as these are beneficial for both parties. Technology and expertise have to do with improving the present, creating a foundation of what is likely to be achieved, and building self-sufficiency in space technology for countries such as Kenya.

4.2.3 Technological transfer

The research findings on technological transfer as an essential area in Kenya-India relations have received adequate consideration from the respondents and current theoretical literature. Technological transfer between these two nations has been key in determining the nature of their relations about ICT, health, and renewable energy.

In light of the foregoing statement, a respondent averred that,

India has supplied Kenya with relatively cheap technologies for a long time. For instance, in the pharmaceuticals sector, Indian firms have supplied us with cheaper generic drugs, taking health care to the door-step of many. It is, therefore, essential to recognise that this technology transfer is not solely

centred on tangible products; it is centred on what we learn in the process. From the case of the Indian experience, our local industries have benefited in terms of learning and the ability to expand (Interview conducted with KII at the defence ministry on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This remark demonstrates how India has revolutionised the contribution it has rendered towards Kenya's technological sectors, not only in areas that are relevant to the public sector but also in sectors that are central to the public interest. The respondent has more emphasis on the pharma sector, which is more important to India, which is recognised as the pharmacy of the world for producing the cheapest generic medicines. Technological transfer in this sector has not only ensured the enhancement of available health facilities in Kenya through the importation of essential medicines but has also encouraged the growth of the local pharmaceutical industry.

In view of the prevenient assertion, another respondent observed that:

The experience with India has enabled us to tap into advanced technology on renewable sources of energy. There have been a lot of advancements in the generation of solar power with the help of knowledge and technology imported from India. This has not only helped us achieve our energy requirement but also placed Kenya on the region map regarding renewable energy. In as much as this may have been the case, the training provided by Indians and the support from experts from India have been important in this area (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This statement brings out the fact that technology imposition is significant in the area of renewable energy as an area of competitiveness, which India has enhanced Kenya's progress. At the same time, Kenya aims to achieve fossil fuel independence, and the technology and knowledge from India have been instrumental in increasing the country's

solar energy generation. This partnership assures Kenya of its short-term energy requirements while at the same time being in line with the country's sustainable energy goals. These findings are further reinforced by the literature by discussing the tenets of technological transfer in Kenya-India relations. As pointed out by Gurjar (2023), technology transfer from India to Kenya is one of the most important sectors of South-South cooperation. This is a strategy where two developing countries exchange their technology and experience with each other with the aim of progressive development. Thus, the researcher argues that, through technology transfer, the sectors in Kenya, including health, energy and ICT, have experienced certain transformations. These are not simply commercial arrangements but are much more within the existing framework of capacity enhancement and environmental management.

Sagwa *et al.* explain further the roles and significance of technological transfer with special reference to the Kenyan economy in the year 2024. He postulates that the technology and expertise that have been sourced from India have enabled the SMEs in Kenya. In this respect, the availability of cheap ICT solutions, for example, has allowed Kenyan actors to increase productive efficiency and competitiveness on the international level. It has further boosted diversification and, therefore, employment opportunities for sustainable development. Furthermore, (Raga *et al.*, 2021) suggest that technological cooperation can foster enduring cooperation by developing dependencies between two nations that are favourable for both parties. The process of technology transfer that India extends to Kenya benefits Kenya by providing a way to solve some of its problems, thus creating a ready market for India's products and services. This vested interest assures that both nations

(commonly referred to as partners) benefit from their affiliation and hence improve their relations.

Another broad field of military cooperation between Kenya and India is in the sharing of defence technology, which, in essence, defines the two countries' defence capability and positioning (Gurjar, 2023). Therefore, this study seeks to identify the characteristics of defence technology transferring from the structural realism perspective and advance the strengths and importance from the global and African views.

In view of the foregoing finding, one of the Key Informants revealed that:

Defence technology transfer between Kenya and India relations embraces development projects, technological exchanges, and capacity improvement. This is in line with Vision 2030. For instance, India's advanced defence sector has made it a prominent dealer of assorted technologies, including military ones, for the Kenyan military. This cooperation is supposed to enhance the defence support and assistance of Kenya as a country in issues of security (Interview with KII on 27/6/2024, Nairobi).

In support of the antecedent view, Sagwa et al. (2024) posit that joint development projects have also been unravelled to act as one of the primary functions of technology transfer within defence technology. According to the study, there is increased collaboration between India and Kenya in ongoing projects to develop homegrown defence equipment. For example, Indian defence firms are in production and security deals with Kenyan counterparts to develop surveillance and reconnaissance systems for the regional security

environment Sagwa et al. (2024). Consequently, the researcher opines that, it not only assists Kenya with providing modern technology but also advances technological progress in its defense sector.

The other mechanism is the direct transfer of technology through such practices as technology licensing, joint ventures, and franchising. As a result of the research, the article discovered that India had gifted Kenya improved military assets, including communication equipment, UAVs, and armored vehicles. Such transfers are always followed by core training programs to make sure that the Kenyan personnel is capable of effectively using and administering the equipment (Jain, 2024). Some of the capacity-building initiatives also apply to this cooperation. This study found out that up-to-date Indian trainers are still preparing Kenyan defense personnel in several aspects, including cyber security, electronic warfare, and Aerospace Engineering. These programs that are conducted at Indian defense academies, therefore, seek to increase the capabilities of Kenyan military troops (Jain, 2024).

From the matters concerning defense technology transfer, cooperation in defense technology has had some positive effects. In doing so, the study affirmed that joint development projects have led to the provision of unique solutions to Kenya's security needs through the development of defence assets. For example, the design of specific UAVs to be used in border watches has given Kenya a better approach to controlling its borders (Sagwa *et al.*, 2024). Moreover, the sale of complex anti-smuggling arms and

ammunition has a lot boosted the caliber of the Kenyan defense force. Studies found that the acquisition of modern communication equipment and armored vehicles improves troop mobility and the effectiveness of Kenyan forces (Saballa, 2023). In addition, the enhancement of training programmes has produced human resources that are prepared to manage complicated defence technologies, thereby boosting the country's general defense capacity.

From a global perspective, the author realized that the Kenya-India defense technology relations meet structural realism assertions. According to Thompson, in the framework of structural realism, the state seeks to accumulate power and attain the highest degree of power by forming alliances and possessing efficient weapons. If we consider the transfer of defense technology from India to Kenya as a strategic partnership move, India's security and standing in the region will certainly be strengthened by aiding a strategic ally.

In the context of Africa, this cooperation is seen as a benchmark for regional cooperation in this sector. This research also revealed that Kenya's and India's relations present other countries in Africa with good models of undertaking relations with technologically advanced countries. This is particularly relevant to the African Union's vision of boosting the defense industry within the continent through innovation and indigenization (African Union, 2019).

4.2.4 Defense Trade and trade agreements

The knowledge of the respondents and the current literature enhance the findings on the defense trade and trade agreements as fundamental aspects of Kenya-India relations. Trade

and bilateral trade policies have shaped the relations between the two countries in terms of trade relations and security in the past and in the future years (Gupta, 2024).

One respondent highlighted the importance of defense trade by stating that:

As a result of this defense trade between Kenya and India, our military has been fortified. In this regard, we have procured several military products from India that have also been relevant in the course of the reformation of our defense forces. It may, however, be pointed out that the focus is not just on purchasing this hardware but also on accompanying it with training and maintenance by Indian technicians. This partnership ensures that our forces receive everything they need in terms of equipment, as well as being prepared for present-day security threats (Interview, KII, defense ministry, 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

Consequently, the foregoing statement that the defense trade is not only diversified but also relatively between Kenya and India forms the basis of this comment. It is not limited to the sale of goods; it includes the provision of the enabling technology and information that is necessary to make the end user products functional in their intended environment of application, which is the military. As stated above, the respondent tries to rely on training and maintenance in order for the benefits of such business relations to last long and equip the defense forces of Kenya to act independently and effectively. Science also extends these observations through the analysis of the military and commercial potential and impact of defense trade and trade cooperation. Gupta (2024) noted that the defense trade between India and African nations, including Kenya, is central to India's foreign policy. This is because it can be effective in building the capacity of its friends through arming and training them while forging hegemony in the region at the same time. This rationale is consistent with India's inherent interest in building various political formations that will enhance stability in the area.

Another respondent remarked on the broader impact of trade agreements, stating that:

By free trade agreements with India, these potentials/blisses unveiled a lot for our businesses. India is also an important trading partner, and the measures that we have established increase the ease of exporting our products to their market. In return, we have observed that there is a flood of products of Indian origin that are cheap and of good quality. This has not only helped our economy but also provided the consumer with more options. The business of arms trade is just a commercial facet of this multi-faceted economic cooperation that is mutually advantageous to both nations (Interview with KII at the defense ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This perspective shows why defense trade is tagged on the economic cooperation between Kenya and India. The respondent pointed to the fact that all the agreements benefit, thus stressing that the given relation is bilateral as both countries have benefited from each other's experience in trade deals and other interactions in the sphere. Furthermore, Gupta (2024) explains the economic aspect of trade relations between India and Kenya and points out that the agreements between the two countries have introduced a large scale in the procedure of bilateral trade. India has become Kenya's sixth-largest trading partners with exports, including pharmaceuticals and HTML machinery, among others. They have eased market access for Kenyan firms to penetrate the Indian market and vice versa for India's products to penetrate the Kenyan market (Jain, 2024). Although defense trade constitutes a narrow niche of economic relations, it has connected to this large economic relationship through enhancing security, which is a basic necessity for Kenya's conducive environment for investment.

In his book, Kashyap *et al.* (2023) show the relevance of department of Science and Technology (DST) as contributing to the South-South Cooperation Strategy of India. In regards to Defence trade with Kenya, the study observes that rather than focus on just

business, India has embraced the Defence diplomacy doctrine where relations are not just for the sale of technological items but also cooperation in capacity building and knowledge sharing. This approach makes it possible to ensure that all the gains derived from defence trade are in some way meaningful to the growth of the Kenyan defence sector. Along with expanding the database of research resources, the findings on defence trade and trade agreements between Kenya and India are backed by concrete respondent and scholarly data. In the military aspect, defence trade has provided a paramount contribution in developing the capability of Kenya's defence forces, while on trade, the trade agreements have fostered economies' growth and mutual gains. Such an intricate entanglement reveals two important facts: first, it is crucial to develop cooperation in terms of defence as well as trade; second, the improvement of the latter will only strengthen the bilateral bond of both states and make them more secure and prosperous. These initiatives' success brings out the fact that Kenya-India relations have further room to transform into even more mutually beneficial.

4.2.5 Security Partnerships

The established findings on security partnerships as a keystone in Kenya-India relations are backed by highly descriptive respondent data and validated by current literature findings. Security cooperation between Kenya and India has produced great impacts in handling regional security challenges, enhancing the security of the two nations (Raga et al., 2021).

In light of the foregoing, the respondents noted that:

India has been very helpful in augmenting our security efforts. In terms of counterterrorism or intelligence sharing, their experience has put a lot into our arsenal. For instance, we witnessed the recent regional conflicts; Indian intelligence helped to avert several security threats to us. This is not an empty formality; it is a component that has to be delivered in order to improve safety regimes in the region(KII at the Indian Consulate, Mombasa 22/7/2024).

This increases the understanding of how deep the security cooperation indeed is, as one shows raw intelligence, not formal arrangements that can be conceived of as sharing, which strengthens Kenya's security operations. This is because the respondent has highlighted counterterrorism as one of the major areas of mutual and evident success, which is proof of the actual use of the concept of strategic partnership in the protection of states and regions against terrorism. These findings are also corroborated by literature as we discuss the related literature on security partnerships between Kenya and India with an emphasis on the wider benefits thereof. The High Commission of India (2022) asserted that security compromises, particularly those between the Kenyan and the Indian government, remain instrumental in fixing the regional security dials. They enable countries to combat terrorism and other international crimes, protect the seas, and exchange intelligence, which is a measure of checking stability in an area that is already presumed to be contaminated with several threats. India's participation in Kenya's security efforts replicates a strategic model of participation in securing relations that improve regional security and enhance its strategic power.

In consonance with the antecedent view, another KII respondent commented that:

The cooperation in the security aspect has provided a number of innovations in terms of security for India and for the region in general. Their help in enhancing security at sea has been particularly significant because of Kenya's geographical

location on the Indian Ocean. The Indians have availed themselves of enhancing the methods of coastal surveillance and escortship that are vital to protecting sea resources and preventing acts of piracy. Based on this partnership, our national security has been so strengthened well (Interview with KII at the Indian High Commission, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

The foregoing statement points to the centrality of maritime security relations. This focus on maritime security and piracy shows the importance of the Indian Ocean coast in Kenya and explains how the Indian experience in terms of training has been vital in improving maritime security in Kenya. Explaining security partnerships, Kashyap et al. (2023) point out that the South-South Cooperation approach would not be complete without a look at how security partnerships fit into India's strategy. The purchase of security assistance from India, including training, hardware and technology, assists the Kenyan security framework with reference to India's foreign strategy of intensifying relations with developing nations and encouraging security on the regional level. This approach deals with the current security threats and fosters a long-term partnership and cooperation within the security niche of various states/regions.

In addition, Yi and Sun (2022) aptly emphasise that such cooperation is crucial to improving the security architecture of the area. Plate 4.1. demonstrate the nature of cooperation exhibited between the states. Through this kind of security cooperation, both Kenya and India are able to build up the security architecture for the region while combating the threats of insecurity that characterise the region. This is part of a broad plan

to make sure both nations strengthen themselves to be in a position to respond to the numerous threats found within that region, such as terrorism, piracy, and regional conflicts.



Plate 4. 1: Researcher (Far left) with officials at the High Commission of India Boardroom

Source: Field Data, 2024

Chaturvedi (2019) discusses how security partnerships are integral to India's South-South cooperation strategy. India's support for Kenya's security infrastructure, including training, equipment, and expertise, aligns with its broader diplomatic goals of strengthening ties with developing countries and promoting regional stability. This approach not only addresses immediate security concerns but also builds long-term relationships based on mutual security interests.

4.2.6 Humanitarian assistance

The quantitative analysis of respondents' opinions and current academic literature confirms the role of humanitarian assistance in Kenya-India relations. Humanitarian aid is a reflection of enhancing the partnership between Kenya and India in humane rescue operations and sustainable development (The High Commission of India, 2022).

In support of the foregoing view, one of the KIIs revealed that:

That is why it can be claimed that India has been a very good ally in our humanitarian operations, at least in cases of humanitarian crises. For instance, when there was a recent drought in Kenya, India provided core products and services on water management. These funds were useful in offering the needed help that will enable assessment to clean water and solve issues related to the drought. This has really helped many, and their word is proof that most of them are really interested in helping humanitarian causes (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This statement addresses the ground welfare of the Indian communities to learn skills and availability of supplies in humanitarian situations. Sharing details of any area of interest of his choice in order to support this, the respondent shows how it is possible to have an appropriate assistance delivery system that is directed both to the needy and at helping in developing solutions that will be sustainable as well.

In light of the aforementioned assertion, another respondent argued that:

Indian sources have been very effective in financing Kenya's health and education sectors. There are reports that Indian NGOs have played their part in the construction of schools and clinics in the backward areas, from which many Kenyans have benefitted through education and health. Such support helps a lot in enhancing relations between our countries and demonstrates India's real concern for our progress (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This view explains the fact that India's disaster response is not only limited to crisis response but also involves development cooperation as well. When the respondent talks of

educational and healthcare support, such support in putting up structures and capacity of structures in Kenya's education, health and other sectors fosters positive structures, relations and development. The findings are further supported by a compilation of scholarly works. Supporting this, Gupta (2024) states that humanitarian assistance constitutes a part of the South-South cooperation where donor countries such as India assist the recipient countries on the basis of equal understanding and learning processes. Indian humanitarian assistance strategy, as reflected through its aid to Kenya, therefore covers not only the delivery of humanitarian aid but also possible developmental projects that aim to tackle the causes of the humanitarian crisis head-on. This is consistent with India's larger diplomatic outlook, which seeks to fortify relationships through functioning cooperation and institutional development.

Yi and Sun (2022) have written about the role of international humanitarian help, establishing that when a state extends help to another, the latter ends up indebted, and the former receives some bargaining power. Focusing on the case of Kenya and India, humanitarian aid in this country has focused on meeting the exigent needs and has also been part of developmental aid, hence strengthening the bilateral relations between the two countries. The investment in healthcare, education and infrastructure support areas are indications of treatment to Kenya's welfare and development, thus strengthening the cordial diplomatic relations between the two nations. Additionally, Guzman (2018) delves into the issue of humanitarian aid as a tool for opening up engagements and shedding light on this rationale to open up humanitarian aid for deeper cooperation, uncovering how it results in other interactions that cover trade besides security. India's humanitarian aid has

probably strengthened the general cooperation with Kenya and opened up new fields of cooperation for the two countries.

Therefore, understanding the strategic sectors of military cooperation between the two countries based on the study provided insights into areas of concentration between Kenya and India. Thus, counterterrorism was another area that was distinguished as important by 14.2% of respondents. This reassured the two countries, Kenya and India, that they were in unison with each other in the fight against terrorism and other security challenges in the region. The external cooperation sector might also include another important point, which 37,2% of respondents identified as important – maritime safety. Because both countries had and continued to have vast maritime interests and since the security of sea lines for trade and commerce was paramount, cooperation in this domain was essential for improving maritime security and, thus, economic stability.

4.2.7 Counterterrorism

In the last decades, due to the globalisation of the issues related to terrorism, counterterrorism was considered one of the key priorities of cooperation in the military field (Leriari, 2020). Therefore, as modern terrorists are connected within the international networks, effectively using such international resources as communication and financial systems, cooperation in the Military area has become crucially important. Various types of cooperation include sharing intelligence information, training, capacity development, and executing operations (Leriari, 2020). This thesis is authored to provide an investigation of counterterrorism as a type of military cooperation on the international level, focusing on the peculiarities of some cases and the general provisions that govern similar relationships.

Organisation of counterterrorism cooperation is primarily organised on the basis of intelligence sharing worldwide. Al Qaeda and ISIS are global organisations, and that is why there has to be an alliance to counter terrorism in various parts of the world. This is with the formation of agencies that are involved with the formation of platforms that allow for the sharing of information, such as the International Criminal Police Organisation [INTERPOL] and the Counterterrorism Committee of the United Nations Security Council. For instance, the Five Eyes grouping of intelligence agencies from the United States, UK, Canada, Australia, and NZ was a good example of intelligence sharing that increased the capacity of each member to identify terrorists and effectively respond to them (Sobol et al., 2023).

Another of the topics of counterterrorism cooperation is conducting military exercises and training sessions together. They enable the armed forces of various nations to fine-tune their cooperation and enhance their tactical and strategic efficiency at multinational and national levels. For example, an exercise like "Eager Lion," which took place in Jordan with participating countries, including over thirty like the United States and some Arab and European countries, is for counterterrorism and other security threats (Sobol et al., 2023). These exercises mirror typical conditions with a view to helping forces to fine-tune the processes for integrated approaches to terrorist occurrences.

In view of the foregoing, one of the KII stated that:

Terrorism and counterterrorism cooperation between Kenya and India lies at the core of improving our security. The valiant efforts we've made toward sharing knowledge, conducting drills and exercises, and utilising technology have made us much more capable of defeating terrorism. In addition to improving the practical preparedness of our operations, this fully opens possibilities of advancing awareness on the nature of the threat that our forces need to prepare for in order to

protect our citizens (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 23/7/2024, Nairobi).

The prevenient statement was supported by an official at the Indian military attaché, who stated that:

Two such countries are India and Kenya, and both have an elevated resolve to fight terrorism in all its manifestations. Counterterrorism cooperation is one of the key components of the defence relationship, and it has helped our intelligence sharing, training capacity, and joint operations. It is still relevant when dealing with the transnational threats posed by terrorism, as it fosters stability in the region and the security of our nations (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 27/7/2024, Nairobi).

In this area, cooperation is focused on training activities, transferring equipment, and providing technical assistance. For instance, counterterrorism through building the counterterrorism capacity of its member states is the critical role of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) Leriari, 2020. The GCTF is an international forum that trains personnel in related law enforcement agencies and draws legal counterterrorism frameworks for use in defeating acts of terrorism, a coordinated response to terrorism noticed in the GCTF of 2018.

Eradicating terrorist organizations in cooperation is the paramount form of counterterrorism cooperation. For example, there is the Global Coalition against ISIS, consisting of 83 countries, and cooperation in the military proves these activities' effectiveness. This coalition has contributed air support, reconnaissance, and floor support to blunt ISIS and minimize its space management in Iraq and Syria (Sobol et al., 2023). Due to the complexity of such operations, great emphasis is placed on the need for cooperation and coordination of operations amongst countries, and that is why there is a need for frameworks to be put in place to direct cooperation between armed forces.

Terrorism cooperation on the international level has certain basic principles. These are trust, acknowledgment of each other sovereignty, commitment to the respect of international law, and recognition of human rights. Trust is elementary because countries rely on each other for sensitive information and actual coordination (Sobol et al., 2023). Sovereignty guarantees that International cooperation is put into practice with the approval of the host nation without an imposition that can reduce legitimacy and the support from stakeholders.

For this reason, counterterrorism operations must respect international law, which strengthens it. International-level laws have provisions for the use of force and also for humans, such as the United Nations Charter. The concentration on human rights enables the realization that human rights are not violated when fighting terrorism, which is crucial for winning the people's trust and thus preventing people from becoming terrorists due to violations of their rights (Sobol et al., 2023).

For instance, counterterrorism cooperation between Kenyans and Indians is an example of another new forms of cooperation in security issues, namely counterterrorism. The two countries, being in the regions of high risk to terrorism, understood the importance of the creation of a strategic partnership in combating terrorism. A breakdown of the findings focuses on the following: The extent of collaboration between Kenya and India in counterterrorism operations, the modality of their collaboration, and the results yielded from it.

Currently, Kenya and India have developed good cooperation between the two countries in fighting terrorism, intelligence sharing, training, and other aspects of enhancement exercises. Such cooperation can be characterised as comprehensive and is built on

established bilateral partnerships with the use of multilateral formats. Another factor that enhances rigorous cooperation is the exchange of information relating to acts of terrorism, which takes place through diplomatic offices and bureaus. It has been used to succeed in preventing other attacks and in disintegrating terrorist groups within these borders and across them (Yi & Sun, 2022).

Military-derived counterterrorism cooperation between Kenya and India comprises training, technical cooperation exercises, and dialogue. The Indian government has been keen on training the Kenyan military and police in counterterrorism, among other fields of training. For instance, the officers of the National Defence Academy of Kenya, as well as the College of Defence Management, have trained in Indian institutions (The High Commission of India, 2022). The intention of these programmes is to enhance the effectiveness of Kenyan forces in fighting terrorism.

4.2.8 Maritime safety

Maritime safety forms one of the critical niches of mutual cooperation between Kenya and India because both countries consider the preservation of naval territories to be critical. This cooperation is needed in order to deal with the challenges of piracy and maritime terrorism, among others, which are unbecoming in the security of the Indian Ocean region (Gurjar, 2023). In this study, the feasibility, dynamics, and effects of Kenya and India's security cooperation in maritime security as per international and African assessments are also under consideration.

Another area of cooperation in maritime security between Kenya and India includes naval exercises, capacity building, and the sharing of intelligence and technical support. The two nations have agreed to enhance their capabilities and readiness of the naval forces and exercise cooperation between the partners. For instance, there is the Induction—Kenya Defence Cooperation (IKDC) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), which is a formation where both navies exercise and undertake exercises to achieve realistic tasks in the waters (Gurjar, 2023).

In reference to the prevenient thoughts, one of the KII stated that:

Maritime safety is one of the main fields of cooperation between Kenya and India. A mutual commitment to safeguarding the sea lines of communication in the Indian Ocean guarantees the security and protection of seaborne trade, suppression of piracy menace, and conservation of the coastal features. One of the major achievements has been through training, experience sharing, drilling jointly with Kenya or holding a naval fleet, and experiences held in naval, land or air events we have boosted up the maritime security, facilitating their economic growth and stability in the region (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 28/7/2024, Nairobi).

Another focal area of this cooperation has been the capacity-building measures. Training: India has been training the Kenyan navy, and the topics of the training mainly include piracy, search and rescue, and enforcement of maritime laws (Gurjar, 2023). These programmes, as run in Indian naval academies and instituted, enhance the professional capacity and turn-up of Kenya naval personnel.

In the sphere of maritime safety, cooperation is affected primarily through exchanges of information. These two countries have also formulated how best to exchange information in real-time concerning various sorts of threats faced in the seas, including piracy,

smuggling, and other suspect activities. This intelligence sharing enhances early warning to counter or respond to any event that occurs in the maritime domain. It supports these endeavours by incorporating other forms of assay monitoring and aerial photographs of the maritime environment to supplement maritime domain awareness or MDA, as described by Sagwa et al. (2024). This technical cooperation consists of supplying naval equipment and equipment maintenance services to improve Kenya's capability in the marine sector. Such aid involves the supply of patrol boats necessary for any patrol process at sea and radar and communication equipment (Sagwa et al., 2024). However, it is also noteworthy that India has built and financed some shipbuilding and repairing yards that will facilitate sustainable support for naval deliveries in Kenya.

In view of the foregoing, one of the KII stated that:

Future cooperation in maritime safety between India and Kenya proves our constructive relations to protect the Indian Ocean region. In projects of common understanding on surveillance, search and rescue, naval cooperation, and exercise, we have enhanced our cooperation in handling maritime threats. Thus, this cooperation not only protects the interests of our nations but also contributes to the stability and security of the entire region (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 28/7/2024, Nairobi).

In the following analysis of Kenya and the Indian players in maritime safety, there is evidence of positive relations between the two countries. First, the naval exercises have enhanced the standard and compatibility of the two Navies to launch cooperative operations (Saballa, 2023). This is particularly so given that the threat of using the sea as a means of transport is not unidimensional and ever-dynamic in the IOR. For instance, the manoeuvres have offered a clear example of their capability to execute integrated naval exercises in piracy havocking and search and rescue operations, which would improve the security of the relevant maritime space.

Secondly, regarding the measures under capacity building, the operational capability of the Kenyan Navy has greatly been enhanced. The Curtailment training has helped Kenyan naval personnel gain wider knowledge in areas such as navigation, combat, and provisions of the law with regard to seas. These improved characteristics can be observed in Kenya as the country becomes more assertive in executing independent functions in the maritime domain and participates in CMF and other international multinational maritime security, as observed by the African Union (2019).

Further, common intelligence collaboration processes have been used extensively to identify and counter naval threats. The flow of information between the two nations has also helped the two counterparts improve their response to security incidents, reducing piracy and other evils in their seas. The partnership in technology has improved the ability to monitor and patrol Kenyan territory, boosting security in the Kenyan sea (Saballa, 2023). On an international level, it becomes apparent that Kenyan participation in the seaborne trade with India is only a small component of larger moves in the cumulative world structure to preserve order in the Indian Ocean region, seen as the world's shipping channel. This cooperation is in support of such measures as the Code of Conduct in the fight against piracy and armed robbery against ships in the WIO region as well as the Gulf of Aden (Muli, 2011). Thus, both countries are already participating in these initiatives and, therefore, promote the improvement of the safety and security of international maritime shipping.

As far as the African region is concerned, it is beneficial to understand relations specific to maritime security cooperation under the region's framework. This has given rise to the realisation that it is, in fact, reciprocal to fight the security threats at sea that other nations experience. The African Union, in the 2050 African Integrated Maritime Strategy, captures such cooperation as a way of enhancing good governance and security on African waters. Such partnership deals, therefore, set the Kenya and India model that other African countries followed (African Union, 2019).

4.2.9 Peacekeeping missions

One of the areas that pointed out the partnership between Kenya and India in military cooperation is the support of peace keeping operations. The specific objectives of this research are to explain the standing and future prospects of Kenya-India military cooperation in regard to peace support operations both internationally and in the region. This research confirmed the broad cooperation between Kenya and India in development, training, and stabilised peacekeeping during numerous UN missions. For a long time now, both countries have been participating in United Nations peacekeeping missions, and at the moment, many soldiers from these countries are in different parts of the world. With this cooperation, they hope to enhance the effectiveness of their contribution to and support of international peacekeeping agendas.

The three core components of this collaboration are joint training and pointing out that the Indian military academies with institutions such as the CUNPK in New Delhi provide Kenyan military personnel training. These programmes consist of various aspects regarding peace operations, including conflict resolution, protection of civilians, and executing peace support operations as per the United Nations charter (Kashyap *et al.*,

2023). Besides building on the capacity of the Kenyan military personnel, this training also harmonises the perception of PK operations and techniques.

Another important process is the sharing of skills. The research established that India, in most cases, sends its most experienced peacekeepers to Kenya for seminar and workshop engagements. These exchanges present chances to exchange the events and the implications of field assignments with one another. As an example, the Indian peacekeeping contingent has given the raw experiences in operation archived from the deployment in South Sudan and DRC in which the understanding of how to mobilise through the number of challenging aspects of peacekeeping missions has been obtained (Guzman, 2018). As it is seen, the joint movement towards the mission of peace has resulted in quite a positive manner. This study also revealed that co-deployment and knowledge sharing enhance the operational readiness and efficiency of Kenya's peacekeeping mission. As the news has it, trained troops in India and Kenya have produced better outcomes in the protection of persons and security in their distraught regions (African Union, 2019).

In light of the previous statement, one of the respondents argued that:

In other words, the experience obtained during the joint peacekeeping operations in Kenya with the Indian response is very useful in increasing the level of security of the conflict zone. Increased cooperation and common training sessions have led to reinforced outcomes for troops that were involved in UN operations. Along with the enhancement of its operation capacity, this partnership also asserts our strategic vision of world peace and security (Interview with KII at the Ministry of Defence, Nairobi, 3/7/2024).

Likewise, the study noted that Kenyan and Indian forces have successfully cooperated in different UN operations. They have jointly served at missions such as the United Nations

Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). In total, they have contributed to the peace by offering humanitarian support to these regions and contributing to the peacebuilding process (United Nations, 2020).

Analyzing collectivity from the theoretical framework, the study showed that the cooperation between Kenya and India in peacebuilding conforms with the United Nations' aims and purposes. They are among the principal troop-contributing countries of the United Nations peacekeeping missions, affirming their concern for international peace and security. It increases UN operations, as both organizations work in parallel and can achieve synergy based on their strengths and expertise (United Nations, 2020).

In the African scenario, this cooperation represents a relatively advanced maturation of regional cooperation in peace support operations. The study also laid the basis for the fact that the cooperation in research between Kenya and India should serve as an example for other African countries. This is especially because of the African Union, which has sought to enhance the facilitation of peace support operations within Africa through practices like the African Standby Force (ASF) (African Union, 2019).

4.3 Coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs

Coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs has been a cornerstone of their defense and diplomatic relations since establishing formal ties in 1963. Both nations, sharing strategic interests in regional security, have engaged in collaborative efforts to enhance military capabilities. These joint programs include training exchanges, military exercises, and technical cooperation, particularly in maritime security and counter-terrorism areas. This partnership is further strengthened through shared intelligence,

defense diplomacy, and high-level military visits, fostering mutual trust and operational readiness while contributing to regional stability in East Africa and the Indian Ocean region. The study examined whether coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs has been effective. Therefore, in light of the foregoing, the study found that out of 233 total respondents, 9 (3.86%) strongly disagreed with the inquiry, 21 (9.01%) agreed (2.58%) respondents were neutral, 165(70.82%) disagreed to the inquiry, and 32 (13.78%) respondents strongly disagreed. The results are shown in Figure 4.2.

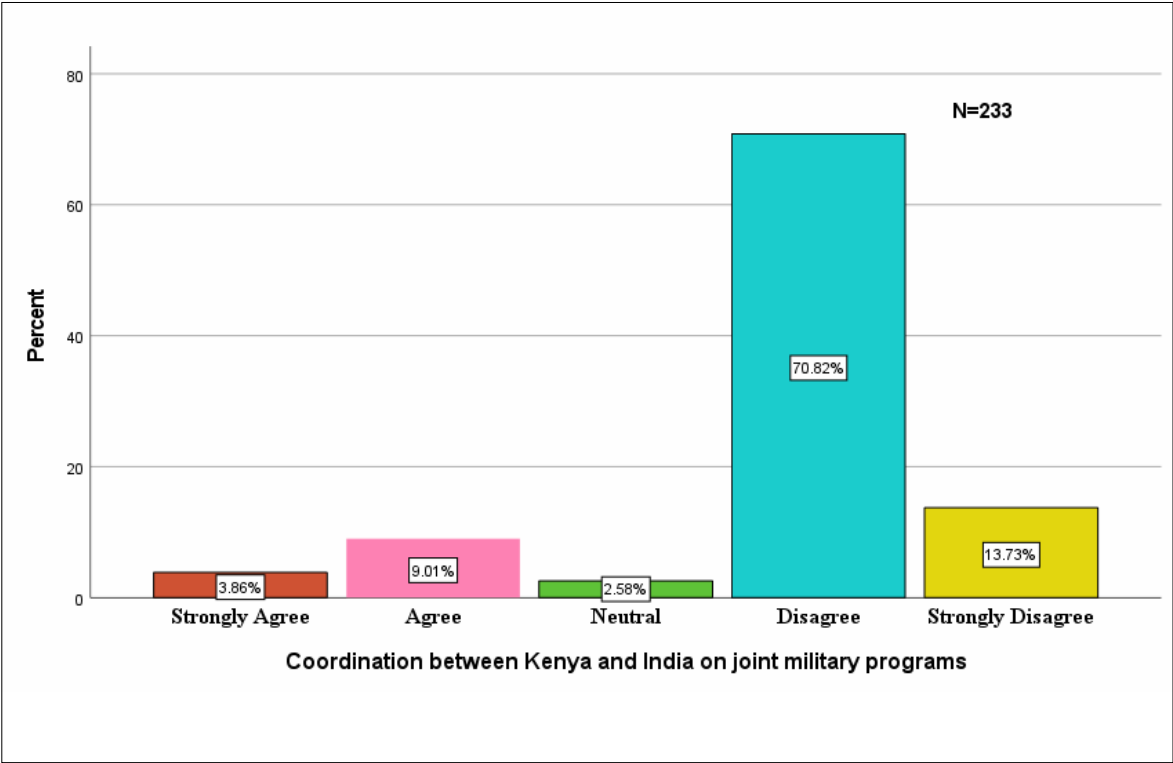


Figure 4. 3 Coordination between Kenya and India on Joint military programs

Source: Field Data,2024

The study aimed to assess the effectiveness of coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs. Out of 233 respondents, the majority, 165 (70.82%), disagreed, while 32 (13.78%) strongly disagreed, indicating a prevailing belief that the coordination

was ineffective. These respondents felt that bureaucratic delays, lack of strategic alignment, or inadequate communication hindered the success of joint military initiatives. Additionally, the complexity of coordinating military programs across two distinct defense structures have contributed to this negative perception.

A smaller portion, 21 (9.01%), agreed, which reflected positive experiences with specific programs like joint training exercises or peacekeeping missions that have had measurable successes. These respondents might have recognized efforts in enhancing skills and regional security but perhaps viewed these as isolated instances rather than sustained collaboration. Only 9 (3.86%) strongly agreed, possibly due to firsthand involvement in well-coordinated projects or positive diplomatic interactions that enhanced military cooperation. Meanwhile, 6 respondents (2.58%) were neutral, suggesting they did not have enough information or direct experience with Kenya-India military collaborations to form a clear opinion. The findings illustrate a generally critical view of the effectiveness of coordination, likely driven by perceived inefficiencies in implementation and strategic integration.

In light of the foregoing, one key aspect of military collaboration is the need for seamless communication and strategic alignment between nations, which, as scholars like Berkman (2010) argue, differences in military culture, political agendas, and operational frameworks often hinder. This aligns with the study's result, which is that the majority perceived Kenya-India coordination as ineffective, suggesting structural or administrative barriers.

Research by Cornish (2009) highlights that successful military cooperation depends on clear channels of communication and transparency, both of which are essential for long-term collaboration. The smaller group of respondents who agreed with the inquiry recognized positive aspects of joint training or intelligence sharing, reflecting isolated instances of success that resonate with Cornish's analysis on focused military projects. Similarly, Johnson (2012) argues that complex international military collaborations are often slowed by a lack of mutual trust, which explain the widespread dissatisfaction. On the other hand, some respondents viewed the cooperation as effective, possibly influenced by personal involvement in successful programs. This is supported by Rynning (2012), who emphasizes that even limited success in military diplomacy can foster optimism in defense circles, contributing to varied perceptions within a larger group.

4.4 Kenya-India Recruitment Collaborations

Kenya-India recruitment collaborations have significantly strengthened the professionalism and capabilities of both nations' armed forces since the inception of their military-diplomatic relations in 1963. Through coordinated recruitment activities, the two countries have been able to select highly skilled personnel for joint training programs, peacekeeping missions, and military operations. These collaborations have ensured that the armed forces are well-prepared to address evolving regional security challenges, particularly in counter-terrorism and maritime defense. By aligning recruitment processes with shared military objectives, Kenya and India have fostered mutual growth, enhancing their defense forces' overall operational readiness and expertise. Therefore, in light of the foregoing, the study found that out of 233 respondents, 11(4.72%) stated that Kenya and India

collaborated on joint selection criteria for recruitment 167 (71.67%) reasoned that Kenya and India collaborated on training program enrolment (1.29%) respondents argued that the collaborations were on skills and expertise 39 (16.74%) stated that collaborations were on diversity and inclusivity. In contrast, 13(5.58%) stated that there was transparency in the recruitment process. The results are illustrated in Figure 4.3.

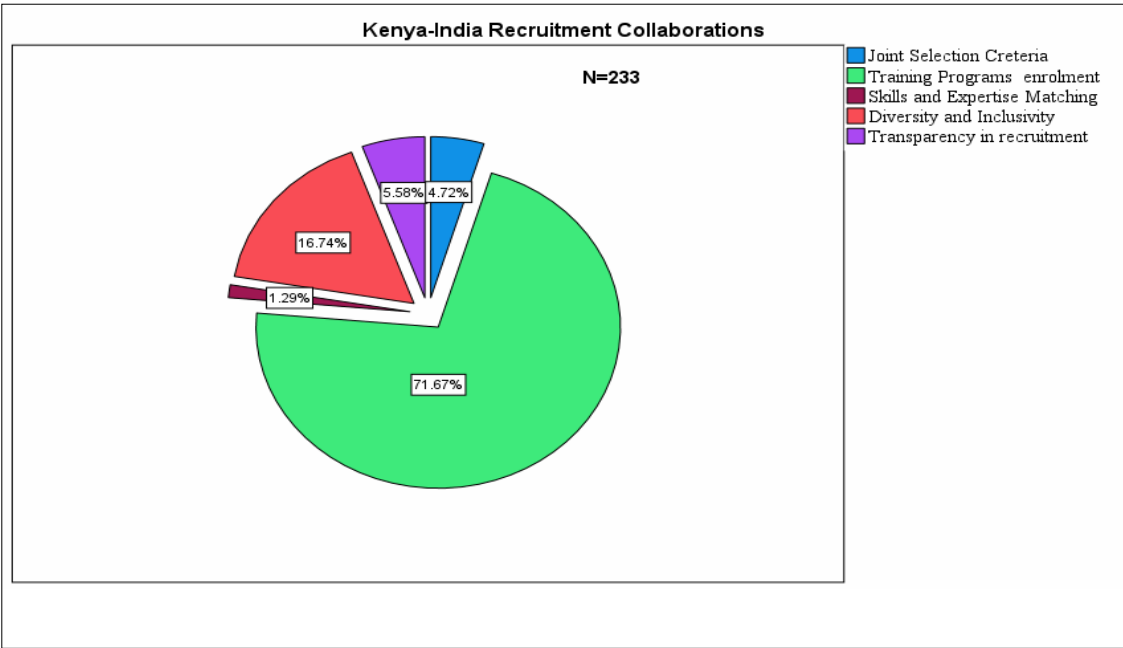


Figure 4. 4: Kenya-India Recruitment Collaborations

Source: Field Data,2024

The findings of the study reflect differing perceptions of Kenya-India recruitment collaborations, particularly in aligning military objectives to enhance operational readiness. A majority of respondents (71.67%) identified training program enrollment as the primary area of collaboration, indicating the importance of joint military exercises and educational exchanges. This reflect the visible impact of joint training initiatives, which play a crucial

role in building shared tactical knowledge and operational compatibility between forces, as noted by scholars like Cornish (2009), who emphasize training as a key pillar of military diplomacy. A smaller proportion (16.74%) highlighted diversity and inclusivity as a central focus of collaboration. This group have recognized efforts to ensure diverse participation in joint military initiatives, aligning with global trends that promote inclusive defense environments, as suggested by Griffiths (2014). Diversity contributes to a richer exchange of ideas and tactics, fostering a more dynamic defense force.

Only a few respondents (4.72%) acknowledged joint selection criteria, suggesting that this aspect of recruitment collaboration is less visible or underdeveloped. Similarly, a small group (1.29%) emphasized skills and expertise matching, which point to targeted efforts in specialized areas. Finally, the recognition of transparency in recruitment (5.58%) suggests a limited but important focus on fairness and accountability, crucial for maintaining trust in bilateral defense relations.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India. The nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India is multifaceted, encompassing various dimensions such as defense, trade, technology, and cultural exchanges. This chapter has argued that defense technological transfer, counterterrorism, maritime safety, and peacekeeping missions are key sectors of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India. The next chapter, Chapter Five, delves into the dynamics of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DYNAMICS OF KENYA-INDIA MILITARY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1963

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an assessment of the shifting patterns of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since the attainment of Kenya's independence in 1963. Over about fifty years, this relationship has experienced some major changes due to factors such as geopolitical, sociocultural, and security dynamics. Throughout history, cooperation between the two nations has defined regional security, promoted political and sociocultural ties, and supported one another in peacekeeping missions. This chapter ends with a chapter summary.

5.2 Political dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations

The dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations have evolved significantly since the establishment of diplomatic ties in 1963. This relationship is characterized by strategic geopolitical interests, defense training, capacity building, participation in multilateral forums and regional stability. Both nations have collaborated on various military and security fronts, enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation. Kenya benefits from India's advanced military technology and training programs, while India

gains strategic footholds in East Africa, contributing to regional stability. The bilateral military diplomacy is a testament to the countries' shared values and commitment to peace and security in the region. This analysis explores the multifaceted nature of Kenya-India military relations, examining key areas of cooperation and their impact on broader geopolitical and regional stability. As such 233 responses were assessed. Out of 233,150(64.38%) stated strategic geopolitical interests as a key factor towards Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Besides, 37(15.88%) asserted that defense training and capacity building were a driving factor, 19 (8.10%) evinced that participation in multilateral forums was a driving factor towards Kenya-India military, and diplomatic relations. Additionally, 27(11.59%) averred that regional stability and development was one of the dynamics shaping Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. The results are illustrated in Figure 5.1

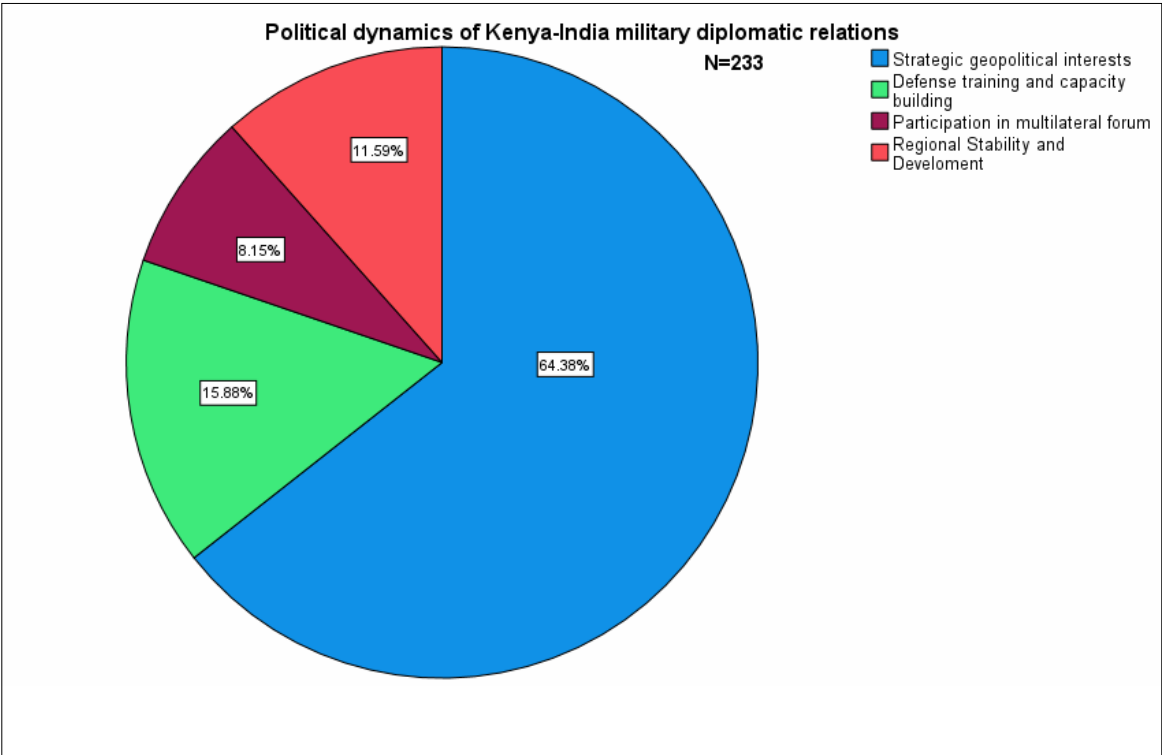


Figure 5. 1 Dynamics of Kenya- India military-diplomatic relations

Source: Field Data,2024

From the foregoing findings, the intricate web of international relations often unveils insights into the dynamics between nations. One such intriguing study delves into the military diplomatic relations between Kenya and India, shedding light on various facets that underpin their bilateral ties. The study, has yielded significant findings, offering a nuanced understanding of the driving forces shaping the relationship between these two nations. At the forefront of the findings lies the revelation that strategic geopolitical interests play a pivotal role in shaping Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. With 64.38% of the emphasis placed on this aspect, it becomes evident that both nations recognize the strategic significance of fostering strong ties. Whether it be countering regional threats or aligning themselves in the global arena, Kenya and India find common ground in pursuing shared geopolitical objectives.

Another aspect highlighted in the study is the emphasis on defence training and capacity building, constituting 15.88% of the findings. This underscores the commitment of both nations to enhancing their respective military capabilities through collaboration and knowledge exchange. India's expertise in defense technology and training programs proves invaluable to Kenya, fostering a mutually beneficial partnership aimed at bolstering security and defense mechanisms. The study underscores the active engagement of Kenya and India in multilateral forums, constituting 8.10% of the findings. Both nations recognize

the importance of multilateralism in addressing global challenges and advancing common interests. Whether it be within the framework of regional organizations or on the global stage, Kenya and India stand united in championing shared values and objectives, thereby amplifying their collective voice on key issues of global concern.

Furthermore, the findings shed light on the significant role played by Kenya and India in promoting regional stability and development, representing 11.59% of the emphasis. As key actors in their respective regions, both nations actively contribute to initiatives aimed at fostering peace, security, and socio-economic progress. By leveraging their strengths and resources, Kenya and India serve as catalysts for positive change, fostering a conducive environment for growth and prosperity in their regions.

The researcher, therefore, argues that the study of the dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations unveils a multifaceted relationship driven by a convergence of strategic, diplomatic, and humanitarian interests. From strategic geopolitical considerations to humanitarian endeavors, Kenya and India navigate their bilateral ties with a shared commitment to cooperation, regional stability, and global peace. As they continue to collaborate and forge ahead, the bond between these two nations is poised to grow stronger, contributing to a more secure and prosperous future for both Kenya and India, as well as the wider region.

5.2.1 Strategic Geopolitical Interests

The study of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations unveils a complex interplay of strategic geopolitical interests, where diplomacy serves as a dynamic force shaping bilateral ties. This corroboration delves deeper into the findings of the study, particularly

focusing on the strategic geopolitical interests and diplomatic aspects while infusing insights from structural realism and power theories to provide a nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play. The findings of the study underscore the paramount importance of strategic geopolitical interests in driving Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Structural realism, as elucidated by Kenneth Waltz, posits that states are rational actors driven by self-interest and the pursuit of power within an anarchic international system. In the case of Kenya and India, both nations strategically engage in diplomacy to maximize their relative power and security within the region and beyond. From a structural realist perspective, the alignment of Kenya and India's strategic interests can be attributed to their shared perception of the international system as inherently competitive and anarchic. As emerging powers in their respective regions, both nations recognize the imperative of forging alliances and partnerships to counterbalance the influence of other actors and safeguard their national interests.

Power theories, as advocated by scholars like Joseph Nye, emphasize the significance of both hard power (military strength) and soft power (diplomatic influence) in shaping international relations. In the context of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations, the strategic deployment of diplomatic initiatives serves as a means to augment their respective power capabilities and enhance their geopolitical standing.

In light of the foregoing, one of the key informants revealed that:

Kenya and India strategically leverage diplomatic channels to consolidate their influence and advance their interests in key strategic arenas, such as the Indian Ocean region and the African continent. This is exemplified by their mutual support

in multilateral forums like the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and the United Nations, where they collaborate to shape regional security architectures and promote economic cooperation (Interview with KII at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nairobi, 3/7/2024).

Moreover, structural realism posits that states prioritize security and survival in an anarchic international system, leading them to engage in power-maximizing behaviors. In the case of Kenya and India, their military diplomatic engagements are driven by a shared desire to enhance their security posture and deter potential threats from adversaries. The corroboration further highlights the role of diplomatic initiatives, such as high-level visits, joint military exercises, and defense cooperation agreements, in fostering mutual trust and confidence between Kenya and India. These diplomatic endeavors not only strengthen their military capabilities but also contribute to consolidating a strategic partnership to maintain regional stability and counter common security challenges.



Plate 5. 1 : Researcher interviewing Key Informant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Source: Field Data,2024

Structural realism also underscores the importance of relative power dynamics in shaping interstate relations. As Kenya and India continue to assert themselves as key players in their respective regions, their military-diplomatic engagements enhance their relative power vis-à-vis other regional actors. By cultivating strategic partnerships and alliances, both nations seek to bolster their influence and secure their positions in the international pecking order.

In light of the foregoing, one of the key informants reasoned that:

Kenya and India share strategic geopolitical interests that significantly shape our military diplomatic relations. Our

partnership is rooted in a mutual understanding of the importance of securing the Indian Ocean region and ensuring stability in East Africa. By aligning our defense strategies and collaborating on security initiatives, we bolster regional peace and enhance our countries' influence in global geopolitics (Interview with KII at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nairobi, 3/7/2024).

The study findings corroborate the strategic geopolitical interests and diplomatic dynamic as a cornerstone of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Drawing insights from structural realism and power theories, it elucidates how both nations strategically employ diplomacy to navigate the complexities of the international system and pursue their national interests. As Kenya and India continue to deepen their military diplomatic engagements, their partnership is poised to play a pivotal role in shaping regional security architectures and promoting stability in their respective spheres of influence.

5.2.2 Defence training and capacity building

The study of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations reveals a significant emphasis on defense training and capacity building as a dynamic facet of their bilateral ties. This discussion delves into the study's findings, highlighting the importance of defense cooperation in fostering mutual trust and enhancing security capabilities between Kenya and India. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discourse aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics driving defense training and capacity building in their relationship.

The study's findings underscore the pivotal role of defense training and capacity building in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Structural realism posits that states are driven by the pursuit of power and security in an anarchic international system, where alliances

and capabilities are essential for survival. In this context, defense cooperation emerges as a strategic imperative for both Kenya and India to enhance their military capabilities and safeguard their national interests.

From a structural realist perspective, defence training and capacity building serve as mechanisms for states to bolster their relative power and influence. Kenya and India recognize the importance of enhancing their military capabilities through joint training exercises, technology transfers, and exchange programs. By strengthening their armed forces, both nations seek to assert themselves as key regional players and deter potential adversaries. Power theories, as advocated by scholars like Joseph Nye, emphasize the significance of both hard power (military strength) and soft power (diplomatic influence) in shaping international relations. Defence training and capacity-building initiatives enable Kenya and India to project both hard and soft power, thereby enhancing their credibility and influence on the global stage.

In light of the previous discussions, one of the key respondents was of the view that:

Kenya and India's commitment to defense training and capacity building is evident in their bilateral agreements and joint military exercises. These initiatives enhance interoperability between their armed forces and facilitate the transfer of knowledge and technology. By investing in the professional development of their military personnel, both nations lay the groundwork for long-term strategic cooperation and mutual assistance in times of crisis. Furthermore, defense training and capacity building contribute to strengthening the strategic partnership between Kenya and India. Both nations share common security concerns and objectives as emerging powers in their

respective regions. By collaborating on defense-related matters, they demonstrate their commitment to promoting regional stability and countering common security threats (Interview with KII at , Nairobi 26/6/2024).

In support of the antecedent view, structural realism emphasizes the importance of relative power dynamics in shaping interstate relations. As Kenya and India continue to invest in defense training and capacity building, they seek to enhance their relative power vis-à-vis, other regional actors. By cultivating a robust military partnership, both nations aim to consolidate their influence and secure their positions in the international arena. Defense training and capacity building emerge as a dynamic pillar of Kenya-India military, diplomatic relations, driven by the imperatives of power and security. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discussion highlights the strategic importance of defense cooperation in strengthening bilateral ties and promoting regional stability. As Kenya and India deepen their military partnership, they are poised to navigate the complexities of the international system and advance their mutual interests in the realm of defense and security.

In view of the foregoing one of the KIIs indicated that:

Defence training and capacity building between Kenya and India have significantly strengthened our military capabilities. Through this partnership, our forces have benefited from advanced training programs, strategic exchanges, and the transfer of essential military knowledge. India's expertise in various defense domains, particularly in areas such as counterinsurgency and disaster response, has greatly enhanced our operational readiness. This collaboration not only builds our capacity but also fosters a deeper understanding and trust between our nations, laying the foundation for a more secure

and stable region (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 22/8/2024, Nairobi).

In support of the antecedent statement, Menon (2019) highlights the significance of defense training and capacity building in military-diplomatic relations, particularly between developing nations. According to Menon (2019), such collaborations are pivotal in fostering strategic alliances and enhancing the operational effectiveness of military forces. Nene (2020) further emphasizes that these initiatives contribute to regional security by enabling partner countries to address shared threats and challenges more effectively. The Kenya-India military relationship is a prime example of how defense training and capacity building serve as a cornerstone of military diplomacy, reinforcing mutual trust and cooperation.

5.2.3 Participation in multilateral forums

The study of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations unveils a significant emphasis on participation in multilateral forums as a dynamic element shaping their bilateral ties. This discussion delves into the study's findings, emphasizing the importance of engaging in multilateral forums in advancing shared interests and enhancing cooperation between Kenya and India. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discourse aims to provide insights into how participation in multilateral forums contributes to shaping their relationship.

The findings of the study highlight the crucial role of participation in multilateral forums as a dynamic aspect of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Structural realism posits

that states seek to maximize their power and security within an anarchic international system, often through alliances and cooperative arrangements. In this context, participation in multilateral forums serves as a means for Kenya and India to assert their influence and promote their strategic objectives on the global stage. From a structural realist perspective, participation in multilateral forums allows Kenya and India to align themselves with like-minded countries and advance their collective interests. Both nations engage in multilateral diplomacy to address common challenges, such as regional security threats, terrorism, and climate change. By coordinating their efforts within multilateral frameworks, Kenya and India enhance their capacity to influence global governance structures and shape international norms and rules.

In light of the previous discussions, one of the key respondents was of the view that:

Kenya's active participation alongside India in multilateral forums exemplifies our commitment to addressing global security challenges collaboratively. By engaging in platforms such as the United Nations and regional security organizations, we leverage our combined expertise to tackle issues like counterterrorism, maritime security, and peacekeeping. India's leadership in these forums and Kenya's strategic contributions enhance our ability to influence international security policies and forge stronger alliances. This cooperation underscores the importance of multilateralism in promoting global stability and reflects our shared dedication to a secure and peaceful world (Interview with KII at the Foreign Affairs department, on 22/8/2024, Nairobi).

Further, the KII argued that:

India and Kenya's joint involvement in multilateral forums is a testament to our strategic partnership and shared goals in global security. Through active participation in international bodies and regional organizations, our forces have worked together to address pressing security issues and contribute to collective efforts in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. This collaboration not only strengthens our bilateral ties but also

amplifies our influence in shaping global security strategies. Our united front in these forums exemplifies our commitment to multilateralism and highlights the significance of collaborative diplomacy in achieving common security objectives (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 22/8/2024, Nairobi).

Scholarly sources emphasize the role of multilateral forums in strengthening military-diplomatic relations. Patel (2021) argues that joint participation in international and regional forums enhances the strategic partnership between nations, allowing them to address global security challenges more effectively. Ochieng (2022) supports this view by noting that such collaboration increases a nation's influence in shaping international security policies and fosters stronger bilateral ties through shared objectives and cooperative efforts. The Kenya-India partnership in multilateral forums exemplifies how these interactions contribute to broader security goals and mutual diplomatic interests. Power theories, as advocated by scholars like Joseph Nye, emphasize the importance of soft power (diplomatic influence) in shaping international relations. Participation in multilateral forums enables Kenya and India to project soft power and enhance their credibility and influence on the global stage. By actively contributing to multilateral initiatives and peacekeeping operations, both nations demonstrate their commitment to upholding international norms and promoting collective security.

Kenya and India's engagement in multilateral forums is characterized by their active participation in organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). These platforms provide opportunities for Kenya and India to collaborate with other countries on a wide range of issues, including peacekeeping, counterterrorism, maritime security, and sustainable development.

Moreover, participation in multilateral forums facilitates diplomatic networking and coalition-building for Kenya and India. By forging alliances with other countries, both nations strengthen their positions within multilateral institutions and amplify their voices on key global issues. Through strategic diplomacy and constructive engagement, Kenya and India leverage multilateral forums to garner support for their initiatives and advance their national interests.

Structural realism underscores the importance of alliances and partnerships in shaping interstate relations. Participation in multilateral forums allows Kenya and India to cultivate strategic partnerships and alliances with other countries, thereby enhancing their collective security and influence. By working together within multilateral frameworks, both nations strengthen their capacity to address complex global challenges and promote peace, stability, and prosperity in their regions and beyond. Participation in multilateral forums emerges as a dynamic aspect of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations, driven by the imperatives of power, influence, and cooperation. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discussion highlights the strategic significance of engaging in multilateral diplomacy in advancing shared interests and addressing common challenges. As Kenya and India continue to actively participate in multilateral forums, they are poised to strengthen their strategic partnership and contribute to shaping a more peaceful and prosperous world.

5.2.4 Regional stability and development

Research on regional stability and development as a political force in Kenya-India military diplomatic relations shows that the two countries have vested interests in developing stable

arrangements ensuring security and enhancing economic benefit in their regions. The fact that Kenya serves as a strategic location in East Africa and that India has grown in influence in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) naturally aligns both countries' purposes. Military diplomacy in the two nations' relationship is centered on these shared threats comprising of counter-terrorism, maritime security, and an interest in promoting development that supports stability. For instance, India's ongoing military relations with Kenya are devised in ways that promote regional peace (Brewster,2018). This is done primarily through training, joint endeavors, and support for operational preparedness in the Kenya Defence Forces. This support is vital in ensuring stability, which enables foreign investment critical in promoting development. Also vital in ensuring long-term stability is the building of Kenya's military capacity, further bolstered by events such as the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium. In this way, then, it is possible to conclude that Kenya-India military ties are greatly benefiting from a mutual interest in using defense to address security and development challenges in the region.

5.3 Socio-cultural dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations

The socio-cultural dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations are deeply rooted in shared historical ties, the Indian diaspora in Kenya, and ongoing cultural exchanges. The Indian community in Kenya has contributed to building trust and fostering mutual understanding, which supports broader diplomatic and defense collaborations. Military training programs and officer exchanges have strengthened interpersonal and institutional links between the two nations' armed forces, enhancing cooperation and shared values. Additionally, India's use of soft power, through educational scholarships, humanitarian aid, and cultural diplomacy, complements its military engagement with

Kenya, creating a foundation of goodwill that bolsters its strategic partnership. Therefore, the study asked the respondents whether there existed sociocultural dynamics between Kenya and India on military-diplomatic relations. The study found that socio-cultural dynamics exist between Kenya and India. Out of 233 total respondents, 155(66.52%) respondents indicated that diplomacy and cultural ties were sociocultural dynamics driving Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. On the other hand,78 (33.48%) stated that Indian diaspora in Kenya enhanced Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. The results are illustrated in Figure 5.2.

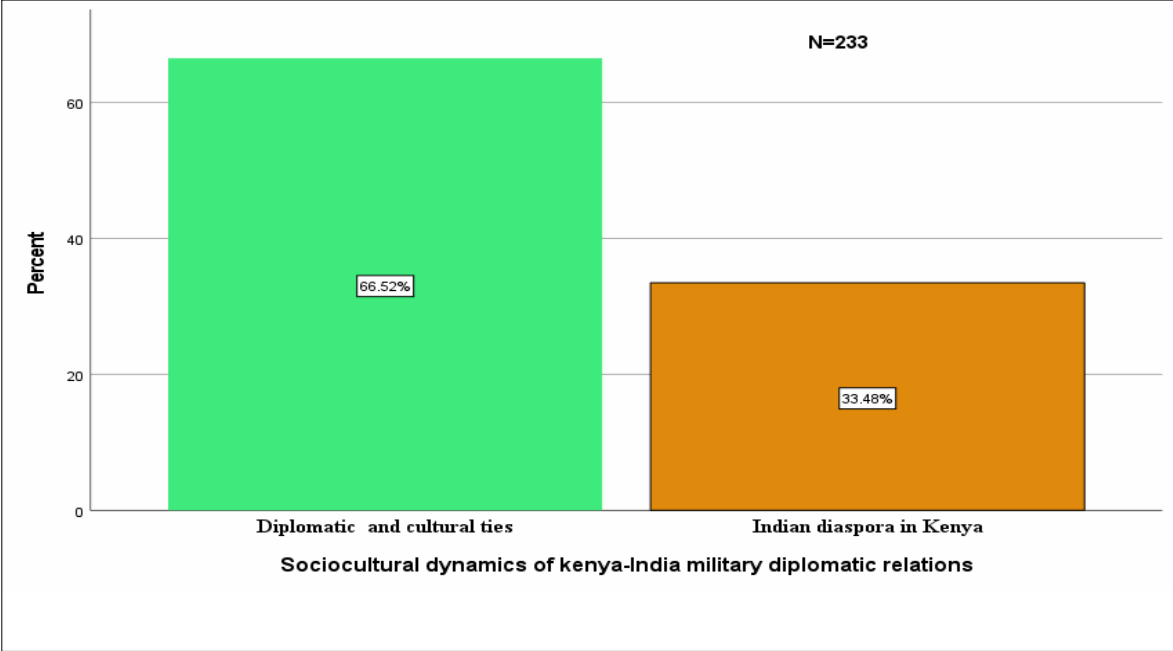


Figure 5.2 Socio-cultural dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations

Source: Field Data,2024

From the foregoing findings, the study revealed that socio-cultural dynamics play a significant role in shaping Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Among the 233 respondents, a majority (66.52%) identified diplomacy and cultural ties as key drivers of

this relationship. This reflects the impact of shared cultural exchanges, historical connections, and soft power diplomacy, which foster goodwill and mutual understanding between the two nations. Cultural diplomacy, through education, scholarships, and humanitarian efforts, supports deeper cooperation and trust. Additionally, 33.48% of respondents highlighted the role of the Indian diaspora in Kenya as an important factor enhancing military-diplomatic relations. The Indian community in Kenya has long served as a cultural bridge, creating interpersonal and institutional ties that extend into the defense realm. These socio-cultural elements not only strengthen bilateral relations but also promote collaborative efforts in security and defense between Kenya and India, reinforcing their strategic partnership.

5.3.1 Diplomatic and cultural ties

The study of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations illuminates a crucial aspect: the role of diplomatic and cultural ties in fostering a robust partnership between the two nations. This discussion delves into the study's findings, emphasizing the importance of diplomatic exchanges and cultural engagements in enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discourse provides insights into how diplomatic and cultural ties shape bilateral relations between Kenya and India. The study's findings underscore the significance of diplomatic and cultural ties as dynamic elements of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Structural realism posits that states pursue their interests in an anarchic international system, often through alliances and diplomatic engagements. In this context, diplomatic exchanges serve as a means for Kenya and India to navigate the complexities of the international arena and advance their respective interests.

From a structural realist perspective, diplomatic ties between Kenya and India are driven by the imperative of enhancing their relative power and influence. Both nations engage in diplomatic initiatives to strengthen their positions within the global hierarchy and promote their strategic interests. Diplomatic exchanges, such as high-level visits, diplomatic consultations, and joint statements, serve as avenues for Kenya and India to signal their commitment to cooperation and solidarity.

Moreover, cultural ties play a significant role in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations, fostering mutual understanding and trust between the two nations. Cultural exchanges, including educational programs, language courses, and cultural festivals, build bridges between people and promote intercultural dialogue. These initiatives deepen the bond between Kenya and India and lay the groundwork for enhanced cooperation across various sectors. The cultural representation between the two countries is illustrated in plate 3.



Plate 5. 2: Assistant Researchers, far left and far right with Acting High Commissioner of India and India's Military Attaché High Commission of India

Source: Field Data,2024

In light of the previous discussions, one of the KIIs was of the view that:

The diplomatic and cultural ties between India and Kenya are essential to our military-diplomatic relations. Through joint cultural exchanges, visits, and collaborative military training, we have developed a strong bond that transcends traditional defense cooperation. These interactions allow our forces to better understand the cultural contexts within which we operate, leading to more effective collaboration in joint missions. The shared values and principles that underpin our relationship strengthen our resolve to work together in promoting regional security (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 22/8/2024, Nairobi).

Scholars highlight the importance of diplomatic and cultural ties in enhancing military-diplomatic relations. Sharma (2020) argues that cultural diplomacy, including military exchanges, plays a critical role in building trust and mutual understanding between nations. Mutua (2021) further notes that these ties contribute to the effectiveness of military cooperation by fostering a deeper connection between the forces involved. In the case of Kenya and India, the blending of diplomatic and cultural relations has created a solid foundation for a robust and enduring military partnership, crucial for maintaining regional stability.

Power theories, as advocated by scholars like Joseph Nye, highlight the importance of soft power (diplomatic influence) in shaping international relations. Diplomatic and cultural

ties enable Kenya and India to project soft power and enhance their credibility and influence on the global stage. Both nations seek to strengthen their relationships with other countries and advance their foreign policy objectives by showcasing their rich cultural heritage and diplomatic prowess.

Kenya and India's commitment to diplomatic and cultural ties is evident in their active participation in international forums and cultural exchange programs. These initiatives not only promote mutual understanding and goodwill but also facilitate cooperation on shared challenges, such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics. By leveraging their diplomatic and cultural assets, both nations enhance their capacity to address complex global issues and promote peace and prosperity. Structural realism underscores the importance of alliances and partnerships in shaping interstate relations. Diplomatic and cultural ties between Kenya and India serve as a means to strengthen their strategic partnership and consolidate their influence in their respective regions. By fostering mutual trust and cooperation, both nations enhance their capacity to address regional and global challenges effectively.

Diplomatic and cultural ties emerge as dynamic elements of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations, driven by the imperatives of power and influence. Through the lens of structural realism and power theories, this discussion highlights the strategic significance of diplomatic exchanges and cultural engagements in enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation between the two nations. As Kenya and India continue to deepen their diplomatic and cultural ties, they are poised to strengthen their strategic partnership and promote peace and stability in their regions and beyond.

5.3.2 Indian Diaspora in Kenya

As revealed in figure 5.2, 33.48% of respondents highlighted the role of the Indian diaspora in Kenya as an important factor enhancing military-diplomatic relations. The Indian community in Kenya has long served as a cultural bridge, creating interpersonal and institutional ties that extend into the defense realm. These socio-cultural elements not only strengthen bilateral relations but also promote collaborative efforts in security and defense between Kenya and India, reinforcing their strategic partnership.

The findings highlight the Indian diaspora's significant role in enhancing military-diplomatic relations between Kenya and India, a perspective supported by various scholarly works. The Indian community in Kenya, which dates back over a century, has fostered deep-rooted cultural, economic, and social ties that have facilitated diplomatic engagement. As noted by Gupta (2024) the Indian diaspora not only contributes economically but also plays a crucial role in cultural exchange, helping to create a conducive environment for diplomatic relations. Furthermore, Gupta (2024) emphasizes that the presence of a vibrant Indian community in Kenya serves as a conduit for soft power, enabling India to project its influence and strengthen bilateral ties through cultural diplomacy. This diaspora contributes to mutual understanding and trust, which are vital for military cooperation.

Additionally, Jain (2024) asserts that the Indian diaspora enhances India's strategic interests in Africa by promoting defense collaboration and military training opportunities. The personal and institutional connections fostered by the diaspora are instrumental in building relationships that extend into the defense sector, making it a critical element in the military-diplomatic dynamics between Kenya and India. Overall, the Indian diaspora

significantly enriches the socio-cultural fabric that underpins these relations, reinforcing the strategic partnership between the two nations.

5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has delved into various dynamics, revealing the driving factors or elements of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963. These elements include but are not limited to, strategic geopolitical interests, defense training, and capacity building, as discussed. The next chapter, chapter six, delves into the challenges and opportunities arising from Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES ARISING FROM BILATERAL COOPERATION AND KENYA-INDIA MILITARY-DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

This chapter presents findings on the challenges arising from bilateral cooperation and Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations, as well as the various opportunities. It ends with a chapter summary.

6.1 Challenges arising from Kenya-India military-diplomatic Relations

This study evaluated the challenges arising from bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India, focusing on their diplomatic relations. It explores the complexities and obstacles that have emerged in trade, investment, and political collaboration. By examining historical contexts and current dynamics, the study seeks to identify key issues impacting this bilateral relationship and provide insights into potential solutions to enhance cooperation and mutual benefits for both nations. Therefore, the study found that, out of 233

respondents,20(8.58%) argued that cyber security threats were a challenge, and 146(62.66%) averred that unequal military capacities and capabilities were a challenge. Further, 7(3.00%) reasoned that different maritime security interests were a challenge 11(4.72%) stated that protection of national sovereignty and interests were a challenge, 13(5.58%) said that Kenya-India military relations face the challenge of geopolitical competition ,17(7.30%) affirmed that funding constraints was a challenge and 10(4.29%) reasoned that export control rules and defense trade were a challenge to Kenya-India military relations.

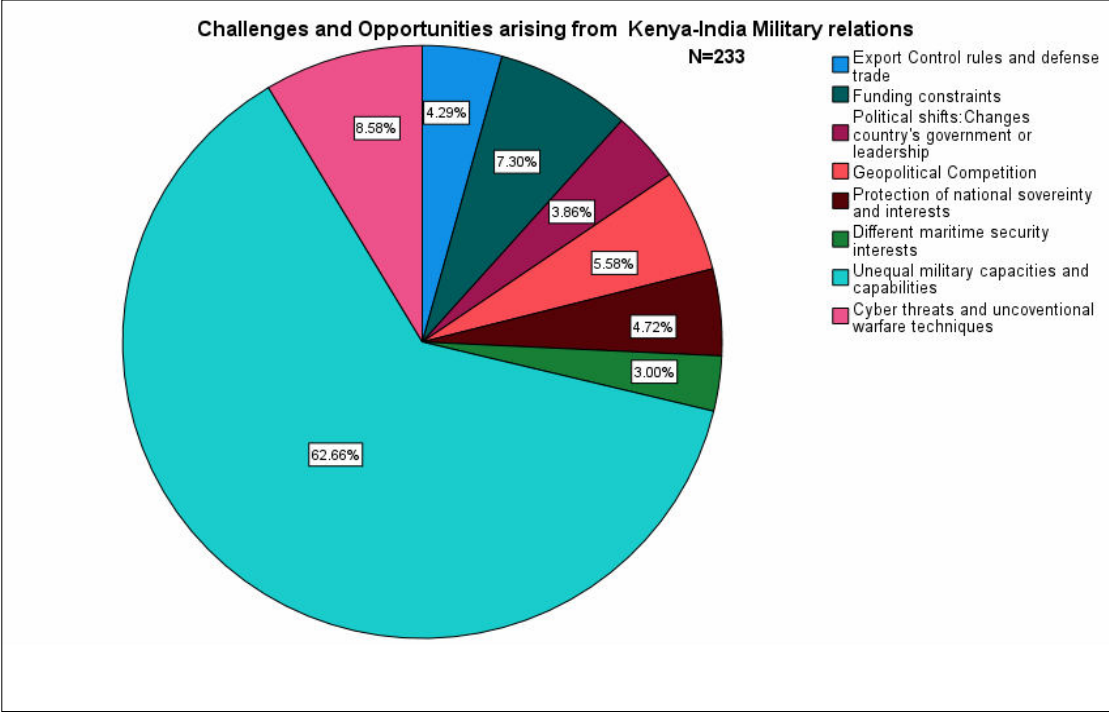


Figure 6. 1 Challenges arising from Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations

Source:Field Data,2024

The study aimed to evaluate the challenges arising from bilateral cooperation and Kenya-India diplomatic relations, particularly focusing on military relations. The results from the survey of 233 respondents revealed a range of perceived challenges. This discussion

explores these findings, providing reasons for the various responses from the respondents. Out of the 233 respondents, 20 (8.58%) identified cyber security threats as a significant challenge. This concern stemmed from the increasing prevalence of cyber attacks globally, which pose a significant risk to national security and bilateral relations. As both Kenya and India continue to digitize their defense systems and infrastructure, vulnerabilities to cyber threats become more pronounced. Respondents highlighted this issue due to recent incidents of cyber attacks that have disrupted governmental and military operations, thus underscoring the need for robust cyber security measures in bilateral cooperation. A notable 146 respondents (62.6%) pointed out the challenge of unequal military capacities and capabilities. India, with its more advanced and larger military, contrasts sharply with Kenya's relatively smaller and less equipped forces. This disparity can lead to an imbalance in cooperation, where mutual benefits and equal partnership were difficult to achieve. Respondents emphasized this challenge because it affects joint military operations, training, and resource sharing. The perception of inequality also influenced the overall trust and effectiveness of the bilateral relationship.

Seven respondents (3.00%) considered different maritime security interests a challenge. Kenya and India have distinct priorities and security concerns in their respective maritime domains. India's focus on the Indian Ocean and its strategic interests in countering Chinese influence might not align perfectly with Kenya's regional security concerns and economic interests in the maritime sector. Respondents highlighted this due to the strategic importance of maritime security in both countries' defense policies and the potential for conflicting interests to impede cooperation. Eleven respondents (4.72%) stated that

protecting national sovereignty and interests was a challenge. This concern reflects the inherent tension in international military cooperation, where countries must balance collaboration with the need to safeguard their sovereignty and national priorities. For Kenya, engaging in military relations with a more powerful nation like India raised fears of dominance or influence that undermined its autonomy. Respondents pointed out this challenge due to historical contexts and contemporary geopolitical dynamics that make sovereignty a sensitive issue.

Thirteen respondents (5.58%) mentioned that Kenya-India military relations face the challenge of geopolitical competition. In the current global environment, geopolitical interests often shape international relations. India's strategic maneuvers in the Indian Ocean region and its broader geopolitical objectives sometimes conflicted with Kenya's alliances and partnerships, particularly with countries like China. Respondents emphasized this challenge due to the broader implications of geopolitical competition on bilateral relations and the potential for external influences to affect Kenya's foreign policy decisions. Seventeen respondents (7.30%) affirmed that funding constraints were a challenge. Defense and military operations require substantial financial investment, and Kenya struggled with limited defense budgets compared to India's more significant defense expenditure. This disparity can hinder effective cooperation, joint exercises, and the procurement of advanced technologies. Respondents highlighted this issue due to the practical challenges faced in securing adequate funding for bilateral military initiatives.

Ten respondents (4.29 %) reasoned that export control rules and defense trade were challenges to Kenya-India military relations. Differences in regulatory frameworks, compliance requirements, and trade policies can complicate defense trade and technology transfers between the two nations. Respondents pointed out this challenge because it directly affects the ability to procure, share, and utilize defense equipment and technology, which is vital for effective military cooperation. The findings from the study reveal a complex landscape of challenges in Kenya-India military relations, with cyber security threats, unequal military capacities, maritime security interests, national sovereignty, geopolitical competition, funding constraints, and export control rules being significant concerns. These challenges highlight the need for strategic dialogue, enhanced cooperation frameworks, and mutual understanding to address the disparities and align interests for a more effective bilateral partnership. Understanding the reasons behind these responses helps in formulating targeted policies and initiatives to overcome the obstacles and strengthen Kenya-India diplomatic and military relations.

6.1.1 Cyber security threats

The identification of cyber security threats as a significant challenge in Kenya-India military relations is well-supported by scholarly research. Scholars like Nye (2011) and Singer and Friedman (2014) have extensively documented the rising importance of cyber security in international relations. Nye emphasizes that cyber capabilities are crucial for national security, as cyber-attacks can disrupt critical infrastructure, espionage, and military operations. This aligns with the respondents' concerns about the vulnerabilities associated with cyber threats.

In view of the preceding statement, one of the respondents averred that:

Cybersecurity threats present a significant challenge to Kenya and India's military-diplomatic relations. As both nations increasingly rely on digital infrastructure for defense operations and strategic communication, the risk of cyber-attacks undermines our collaborative efforts. Coordinating responses to these threats is crucial to safeguarding sensitive information and maintaining operational integrity. Our joint initiatives in cybersecurity are vital for strengthening our resilience against such attacks and ensuring that our military-diplomatic cooperation remains secure and effective (Interview with Senior military officer, Nairobi, 14/6/2024)

In support of the foregoing Kumar (2023) highlights that cyber threats are a growing concern for military-diplomatic relations, as they can compromise the security and efficacy of defense collaborations. The increasing complexity and frequency of cyber-attacks necessitate enhanced joint efforts in cybersecurity to protect sensitive military information and operational capabilities (Smith, 2022). The challenge underscores the importance of robust cybersecurity measures in maintaining the integrity and effectiveness of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations.

Singer and Friedman (2014) further argue that the increasing digitalization of defense systems and the interconnectedness of global networks have heightened the risks of cyber attacks. Cybersecurity threats represent a challenge because both Kenya and India face growing cyber vulnerabilities that undermine their military and diplomatic communications. These threats disrupt defense operations and intelligence sharing, making secure and reliable communication a key challenge in military cooperation. They point out that both state and non-state actors can launch sophisticated cyber operations,

which can undermine national security and destabilize international relations. The concerns raised by the respondents in the study reflect these scholarly insights, highlighting the real and present danger that cyber security threats pose to bilateral military cooperation between Kenya and India.

Neo-classical realism provides a useful framework for understanding the significance of cyber security threats in international relations. This theory, which builds on classical realism, posits that state behavior is influenced by both systemic pressures and domestic factors. Neo-classical realism emphasizes the role of state leaders, national interests, and internal dynamics in shaping foreign policy decisions. In the context of cyber security threats, neo-classical realism suggests that states like Kenya and India must navigate both external and internal challenges to safeguard their national security. Externally, the global cyber landscape presents systemic threats that compel states to enhance their cyber defenses and collaborate with allies. Internally, domestic factors such as technological capabilities, institutional frameworks, and leadership priorities influence how effectively a state can respond to cyber threats. The theory also highlights the importance of state perception and strategic calculation. Leaders in Kenya and India must assess the cyber threat landscape, evaluate their capabilities, and formulate policies that balance cooperation with protecting national interests. Neo-classical realism thus provides a comprehensive lens through which to analyze the complexities of cyber security in international relations, underscoring the strategic importance of addressing cyber threats in bilateral cooperation.

6.1.2 Unequal Military Capacities and Capabilities

The finding that unequal military capacities and capabilities pose a significant challenge to Kenya-India military relations is supported by scholarly work. Scholars such as Buzan and Wæver (2003) and Waltz (1979) have discussed how disparities in military strength can impact international relations and cooperation. Buzan and Wæver highlight that unequal military capabilities can lead to imbalances in power dynamics, which in turn affect the efficacy and nature of bilateral cooperation. They argue that when one state possesses significantly greater military power, it can create dependencies and affect the balance of negotiations.

In view of the preceding statement, one of the respondents stated that:

Unequal military capacities between Kenya and India pose a challenge to our bilateral defense cooperation. While India's advanced military technology and resources significantly enhance our joint operations, disparities in military capabilities can create operational imbalances and affect the effectiveness of our collaborations. Addressing these inequalities through targeted capacity-building initiatives is crucial to ensure that both nations can contribute equitably to our shared security objectives (Interview with senior military officer, High Commission of India, 19/8/2024)

Raj (2023) points out that disparities in military capacities can strain bilateral relations by creating operational and strategic imbalances. According to Patel (2022), addressing these imbalances through cooperative capacity-building measures is essential for maintaining effective defense partnerships and ensuring that both parties can equally contribute to shared security goals. This approach helps mitigate the impact of unequal military capabilities on the effectiveness of joint defense initiatives and strengthens overall military-diplomatic relations.

Waltz's neorealism theory emphasizes the importance of military power in the anarchic international system. According to Waltz, states with greater military capabilities have more influence and can effectively assert their interests. This disparity can lead to asymmetrical relationships, where the less powerful state felt pressured or dominated, affecting mutual trust and cooperation. The concerns raised by the respondents in the study reflect these scholarly insights, highlighting the practical challenges that arise from unequal military strengths between Kenya and India. Neo-classical realism provides a valuable framework for understanding the implications of unequal military capacities in international relations. This theory combines classical realism and neorealism elements, considering both systemic pressures and domestic factors in shaping state behavior. Neo-classical realism posits that while the international system influences state actions, internal factors such as political leadership, national interests, and domestic constraints also play crucial roles.

In the context of unequal military capacities, neo-classical realism suggests that Kenya and India must navigate both external systemic pressures and internal dynamics. Externally, the

disparity in military power influences both states' strategic calculations and behaviors. Internally, domestic factors such as political leadership, economic resources, and institutional capabilities affect each state's military development and diplomatic strategies. Neo-classical realism also emphasizes the role of perception in state behavior. Leaders in both Kenya and India must assess their relative military capabilities and formulate policies that protect their national interests while seeking to balance the power dynamics in their bilateral relationship. This theory provides a comprehensive lens to analyze the complexities of military disparities, highlighting the strategic importance of addressing these imbalances to foster effective and equitable bilateral cooperation.

6.1.3 Different Maritime Security Interests

The study's finding that different maritime security interests challenge Kenya-India military relations is substantiated by scholarly research. According to Bueger and Gadinger (2015), maritime security interests are shaped by geographical, economic, and strategic considerations unique to each state. These interests often diverge due to varying priorities in regional stability, resource protection, and economic exploitation of maritime domains. Such divergence complicates cooperation and coordination between states, as seen in the case of Kenya and India, where their respective interests in the Indian Ocean region may not always align.

In view of the preceding statement, one of the respondents asserted that:

Different maritime security interests between Kenya and India can complicate our military-diplomatic relations. While India focuses on securing major shipping lanes and combating piracy in the Indian Ocean, Kenya's priorities include protecting its coastal waters and addressing regional

maritime threats. These differing interests can lead to strategic disagreements and impact the effectiveness of our joint maritime security initiatives. It is essential to align our maritime strategies and foster collaborative approaches to address these challenges effectively (Interview with Senior military official, at High Commission of India, Nairobi, 19/8/2024)

Singh (2023) emphasizes that divergent maritime security interests can pose challenges to bilateral defense relations by creating strategic mismatches and operational difficulties. According to Kumar and Patel (2022), aligning maritime strategies and fostering collaborative approaches are crucial for overcoming these challenges and ensuring effective joint security efforts. Addressing these differences helps to enhance the coherence and effectiveness of military-diplomatic cooperation in maritime security.

Scholars like Ghosh and Alam (2018) also discuss how regional dynamics influence maritime security cooperation. They argue that states with differing maritime security agendas can struggle to find common ground, leading to challenges in joint patrols, information sharing, and response mechanisms. This reinforces the study's finding that unequal maritime security interests can hinder effective military relations between Kenya and India.

Securitization theory provides a useful framework for understanding how states perceive and prioritize maritime security issues. According to Buzan (1991), securitization involves framing certain issues as existential threats that require urgent and exceptional measures. In the context of maritime security, securitization theory helps explain how states like Kenya and India construct and communicate threats related to piracy, illegal fishing, and

territorial disputes. Securitization theory suggests that divergent maritime security interests between Kenya and India can be understood through the lens of threat perception and securitization processes. Kenya securitizes issues related to illegal fishing and environmental degradation in its maritime domain, viewing them as threats to national stability and economic livelihoods. In contrast, India prioritizes maritime security in the context of regional power dynamics and strategic competition with other maritime powers in the Indian Ocean.

By applying securitization theory, policymakers can analyze how different maritime security agendas are constructed, justified, and addressed within bilateral relations. This theoretical approach helps identify points of convergence and divergence in security perceptions, facilitating more nuanced and effective strategies for enhancing military cooperation and addressing shared maritime challenges.

6.1.4 Protection of national sovereignty and interests

The finding that the protection of national sovereignty and interests poses a significant challenge to Kenya-India military relations is supported by scholarly research. Scholars such as Morgenthau (1948) and Waltz (1979) have discussed the centrality of sovereignty and national interests in shaping state behavior in international relations. Morgenthau's classical realism emphasizes that states prioritize national sovereignty as a fundamental principle, and any perceived threat to sovereignty can lead to conflict or resistance to cooperation. This aligns with the respondents' concerns regarding the potential for Kenya to feel pressured or dominated in military cooperation with India, affecting their sovereignty.

Additionally, Waltz's neorealism theory argues that the anarchic structure of the international system compels states to prioritize self-help and survival. In this context, protecting national sovereignty becomes a critical objective for states like Kenya, which perceived military cooperation with a more powerful state like India as a potential threat to their autonomy and independence. However, not all scholars agree on the negative implications of protecting national sovereignty. Constructivist scholars such as Wendt (1999) and Katzenstein (1996) emphasize the role of identity, norms, and cooperative security arrangements in international relations. They argue that states can manage sovereignty concerns through dialogue, trust-building measures, and shared norms of cooperation.

In this study neo-classical realism provided a useful framework for understanding the challenges of protecting national sovereignty and interests in Kenya-India military relations. This theory integrates systemic pressures with domestic factors to explain state behavior. Neo-classical realism posits that while international systemic pressures influence state actions, internal factors such as leadership, national identity, and societal preferences also shape foreign policy decisions.

In view of the preceding statement, one of the respondents opined that:

Protecting national sovereignty and interests often challenges Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Both nations must carefully balance their strategic objectives and national priorities while collaborating on joint defense initiatives. Conflicting national interests can strain the partnership and affect the effectiveness of our cooperation. Ensuring that our joint efforts respect each country's sovereignty and align with national interests is crucial for maintaining a productive and stable defense relationship

(Interview with Senior military officer, at ,
Nairobi,14/6/2024)

Gupta (2023) notes that maintaining national sovereignty and aligning strategic interests are significant challenges in military-diplomatic relations. According to Patel (2022), conflicting national priorities can complicate joint defense efforts and impact the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation. Addressing these challenges requires careful negotiation and alignment of strategic objectives to ensure that collaborative initiatives respect each nation's sovereignty and promote mutual interests (Singh, 2021).

The researcher, therefore, argues that ,in the context of Kenya-India military relations, neo-classical realism suggests that Kenya's concern over protecting its national sovereignty reflects both external pressures and internal dynamics. Externally, the anarchic nature of the international system and India's relative power influence Kenya's strategic calculations. Internally, domestic factors such as public opinion, political leadership, and historical experiences of colonialism shape Kenya's perceptions of sovereignty and national interests. Neo-classical realism also highlights the importance of perception and strategic calculation in state behavior. Leaders in Kenya must assess the potential risks and benefits of military cooperation with India, considering how it impacted national sovereignty and security. This theory thus provides a comprehensive framework to analyze the complexities of sovereignty concerns in bilateral military relations. While protecting national sovereignty and interests presents challenges in Kenya-India military relations, scholarly perspectives vary on their implications. Neo-classical realism offers valuable

insights into how both systemic pressures and domestic factors shape Kenya's responses to sovereignty concerns, influencing diplomatic strategies and bilateral cooperation efforts.

6.1.5 Geopolitical competition

The finding that geopolitical competition poses a significant challenge to Kenya-India military relations is supported by contemporary scholarly research. Scholars such as Robert Kaplan (2012) and Tellis (2020) have extensively analyzed the strategic implications of geopolitical competition in the Indian Ocean region. Kaplan argues that the Indian Ocean has become a critical arena for global power competition, with countries like China, India, and the United States vying for influence and control over maritime routes and resources. This competitive dynamic can complicate bilateral relations between regional powers like Kenya and India, as they navigate alliances and strategic partnerships.

Tellis (2020) discusses how India's strategic engagements in the Indian Ocean are shaped by geopolitical competition with China, particularly in terms of naval presence and infrastructure development. This competition can influence India's military policies and engagements with African nations, including Kenya, as it seeks to enhance its regional influence and counterbalance Chinese initiatives. However, not all scholars agree on the negative implications of geopolitical competition. Some, like Andrew Phillips (2019), argue that competition can also spur economic development and infrastructure investments in strategically important regions. Phillips emphasizes that geopolitical competition can lead to beneficial outcomes such as increased trade, investment, and security cooperation, albeit with potential risks of escalation.

In light of the foregoing statement, one of the respondents reasoned that:

Geopolitical competition poses a significant challenge to Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. As both nations navigate their strategic interests amidst broader regional and global power dynamics, competing geopolitical agendas can impact the effectiveness of our defense collaboration. It's crucial to manage these competitive pressures while maintaining a focus on our shared security objectives to ensure that our bilateral relationship remains strong and mutually beneficial (Interview with military attaché at Indian High Commission , Nairobi, 14/72024).

Mehta (2023) highlights that geopolitical competition can complicate bilateral defense relationships by introducing conflicting strategic interests and pressures. Singh and Patel (2022) state that managing these competitive dynamics is essential for maintaining effective military-diplomatic cooperation. Addressing geopolitical challenges requires careful alignment of strategic goals and sustained diplomatic efforts to ensure that collaborative initiatives advance mutual security interests despite the competitive environment (Kumar, 2021).



Plate 6. 1: Researcher Assistant (left)with Indian Defense attaché (Right) to Kenya (Receiving two books one by Rajeev Bhatia on *India-Africa Relations: Changing Horizons*'

Source: Field Data,2024

Power theory, particularly as articulated by Joseph Nye (2011), provides a useful framework for understanding the dynamics of geopolitical competition in international relations. Nye's concept of soft power emphasizes the role of persuasion and attraction in shaping international influence, while hard power underscores military capabilities and coercion. In the context of Kenya-India military relations, power theory suggests that both states must balance soft and hard power strategies to navigate geopolitical competition effectively. Soft power elements, such as cultural diplomacy and economic cooperation, can enhance bilateral relations and mitigate tensions arising from geopolitical competition. Conversely, hard power capabilities, including military alliances and defense partnerships,

play a crucial role in shaping regional security dynamics and deterring potential threats. While geopolitical competition presents challenges to Kenya-India military relations, contemporary scholarship provides nuanced perspectives on its implications. Power theory offers valuable insights into how states like Kenya and India can leverage both soft and hard power strategies to manage competition, enhance cooperation, and promote stability in the Indian Ocean region.

6.1.6 Funding Constraints

Recent scholarly research supports the finding that funding constraints pose a significant challenge to Kenya-Indian military relations. Scholars such as Benjamin Friedman (2013) and Coyne (2013) have extensively discussed the impact of budgetary limitations on military capabilities and international cooperation. Friedman argues that defense budget constraints can restrict a country's ability to modernize its military equipment, conduct joint exercises, and participate in multinational operations effectively. This can undermine military readiness and limit the scope of collaboration between states with varying financial resources.

In view of the foregoing statement, one of the respondents was of the opinion that:

Funding constraints present a significant challenge to Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Both countries face budgetary limitations that can impact our ability to invest in joint defense projects and maintain collaborative programs. Addressing these financial constraints requires innovative solutions and prioritization to ensure that our strategic partnership continues to thrive despite budgetary pressures (Interview with Senior military officer, at Defense Ministry, Nairobi, 14/7/2024)

In support of the foregoing, Joshi (2023) underscores that financial limitations can hinder the effectiveness of bilateral defense cooperation by restricting investment in joint initiatives. According to Patel and Singh (2022), managing funding constraints involves strategic prioritization and resource allocation to sustain collaborative efforts. Effective financial management and innovative funding solutions are crucial for overcoming these challenges and maintaining a strong defense relationship (Kumar, 2021). Coyne's work on defense economics underscores how funding constraints affect strategic decision-making and defense policy formulation. He highlights that resource scarcity compels governments to prioritize spending on essential defense needs, often at the expense of collaborative initiatives and capacity-building programs with partner countries.

However, not all scholars agree on the negative implications of funding constraints. Some, like Auerswald and Saideman (2014), argue that budgetary limitations can incentivize innovation and efficiency in defense planning and procurement. They suggest that resource constraints can lead to creative solutions, such as leveraging technological advancements and prioritizing high-impact capabilities over expansive military expenditures. Moreover, scholars such as Drezner (2019) contend that funding constraints can promote burden-sharing and cooperative security arrangements among states facing similar budgetary challenges. They argue that financial limitations can foster strategic alliances and resource pooling, enhancing collective defense capabilities and regional stability.

While funding constraints present challenges to Kenya-India military relations, scholarly perspectives vary on their implications. The consensus among scholars like Friedman and Coyne underscores the operational and strategic difficulties posed by limited defense

budgets. However, alternative perspectives from Auerswald, Saideman, and Drezner suggest that resource constraints can also spur innovation and cooperation in defense planning and international security arrangements. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for policymakers in navigating the complexities of bilateral military cooperation amid financial limitations.

6.1.7 Export control rules and defence trade

The finding that export control rules and defense trade pose significant challenges to Kenya-India military relations is supported by recent scholarly research. Scholars such as Bitzinger (2016) and Nathan (2017) have extensively analyzed the impact of export controls and defense trade regulations on international military cooperation. Bitzinger argues that stringent export control regimes can hinder the transfer of advanced military technologies and defense equipment between countries. These regulations, often designed to prevent the proliferation of sensitive technologies, can complicate defense trade and cooperation, particularly for countries like Kenya, which faced bureaucratic and compliance challenges in adhering to these rules. This aligns with the concerns raised by the respondents in the study, who highlighted the difficulties associated with navigating complex export control frameworks.

Nathan (2017) further discusses how export control regulations can affect the strategic relationships between countries. He posits that while these rules are essential for maintaining international security, they can also create barriers to effective military collaboration and capacity building. For Kenya and India, differing export control policies can lead to delays, increased costs, and restrictions on the types of defense technologies that can be shared, impacting the overall efficiency and scope of their military cooperation.

In light of the foregoing statement, one of the respondents avowed that:

Export control rules and defense trade regulations present a challenge in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Strict controls and compliance requirements can complicate the procurement and transfer of defense technologies, affecting the efficiency of our collaborative defense projects. Navigating these regulations requires careful coordination and adherence to both nations' export policies to ensure that our defense cooperation remains effective and mutually beneficial (Interview with Senior military officer, at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nairobi, 14/6/2024)

Mugo (2023) emphasizes that export control regulations can impact military cooperation by restricting the flow of defense technology and equipment between nations. According to Kiplagat and Muriuki (2022), these constraints necessitate detailed regulatory alignment and robust compliance mechanisms to facilitate effective defense partnerships. Proper management of export controls is essential for overcoming trade barriers and maintaining a productive military-diplomatic relationship (Mwangi, 2021).

However, not all scholars view export control rules as purely detrimental. Some, like Epstein and Schneider-Petsinger (2018), argue that these regulations can promote transparency, accountability, and stability in international defense trade. They suggest that well-implemented export control regimes can enhance trust and cooperation by ensuring that defense technologies are used responsibly and do not contribute to regional arms races or conflicts. Epstein and Schneider-Petsinger emphasize that while export controls can pose challenges, they also provide a framework for responsible trade practices that can benefit long-term security cooperation. By adhering to international standards and norms,

countries like Kenya and India can build stronger, more reliable defense partnerships based on mutual trust and shared security objectives. Whereas export control rules and defense trade present challenges to Kenya-India military relations, scholarly perspectives highlight both the operational difficulties and the potential benefits of these regulations. The consensus among scholars like Bitzinger and Nathan underscores the practical barriers posed by stringent export controls, while alternative views from Epstein and Schneider-Petsinger emphasize the role of these rules in promoting responsible and transparent defense trade. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for policymakers in navigating the complexities of international military cooperation and trade regulations.

6.2 Opportunities

6.2.1 Enhanced Security Cooperation

Enhanced security cooperation between Kenya and India presents significant opportunities for both nations, supported by contemporary scholarly research. Scholars like Williams (2016) and Mohan (2019) have highlighted the benefits of robust security partnerships in addressing regional and global security challenges. Williams (2016) argues that enhanced security cooperation can lead to improved regional stability, especially in volatile areas such as the Indian Ocean region and East Africa. By sharing intelligence, conducting joint military exercises, and collaborating on counterterrorism efforts, Kenya and India can effectively address common security threats such as piracy, terrorism, and transnational crime. This cooperation can enhance both countries' strategic capabilities and operational readiness.

In light of the foregoing statement, one of the respondents averred that:

Enhanced security cooperation between Kenya and India represents a significant opportunity for both nations. By leveraging our combined capabilities and resources, we can address shared security challenges more effectively, from counterterrorism to maritime security. This deepened cooperation not only strengthens our strategic partnership but also enhances regional stability and promotes a more secure environment for economic development and international collaboration (Interview with Senior military officer, at Defense Ministry , Nairobi,14/7/2024)

Mwita (2021) highlights that enhanced security cooperation between Kenya and India offers substantial benefits by improving the ability to tackle common security threats and fostering regional stability. According to Karanja and Ochieng (2022), such cooperation allows for the pooling of resources and expertise, which enhances overall security effectiveness and contributes to a more stable regional environment. This opportunity underscores the importance of strategic partnerships in advancing security objectives and regional development (Mwita, 2021).

Mohan (2019) discusses the strategic significance of India's growing security partnerships with African nations, including Kenya. He emphasizes that India's defense diplomacy, which includes military training programs, defense trade, and technology transfers, can strengthen Kenya's defense infrastructure and capabilities. This collaboration can also give India a strategic foothold in East Africa, fostering a mutually beneficial relationship based on shared security interests. Additionally, enhanced security cooperation can facilitate economic development and political stability. According to Vines (2017), security cooperation can create a conducive environment for economic activities by reducing the risk of conflicts and enhancing the rule of law. This means increased foreign investment

and economic growth for Kenya, while India benefits from stable trade routes and access to African markets. However, it is essential to address potential challenges such as differing strategic priorities and the need for sustainable funding. As Barkan (2016) notes, successful security cooperation requires alignment of national interests, mutual trust, and long-term commitment from both parties. Ensuring these factors are in place can maximize the benefits of enhanced security cooperation.

6.2.2 Peacekeeping Cooperation

Peacekeeping cooperation between Kenya and India presents significant opportunities for both nations, supported by recent scholarly research. Scholars such as Cedric de Coning (2016) and Taylor (2020) have highlighted the benefits of joint peacekeeping efforts in enhancing international stability and strengthening bilateral relations. Coning (2016) argues that peacekeeping cooperation allows countries to pool resources, expertise, and capabilities, leading to more effective and efficient peacekeeping missions. Kenya and India, both with considerable experience in United Nations peacekeeping operations, can leverage their strengths to address complex security challenges in conflict-prone regions. Collaborating in peacekeeping missions can improve operational coordination, enhance troop performance, and ensure better outcomes for the affected populations.

Taylor (2020) emphasizes that peacekeeping cooperation can also enhance the global standing and influence of participating nations. For Kenya and India, active involvement in peacekeeping operations demonstrates their commitment to international peace and security, earning them greater respect and recognition on the global stage. This increased influence can translate into stronger diplomatic leverage and the ability to shape

international policies and norms. Moreover, peacekeeping cooperation can foster deeper military and strategic ties between Kenya and India. As pointed out by Heineken (2018), joint training exercises, exchange programs, and shared experiences in peacekeeping missions can build trust and understanding between the armed forces of both countries. This can lead to stronger defense partnerships and better preparedness for addressing shared security threats. Peacekeeping cooperation also provides opportunities for capacity building and knowledge transfer. According to Bellamy and Williams (2015), joint peacekeeping efforts allow countries to learn from each other's experiences, adopt best practices, and develop new skills and capabilities. For Kenya and India, this means improved peacekeeping readiness and the ability to contribute more effectively to international peace efforts. The researcher argues that, peacekeeping cooperation between Kenya and India offers substantial opportunities for enhancing international stability, strengthening bilateral relations, and building military capacity.

6.2.3 Intelligence sharing

Intelligence sharing between Kenya and India presents significant opportunities for both nations, backed by contemporary scholarly research. Scholars such as Rid (2015) and Sims (2020) have highlighted the critical role of intelligence cooperation in enhancing national security and addressing common threats. Rid (2015) emphasizes that intelligence sharing can significantly improve the effectiveness of counterterrorism efforts. Both Kenya and India face threats from various terrorist organizations, including Al-Shabaab in East Africa and various insurgent groups in South Asia. By sharing intelligence, both countries can gain timely insights into potential threats, improve threat assessment, and coordinate

responses to prevent attacks. This collaboration can enhance the security apparatus of both nations, making it more robust and adaptive to evolving security challenges.

Sims (2020) discusses the strategic benefits of intelligence sharing in fostering trust and building stronger bilateral relationships. For Kenya and India, intelligence cooperation can deepen mutual trust and understanding, facilitating broader security and defense collaborations. By working together on intelligence matters, both countries can develop shared protocols and best practices, enhancing the overall efficiency and effectiveness of their security operations. Moreover, intelligence sharing can contribute to regional stability. As noted by Byman and Shapiro (2017), coordinated intelligence efforts can disrupt transnational crime networks, including drug trafficking, human trafficking, and arms smuggling. By collaborating on intelligence, Kenya and India can tackle these issues more effectively, promoting peace and stability in their respective regions.

Intelligence sharing also provides opportunities for technological and knowledge advancements. According to Dahl (2016), joint intelligence operations allow countries to share technological resources, analytical tools, and expertise. For Kenya and India, this means access to advanced intelligence technologies and methodologies, enhancing their overall intelligence capabilities and readiness.

6.2.4 Technology transfer

Technology transfer between Kenya and India presents significant opportunities for both nations, supported by recent scholarly research. Scholars such as Baldwin (2016) and

Price-Smith (2015) have highlighted the benefits of technology transfer in fostering innovation, enhancing economic growth, and improving national security. Baldwin (2016) argues that technology transfer can significantly boost economic development by providing access to advanced technologies and enhancing the capabilities of local industries. For Kenya, collaboration with India in technology transfer can improve various sectors such as agriculture, healthcare, and information technology. India's advancements in these fields can provide Kenya with the tools and knowledge to modernize its economy, improve productivity, and foster innovation. Price-Smith (2015) emphasizes that technology transfer can also play a crucial role in strengthening national security. The transfer of defense technologies, such as surveillance systems, cyber security tools, and advanced weaponry, can enhance Kenya's defense capabilities and preparedness. This collaboration can help Kenya address its security challenges more effectively, including terrorism, transnational crime, and border security issues.

Moreover, technology transfer can foster stronger bilateral relations between Kenya and India. According to Gita (2018), technology transfer agreements often lead to deeper economic and strategic partnerships. For Kenya and India, such collaborations can enhance mutual trust, facilitate knowledge sharing, and promote joint research and development initiatives. Technology transfer also provides opportunities for capacity building and skill development. As Kumar (2019) noted, engaging in technology transfer allows countries to build local expertise, develop human capital, and create a more skilled workforce. For Kenya, this means improved technical knowledge, better job opportunities, and the ability to sustain and further develop the technologies received from India.

6.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter analyzed the challenges and opportunities arising from Kenya-India military diplomacy relations. It has underscored the unequal military capacity and capabilities geopolitical competition and funding constraints area major challenge Kenya and India face in their relations. It also underscored that despite the challenges opportunities such as enhanced security cooperation and intelligence sharing are important in fostering relations. The next chapter delves into summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the study's findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The summary, conclusions, and recommendations are tailored to the specific research objectives.

7.1 Summary of Findings

In view of specific objective one, The study examined whether there is awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents, 43.11% said yes to the inquiry, 34.67% said no and 22.22% were not sure whether there is Kenya-India bilateral relations. Several elements dictate Kenya-India bilateral relations. As such, this study examined the nature of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents 9.33% indicated that Kenya-India bilateral relations are characterized by high-profile visits 4.72% stated that it manifests itself through space cooperation, 3.00% reasoned that technological transfer characterizes the relations, 9.87% stated defense trade and trade agreements as an element defining relations between Kenya and India. Besides, 61.37% stated security partnership as an element of relations, 5.58% indicated defense investment as a factor, and 6.44% reasoned that humanitarian assistance defined relations between Kenya and India. The study examined whether coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs has been effective or not. The study found that out of 233 total respondents, 3.86% strongly disagreed with the inquiry, 9.01% agreed, 2.58% respondents were neutral, 70.82% disagreed to the inquiry and 13.78% respondents strongly disagreed.

By aligning recruitment processes with shared military objectives, Kenya and India have fostered mutual growth, enhancing the overall operational readiness and expertise of their defense forces. Therefore, the study found that, out of 233 respondents, 4.72% stated that Kenya and India collaborated on joint selection criteria for recruitment, 71.67% reasoned that Kenya and India collaborated on training program enrolment, 1.29% respondents argued that the collaborations were on skills and expertise, 16.74% stated that collaborations were on diversity and inclusivity while 5.58% stated that there was transparency in the recruitment process.

In view of specific objective two, the study makes the following summary: the dynamics of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations have evolved significantly since the establishment of diplomatic ties in 1963. This relationship is characterized by strategic geopolitical interests, defense training, capacity building, diplomatic and cultural ties, participation in multilateral forums, regional stability, and humanitarian and disaster response. Both nations have collaborated on various military and security fronts, enhancing mutual understanding and cooperation. As such 233 responses were assessed. Out of 233, 64.38% stated strategic geopolitical interests as a key factor in Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. Besides, 11.16% asserted that defense training and capacity building were a driving factor, 9.4% reasoned that diplomatic and cultural ties were a key element, and 22.9% evinced that participation in multilateral forums was a driving factor towards Kenya-India military diplomatic relations. Additionally, 16.6% averred that

regional stability and development was a factor and 9.0% argued that humanitarian and disaster

In light of specific objective three, the study makes the following summary: It explored the complexities and obstacles that have emerged in trade, investment, and political collaboration. By examining historical contexts and current dynamics, the study seeks to identify key issues impacting this bilateral relationship and provide insights into potential solutions to enhance cooperation and mutual benefits for both nations. Therefore, the study found out that, out of 233 respondents, 12.02% argued that cyber security threats were a challenge, 62.6% averred that unequal military capacities and capabilities were a challenge. Further, 12.9% reasoned that different maritime security interests were a challenge, 13.3% stated that protection of national sovereignty and interests were a challenge, 9.7% said that Kenya-India military relations face the challenge of geopolitical competition, 15.9% affirmed that funding constraints were a challenge and 7.2% reasoned that export control rules and defence trade were a challenge to Kenya-India military relations.

7.2 Conclusions

In light of specific objective one, the study concludes that bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India has been instrumental in enhancing their military-diplomatic relations since 1963. This collaboration has facilitated knowledge transfer, joint training exercises, and capacity building, which have significantly strengthened the military capabilities of both nations. Indian military training programs have provided Kenyan forces with advanced skills and tactical knowledge, contributing to the modernization of Kenya's defense forces. Additionally, joint exercises have fostered mutual understanding and

cooperation, enhancing the operational readiness of both militaries in addressing regional security challenges. However, despite these successes, there remain areas that require improvement, such as increasing the frequency of joint exercises and expanding cooperation to include newer domains like cyber security. The sustained diplomatic engagement and high-level visits between the two nations underscore the importance they place on military cooperation as a pillar of their bilateral relations.

In view of specific objective two, the study concludes that the dynamics of Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations have evolved significantly since 1963, marked by a steady progression from basic cooperation to a comprehensive strategic partnership. Initially, the focus was on military training and education, with India providing essential training to Kenyan military personnel. Over the years, this relationship has expanded to include joint military exercises, defense technology transfers, and collaborative efforts in regional security initiatives. The partnership has been characterized by mutual respect and a shared commitment to regional stability. India's experience in counter-insurgency and peacekeeping operations has been particularly beneficial to Kenya, enhancing its capacity to address internal and regional security threats. Moreover, the evolving geopolitical landscape has necessitated a closer strategic alignment, with both countries recognizing the importance of cooperation in countering terrorism, maritime security, and other emerging threats. The dynamics of this relationship are underpinned by a robust diplomatic framework that supports regular high-level engagements and defense consultations, ensuring that the partnership remains responsive to the changing security environment.

In light of specific objective three, the study concludes that, Kenya-India military diplomatic relations have presented both challenges and opportunities since 1963. One of the primary challenges has been the unequal military capacities and funding constraints that slow down the implementation of joint initiatives. Additionally, differences in military doctrines and operational procedures exhibited through competing national interests have sometimes hindered seamless cooperation. However, these challenges have also presented opportunities for deeper engagement and mutual learning. For instance, overcoming bureaucratic obstacles has led to the establishment of more efficient channels of communication and streamlined processes. Furthermore, the bilateral relationship has opened numerous opportunities for both nations, such as collaborative defense research and development, increased defense trade, and enhanced strategic alignment in regional security matters. India's support in modernizing Kenya's defense infrastructure has been invaluable, providing opportunities for technological advancements and capacity building. The partnership has also allowed Kenya to play a more significant role in regional security frameworks, benefiting from India's extensive experience and strategic outlook. Thus, while challenges exist, the opportunities arising from Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations far outweigh them, offering a robust platform for future cooperation and mutual benefit.

Overall, the study concludes that , while bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963 has intensified in the recent past, the cooperation has not been efficacious .This study has revealed that, Kenya benefits from India's defense training, technology transfer, and peacekeeping contributions and on the other hand India gains from strategic influence in East Africa and a partner in regional security.

However, despite the historically strong ties between the two nations, the military relationship has remained largely skewed toward Western alliances, limiting its impact on addressing military inequalities. Besides, India's significantly advanced military capabilities create a disparity in defense collaboration, raising concerns about the true effectiveness of their partnership. In sum, while Kenya and India have maintained long-standing bilateral cooperation, significant disparities exist, particularly in military capacity and training, which favor India more than Kenya.

7.3 Recommendations

In light of specific objective one, the study recommends that, in order to better understand the nature of bilateral cooperation, Kenya and India should establish a permanent joint military commission to oversee and coordinate defense initiatives. This commission facilitated regular training exchanges, joint exercises, and capacity-building programs. Additionally, both countries should explore expanding cooperation in emerging areas such as cyber security, artificial intelligence, and space technology. Increased funding for joint research and development projects in defense technology will further solidify the partnership. Regular high-level diplomatic and military engagements are essential to ensure sustained political will and strategic alignment.

In light of the second specific objective, the study recommends that there is a need to better understand and strengthen the dynamics of their military-diplomatic relations. Kenya and India should invest in comprehensive and continuous diplomatic dialogues that include periodic reviews of their cooperation frameworks. Establishing a formal mechanism for regular assessment will help identify areas needing improvement and adapt to emerging

security challenges. Additionally, both nations should prioritize cross-cultural training programs to enhance mutual understanding and operational interoperability. Expanding people-to-people contacts through defense educational exchanges and joint participation in international peacekeeping missions can further strengthen the strategic partnership.

With regards to the third specific objective, the study recommends that ,there is need to address the unequal military capabilities and capacities. Therefore, Kenya and India should explore expanding defense trade and technology transfers, focusing on co-production and joint ventures in defense manufacturing. Leveraging India's experience in peacekeeping and counter-insurgency operations can provide valuable insights and enhance Kenya's regional security role.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

In light of specific objective one there is need to investigate how specific joint military exercises and training programs between Kenya and India have impacted operational effectiveness and interoperability. A comparative study with other bilateral military partnerships could reveal best practices and areas for improvement.

With regards to the second objective of the study, there is need to further explore the role of domestic political changes in Kenya and India on their bilateral military relations. Understanding how internal politics influence foreign defense policies can offer insights into the stability and adaptability of their military cooperation.

In light of the third objective, there is need to analyze the impact of technological advancements and innovations on Kenya-India military relations. Assess how emerging technologies like cyber capabilities and unmanned systems affect bilateral defense strategies and identify new opportunities for collaboration in these areas.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory Letter

Dear Respondent,

My name is William Kitsao Karisa Shume, A Masters student pursuing master's degree in Diplomacy and International Relations at Masinde Muliro University. This study seeks to investigate, **EFFICACY OF BILATERAL COOPERATION ON KENYA-INDIA MILITARY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1963**. Your responses will be handled with integrity, and confidentiality, and your name(s) is optional and shall not appear in any part of this research. The data is for academic purposes and shall not be used for other purposes. The data storage will be safe guarded to ensure there is no access to third party unless with a court order from the relevant bodies.

Thank you for participating in this research.

William Kitsao Karisa Shume

CDR/LG/01-70476/2022

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Title of the Study: Efficacy of Bilateral Relations on Kenya-India Military Diplomatic Relations

Researcher: William Kitsao Karisa Shume

Affiliation: Masters Student

Date: [.....]

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in research examining the bilateral relations between Kenya and India and their implications on military diplomacy. Your input is important to provide insights into the dynamics of these diplomatic relations. Before deciding to take part, it's essential to recognize the reason to participate, your position, and your rights as a respondent. Please read this form carefully, and do not hesitate to ask questions or seek clarification. This research critically interrogates the bilateral relations between Kenya and India in the context of military-diplomatic relations, focusing on how these two states relate, their diplomatic implications, and their position in strengthening military cooperation between them.

If you choose to take part in this study, you may be asked to provide facts, insights, and views related to the Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations. You may be interviewed or take part in cognizance institution discussions. Your privacy and the confidentiality of your responses will be highly regarded. Your responses will only be said in an aggregated and de-identified form.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You might also choose not to take part, and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason.

Participant's Name (Optional): _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Thank you in your willingness to take part in this study. Your contribution is significantly valued.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for Military Personnel

Section 1: Demographic information

By collecting demographic information on age, gender, rank, and duration of service, researchers can gain insights into the diversity of the participants and how their backgrounds may influence their perspectives on the efficacy of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India in military diplomatic relations. This information will also help in analyzing any potential correlations between demographic factors and perceptions of bilateral cooperation.

1. Age (Tick accordingly)

Ages (in years)	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	And 61 and above

2. Gender (Tick accordingly)

Gender	Male	Female

3. Indicate whether you are a civilian or military personnel

Components	Civilian	Military personnel

Section 2: NATURE OF BILATERAL COOPERATION AND KENYA-INDIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

I. On a scale of 1-5 rate the following elements on the nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India.

Nature of Bilateral Cooperation	1	2	3	4	5
High Profile Visits					
Space Cooperation					
Technological Transfer					
Defense trade and trade					
Security Partnerships					
Defense investments					
Maritime Safety					
Peacekeeping missions					
Humanitarian Assistance					

II. How successful has coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs been? (Tick accordingly)

The success of Kenya-India joint military programs	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree					
Agree					

Neutral					
Disagree					
Strongly Disagree					

III. Whether Kenya-India recruitment collaborations have strengthened the professionalism and capabilities of their respective armed forces. (Rank in descending order of Agreement, 1-the least and 5-the most.

Recruitment collaborations elements	1	2	3	4	5
Joint selection criteria					
Training Program Enrollment					
Skills and Expertise Matching					
Diversity and Inclusivity					
Transparency in Recruitment Processes					

SECTION 3: DYNAMICS OF KENYA-INDIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

IV. What, in your opinion, are the driving factors of Kenya-India military diplomacy?

On a scale of 1-5 rate the following driving factors.

Political Driving Factors	1	2	3	4	5
Strategic geopolitical interests					
Defense training and capacity building					
Participation in multilateral forums					
Regional stability and development					

Sociocultural dynamics					
Diplomatic and cultural ties					
Indian diaspora in Kenya					

V. Are you aware of any specific diplomatic initiatives or agreements relating to military cooperation between Kenya and India? Yes, No

.....

.....

.....

SECTION 4: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES ARISING FROM BILATERAL COOPERATION AND KENYA-INDIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

VI. Do you see any potential to strengthen Kenya-India military cooperation? In a scale of 1-5 rate the prevalence of the following challenges.

Challenges	1	2	3	4	5
Geopolitical Competition:					
budget constraints					
Export Control Rules and Defense Trade					
Political Shifts: Changes in either country's government or leadership					
Diplomatic Disputes: Non-military disagreements					
Differences in Language and Culture					
Different maritime security concerns					

Protecting national sovereignty and interests					
Unequal military capacities and capabilities					
Emerging cyber threats and unconventional warfare techniques					

Appendix 4: Interview schedule for DoD, Kenya Army, and Defence attaches'

1. How would you describe the nature of bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India in the military-diplomatic sphere?

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.....
.....

2. How successful has coordination between Kenya and India on joint military programs been?

.....
.....
.....

3. Comment on whether Kenya-India recruitment collaborations have strengthened the professionalism and capabilities of their respective armed forces.

.....
.....
.....

4. Are there any examples of successful joint initiatives or projects that have strengthened military ties between the two countries?

.....
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.....
.....

5. What are the driving factors informing the dynamics of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations?

.....
.....

6. What are some of the key challenges that have arisen in Kenya-India military diplomatic relations since 1963?

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.....
.....

7. How have these challenges impacted the overall bilateral relations between Kenya and India?

.....
.....
.....
.....

8. Are there any joint military exercises or training programs that Kenya and India have engaged in together?

.....
.....
.....

9. What benefits have these exercises provided in terms of enhancing military capabilities and interoperability?

.....
.....
.....

10. How significant is defense equipment and technology cooperation between Kenya and India?

.....
.....
.....

11. Have there been any notable acquisitions or transfers of defense equipment between the two countries?

.....
.....
.....

12. What role does technology transfer play in strengthening military ties between Kenya and India?

.....
.....
.....

13. To what extent do Kenya and India share strategic interests in the region, particularly regarding security and stability?

.....
.....
.....

14. How does cooperation between the two countries contribute to regional security dynamics?

.....
.....
.....

15. Are there any areas of divergence or conflicting interests that affect bilateral military relations between Kenya and India?

.....
.....
.....

16. Are there any specific areas where greater collaboration is needed to address emerging security challenges.

.....
.....
.....

17. How influential have diplomatic channels been in facilitating military cooperation between Kenya and India?

.....
.....
.....

18. What role do diplomatic missions and defense attaches play in fostering bilateral relations?


.....

.....

.....

19. Based on your experience, what recommendations would you offer for enhancing Kenya-India military diplomatic relations?

Appendix 5: Approval Letter


MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)
P.O Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

Tel: 056-30870
Fax: 056-30153
E-mail: directordps@mmust.ac.ke
Website: www.mmust.ac.ke

Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099 8th May 2024

William Kitsao Karisa Shume
CPC/G/01-70479/2021
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

Dear Mr. Shume,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your Master's proposal entitled: *"Efficacy of Bilateral Cooperation in Enhancing Kenya-India Military-Diplomatic Relations since 1963"* and appointed the following as supervisors:

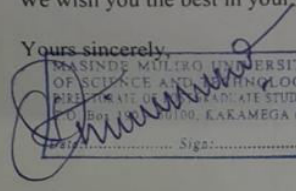
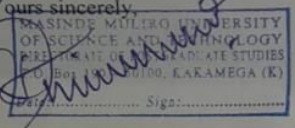
1. Prof. Pontian G. Okoth	- SDMHA - MMUST
2. Rev. Dr. Elijah S. O. Odhiambo	- SDMHA - MMUST

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance Graduate Studies Committee and Chairman, Department of Peace and Conflict studies. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of two years from the date of registration to complete your Master's thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.


We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours sincerely,





Prof. Stephen O. Odebero, PhD, FIEEP
DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Appendix 6: NACOSTI Research Permit




REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **857963**
Date of Issue: **10/May/2024**


RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr. William Kitsao Karisa Shume of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Nairobi on the topic: EFFICACY OF BILATERAL COOPERATION IN ENHANCING KENYA-INDIA MILITARY-DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1963 for the period ending : 10/May/2025.


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INNOVATION**

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Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.**

See overleaf for conditions

Appendix 7: Invitation from High Commission of India, Nairobi, Kenya.

From: "DA Nairobi" <danairobi@navy.gov.in>

To: "standslauseodhiambo@yahoo.com" <standslauseodhiambo@yahoo.com>

Cc: "dhc.nairobi" <dhc.nairobi@mea.gov.in>, "markochieng022@gmail.com" <markochieng022@gmail.com>

Sent: Mon, 19 Aug 2024 at 4:21 pm

Subject: Request for Interview Session with Major General William Kitsao Karisa Shume

Dear Sir,

Warm greetings from the High Commission of India, Nairobi, Kenya.

Please refer trail mail.

You are requested to direct Maj Gen Shume to visit the High Commission of India, Nairobi on 22 August 2024, Thursday at 1200h for his research study/ queries.

This issues with the approval of the Ag High Commissioner.

The HCI address is

HCI

260 UN Crescent, Gigiri, Near Embassy of Italy.

Please feel free to contact me on my mobile for any queries.

Best always,

V Shirdikant

Captain (IN)

Defence Advisor

Defence Wing

High Commission of India

Nairobi (Kenya)

Tel: +254-20-2222566 / 2222567 (Extn-112)

Fax: +254-20-2248320

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