

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

APPLICATION OF MORALITY AND JUSTICE IN DIPLOMACY:
AN ANALYSIS OF SOUTH KOREA – KENYA RELATIONS
2010-2015

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Declaration

I, Jonghee Kim hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.....

Date.....

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.....

Date.....

Supervisor's name & Full Titles

Acknowledgements

“He will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore.” (Isaiah 2:4)

First of all, I thank God for giving me this opportunity to study. I believe that God will use my study for his work. I acknowledge the great help and teachings of Prof. Maria Nzomo, director of IDIS, Mr. Martin Nguru who helped me to have theoretical view in the field of diplomacy and international studies in general. I also acknowledge the warm support of Mr. Gunjik Song, First Secretary and chief of administration of Korean Embassy and Reverend Pastor Mark Yoon of UBF Kenya in my furthering academics in the University of Nairobi. Lastly, I would like acknowledge my wife, Pauline Kim’s silent but firm support in my entire life.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate my work to my elder brother Mr. Changhee Kim who has been a person like my father since year 2000 after my father Mr. Byungyeop Kim passed away.

Abstract

There is no doubt in the fact that keeping peace and security, maintaining friendly relationship and attaining mutual prosperity in economics, culture, society and human right are core purposes in international relations. To achieve this purpose, the most crucial role should be performed by each state who is main actor in international relations. However, the reality is that each state has tendency to proceed to seek for each of its own national interest with first priority rather than seeking for the value of justice and morality. This makes a situation where there is always possibility of conflict and war. This phenomenon is due to the prevailing belief that international society is basically in anarchical status and unless a state attains power, it will be doomed to be subdued by other state.

My proposal begins from the argument that although outwardly there is no complete form of global authority which can control each state's behavior to fulfill international peace and security, fundamentally and historically there has been certain regulating power which rules international society according to the justice. There is a well know bible verse that '...for all who draw the sword will die by the sword.'¹ It also says that 'Say among the nations, "The LORD reigns." The world is firmly established, it cannot be moved; he will judge the peoples with equity.'² These verses of Bible gives us strong implication that any people and nation that seek for their interest by destroying other people unjustly will have due consequences. In the history, there have been many examples of nations that prospered according to their degree of justice and morality. Of course, morality and justice need to be defined properly when it comes to the level of international relations. Then finally, I will research how the element of morality and justice can be applied in the main function of diplomatic mission which is a main organ of diplomacy in each state, especially in the function of negotiation and protecting state's interest. The geographic scope will be Korea and Kenya relationship during 2010-2015.

¹Bible NIV Matthew 26:52

²Bible NIV Psalm 96:10

Abbreviation

AGOA : African Growth Opportunity Act

DAC : Development Assistance Committee

GIZ : Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

IAEA : International Atomic Energy Agency

IGO : Intergovernmental Organization

IL : International Law

IPCC : Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

IR : International Relations

KOICA : Korea International Cooperation Agency

KSP : Knowledge Share Project

NSA : Non State Actors

MOU : Memorandum Of Understanding

ODA : Official Development Assistance

PPP : Public Private Partnership

TICAD : Tokyo International Conference of African Development

UN : United Nations

UNHRC : United Nations Human Rights Council

VCDR : Vienna Convention in Diplomatic Relations

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Chapter One : Introduction of the Study

1.0 Introduction

This chapter will identify the statement of the research problem, objectives of the research, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, hypotheses, methodology of study, scope and limitations and chapter outline for entire study.

1.1 Introduction to the study

In international relations, there have been two major theoretical pillars which are realism and idealism. Realism is based on the assumption that human beings are evil in their born nature and seek for power and their selfish interest. When it comes to state, realism seek for the security of state and power with first priority. Well known realists E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau claimed that states are self-centered and power-seeking actors who always try to maximize their national interest and security.³ Idealism believes that world peace can be fulfilled through globally agreed system or collective measure of security. Idealism was succeeded by Liberalism. Liberalism basically assumes that the individual are good in the nature. Liberalism also trusts the role of political and social institutions in promoting the development of a society or a nation.

Liberalism believes that individuals are good and therefore are able to do proper cooperation to fulfill development of a society. Liberalist emphasizes interdependence among states, multinational corporations and international institutions. Liberalism is basically originated from the liberal philosophical traditions related to Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant which claims that human nature is good and that individual self-interest can be fulfilled by promoting combined social welfare. They claim that state is normally cooperative and observe international regulations and procedures.

³ Morgenthau Hans (1978), *Politics Among Nations: The struggle for Power and Peace*, New York, pp. 4–15.

Realism explains well the reality of international relations. However, it does not mean that international society should move to the direction of limitless competition to seek for power for survival. Bearing in mind the importance of human right and international peace and security and mutual prosperity, then what should the actors of international relations do? If each state only seeks for their own national interest without applying the principle of morality and justice, there is always high possibility of conflicts and wars. The nature of seeking for national interest prior to international peace and security appears well in even several usages of the veto power of permanent member states of UN Security Council, even though UN charter declares that its supreme purpose is the observance of morality and maintaining international peace and security.⁴

For this purpose, in my study, I would like to find out the existence of regulating power that can control states' behavior in long term through both historical and theoretical approach. Based on the faith in the existence of regulating power in international society, I would like to define the role of diplomatic mission in application of the principle of morality and justice especially in their functions of diplomacy. The geographical and periodic scope will be "South Korea and Kenya relations year 2010-2015". So, my research topic is "Application of Morality and Justice in Functions of Diplomatic Mission: South Korea - Kenya Relations of Year 2010-2015".

Diplomatic mission is main organ of a state's diplomacy. So in this research, I would like to find out how a state can apply morality and justice in its diplomatic functions of negotiation and protection of the national interest. Prior to that, I should review the diplomatic relations between two countries, the origination of diplomatic relations and how it has been developed over the years. I would like to see critically how morality and justice have been applied during the process of performing diplomatic functions in the two countries' diplomatic relations. This will be done by reviewing the several major categories of diplomacy. Then I will try to find out future direction of diplomatic function for the same and also would like to see how Korean Embassy can apply the principle of morality and justice in its diplomatic functions in Kenya and vice versa.

⁴ *United Nations Charter, Article 1*

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There has been continuous argument between the theories based on realism and the theories based on idealism. In international society, there has been effort to apply idealism theory in international relations and diplomacy. Establishment of the League of Nations by the suggestion of Woodrow Wilson was one of them. Although the ratification was not done by US's major party, his suggestion shows the struggle to achieve the peace and security of international community through the initiated act of cooperation and effort by each member state. Woodrow Wilson also declared principle of "Self Determination of Nations" toward all over the world which contributed to the liberation of many colonized countries in early 20th century. Woodrow Wilson further urged for the principle of moral diplomacy. In moral diplomacy, the first priority in the diplomacy of US was spreading democracy across the world. The establishment of United Nations also shows the effort of the fulfillment of international peace and security and mutual prosperity of all nations. United Nations require the commitment of each member state to fulfill international peace and security.

However even in United Nations, its governance system is being criticized due to the lack of democracy. Especially, when we review the usage of the veto power, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions to keep international peace and security has often times not been validated due to the veto power of some particular permanent member states which has been practiced frequently. It is simply because the 5 permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council act according to their national interest. Such characteristic of seeking for national interest with first priority also has been appearing frequently in bilateral relationships between states. Indeed each and every treaty or convention between states has been established based on the adjusted or compromised national interest of the states. This happens even in Official Development Assistance (ODA) projects by developed states for some developing countries.

Between Korea and Kenya, the diplomatic relation was established in 1964. Korea began its diplomatic functions since 1964 by establishing a diplomatic mission in Kenya. Kenya considers Korea as one of role model for its economic development. Advanced industrial technologies and learning from the experiences of development are being spread to Kenya from Korea through Korean ODA organization such as Korea International Cooperation Agency. Many NGOs and religious organizations also conduct the role of public diplomacy regardless of the expectation of state government. This became possible due to the development of civil society, media and IT technologies. Korea considers Kenya as a major partner for investment and cooperation since Kenya is one of leading African states while China and Japan are increasing their investments to Kenya to secure better position in their diplomacy.

In this critical era, what should be considered to be the most important principle in the diplomatic relationship between Korean and Kenya? How can their relationship contribute to international peace and security as well as their mutual prosperity? In my research, the basic assumption is that in international relations, state's actions of morality and justice will contribute to the international peace and security as well as mutual prosperity. Based on this belief, then my research problem will be as follows. How can states apply morality and justice in their diplomatic activities with other nations? The geographic scope will be "Korea & Kenya relations during 2010-2015". Since a diplomatic mission is a major organ of diplomacy and the main functions of a diplomatic mission are negotiation and protecting the interest of a state, my detail research problem will then be "How can morality and justice be applied in diplomatic negotiations and protection of a state's interest in the diplomatic relations between Korea and Kenya?"

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1.3.1 Overall Objective

The main objective of the research is to find out certain regulating power that has been ruling world politics according to the principle of morality and justice. My belief is that a

state which seeks for justice and morality in the international relations will prosper eventually in international society. Obviously, if this belief becomes predominant in international society, then such a belief will be able to contribute to the international peace and security.

1.3.2 Other Objectives

1. To find out how the principle of morality and justice can be applied to diplomatic functions
2. To review the diplomatic relations between South Korea and Kenya between 2010~2015
3. To find out the practical ways to apply morality and justice in the diplomatic relations between South Korea and Kenya

1.4 Justifications of the Study

1.4.1 Academic Justification

Academically, this research will prove the existence of sovereign morality and justice in international relations. Although international society is under anarchical status outwardly, throughout the history, we have many cases that a nation that rose through weapon also fell by weapon, a state that neglect human right also fell. A state whose people indulged in immorality also fell. Meanwhile, we also see an example that a state who sought for justice and morality prospered throughout generations. It shows that although international society may not have a kind of globally good government, there is invisible power that regulates even world history according to justice. This will be done through historic and theoretical review and can have a theoretical contribution for academics.

1.4.2 Policy Justification

This research can provide practical guidelines to policy makers and diplomatic missions for their proper decision making. Based on the belief of regulating power, each state can act according to the values of justice and morality to achieve the peace and security of international community for mutual prosperity. When each state acts according to justice and morality, this will contribute to the security and peace of international community as well as mutual prosperity.

In this study, two important objectives are first, finding out how to apply the principle of morality and justice in main diplomatic functions. Main functions of diplomatic mission are seeking for national interest and negotiation with other state's government. Since morality is the matter of practice, a practical way how it can be applied to diplomatic functions is important matter. This will have much contribution to the policy makers.

In this study, I would like to review the diplomatic relations between Korea and Kenya critically. Then I will see how the principle of justice and morality can be applied in the diplomatic function practically. This as well will contribute in policy making.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 International Relation Theories

Firstly, to determine that there is regulating power which rewards the states who act according to the principle of morality and justice in a seemingly anarchical international society, and also to determine that a state that rises by conquest and suppression of other state also falls in the same manner, historical facts should be researched through case studies.

For this purpose, First of all I need to review theories of idealism and realism and current prevailing theories. For the theorists of realism, state cooperates only as a way to

maximize each of their own national interest and security. As well, a country goes for war based on their self-interest, rather than on idealistic idea. Many realists perceives that World War II as clear proofs of their theory. Thucydides said “War is considered to be the act of practicing a state interest” in his work “Peloponnesian”. He is understood to be a founding person of the realist school in political philosophy.⁵ In that field, there are also philosophers like Machiavelli, Hobbes and Rousseau who contributed to the realist philosophy.⁶ In this regard, the realist theory justifies a behavior of state that struggles for gaining power with first priority.

Idealism or liberalism is a theoretical view which believes the goodness of human being’s nature and also the importance of political institutions to achieve social development and progress.⁷ Liberalism claims that individuals’ born nature is basically good and they are able to co-operate each other to achieve better result. Liberalism sees states, intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations as main actors in the international system. States have many perspective of interests but not just unitary and independent even if it has sovereign character. Liberalism emphasizes on the states’ interdependence and the interdependence of international institutions and multinational corporations. A well-known scholar of Liberalism, Hudley Bull argued that international society is a place where various actors interact and perceive common interests, necessity of institutions and common regulations. Liberal theory also sees international system as anarchic since there can’t be single sovereign authority but each individual state acts to seek for the national interest of its own. Liberalism has been originated from liberal philosophical thought which was affected by Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant who argued that the nature of human being is basically good. They also believed that individual’s seeking for interest can eventually contribute to promote social progress and the happiness of public. As well, a state which is collection of group and individual also easily follows international norms and procedures that they can agree.⁸

⁵ Norris, Cochrane, Charles (1929), *Thucydides and the Science of History*, Oxford University Press, p. 179.

⁶ Baylis, John; Smith, Steve (2001), *The globalization of world politics : an introduction to international relations (2nd ed.)*, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, p. 149

⁷ Mingst, Karen A., & Arreguín-Toft, Ivan M.(2011), *Essentials of International Relations (5th ed.)*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

⁸ Mingst Karen A., & Arreguín-Toft, Ivan M (2011), *Essentials of International Relations (5th ed.)*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company

Liberalism theory in international relations was established after 1st World War to cure state's inability in controlling war in international society. Early proponents including Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell argued vigorously that states can attain mutually from cooperation and that war was so destructive and totally meaningless.⁹ Liberalism was not recognized as a consistent theory at such till it was termed by E. H. Carr as "idealism". A new phase of idealism which emphasized on human rights as the foundation of the legitimacy of international law was developed by Hans K ochler. Major theorists of liberalism include, Immanuel Kant, Montesquieu, John Mueller and Robert Keohane.¹⁰ Idealists trust high possibility of mutual cooperation in international society due to their belief on innate goodness of human beings' nature. Therefore, by establishing and improving international regulations, systems, institutions, they believe that international peace and security and mutual prosperity can be fulfilled.

Neo-liberalism tries to revise liberalism acknowledging the presumption of neorealist which says that states are crucial actors in international society while still maintains that international institutions and non-state actors also matter. One of related proponents, Maria Chattha claims that states will surely cooperate regardless of relative gains and more concerned with absolute gains. This as well, means that nations are basically free to have their choice about how they shall go for in conducting foreign policy without any international institutions' limiting their right comes from their sovereignty. Neo-liberalism as well, contains an economic theory which argues the use of free and open markets with very little intervention of government to avoid monopolies. The increasing character of interdependence during the Cold War era through international institutions made neo-liberalism to be termed as institutionalism.

Regime theory is originated from the tradition of liberal international theory which claims that regimes or international institutions will affect states behaviors. It acknowledges that

⁹ Mingst, Karen A., & Snyder, Jack L.(2011), *Essential Readings in World Politics (4th ed.)*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

¹⁰ Mingst, Karen A., & Arregu  n-Toft, Ivan M(2011), *Essentials of International Relations (5th ed.)*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

cooperation is possible in the anarchic system of international society. In fact, regimes mean a situation of international cooperation. Although realism anticipates that conflict should come in international relations, regime theory argues that there is mutual understanding and cooperation. They quote cooperation in collective security, human right, trade balance and environmental issue among many others. These examples of cooperation can be regimes. Well known scholar Stephen Krasner says that regime is "explicit and implicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area."¹¹ Not all regimes theory is liberal. A realist scholar, Joseph Greico has also designed hybrid theory which takes a realist approach to this basically liberal theory.

1.5.2 Regulating Power in International Relations

While I was reviewing the contending theories which were derived from idealism and realism, I realized that we need to emphasize on certain efforts based on idealism theory to achieve international peace and security and mutual cooperation. Even if there is institutional regime to fulfill international peace and security, state still will remain as the most crucial actor in the international society due to the state's sovereignty and basically anarchical character of international society. The international institutions established by nations have much limitation in serving as neutral organs which are totally free from the nations who majorly form those organs. So the most important element in international relations is the self-motivated behavior of a state. So I would like to emphasize that each state should act according to morality and justice in their international relations. When a state acts according to the principle of morality and justice, we can see in history many examples of the state's prosperity. However, when a state acted according to immorality or subduing other nations, they perished eventually.

In history of ancient near east region, a nation of Ammonites fell when they subdued other nation unfairly.¹² It also happened in a country in Tyre. When a leader of a nation

¹¹ Krasner, Stephen D. (1983), "*Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables.*" Cornell University Press, pp. 1.

¹² *NIV Bible Ezekiel 25:6-7*

was not concerned about the fair treatment for people of other nation, but only focused on expanding the nation out of self-seeking for selfish interest, that nation also fell. ¹³

A well-known scholar who is the author of “The Rise and Fall of Great Powers” Paul Kennedy tried to define, how great powers in history were formed and how they ascended and descended. He said great power can be measured only relatively to other nations. A great power ascends by available resources and economic durability and military power. A great power declines when their requirements for expansion are greater than their resources.¹⁴

In the basis of idealism theory, I should review histories of several major states who have been main actors in international relations. Then I will be able to see the consequences of state’s actions in its international relations. For this, I need to review adequate historical books. This should be not only reviewing history of states during one single century, but also reviewing the entire history of the fall and rise of powerful nations. That way, we shall be able to see what really made states prosper and what actually enabled them to contribute to international peace. In this regard, the concept of morality and justice in international relations need to be defined properly through related literatures.

1.5.3 Morality in Diplomatic Relations

To define “Morality” in diplomatic relations, the characteristics of the diplomatic mission and its function need to be reviewed. A diplomatic mission is an organization or a group of people that is sent from one state to another state to represent the government of the sending state. In the receiving state, a diplomatic mission officially represents the government of the sending state.

Practically, a diplomatic mission normally means a resident mission which has its office in the capital city of the receiving state. ¹⁵

¹³ *NIV Bible Ezekiel 28:2-8*

¹⁴ Kennedy, Paul(1987), *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, New York: Vintage Books, p.438~439

¹⁵ Tom Nierop (1994), *Systems and Regions in Global Politics* ,Wiley, John and Sons, p. 67

Their main functions are representation of sending state in the receiving state, protection of national interest, negotiations, collecting necessary information on developments in the receiving states as well as promoting friendly relations between the two states, and lastly consular functions in summary.¹⁶ Among these functions, the functions which highly related to national interest are two. First thing is protection of national interest and second thing is negotiation with the government of the receiving country. In addition, apart from the main function of diplomatic mission, ‘development assistance’ by developed countries toward developing countries becomes main agenda in current world that seeks for mutual prosperity and balanced development. Therefore, I would like to review how morality and justice can be applied in the three functions.

What will be the definition of morality in diplomatic function? The principles of justice and morality are revealed well in the preamble of the UN charter. The preamble says that “UN reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”. It also says that “it shall establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained”. It also says that “it shall promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”.¹⁷ It emphasizes “to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, to unite strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.” Here, we can see that morality and justice begin from the acknowledgment of the dignity of human being based on the value of love, justice and righteousness. When it comes to international relations, morality and justice are applied in diplomacy when those values are pursued prior to any national interest. As well, in negotiation, morality and justice can

¹⁶ *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961, Vienna)*

¹⁷ *UN Charter, Preamble*

be fulfilled by avoiding destruction of military conflict through proper negotiations. In this way, morality and justice can be fulfilled in diplomacy.

1.5.4 Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Kenya

Korea and Kenya established their diplomatic relationship in 1964. Korean Embassy in Kenya was established in 1964. Kenya began performing its diplomatic mission since 1982 and established residential mission in 2007 in Korea. Kenya and Korea has been having friendly relationship since 1964. Kenya has been supporting Korea's policy regarding security issue in international community. Korea has been increasing its official development assistance in Kenya from the beginning of assistance since 1991. Korean Embassy in Kenya is the oldest diplomatic mission in sub-Saharan Africa. This means that the history of diplomatic relationship between Korea and Kenya is probably the longest in Korea's diplomacy with African states.

1.5.4.1 Reviewing of Diplomatic Relations

The diplomatic relationship between Korea and Kenya can be reviewed as per following categories in summary. First, it is by reviewing the momentum of establishment of diplomatic relationship in 1963. This will include main diplomatic agenda and motives of the two countries at the time of the establishment of diplomatic tie. Second, it is by reviewing the fruits of diplomatic relationship which will be the agreements made between the two countries and their achievements and contributions. Third, it is by reviewing the diplomatic relationship of current period so that we can see main diplomatic agenda of nowadays.

Korea established diplomatic relations with Kenya on 7 February 1964 and the two countries celebrated 50th years of diplomatic relations in 2015. Kenya is located at off the east coast of Africa, so is the entrance to Africa. Kenya has been one of the leading countries in Africa politically and economically. From the view of Korea, Kenya is strategically an important partner in Africa. Also, due to the friendly and safe natural environment and weather, Kenya has many diplomatic missions and even UNEP

headquarter. Besides, Kenya has various kinds of vegetation and wild animals in Africa. There are numerous national parks and wildlife refuges which invite many tourists from all over the world. From Kenyan point of view, Korea has been a friendly country who has similar historical experience and political and economic system of democracy and capitalism. This must have been beginning motivation of the diplomatic relations of the two countries. Kenya has been supporting Korea's foreign policy such as 'Direct dialogue between South Korea and North Korea for the peaceful unification', 'Simultaneous admission of South Korea and North Korea to the membership of United Nations', 'North Korea's acceptance of the inspection of IAEA(International Atomic Energy Agency)'. The two countries exchanged the presidential state visit on 1983 and 1990. Since then, the diplomatic relation has been strengthened and extended to the fields of economies, politics as well as energy, IT technologies, environment, culture and developments assistance.¹⁸

In the history of the two countries relations, what kinds of agreements were established as the result of the negotiation and diplomatic effort so far? "The Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya" was signed on 4th August 1977 and came into effect on 31st March 1978. "The Cultural Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya" was signed on 6th November 1980 and came into effect on 21st November 1980. "The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Air Services between and beyond their Respective Territories" was signed in 13th January 1981 and came into effect on 13th January 1981. "The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya concerning Loans from the Economic Development Cooperation Fund" was signed on 15th April 2005 and came into effect on 15th April 2005. "The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement" was signed on 9th July 2014. "The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the

¹⁸ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr/korean/af/ken/policy/situation/index.jsp>

Government of the Republic of Kenya for Double Tax Avoidance Agreement” was signed on 9th July 2014. “The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Framework Agreement on Grant Aid” was signed 9th July 2014.¹⁹

When we review the economic relations in trade between the two countries, as of 2014, the amount of export from Korea to Kenya is USD345 million and the amount of export from Korean to Kenya is USD28 million. Main export items from Korea to Kenya are synthetic plastics, chemicals, electronic devices. And main export items from Kenya to Korea are coffee and metallic minerals.

<Chart 1.1 : Trade Volume between Korea and Kenya> ²⁰

Year	Export to Kenya from Korea		Export to Korea from Kenya	
	USD (\$1,000)	Increment (%)	USD (\$1,000)	Increment (%)
2008	156,364	14.3	5,739	-26.4
2009	164,653	5.3	5,573	-2.9
2010	232,687	41.3	9,237	65.8
2011	214,947	-7.6	17,604	90.6
2012	262,966	22.3	27,809	58
2013	258,047	-1.9	29,173	4.9
2014	344,520	33.5	28,135	1.5

Then what are the current issues in diplomatic relationship between the two countries? Kenya has been considered as a leading country in Africa and as the entrance to Africa. Also, Kenya is considered to be a potential market in the world where much development is expected.

¹⁹ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr/korean/af/ken/policy/situation/index.jsp>

²⁰ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr>

Korea is considered as a country that achieved miraculous economic development. Many countries in the world pay attention to Korea due to her economic achievement. In fact, Korea also could achieve such development due to the assistance and sharing of the knowledge for development by other developed countries. Therefore it is important and moral duty for Korea to share their experience with other developing countries. Korea was a country who used to receive assistance for development. But through the development, Korean became a member of DAC (Development Assistance Committee) in 2009.

Korea also launched Knowledge Share Project (KSP). The purpose of this project is to share the experience of development with other developing countries. Since Korea also was able to experience development through the sharing of knowledge by developed countries, it is also important for Korea to participate in the role of sharing the knowledge with other developing countries.

If we see only the side of ODA, the free assistance fund for development for Kenya became USD 37.5 million total from 1991-2004 and loan assistance is USD 48.5 million in total from 1991-2004. Expected free assistance for development (Grant Aid) in year 2015 is USD 3.4 million.

In year 2010's, the relationship between Korea and Kenya has become deeper and much closer due to the launching of direct air flight (Korean Air), the opening of Korean study department in the University of Nairobi and increased official development fund through the establishment of the resident office of KOICA (Korea International Cooperation Agency) in Nairobi. Approaching to the year 2015, the cooperative relations between Korea and Kenya were enhanced after the exchange of visiting of each prime minister and speaker of the two countries in 2012 and 2013. During the visiting of Korean president in 2016, the two states leaders shared common views of the importance of cooperation of the two nations. The cooperative relations have been extended not only to trades but also to investments, development of social infrastructure, energy, science, technologies, information technologies and culture.²¹ During this time, Korea launched

²¹ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr/korean/af/ken/legation/greetings/index.jsp>

“Korea Aid” project which is understood as a creative mixture of public diplomacy and medical & social charity work. During the visiting of Korean president, Korea and Kenya could come up with 20 MOUs. Major ones were concerning energy and nuclear power, industry-trade-investment, science technology and innovation, finance, e-government, health and medical cooperation, financial cooperation on rural development.²² So we can see that the diplomatic relations between the two countries has been strengthening and expected to have brighter future.

1.5.4.2 Diplomacy Based on Morality and Justice between Korea and Kenya

The main focus of Korean diplomacy with African countries has been focused on improving the quality of human life in Africa through development assistance based on the experience of Korea’s development. Korea is a country who experienced painful colonization by the imperialism and devastation by the civil war in early 20th century. In 1960’s, Korea was among the poorest countries in the world. Korea however could achieve economic development by utilizing the support of developed countries with the mentality of hardworking, honesty and good governance. Most of current generation of Korean leadership has gone through the time of extreme poverty. So they know well the situation where basic human right is challenged due to the underdevelopment. Therefore, Korea’s diplomacy with developing country is mainly focusing on development cooperation as well as pioneering a market. The establishment of resident office of KOICA is also based on the strong initiative of sharing the experience of development to contribute for the development of human life in developing countries. As well, there are many non-governmental organizations or religious organizations which are working for the development for society in developing countries. They perform the role of public diplomacy. In this way, Korea is focusing on the diplomacy based on morality and justice prior to seeking for their national interest only.

²² <http://ken.mofa.go.kr/korean/af/ken/news/news/index.jsp>

1.6 Gap of Literature

When I reviewed the literatures in regard to the application of morality and justice in international relations, first of all, there were no many literatures that emphasize the role of a state in their diplomacy with other state based on morality and justice. In this regard, I would like to reveal the existence of power that regulates world and nations as per the principle of justice and morality. Then, I want to find out how morality and justice can be applied in diplomatic function in practical way. Secondly, there is no much academic or informative achievement in the diplomatic relations between Korea and Kenya. In this regard, I would like to review the diplomatic relationship of Korea-Kenya and want to find out how it can apply the principle of morality and justice in its future diplomatic functions.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This research study will use theoretical framework which will be based on “Idealism” in international relations. This will be useful to prove the existence of regulating power according to justice and morality in international relations. The idealism that I define here is that when a state acts according to justice and morality, it can contribute to the peace and security of international society and also can attain the prosperity of the state.

Idealism seeks to improve international peace and security by eliminating military conflict, economic poverty, unfairness, suppression of human right, violence from international relations. Eliminating these evils is the purpose for human happiness. Idealism believes the possibility of creating place totally free from such evilness by relying on science, education and reasons.²³ When it comes to international politics, idealism generally means a series of ideas that oppose war and seek for the reform of international society by depending upon morality, international law and development of international institutions or regime. A renowned English philosopher Bertrand Russell

²³ <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/idealism-idealism-in-international-relations/48471/>

once said, “A world full of human happiness is not beyond human power to achieve.” His saying argues that as far as each nation uses their power adequately, equal happiness can be achieved in international society. Therefore it is important to choose the way of morality.

The approach of idealists gains support from the general view of due progress in the world and liberal idealism which was at the basis of policies of USA, especially during the world war period. Between the First and Second World War, Woodrow Wilson made his position to be so clear and influential. He emphasized on the value of establishing international institution organized by the each state’s government. He saw the result of the establishing of the League of Nations and this indeed contributed the organizing of the United Nations. His argument in regard to the self-determination of the nation contributed to the liberation of many colonized nations along with the end of the 2nd World War.

The idealists argue that morality is a tool to change the world to be an ideal place. They believe that by adhering to moral values in international relations, nations can not only secure their own interest, but also can make the world to become free from evils such as inequality, cruelty, tyranny, violence and force. Well known idealists Coulombis and Wolfe said “For the idealists, politics is the art of good government and not the art of possible. Politics provides for the good life and respect for his fellow humans, both domestically and internationally.”²⁴

What are then the main features and assumptions of idealism? First, the nature of human being is basically good and human beings are able to do good act in international society. Second, the concerns and purpose of all human being are welfare and development of the world. Third, bad personal behaviors are caused by improper institutions and environments. Forth, such improper environment, institution and bad personal behavior can be removed. Fifth, war between states is the worst status in international relations. Sixth, through the reformation of negative international relations and its environment,

²⁴ Theodore A. Coulombis, James Hastings Wolfe (1986), “*Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice*”, Prentice-Hall

war should be removed and can be removed. Seventh, collective effort of states is so much necessary to remove war and conflicts and also to remove suppression and violence in international society. Eighth, it is necessary for international society to work to eliminate certain global environment and practice which lead to war. Lastly, therefore, the role of international institutions is so crucial to keep international peace and security and to secure peace, prosperity and development through tools such as international law and agreement.²⁵

The descended theory to the idealism in international relations are liberalism. Liberalism is a series of thought in the theory of international relations which has following assumption and character. First, liberalism does not see the politics of power as the sole possible result of international society. Second, it values mutual prosperity and cooperation in international society. Third, the liberalism tries to utilize international institutions and NGOs to mold state' preferences and desirable decision making to contribute to the international peace and security.²⁶

1.8 Hypotheses

- There is regulating power in international society which can be termed as “invisible and sovereign hand” which rewards an individual and state that follow the principle of morality and justice.
- Therefore, a state which seeks for morality and justice can attain their own prosperity and as well can contribute to international peace and security.
- A state's performing morality and justice in its relation with other state in international relations can bring mutual prosperity and international peace and security.

²⁵ <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/international-politics/idealism-idealism-in-international-relations/48471/>

²⁶ Shiraev, Eric B. (2014), “*International Relations*”, New York: Oxford University Presses. p.78.

- If Korea and Kenya apply morality and justice in their diplomatic relations, they can contribute to international peace and security and can achieve mutual prosperity.

1.9 Methodology of the Research

1.9.1 Methodology

This research project will use the way of data collection from several literatures through library research, and internet research and from interview with staffs of diplomatic mission as well as from questionnaire. Then, it will analyze the data and will affirm the hypothesis.

And the research will also recommend distinguished policy direction which will contribute to the diplomatic relation between Korea and Kenya and their mutual benefit and international peace and security. This research will involve practical review of ongoing diplomatic issues between Korea and Kenya.

1.9.2 Tools of Data Collection

1.9.2.1 Literature Research in Library

First of all, the contending theories in international relations should be researched through related literatures. I will also review international relation theory which emphasizes morality and justice. I see that there is no much theory in international relations which emphasizes morality and justice. Prevailing theory in international relations is based on seeking for national interest with first priority. Therefore, I shall review the history of nations that prospered due to internal and external policy based on morality from ancient time. At the same time, I would like to review the history of nations that fell due to internal corruption and foreign policy that based on excessive

military armament to invade other nations. Of course, I should define the morality and justice in international relations. This also will be done partly through data collection through related literatures. Then, I will be able to affirm the hypothesis that a state seeks for morality and justice in her international relations will eventually prosper.

1.9.2.2 Data Collection through Internet

The other way of collection of existing data will be also by internet. By visiting official website of each diplomatic mission and related ministry or organizations, I will be able to collect the history of diplomatic relation between Korea and Kenya. Also, the major focus of diplomacy of the two countries can be found in the official website of related ministries. As well, any ongoing diplomatic issues or news will be easily researched through internet.

1.9.2.3 Interview with the Members of Diplomatic Mission and Ministry of Foreign Affairs

There is always limitation of literature on the internet since certain crucial data cannot be published easily and there can be always time difference. If that is at all possible, another effective way of collecting data for research study will be interview with the person who is in the center of diplomacy between Korea and Kenya. Therefore, I shall have interview with member of diplomatic mission of Korea as well as member of ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya. Of course, this will be subject to their availability.

1.9.2.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaire will be prepared and circulated to collect data in regard to the diplomatic relations between Korea and Kenya. The questionnaire will collect data among university students or university graduates randomly. I assume that university students majored in social science can have critical views about the diplomatic relations with other nations.

1.10 Scope and Limitations of the Research

The research will be performed on the diplomatic relation between Korea and Kenya between 2010 and 2015. And this research will be performed through limited resources through library, internet and interview and questionnaires. So it can't contain entire view of all states of the world. This research will also mainly focus in the relationship between Korean and Kenya. So having connectivity between the two states and remaining part of the world can be challenge.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter one introduces the topic of my research study by first setting the broad context of research study, statement of the problem, justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses and the methodology of the study.

Chapter two will recognize competing theories in international relations. Then it will define the meaning of morality and justice in international relations and the positive result of applying the morality and justice in international society. It will research through case study in history and will try to prove the validity of morality and justice in diplomacy theoretically.

Chapter three will review the relationship between Korea and Kenya majorly during 2010's and its significances and what happened so far. In this chapter, it will also try to review the diplomacy of other countries with Kenya.

Chapter four will review the diplomatic functions of states and how the principle of morality and justice can be applied in those functions. It shall also provide the practical way of application of morality and justice in the diplomacy between the two countries.

Chapter five will provide the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

<Summary of Chapter Outline>

Chapter	Sub Section	Title
Chapter 1	1	Introduction of the Study
Chapter 2	1	Contending Theories in International Relations
	2	Morality and Justice in International Relations
	3	Validity of Morality and Justice in the History of Diplomacy
Chapter 3	1	The Relationship Between Korea and Kenya During 2010's
	2	The Relationship Between Kenya and Other Countries
Chapter 4	1	Diplomatic Functions of States and Application of Morality and Justice
	2	The Application of Morality and Justice in the Diplomatic Functions Between Korea and Kenya
Chapter 5	1	Summary
	2	Conclusion
	3	Recommendations

Chapter Two : Validity of Morality and Justice in the History of Diplomacy

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will define competing theories in international relations. Then it will define the meaning of morality and justice in international relations. It will also find out the positive result of applying the morality and justice in international relations through case study in history and therefore will try to prove the validity of morality and justice in diplomacy.

2.1 Contending theories in International Relations.

2.1.1 Realism

2.1.1.1 Introduction

Realism has been most influential theory that explains international relations. Realism is based on the belief that human nature is basically evil. One of the earliest proponents of realism is Thucydides, the author of "*History of the Peloponnesian War*". Realism in political science has been major theory especially in the field of international relations since the time of conceptualization. Realism claims to depend on old tradition of idea that includes scholars such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Hobbes. Original realism was indeed developed as a criticism against idealist theories during the World War period. Realists argued that the outbreak of World War II was a clear proof of limitation in idealist theories. There exist several shapes of realist thinking in modern days. However, the main characteristics of the theory can be identified as first statism, second survival and third self-help.²⁷

The meaning of "Statism" claimed by the realists is that the main actors in international relations are only states. Therefore, realism theory is state centered theory in international

²⁷ Dunne, Tim and Schmidt, Britain, "*The Globalization of World Politics, Baylis*", 4th editions, Smith and Owens

relations. This is clearly different from liberal theory in international relations that highly acknowledges the functions of international organizations and non-state actors.

“Survival” implies the struggle to exist and be influential in international society. International society is governed in anarchical condition. This means that there is no any central authority. That’s why realist scholars argue that international politics is a survival struggle for power among states which seek for self-interest.²⁸

“Self-help”, implies that no other states will be helpful to any other states in real sense. So, no other states can be depended on to support the prosperity of survival of other state.

There are three emphasized assumptions in realism theory. Firstly, it considers that states are unitary and located in an anarchic international society with no capable authority above them. They argue that there is no regulating mediation between countries since no true regulating global authority can exists in international society.

Secondly, it considers that sovereign states, rather than international organization or NGO are the major actors in international relations. Therefore, states competes each other to secure better position and gain more resources in international society. And a state will acts as a reasonable actor to seek for its own interest with first priority to maintain and acquire its own interest, survival, sovereignty and survival.

Thirdly, according to the realism, states normally seek for their own interest with first priority. Therefore, during the interaction in international society, international relations between states will be determined by the levels of power which is relative. And the level of power normally can be determined by military, economic, and political capabilities of a state.

²⁸ Snyder, Jack (November/December 2004), “*One World, Rival Theories, Foreign Policy*”, p.55

2.1.1.2 History of Realism

2.1.1.2.1 Classical Realism

After 2nd world war, the general view in international relation was that the World War 2 broke out as the result of individual human being's seeking for selfish interest. This theory was supported by realist thinkers, Thomas Hobbes and Niccolo Machiavelli. Renowned classical realists in Modern world are Hans Morgenthau, Carl Von Clausewitz and Reinhold Niebuhr.

It is the idea of the classical realists that basically human nature of seeking for self-interest will make individuals and states to act in a way of following interests more than pure ideologies. Classical realism is a thought that is described that "drive for power and the will to dominate held to be fundamental aspects of human nature." ²⁹

However, gradually neo-realism was more widely accepted. It was because in North America, structuralism in international relations emphasized more on rationality rather than the nature of human being as cause of many conflicts in international society.

2.1.1.2.2 Liberal Realism

English school argues that international system forms a state society which has common interests and regulations and brings high stability and order, although it has basically the character of anarchy. Therefore it does not see that the world will be arranged according to the strict realist view. Renowned liberal realists are Hedley Bull. He claimed that international states society and effort for maintaining the society always exist even during the time of war which is great turmoil in international society. ³⁰ Other prominent liberal realists are Barry Buzan and Martin Wight.

²⁹ Baylis, J & Smith, S & Ownes, "*The Globalization of World Politics*", USA, Oxford university press, p. 95

³⁰ Hedley Bull (1977), "*The Anarchical Society*", USA, Columbia University Press

2.1.1.2.3 Neo-realism

Neo-realism concerns more on the anarchic structure of international society. Although states may remain as main actors, higher focus is given to international structural environment which shapes the relations between states. Neo-realists argue that there are basically three systems depending on the changes in the sharing of capabilities. It is defined by the existing numbers of great powers in international society. First, there is a unipolar system which has only one great power. Second, there is a bipolar system which has two great powers. Lastly, there is a multipolar system which has more than two great powers. Scholars of neo-realism argues that a there can be higher possibility of stability in international society of bipolar system rather than an international society of multipolar system because balancing of power will be easier and simpler through mutual agreements.³¹

2.1.1.2.4 Neoclassical Realism

Neoclassical realism has dual meaning. First, it offers renaissance to the classical realism. Second, it is a composition of the classical realism and neo-realism.³² Neoclassical realism was developed since neo-realism was helpful only to explain political outcomes, but it can't help to explain behaviors of particular state. The theoretical structures of neoclassical realism are as follow. First, it is distribution of power in the international society. Second, domestic recognition of the system and establishing of due foreign policy are also important.

2.1.1.2.5 Post-realism

As per the post-realism, global actors are placed in a global network of ideology, behaviors, and communication. It focuses especially on the discussion, disagreement,

³¹ Waltz, Kenneth (1979), "*Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley, pp. 132–3

³² Gideon Rose, "*Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*", *World Politics*, Vol.51, No.1, pp. 144–172

arguments, debates in the practice and theory of international relations. In post-realism there is always chance of debates and discussion.³³

2.1.2 Idealism

2.1.2.1 Introduction

Basically, idealism is a school of thought that emphasizes idea, spirit and thought more than material in the world. The philosophers of idealism believe that idea and mental elements controls the world. Therefore, they mainly believe that the good nature of human being can also control their behavior. When it comes to international relations, idealism in international relations believes in good behavior of individual and a nation and possibility of the fulfillment of world peace and mutual prosperity and the effectiveness of international organizations. While the scholars of realism believe that world peace can be maintained by the balance of power, idealist believes the absolute value of goodness that all human being seeks for can drive to achieve world peace. In the history of world, idealism was developed throughout the history.

When we review the history of idealism, the movement of enlightenment should not be overlooked. In the 18th century, the enlightenment became dominating philosophical trend of the ideology in Europe. In the center of ideas of enlightenment, is “reason” as the major and basic ground of legitimacy and authority. From “reason”, a series of reasonable value and system were developed and they are liberty, justice, development, tolerance, brotherhood, democratic government, and even separation of state and church.

³⁴ This trend influenced democracy, capitalism of the world and brought modern society which was established based on equal human right. This set free the people who were suppressed in their human rights. The fundamental source of this change must have been recognition of human right.

³³ Francis A. Beer., and Robert Hariman(1996), “*The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations*” Michigan Univ Press

³⁴ Zafirovski, Milan (2010), “*The Enlightenment and Its Effects on Modern Society*”, p. 144

Natural rights are universal and inalienable rights of all human being which is believed to be fundamental ground of the international law, customs and surpass any particular government of culture. Therefore, natural right concept is closely related to the natural law concept. During the time of enlightenment, revolutionists used the principle of natural right to challenge the divine authority of kings and this provided the generation with justification in the concept of social agreement and establishment of government. The concept of natural law is closely related to the concept of natural rights. During the age of enlightenment, the concept of natural laws was used to challenge the divine right of kings, and became an alternative justification for the establishment of a social contract, positive law and government. Therefore, the recognition of natural right contributed to the establishment of human right and democratic country.³⁵ In this way, I can also conclude that the movement of enlightenment and recognition of natural human law also contributed the establishment of idealism.

Establishment of the League of Nations and United Nations can also be considered to be the result of idealism's contribution. Both of the two intergovernmental organizations were established with the hope of fulfilling world peace and sharing of the prosperity.

2.1.2.2 History of Idealism

2.1.2.2.1 Early Idealism

Starting from 1880s, major scholars such as Sir Alfred Zimmern, Norman Angell, John Maynard Keynes, John A. Hobson, Arnold J. Toynbee developed their concern on idealist tradition of thought in international relations.³⁶ Their theoretical views were clearly different from the traditional view of realists. Idealism argues that ethical or moral considerations are more important than national interest of state when it comes to international relations.

³⁵ Murray Rothbard (1998) "*The Ethics of Liberty*", New York and London, New York University Press

³⁶ Donald Markwell(2006), "*John Maynard Keynes and International Relations: Economic Paths to War and Peace*", Oxford University Press, page 3.

The role of international institutions such as the League of Nations and United Nations and international law proved the value of idealism. Democratic peace theory also argues that states with similar governance of democracy do not fight each other.

One of the major proponents of idealism both in theory and practice was US president of interwar period, Woodrow Wilson. His idealistic thought was well revealed in his speech of the fourteen points at the time of establishment of the League of Nations. Wilson, since his early age, had believed in the almightiness of God and prevailing morality in the universe and a system which rewards goodness and punishes evilness in the long run. He also believed the sovereign ruling of God and existence of God's sovereignty in all creatures and universe.³⁷ Wilson's such belief influenced his diplomacy toward other states and had deep influence in shaping the international relation of US with other states. It is true that since then, US foreign relations were greatly influenced by the idealistic theory of Wilson which can be termed as "Wilsonian idealism". Well known historian, David Kennedy said even certain politicians of realism such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Henry Kissinger also were influenced by "Wilsonian idealism". Kennedy claimed that almost all US presidents have accepted the core precepts of "Wilsonian idealism" and was applying the foreign policy of US. For example, President Nixon hung Wilson's portrait in the cabinet room of White House.³⁸

2.1.2.2 Liberalism –Descendant Theory from Idealism

Liberalism is one of main theories in international relations study. The word "Liberalism" was originated from the Latin language "liber" which means "free". So it refers initially to the philosophy of freedom. The origins of liberalism lie in the wider thought of liberalism which was originated from the enlightenment. The core concept of liberalism is seeking for perpetual peace and cooperation between states in international relations. Therefore, liberalism also seeks for several tools such as international organizations and regimes which can help states to achieve international peace.

³⁷ Arthur S. Link(1956), *"A Portrait of Wilson"*, USA, Virginia Quarterly Review

³⁸ David M. Kennedy (March 2005), *"The Atlantic Monthly"*, Vol: 295. Issue: 2, p.36.

Liberalism is a descendant theory from the idealism. Liberalism has three main correlated principles. First, liberalism denies power politics as the sole available result of international society. Second, liberalism focuses on international cooperation and mutual prosperity. Third, liberalism also emphasizes on the role of international institutions, international law, international regime and even NGOs in shaping the preferences of state and the formation of policy.³⁹

Scholars of liberalism believe that international organizations perform important roles in international relations and the cooperation between states. Through the roles of several international organizations, and also due to increasing economic, political and environmental interdependence, states can have less chance to cause conflicts. Here, states' interdependence can have three important elements. First, states will be in an interaction in several means such as political, financial, economic and cultural means. Second, security issue may not be the fundamental goal, basically, at the first place in states relations. Third, forces of military will not be used at first place. Meanwhile, liberalists also emphasizes on the role of diplomacy and the effectiveness of diplomacy in honest interaction between states and settlement of trouble and conflict between states. Therefore, with proper role of diplomacy and international organization, scholars of liberalism argue that states will be able to work together to bring mutual prosperity and friendly relations while reducing conflicts.

2.1.2.2.3 Neo-liberalism

Neo-liberalism is a school of thought which acknowledges that states in international relations mostly concerned with absolute interests rather than relative interests in relations with other nations. They also consider that states are main actors in international relations. The scholars of neo-liberalism want to focus on some situation where states do cooperate or do not cooperate. They want to find out the solution how states can cooperate and seek for solution of mutual benefit in their international relations. The neo-liberalist school of thought wants to seek for the way of mutual prosperity through international organization or regimes.

³⁹ Shiraev, Eric B. (2014), "*International Relations*", New York, Oxford University Presses. p.78.

In fact, neo-liberalism school was the response to the movement of neo-realism. Neo-liberalism also considers the international society to be an anarchic status to certain extent. However, they claim that the effect and importance of such anarchic international system were too much overestimated. Neo-liberalists argue that the effectiveness and importance of the various cooperative acts which will be available and possible within anarchic international system should be highly considered.⁴⁰ Both of neo-realism and neo-liberalism, however, understand the states and their interests as main subject of the study. In the meantime, scholars of neo-liberalism want to have a broader of understanding about the definition of those interests. Scholars of neo-liberalism argue that even though international society is under an anarchic system, they strongly believe the possibility of mutual cooperation between states through the establishment of international institutions, regimes and norms.

2.2 Concept of Morality and Justice in Diplomacy

2.2.1 Basic Concept of Morality and Justice

2.2.1.1 Morality

‘Morality’ is understood as certain value system which should be followed by as all human being. Usually, the morality is universally understood to be right for people of all generations and societies. Sometime, following the value of morality can sacrifice material interest or gains. Morality accompanies a meaning of having proper humanity. So, morality is some value which should be kept by human being. Therefore, it has universal meaning surpassing culture, countries and generations. It was originated from honoring other people as neighbor acknowledging the divine nature of God and inherited dignity of human being.

⁴⁰ Evans, Graham. “*The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*”, London: Penguin Books.

2.2.1.2 Justice

If morality is personal righteousness, justice is social righteousness which involves the intervention of socially agreed authority. Justice is a philosophical or legal terms of theory through which fairness can be fulfilled. The conception of justice varies in different age and place. The theory of justice at the earliest state was established by Plato, the renowned philosopher of Greece. This was revealed well in his work “The Republic”. Followers of divine will theory claim that true justice come from the word of God. When it became 17th century, a renowned scholar John Locke who was a proponent of “social contract theory” argued for the natural law theory. Scholars of the “social contract theory” including John Locke claimed that justice is originated from the agreement by every parties concerned. When it became 19th century, a group of utilitarian philosophers and John Stuart Mill claimed that justice is certain value or practice which will bring the best and the most useful outcome. And also, theorists of distribution justice focus on the materials and value that will be distributed. They focus on whom the value and materials will be distributed and the way of proper distribution. The scholars of Egalitarians claimed that the value of equality is core part of true justice. A well-known scholar of political philosophy John Rawls used a social contract theory to prove that justice, and particularly the justice of distribution is fairness.⁴¹

Through various theories and scholars we could review the meaning of justice. According to these reviews, justice can be understood as a ruling of socially and generally agreed principle based on honoring God given image of human being and equity which can maintain the goodness of entire society.

2.2.2 Morality and Justice in International Relations.

Morality and Justice in international relations has been revealed well in the charter of the United Nations. The preamble of UN Charter says, “We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to regain faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men

⁴¹ www.merriam-webster.com, *retrieved in 2016-03-02*

and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends, to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.”⁴² As we can see in the preamble of UN charter, it acknowledges the value of morality and justice by recognizing the importance of the equal value of human being and seeking for world peace and mutual prosperity and development.

To fulfill this purpose, UN charter proclaims core destination and purpose in international relations. First, it is to keep the security and peace of international community and to take collective and effective action for the purpose of removal and prevention of threats against international peace based on the doctrine of morality, justice and international law. Second, it is to improve and maintain friendly relations between states under the principle of mutual respect and acknowledgment of equal human rights and self-determination of each state whether large or small. Third, it is to proactively seek for cooperation in international community to solve international problems in terms of economic, social, environmental, cultural, or humanitarian character. The cooperation is also very much necessary in encouraging and promotion of respect for God given human rights, fundamental freedoms regardless of human race, sex, language, or religion.⁴³

⁴² UN Charter, preamble

⁴³ UN Charter, Chapter 1, Article 1

How then, the value of morality and justice as was proclaimed in the United Nation Charter can become effective in international relations? As we have reviewed various international relations theory where state becomes main actors, international peace and security can't be fulfilled without the commitment of main actors which are states. State should act according to the principle of morality and justice to bring mutual prosperity and international peace and security.

While experiencing 2 times of World War, international community has realized that world peace should be maintained by each state's keeping the value of morality and justice in international relations. A nation's firm position in their internal policy and morality of a leader and people of the nation will enable their foreign policy to be established based on morality and justice.

Then is there truly a reward in state's seeking for morality and justice in their international relations? The validity of morality and justice in the international relations can be affirmed by reviewing the history of world and the moment of the rise and fall of nations in history. When we find out through historical review certain regulating power and international system which reward states that seek for the value of morality and justice and punish states that seek for national interest only, we can conclude that states' seeking for moral value in current international relation will actually bring states' prosperity as well as mutual prosperity and international peace and security.

2.3 Validity of Morality and Justice in the History of Diplomacy

2.3.1 Historical Perspective

2.3.1.1 Introduction

In the history, there are several cases which shows the prosperity of states when they sought for morality and justice in their internal and external policy. We shall also review

the fall of states when they sought for their own national interest only regardless of morality and justice and international peace.

2.3.1.2 The Rise of Nations When They Sought for the Value of Morality and Justice

2.3.1.2.1 The Rise of Roman Empire

The Empire of Rome is the ancient Roman civilization which was led by emperors and had large territorial spaces around the Mediterranean Sea across Asia, Africa and Europe. The capital, Rome city was the largest in the world since BC 100 until AD 400. Then “New Rome” Constantinople succeeded position of the largest city at around AD 500. The Population of Roman Empire became 50 to 90 million and that was approximately 20% of entire population of the world at that age.⁴⁴ The Empire of Rome was the most powerful political, military, economic and cultural center at that time in the world. Territorially, Rome was the largest empire in the ancient time and also 12th largest in entire world history. In the empire’s highest prosperity under the rule of Emperor Trajan, the empire covered 5 million square kilometers, a territory combined by 48 nations of current time.⁴⁵ The influence of Roman Empire was on its descended nations and even entire world through Latin language, religion, science, law, philosophy, architecture, culture and invention and even politics. There was even attempt to establish official successor of Roman Empire. The Holy Roman Empire and the Empire of Romania were the examples.

What was unique reason of their prosperity? Of course, there were advanced technologies and military power. However those alone can’t explain all about their prosperity. One of the reasons was democracy. Democracy is based on respecting individual’s opinion and one’s basic human right. Decision made by democracy could have strong power to motive the citizens and to practice foreign policy based on unity of the community. Also, the Empire was able to prosper since the empire recognized human right of people in its

⁴⁴ *Population Growth and Technological Change: One Million B.C. to 1990* in The Quarterly Journal of Economics 108(3): 681–716.

⁴⁵ <http://www.roman-empire.net/maps/empire/extent/rome-modern-day-nations.html>

territory and ruled them not only by the advanced law and military power but with respect and friendship. They seek for the policy of assimilation not by force but through culture. Wherever they occupy, they acknowledged the tradition and religion of other nations. I believe the value of acknowledging human right was the most crucial reason of their prosperity. The leaders honored the principle of morality even in their relation with enemy. For example, Roman soldier Marco A. Regulus kept his word with Carthage and returned to Carthage to be exiled voluntarily since he could not keep the promise with the leaders of Carthage. This shows the mentality of leaders putting priority in morality even in the stage of war. Here, we can learn that what makes a state truly strong is morality of leader.

2.3.1.2.2 The Rise of United States

The United States of America become the leading industrial power at the beginning of 20th century. It was because of the bursts of entrepreneurship in Midwest and Northeast region and also due to arrival of millions of immigrant labor power from Europe. Many national railroads were constructed by the work of immigrants from China. Also large sized factories and mining industries industrialized the Northeast and Midwest. From the time of independence from Great Britain, US constitution was based on honoring human right and God, the creator. And they encouraged effort and pioneering spirit and equal opportunity among people. George Washington was the constitutional father of the US. Abraham Lincoln established the country based on the faith of respecting human rights.

However, there was still time of serious desperation. After the prosperity in the 1920s, the “Wall Street Crash of 1929” was signal for the beginning of the world-wide Great Depression. At that time, democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt who ended dominance of the Republican dominance and began to implement the “New Deal” programs for recovery, relief, reform. The “New Deal” from which modern American liberalism was derived practiced the relief work for people of minimum wage, the unemployed and farmers. This brought the necessity of intervention of government in the market.

After the attack of Japan on Pearl Harbor on 7th December 1941, United States later entered World War II as allied nations with Britain, China, USSR and the other member of allied nations. US supported the allied nations and made Nazi Germany to be defeated in Europe. US also used nuclear bombs which were newly invented on the strategic cities of Japan, Nagasaki and Hiroshima and defeated imperial Japan in Asia.

US fight against in World War I & II against “Imperialism, Totalitarianism and Fascism” which brought cruel damage on human right and pain on many under developed nations at that generation. US also contributed to the establishment of League of Nations and United Nations for the establishment of world peace. With the end of World War II, during the cold war era, US became representative of democratic society of capitalism. The diplomacy of US was to spread and keep the democracy all over the world. Eventually, “Cold War” ended when the Soviet Union officially was dissolved in 1991. Then the United States remained as the world sole super power.

United States was able to become world super power since the country was established on the foundation of respecting God given human right and justice. This internal philosophy and so called “Wilsonian Idealism” also affected their foreign policy. United States served the roles of leadership in the humanitarian aid and the fulfillment of world peace since then. This can be the reason that US is still remained as world most influential super power nation until now.

2.3.1.3 Fall of Nations Who Only Sought for National Interest and Expansionism

2.3.1.3.1 The Fall of Roman Empire

In Roman Empire after its prosperity, how did the fall of empire begin? An increasing trouble and decline began in the Commodus region. After the death of Theodosius I, the last emperor to rule a united Roman Empire, with time goes by the ruling of empire was spoiled and weakened by wrongful misuse of power, internal wars, invasion of the migrant Germans, reforms of military forces and economic crisis. The attack of Rome in year 410 by the Visigoths and by the Vandals in year 455 accelerated the Western

Empire's fall. And in year 476 Odoacer made Romulus Augustulus to deposition. Scholars understand these events to be the end of Roman Empire.

Crucial reasons of the fall of Roman Empire were misuse of military expense and generally over spending the resources out of its capacity. Roman Empire tried to supply enough resources to support the military forces in its border to protect the government from any possible rebellions and attacks. Rome obviously feared of any rebellious behavior due to its increasingly cruel suppression on the colonized states. Rome Empire lost its original trend in their ruling of states with honoring human right and fairness. This was due to the corruption of leaders of governing party and their self-seeking instead of seeking for the value of morality and peace. When it became AD 100's, the Empire even built the wall in Britain just to prevent enemies at bay. This was just one example. More funds were necessary for the upkeep of the Empire's military forces. However, technological and economic resources could not support the increasing military expenses. Here we can discover that the corruption of government and abuse of military and political power were reasons of the fall. The widespread corruption and incompetence made the great Empire to fall. As the situation worsened, many Roman citizens lost trust in their leadership. So, the fall of Rome was due to the corruption of the leaders and excessive investments in entertainment as well as their excessive military armament to rule the colonized states.

2.3.1.3.2 The Fall of Nazi Germany

Nazi Germany was a historic period from 1933 to 1945 in Germany. It was when the country was ruled by Nazi party and Adolf Hitler. Under Nazi's rule, Germany was drastically changed into totalitarian country of fascist. Nazi party controlled almost all part of people. Nazi Germany fell when the allied forces win over Germany in May 1945. This also ended World War II in Europe.

Beginning in the late 1930s, Nazi Germany began to make aggressive territorial expansion. It seized Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939. Hitler made an agreement with Joseph Stalin of USSR and invaded Poland in September 1939. This

incident launched World War II in Europe. In alliance with Italy and smaller Axis powers, Nazi Germany occupied most of Europe by 1940 and tried to attack Great Britain. Jews and other minor people were imprisoned, murdered in the concentration camps of Nazi. The Nazi's policy of hard racism was resulted in genocide and mass murderer of Jews and other minorities through the Holocaust.

After the 1941 invasion of Germany to Soviet Union, the flow gradually became hostile against Germany who was defeated many major battles in 1943. Especially, large-sized aerial bombing attacked Germany in 1944. And also the Axis powers were defeated in Southern and Eastern and Europe. After the joint attack of France, Germany was occupied by the Soviet Union from the east and was conquered by the other allied powers such as US and Great Britain from the western side. However, Hitler refused to admit defeat and that brought tremendous destruction of infrastructure in German. Here we see that the destructive policy seeking for excessive national interest regardless of basic morality and justice led Nazi Germany to face miserable fall.

2.3.1.3.3 The Fall of Japanese Empire

Japanese Empire was a nation-state which existed from 1868 Meiji Restoration until the establishment of the constitution of modern Japan in 1947. The rapid industrialization and militarization of Imperial Japan made the undeveloped state to be one of world power states and made it to establish a colonial empire. It had slogan "Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Armed forces". In 1920's there happened economic and political turmoil. This incident led Japan to rise for militarism to turn the concern of people to the abroad. And Japan eventually joined in the Axis alliance and began to occupy large parts of the Asia-Pacific region with excessive greed. At the height, the Empire's land area was 7,400,000 square kilometers. So it was one of the largest maritime empires in history.⁴⁶

After various winning in battle during the Second China-Japanese War from 1937 till 1945, and the Pacific War, the Japanese Empire also became notorious for its war crimes against the countries and peoples it occupied. From Korea, Manchuria and China, young

⁴⁶ Bruce R. Gordon (2005), "*To Rule the Earth... at the Wayback Machine*" (archived April 13th, 2016)

men were forcefully taken to their own war and even young women were taken as comfort women (sex slave). Especially, Japanese army killed nearly 300,000 Chinese civilians in Nanjing from 1937 till 1938 for 6 weeks. This is called as “Asian Holocaust”. Japanese army 731 unit used live human being of the occupied states as their medical test material. Also Japanese vigilante group killed nearly 6,600 Korean civilians who lived in Kanto region of Japan by falsely accusing them that the Koreans were planning to harm Japanese during the time of great earthquake in “Kanto” in year 1923.

However, after severe suffering from many defeats and the declaration of war by Soviet Union against Japan and attacking of Manchuria and also after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by United States, the Empire eventually declared unconditional surrender on 15th August 1945. Then the Allies occupied Japan and the new constitution was established by the intervention of United States in 1947. Then the allied states officially dissolved the Japanese Empire.

The fall of Japanese Empire shows that a country rose by sword fall by sword. Their foreign policy was based on their national interest only regardless of world peace and equal human right. The foreign policy brought a lot of agony to the other Asian countries. Japan invested excessively to their military armament for their national interest only and eventually fell by sword.

2.3.2 Theoretical Perspective

Paul Kennedy claimed that the power of a state is able to be adequately measured only in a relative way to other powers. Paul Kennedy brought theory with assurance about the ascending and falls of power state. He said, in history, an emerging of great power state happens in a period of long time and is related closely to economic strength, available material resources and infrastructure of the state. Also expansion through military force and excessive greed work as factors which can cause fall of power state. When the resources and economic strength can't meet the requirement to pursue the ambition of power state, the power state will gradually go the way of fall.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Kennedy, Paul, “*The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*”, New York: Vintage Books, 1987, pages 438–9

In his book “The Rise and Fall of Great Powers”, he severally argued that ‘the strengthening of military and naval force did not necessarily mean the success of new rising power states. Rather, that was the most costly and expensive effort and activities. It will be left so until the fall of power states. He concluded his book saying that most of declining states experienced tremendous challenge in balancing the requirement for their expansion and the available economic and material resources.

Kennedy further argued that the success of any one power state has been mainly the result of efficient utilization of resources and material. He continuously argued that the relative strengths of the power states in history will not be constant and it will vary due to the different rate of growth among different place and ages.⁴⁸ Theoretically, a prosperity and success of a state will be possible only in relations with other state of the time. And when the state practice balanced international policy which considers other states as their friends and coworkers instead of only pursuing forceful expansion, we can see that the state will last with longevity.

2.3.3 Conclusion

Through reviewing, we can learn that a country that rises through sword also fell by sword. A country which seeks for morality and justice in their international relations will rise and prosper. Therefore, a country must practice the value of morality and justice with first priority in their international relations.

⁴⁸ Kennedy, Paul, “*The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*”, New York: Vintage Books, 1987

Chapter Three : Diplomatic Relationship between Korea and Kenya during 2010-2015

3.0 Introduction

Chapter three will review the relations between Korea and Kenya majorly during 2010-2015 and will find significant diplomatic achievements. It will also review the diplomacy of other countries with Kenya for the purpose of comparison. It purposes to have critical view on the diplomatic relations between Kenya and other nations.

3.1 The Relationship between Korea and Kenya during 2010-2015

3.1.1 Key Diplomatic Tasks

3.1.1.1 The Key Diplomatic Tasks of Korea

The vision of Korean diplomacy and foreign policy is “realization of a happier Korean people, Korean Peninsula and global community.”⁴⁹ Under this vision, the ministry of foreign affairs of Korea seeks to achieve and build peace and shared development of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, to be a dependable Korea that contributes to the advancement of humanity and a fascinating country with happier people. To these ends, the Foreign Ministry carries out trust-building diplomacies in partnership with the people, focusing on the following policy tasks.⁵⁰

First task is resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. Second task is developing cooperative relations with major neighbouring countries of the Korean Peninsula such as China, Japan, USA and Russia. Third task is promoting the Northeast Asia peace and

⁴⁹ <http://www.mofa.go.kr>

⁵⁰ <http://www.mofa.go.kr>

cooperation initiative and expanding cooperation with Eurasia. Forth task is playing a role as a responsible middle power contributing to world peace and progress. Fifth task is protection of the safety and rights of Korean nationals residing abroad. As well, Korean diplomacy aims to increase the cooperative network with Korean nationals abroad and will perform effective public diplomacy. Sixth task is strengthening the capacity for economic development cooperation with developing countries to achieve win-win result.

3.1.1.2 The Key Diplomatic Tasks of Kenya

Ministry of foreign affairs and international trade of Kenya declares its mission of diplomacy as “Peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive Kenya”. And the mission that has been declared is “To project, promote and protect Kenya’s interests and image globally through innovative diplomacy and to contribute towards a just, peaceful and equitable world.”⁵¹

3.1.2 Bilateral Relations of Korea and Kenya

Korea established its diplomatic relation with Kenya in February 1964 and Korean embassy was established in Kenya in 1964. Kenyan Embassy in Japan had been exercising the jurisdiction for Korea and established a residential mission in Korea in 2007. Since the time of the establishment of diplomatic tie, Kenya and Korea has been developing their friendly and deeper relations in various sectors.

For Korea, Kenya was the first country with whom Korea established its diplomatic relations among sub-Sahara African countries. It must have been due to the strategic location of Kenya that serves as an entrance and hub to East Africa and having lots of attractive tourism resources and friendly environment.

For Kenya who has been supporting international peace and democratic value and capitalism has been in support of Korea in international diplomatic stage. Asia became

⁵¹ <http://www.mfa.go.ke>

important for Kenya for their future international cooperation. However, in the beginning stage of the diplomatic relations, in 1964, Korea must have not been so much attractive to Kenya for their national interest. The country, Korea just came out of their devastation by the civil war. Only points must have been sharing the value of democracy and capitalism. Since then Kenya has been supporting the position of Korea in the stage of world diplomacy based on the basic direction of seeking for international peace and balanced development.

3.1.2.1 Political Affairs

Since the establishment of the diplomatic relations in 1964, Kenya has been supporting the position of Korea and the two countries have been maintaining friendly relations. Especially, since the incident of 9th October 1983 Booming of Rangoon, the attempt to assassinate the fifth President of Korea, Chun Doo-hwan, directed by North Korea⁵², Kenya government radically became more friendly to South Korea. It was because Kenya was supporting the value of international peace and humanity. As well, Kenya has been supporting the position of Korea in related to the sinking of Cheonan ship happened on 26th March 2010, when the high speed battle ship of Korean Navy that carried 104 personnel, sank off the country's west coast near Baengnyeong Island of Korean West Sea, killing 46 navy soldiers. The overwhelming evidence shows that the attack was done by North Korea.

Kenya also supported the position of Korea in related to the bombing of Island Yeonpyeong by North Korea. The case was a battle of artillery between the North Korean military and South Korean Marine Corps camped on Yeonpyeong Island on 23th November 2010. At that time, South Korean artillery exercise in waters in the south as usual practice. Then, the forces of North Korea fired approximately 170 artillery shots and rockets on Yeonpyeong Island. This attack hit both military soldiers and civilians.⁵³ The attack caused serious damages on the island, killing 4 South Koreans and injuring 19

⁵² Materials on massacre of Korean officials in Rangoon(Winter 1983), "*Korea & World Affairs, Historical Abstracts*", EBSCO, host, 7 (4): 735,

⁵³ N.K. artillery strikes S. Korean Island 2010-11-23, Korea Herald

people. South Korea retaliated by shelling North Korean gun positions. Kenya was in support of the position of South Korea in this case.

On 12th February 2013, North Korea declared that it had conducted the third underground nuclear test. The magnitude was detected by several organizations of survey. In response to this, South Korea raised its military alert status to be higher. Japan called upon an emergency United Nations meeting in same day. Kenya also participated in the condemnation of the nuclear test of North Korea which can cause military conflict and instability in Korean Peninsula.⁵⁴ Likewise Kenya has been supporting the position of Korea in international diplomatic stage in the country's seeking for international peace and security.

President Uhuru Kenyatta, since he became the president of Kenya in 2013, has been in succession of seeking for partners in Asian countries from Mwai Kibaki, the policy named 'Look Asia Policy'. Korea as one of Asian Tigers has also been in the high interest of Kenya. Since the time of establishment of the diplomatic relations, the two countries have been exchanging high government officials. Below chart shows the exchange of government officials of 2010's

<Chart 3.1: Exchange of Delegations between Korea and Kenya>

From Kenya to the Korea⁵⁵

2010	November	Vice President Kilonzo Musyoka
2011	November	Minister of Public Service Anyango
2012	June	Minister of Trade Wetangula
2012	July	Minister of Sports and Youth
2012	October	Minister of Foreign Affairs Ongeru, Minister of Finance Githae
2012	November	Prime Minister Odinga

⁵⁴<http://ken.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp?typeID=15&boardid=12722&seqno=1227323>

⁵⁵ http://www.mofa.go.kr/ENG/countries/middleeast/countries/20070804/1_24494.jsp?menu=m_30_50

2014	March	Speaker of the House Muturi
2014	October	Minister of ICT Matiang'i
2015	April	The Speaker of the House Muturi, Minister of Environment and Water Resources Wakhungu
	September	The President of the Upper House Ethuro
	October	Former Prime Minister Odinga
	November	Chairman of the National Assembly Defence and Foreign Relations Committee Gethenji

From the Korea to Kenya ⁵⁶

2010	January	1st Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Shin Kak-Soo
2010	April	Administrator of Korea Meteorological Administration
2011	March	Chairman of the Environment and Labor Committee of National Assembly
		Former Prime Minister Han Seung-soo
2011	July	Minister of Special Affairs Lee Jae-oh
2012	January	National Assembly Vice Speaker Chung Ui-hwa
2012	March	Secretary General of the National Assembly Yoon Won-jung
2012	July	Prime Minister Kim Hwang-sik
2013	January	Minister of Foreign Affairs Kim Sung-hwan
2013	January	Vice Speaker of the National Assembly Park Byung-suk
2013	April	National Assembly Member Chung Byung-kuk
2013	July	Speaker of the National Assembly Kang Chang-hee
2013	August	Chairman of the Assembly Health and Welfare Committee
2014	March	Chairman of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee
2014	July	Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Lee Kyung-soo
2015	August	Member of the National Assembly Kim Tae Ho

⁵⁶ http://www.mofa.go.kr/ENG/countries/middleeast/countries/20070804/1_24494.jsp?menu=m_30_50

The exchange of high officials reached its peak by establishing the direct air line of Korean Air in June, 2012. However due to Se-wol ship accident and the break out of Ebola Virus in Western Africa of 2014, direct airline stopped unlimitedly. Since then the exchange of high official also a bit decreased.

Since 1964, the two governments made various agreements.⁵⁷ Therefore, the level of cooperation became strengthened.

<Chart 3.2: Agreements between Korea and Kenya> ⁵⁸

Signed	Name
August, 1977	Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya
November, 1980	Cultural Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya
January, 1981	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Air Services between and beyond their Respective Territories
April, 2005	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya concerning Loans from the Economic Development Cooperation Fund
July, 2014	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Double Tax Avoidance Agreement
July, 2014	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement
July, 2014	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Framework Agreement on Grant Aid

Among the agreements mentioned in the chart, Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya (1977), Cultural Agreement between the

⁵⁷ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr/korean/af/ken/policy/situation/index.jsp>

⁵⁸ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr>

Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya (1980), Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Air Services between and beyond their Respective Territories (1981), Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya concerning Loans from the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (2005) has been ratified and has been effective. Meanwhile, The agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Double Tax Avoidance Agreement (2014), Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (2014), Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Framework Agreement on Grant Aid(2014) has been signed but are under the process of ratification from the national assembly of Korea side.

Korea and Kenya also has been cooperating in the issues of multilateral diplomacy in international diplomatic stage. In regard to the reform of United Nation Security Council, Korea and Kenya have been sharing concern and has been discussing on the issue closely. The Ezulwini Consensus is a joint position in related to the international relations and reform of the United Nations shared by the African Union. It request for properly representative and democratic Security Council of United Nations. It urges that Africa also should be represented and should have one member state of United Nation Security Council. Meanwhile, South Korea is a member of Coffee Club, in other word, UfC(Uniting for Consensus). Uniting for Consensus (UfC) is a group that was emerged in 1990s in opposition to the possible increasing of permanent membership in the UN Security Council. It seeks to deny the bids for permanent seats proposed by G4 nations (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan) and requests for a consensus before any decision is made in regard to the size and form of the UN Security Council.⁵⁹ There is a possibility for Kenya to be supportive for the G4 nations' becoming permanent member states of UN

⁵⁹ *Ayca Ariyoruk (3 July 2005). "Players and Proposals in the Security Council Debate". Global PolicyForum.*

Security Council. It is due to the economic support of Germany and Japan for Kenya. So in this issue, the opinions between Korea and Kenya have not been matching each other. So, there has been effort for mutual understanding between Korea and Kenya.

In regard to the election for the staff of international organization, Korea and Kenya has been in a position of mutual support. Kenya was in support of Korea for the election of chairman of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). IPCC is an intergovernmental and scientific international organization of the United Nations which was established by the request of UN member states. The organization has been dedicated to mission of supplying a critical view, guideline and standard in regard to the issue of climate change as well as the effects in terms of politics and economies.⁶⁰ As well, Korea and Kenya agreed to support each other in October 2015 for the electing of staffs of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). UNHRC is composed by 47 states and serving the mission of promotion and protection of human rights around the world. In 2016, the two countries also agreed to support each other for the election of staff of the International Law Commission.⁶¹ The ILC was established in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly for the "promotion of the progressive development of international law and its codification."⁶²

Likewise, from the government side, the two countries also developed their cooperation in political affairs and have been maintaining their friendly relations even by supporting each other in international diplomatic stage.

3.1.2.2 Economic Affairs

The cooperation in economic affairs was mainly led by the government of the two countries. In this paragraph, I would like to review the achievement in economic cooperation between the two countries.

⁶⁰ Weart, Spencer (*December 2011*). "International Cooperation: Democracy and Policy Advice (1980s)". The Discovery of Global Warming, American Institute of Physics.

⁶¹ Korean Embassy Archives

⁶² United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/174(II) 21 November 1947.

Kenya has stable governments and much portion of middle level consumer group and the citizens generally have open mind. This has been attractive point for the trade for any other country. Kenya has been a leading country in East Africa Community which can eventually be united to be free trade zone. The economy of Kenya has been growing stably 5-7% every year. Korean government has been considered Kenya as top 10 countries in Africa which has good business environment due to stable government, security, stable growth rate of economy. As well, having rich metallic mineral resources have been strong point of Kenya. The competitiveness of Infrastructure of Kenya has been in highest group in Africa. As of year 2014, the export from Korea to Kenya has been USD 344 million which was increased 33.5% compare to 2013. The export from Kenya to Korea is USD 28 million which was reduced 3.6% compare to 2013. The main export items to from Korea to Kenya are synthetic plastics, chemical product, tire and electronics. And the main export items from Kenya to Korea are copper, coffee, flower and etc.

<Chart 3.3: Trade volume between Korean and Kenya> ⁶³

Year	From Korea to Kenya		From Kenya to Korea		Difference
	Amt(1,000usd)	Increment (%)	Amt(1,000usd)	Increment(%)	
2004	61,861	27.3	2,428	40.8	59,433
2005	71,039	14.8	4,360	79.6	66,679
2006	204,858	188.4	5,115	17.3	79,254
2007	136,742	-33.2	7,793	52.3	128,949
2008	156,364	14.4	5,739	-26.3	150,625
2009	164,653	5.3	5,573	-2.9	159,080
2010	232,687	41.3	9,237	65.8	223,450
2011	215,079	-7.6	17,654	91.1	197,425
2012	262,966	22.3	27,809	58	235,157
2013	258,047	-1.9	29,173	4.9	228,874
2014	344,520	33.5	28,135	-3.6	316,385

⁶³ http://www.kita.net/WIKI006.R02.cmd?cmd_id=WIKI006.R02.cmd&country=africa&countryEngName=kenya&nationCategory=info

However, since Kenya export raw materials to Korea and import industrial products, the unbalance of trade has been occurring continuously. This kind of challenges is being handled by the two governments through Korea-Kenya Joint Economic Committee.

The economic cooperation of the two countries was enhanced through Korea-Kenya Joint Economic Committee. The 1st committee was held in Nairobi, 1997 between the representatives of ministries of foreign affairs of two countries. During this time, the two countries laid foundation of economic cooperation and had common understanding about the importance of economic cooperation. 2nd committee was held in Nairobi 2014. During that time, the two governments signed three crucial agreements. Those are “the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Double Tax Avoidance Agreement,” “the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement,” and “the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Framework Agreement on Grant Aid”.

The 3rd committee was held in Seoul in 2015. During this time, the two countries reviewed the agreement in regard to economic cooperation made between two countries and materialized the cooperation plan. Especially, having golden jubilee of the diplomatic relations in year 2015, the two countries discussed about increasing investments between the two countries and further cooperation on energy and plantation, infrastructure, tourism, development, e-government and climate change issues.⁶⁴

In the export from Korea to Kenya, major items have been, steel, petrochemicals, tire, heavy engineering machine for construction, a storage battery and a fiber materials. In the export from Kenya to Korea, major items have been copper, aluminum, sugar, coffee, fishes and leather. Since 2010, the volume of trade has been increasing. However, there was no consistence increment in the trade volume rather they were unstable.

⁶⁴ <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp>

To improve the trade and investments, the two governments made a joint effort. The fruits of effort were “the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Double Tax Avoidance Agreement” and “the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya for Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement.” Through these agreements, the foundation and favourable environment of trade between the two countries has been established.

<Chart 3.4: The change of Trade Volume> ⁶⁵



⁶⁵ http://www.globalwindow.org/quasar_jsp/inc/gw_

<Chart 3.5: Export item from Korea to Kenya>⁶⁶

No	Items	2013 Volume Amt(1,000USD)	Increment (%)	2014 Volume Am(1,000USD)	Increment (%)
1	Petrochemicals	450	184.8	109,025	24,127.80
2	Polyether	16,761	-20.7	22,552	34.6
3	Nitrogen chemicals	17,962	3.7	20,693	15.2
4	Poly material	12,024	-21.4	14,942	24.3
5	Zinc Chemicals	5,953	5.2	14,736	147.5

<Chart 3.6: Export item from Kenya to Korea>⁶⁷

No	Items	2013 Volume Amt(1000USD)	Increment (%)	2014 Volume Amt(1000USD)	Increment (%)
1	<i>Copper Waste</i>	18,921	3.7	14,182	-25
2	<i>Coffee</i>	5,945	3.7	10,588	78.1
3	<i>Aluminium</i>	196	-55.1	728	271.4
4	<i>Plant, Flower</i>	465	122.5	521	12
5	<i>Copper ores and concentrates</i>	-	-	514	
6	<i>Metallic items</i>	-	-	333	

⁶⁶ http://www.kita.net/WIKI006.R02.cmd?cmd_id=WIKI006.R02.cmd&country=africa&countryEngName=kenya&nationCategory=info

⁶⁷ http://www.kita.net/WIKI006.R02.cmd?cmd_id=WIKI006.R02.cmd&country=africa&countryEngName=kenya&nationCategory=info

As we can see from the chart, there has been instability of trade volume. As well, the trade volume is not consistent. Therefore, there has been effort from the government side and more effort is required.

Since 2010, there has been effort from Korea side to balance the situation of unbalances. There has been the plan to establish Korean style industrial plantation where technologies are focused and the field survey was going on. Korea wishes to support Kenya to establish technology focused plant according to the master plan. This was based on the knowledge share program. If the rich man power combined with technologies, the plant can have lots of competence.

Korea also has been participating the geothermal power plant project of Kenya which will supply regular electricity expected to be 10,000MW. Korean government makes an effort to have good relationship with Kenyan ordering organization. As well, to support the agricultural industry of Kenya, Korean government also makes an effort to facilitate the provision of agricultural machineries. This was based on the MOU between the two ministries of agriculture. There has been common concern to support the development of agricultural industry of Kenya. Likewise, where there is necessity of investments and the development of Kenya, Korean government has been proactively participating to support. This was contributing to overcoming trade unbalance.

3.1.2.3 Cultural Affairs

There has been close relationship even in the cultural area between Korea and Kenya. Since “the cultural agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Kenya” was signed in 1980, the two governments have been cooperating in cultural issue. Especially, since the “Korean Wave” is being spread to the world, Korean government is making effort to provide opportunity of experiencing Korean culture for Kenyan public society as well. “Korean Wave” literally meaning 'flow of Korea'—is a new term referring to the increase in global popularity of Korean culture

since the 1990s⁶⁸. First driven by the spread of K-dramas and K-pop across East, South and Southeast Asia during its initial stages, the “Korean Wave” evolved from a regional development into a global phenomenon, carried by the internet and social media and the proliferation of K-pop music videos on YouTube.

An early mention of Korean culture as a form of soft power can be found in the writings of Kim Gu, leader of the Korean independence movement and president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. Towards the end of his autobiography, he wrote, “I want our nation to be the most beautiful in the world. By this I do not mean the most powerful nation. Because I have felt the pain of being invaded by another nation, I do not want my nation to invade others. It is sufficient that our wealth makes our lives abundant; it is sufficient that our strength is able to prevent foreign invasions. The only thing that I desire in infinite quantity is the power of a noble culture. This is because the power of culture both makes us happy and gives happiness to others...”⁶⁹

The theme of K-drama mainly is family love based on morality. The movie and drama shows advanced culture of modern society as well as the mentality and spirit of Korea. Therefore it was gaining popularity by various countries. Korea as peace loving country that has history of 5,000 years and did not invade other nations illegally in its history developed a culture of peace loving and morality and equal prosperity with other nations. This kind of spirit has been appearing in the prosperity of K-wave.

Based on this progress of Korean Wave, the government is also making effort to provide the opportunity of experiencing Korean Wave to Kenyan public society. As part of this effort, Korean study department has been established and opened on September, 2013 in the University of Nairobi for the first time in Kenya. To serve the purpose of public diplomacy, Korean Embassy appointed a famous Kenyan singer ‘Rufftone’ to be ‘a good will ambassador of Korea for public diplomacy in Kenya’.⁷⁰ Since 2013, Korean

⁶⁸ Ravina, Mark (2009). "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Korean Wave". Southeast Review of Asian Studies.

⁶⁹ *Kim Gu* (March 1st, 1948), Excerpt from *Baekbeomilji*,

⁷⁰ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr>

Embassy has been doing “Korea-Kenya Friendly Forest Planting Ceremony” by inviting people from local counties, officials from Kenya Forest Service and Korean community people.⁷¹ As well Korean Embassy, every year has been serving the “Visual Korea” ceremony which shows Korean movies that have good reputation and were successful in performance since 2014. It also has been doing the contest of ‘Korean Speaking’ in the university of Nairobi and ‘Quiz on Korea’ as well. The institution of Korean studies also opened in Kenyatta University since 2014. Tae-kwon-do, the Korean originated martial art is so popular in the world. Korean government dispatched Tae-kwon-do Master to the government of Kenya, to the ministry of defense. Korean Embassy is also planning to establish “cultural office” in Nairobi.

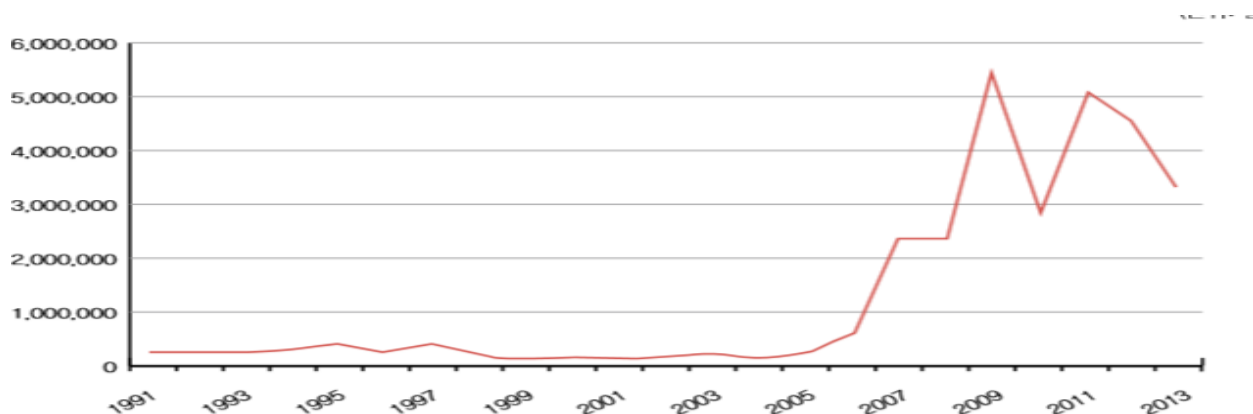
3.1.2.4 Development Cooperation

Development cooperation is crucial part in diplomacy of Korea. Korean was able to achieve its economic and social development through the development assistance from the developed countries since 1955. Therefore, it is a moral duty of Korean people to share the fruit of development with other developing countries based on humanity and morality.

Especially, Kenya has been the first country that Korea invited its nationals for education. In year 1963, Kenya students were invited to Korea for training. Kenya has been a leading country in Africa as the hub of East Africa, and now is vigorously trying to achieve national development through vision 2030. China and Japan has been involved in official development assistance with longer history than Korea. It is true that compare to the other Asian power nations, the volume of assistance of Korea is much less. However since the establishment of resident office of KOICA in 2008, the official development assistance has been improved gradually. The assistance through KOICA began actually since 1991. Since the establishment of resident office of KOICA in Kenya, Korean government began focusing on education, water supply and medical project.

⁷¹ <http://ken.mofa.go.kr>

<Chart 3.7: The Volume of Grant Support from Korea to Kenya in USD>⁷²



<Chart 3.8: The type and volume of ODA from Korea to Kenya in USD>⁷³

Division		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Social Infra and Service	Sub Total	0.20	1.46	0.68	4.05	1.94	6.89	5.68	3.26
	Education	-0.29	1.14	-0.24	1.54	0.25	3.91	4.44	1.69
	Public Health	0.01	-	0.04	1.21	0.92	0.13	-	0.07
	Population Policy				0.02	0.03	0.05	0.06	
	Water Supply and Health	0.41	-	0.89	1.30	0.62	2.57	0.90	0.93
	Public Administration and Civil Society	0.07	0.32	-	0.00	0.12	0.23	0.28	0.43
	Other Social Infra and Service	-	-		0.00	0.01	0.01	-	0.09
Economic Infra	Sub Total	15.18	0.68	0.21	0.04	0.11	0.21	0.10	0.10
	Transport and Storage	15.18	-	-	-	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.03
	Communication	-	0.68	0.21	0.04	0.03	0.19	0.01	0.04
	Energy			-	-	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.01
	Business and Service					0.03			0.02
Industry and Manufacturing	Sub Total	0.02	0.10	0.02	-	0.13	0.52	0.92	1.10
	Agriculture	0.01	-	-	-	0.05	0.43	0.82	1.05
	Fishery	0.01	-	-	-	0.03	0.04	0.04	
	Engineering	-	0.10	0.02	-	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.02
	Mining	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03

⁷² <http://stat.koica.go.kr>

⁷³ Korea Africa Centre(2015), “Research on Kenya”, Seoul, page 224

	Construction	-	-	-	-	0.01	0.02	-	
	Trade Policy	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.01	-	
Others	Environmental Policy, Civil Engineering, Rural Development		0.14	0.00	-	0.11	1.64	1.86	0.42
	Humanity	0.08	-	0.44	-	0.01	0.03	0.42	0.40
	NGO		-	0.22	0.43	0.41	0.50	-	-
Grand Total		15.48	2.60	1.79	4.50	2.79	9.29	8.98	5.28

Korean government also has been making effort to invite at least 100 Kenyan civil servants to Korea for training every year in practical field such as public security, policy management, custom service, hospital management, rural development, etc. Korea also has been inviting qualified students for master course in renowned graduate schools in Korea.

Further to that, Korea also focused on Public Private Partnership (PPP) project. Apart from the official development assistance that is being performed by government, there have been various assistances from private sectors. There has been program for civil society cooperation program, creative value program, humanity support program.

Especially, LG electronics since 2009, has been supporting various primary schools in Kenya to improve their infrastructures. LG also established LG hope school in cooperation with World Food Program (WFP) in 2013 and supported class room, and equipment, etc.⁷⁴ SK Chemicals also has been developed wells for water supply in Kenya. Daegyo Company also established a school in Kenya to provide the opportunity of education to the children in remote place. Since 2002, LG also has been supporting the treatment for patients with artificial leg and arm.

Government or diplomatic mission also closely cooperate with private sector and prepares environment for the better performance of the private sector in their

⁷⁴ <http://www.lge.co.kr>

development assistance. This brings synergy effect by utilizing the effect for the positive influence to the diplomatic relation.

3.1.2.5 Others

The matter of climate change is global and crucial issue which affects all the countries of the world. In the matter of environmental issue, Korea and Kenya has also been cooperating closely. Kenya has been recognized as the center of environmental diplomacy. It is partly because the good weather and natural environment of Kenya. Moreover, the head quarter of United Nation Environmental Program is located in Nairobi, Kenya. Kenya has been in a position of strong argument that developed nations should be responsible for the effect of the climate change and should support the developing nations to minimize the negative effect of the climate change since the main reason of climate change is industrialization and yet Kenya is still under the process of development.⁷⁵

In this regard, Korea and Kenya has been strengthening their diplomatic relationship in the issue of environmental diplomacy. The MOU has been signed between Korea and Kenya in regard to “the cooperation of two governments for the protection of environment” in 2013. There has been mutual understanding in regard to the management of water quality, management of disposed materials, sharing information and knowledge in regard to the environmental issue. There shall be continuous cooperation between the two countries in regard to the environmental issues.

3.2 The Relations between Kenya and Other Countries-Development Cooperation

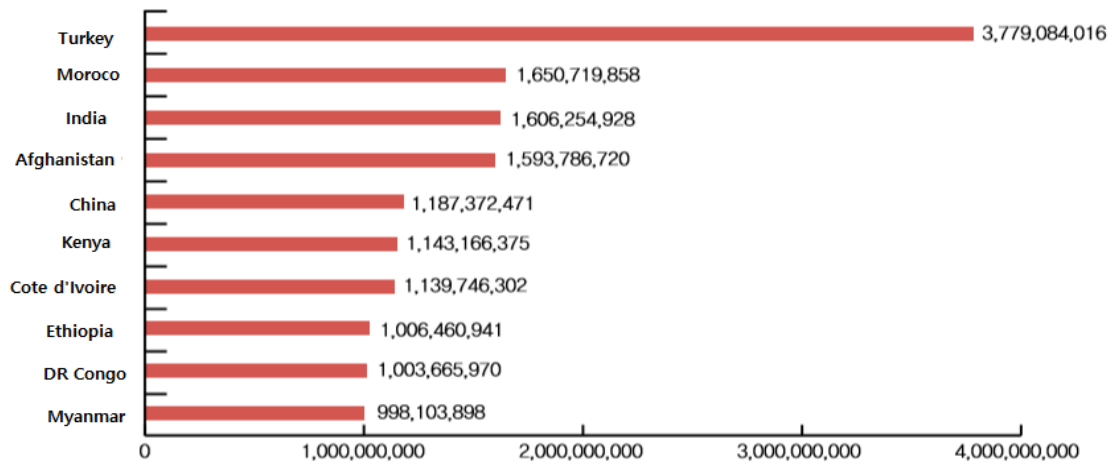
3.2.1 EU countries

Traditionally EU has been main trade partner with Kenya and main ODA donor. The character of EU deal is applying strict guideline for the condition of assistance.

⁷⁵ www.mofat.go.kr

Frequently, the assistance has been recognized to be donor centred rather than receiver centred. They have their own policy and plan and condition for the donation.

< Chart 3.9 : Top Ten Receiving Countries from EU, USD > ⁷⁶



3.2.2 United Kingdom

UK and Kenya has been maintaining traditionally friendly relationship by being supportive for each other in international society. The two countries tries to cooperate in the area of reducing the dependence on assistance, strengthening employment, improving social service, cooperation on private sector, security and general development. However there has been unbalance in the trade volume between the two countries.

3.2.3 Germany

Germany has been having friendly relationship with several African countries especially with Kenya since the independence of Kenya. Germany has been proactive in official development assistance toward Kenya. The development assistance is mainly performed by GIZ. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) is a company that specializes in international development. The name of the company

⁷⁶ European Commission. <https://euaidexplorer.ec.europa.eu/DevelopmentAtlas.do>

translates to "German Corporation for International Cooperation" in English.⁷⁷ In year 2013 the two governments agreed to have official development assistance from Germany side 38,000 thousand EURO.

3.2.4 United States of America

Kenya and USA has been maintaining friendly relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations. During the cold war era, USA even invested military armament in Kenya to compete to the Eastern side of the world and to bring the world order for its favour. Since the dissolution of USSR, from the end of cold war era, USA began to improve its relationship with Kenya more due to Kenya's having strategic location in Africa and the stable government. Since Kenya was actively participating in the security activities in its neighbouring countries in cooperation with USA who supported Kenya more closely. Barack Obama was the first president who visited Kenya in USA history. During this time, the USA and Kenya established several cooperation agreements. USA also shared its plan to support Kenya in the area of security, health, construction, energy, education, small and middle business.

Kenya is one of Security Governance Initiative of USA. The 6 countries are Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Tunisia. It is to increase the security in these nations. These countries take a proactive role against the threatening of terrorism group.⁷⁸

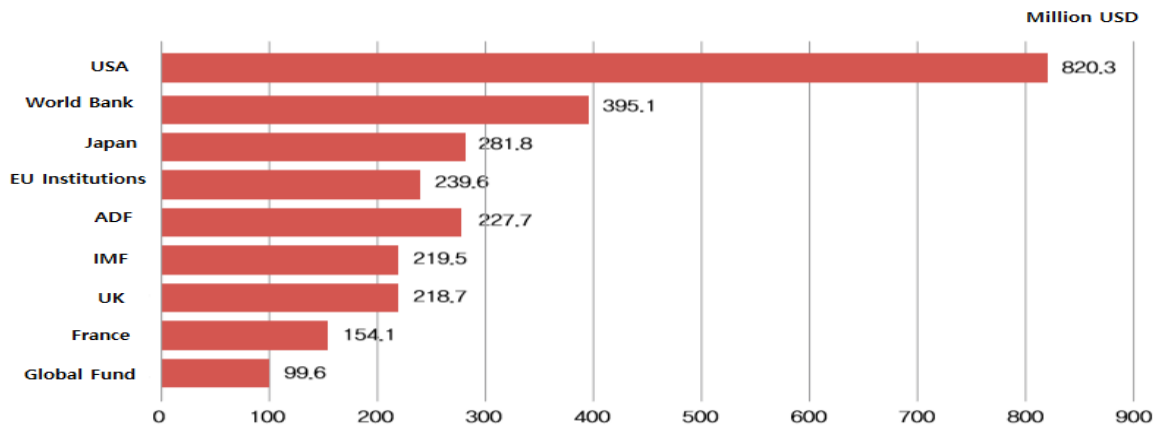
Especially USA has been maintaining "African Growth Opportunity Act" since year 2000. The purpose of this act is to minimize the unbalance of trade, the unity between African countries, economic development and cooperation.⁷⁹ The AGOA has been extended till year 2025 in year 2015. This act applies free custom duty and unlimited quarter for the export to various items. As well, USA has been the greatest country in terms of development assistance for Kenya.

⁷⁷ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Profile

⁷⁸ Ignatius, D(2014), "Helping Africa Increase Security," The Korea Herald

⁷⁹ Korea Africa Centre (2015), "Research on Kenya", Seoul, page 251

< Chart 3.10 : Main donors for Kenya, Volume >⁸⁰



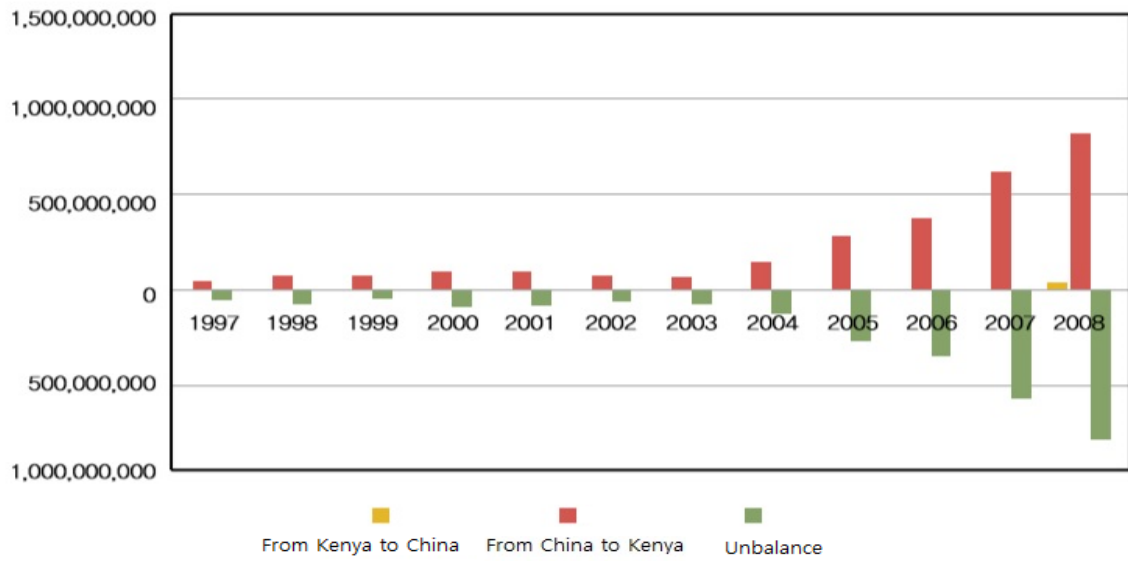
3.2.5 China

Originally, China's diplomacy toward African countries was to enhance their influence in African nations for their 'One China Policy'. Somehow, it was for their political interest in international society. Other donor countries used to have condition for the assistance such as anti-corruption, privatization, free trading. However, China's development assistance does not have much condition to be applied for the receiving countries. Instead, their assistance normally uses the way of 'big deal and negotiation'. For example, if they support some infrastructure, the right of exploring natural resources is demanded by China. Also they bring a lot of Chinese company to expand their influence in Kenya in the project. Frequently the assistance fund volume of china is not measurable. It is not only because China is not a member of DAC (Development Assistance Committee), but also because their assistance is frequently lack of transparency in governance and policy making.

In regard to the trade, the volume of expert from China to Kenya increased rapidly. There has been unbalance in the trade.

⁸⁰ OECD-DAC Database. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats>

<Chart 3.11: Trade of Kenya and China, USD>⁸¹



⁸¹ Joseph Onjala (2010), p.2.

Chapter Four : The Application of Morality and Justice in Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Kenya

4.0 Introduction

Through the study, we could affirm that the diplomacy based on morality and justice will be beneficial to the mutual interest of the countries as well as to the internal peace and security. This does not mean that a country must give up seeking for its own national interest. As a nation, a country has duty to develop their economic, social, cultural status to bring happiness for their citizens as well to contribute to the happiness of entire people of the world. Problem is excessive attachment to the national interest disregarding the happiness of people of other nations. In human history, there have been many cases of countries excessively sought for their own national interest only regardless of the human right of the people of other nation. And they eventually faced with the fall of the nation. However, when countries sought for their national interest to contribute to the peace and happiness of entire people of the world, the country actually prospered. Therefore a nation should seek for the value of morality and justice in the diplomacy. This means a country should seek for the happiness and human right of the people of their own nation as well as of the people of other country.

In 2009, South Korea became the first DAC (Development Assistance Committee) member among the countries who used to receive development assistance from other developed countries. After the total devastation of country after the civil war (1950-1953), Korea received economic aid from developed countries. However, through effective governmental leadership and development plan and hardworking of Korean people, Korea was able to achieve the economic development. Through the experience of development, the diplomacy of Korea also wishes to contribute to the international peace and security and happiness of people of the world. The vision of Korean diplomacy and foreign policy is “realization of a happier Korean people, Korean Peninsula and global community.”⁸²

⁸² www.mofa.go.kr

The vision of Korean diplomacy shows the initiative of Korean diplomacy based on morality and justice. However, when we review the history of Korean diplomacy, there are still many challenges to fulfill the diplomacy based on morality and justice. First, the diplomatic history of Korea since it has been influential in world community is still short. It is not long since Korea became influential in international political stage. Comparing to other developed countries, the volume and history of official development assistance is still little and short.⁸³ Secondly, the division and ceasefire status between South Korea and North Korea is also challenge. There is always possibility of military conflict in Korean peninsula and this work as threatening elements to the world peace. Third, the strong nationalism of Korean people also can work as hindrance in living as citizen of world community. Korean is a country that has a single racial group and tribal group in its population.⁸⁴ So there has been tendency of exclusivism toward other people of ethnic group. This can affect negatively to the country's diplomacy to seek the happiness of entire world community. Third, the tendency of putting priority in quick result more than procedure also can affect negatively to the diplomacy of morality. When people need quick result or interest only, sometime it hinders healthy development of society. Result can sometime come without genuine devotion just by luck. But when we improve the procedure, the society or individual become healthier and can eventually produce good result. Korean diplomacy also should learn from its history of painful invasion of other countries and division and civil war. Korea has the history of 5,000 years. And there has been particular spirit and unique mind in its people. So "benefitting all mankind (Hong-ik-in-gan)" has been ideology of Korea since its foundation. Korea should learn from its history to have the mentality and spirit which are proper to contribute to the happiness of the people of the world. In this chapter, I would like to review how then the value of morality and justice can be applied in the diplomacy of Korea with Kenya by overcoming the challenges.

⁸³ OECD-DAC Database. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats>

⁸⁴ <https://namu.wiki> > nationalism

4.1 Diplomatic Functions of States and Application of Morality and Justice

First of all, it is important to understand the functions of diplomacy to discuss how to apply morality and justice in the diplomatic functions. Diplomatic functions were explained well in the “Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations (18th April 1961)”. The convention mainly explains about the privileges, immunities and facilities for the diplomatic missions or agents to perform their diplomatic functions. The preamble of the VCDR (1961), clearly explains that the purpose of such privileges is for the better performance of diplomatic function eventually to maintain international peace and security and to promote friendly relations among nations. This shows the purpose of diplomatic function is to maintain international peace and security and to promote friendly relations between each nation. The preamble also says it recognizes ‘the sovereign equality of States’. It also says ‘Affirming that the rules of customary international law should continue to govern questions not expressly regulated by the provisions of the present Convention.’⁸⁵ It also says that ‘the function of diplomatic mission consist inter alia in.’ This statement implies that the diplomatic function mentioned in the VCDR (1961) will not cover entire diplomacy although it covers major ones.

The major diplomatic functions are, (a) representing the sending State in the receiving State, (b) protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law, (c) negotiating with the Government of the receiving State, (d) ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State, (e) promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.⁸⁶

In addition, to promote the equal development and human right, there should be transfer of technologies, development experience and knowledge as well as the economic assistance for development. Free trade between nations can’t bring equal economic

⁸⁵ Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (Vienna,UN,1961), Preamble

⁸⁶ Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (Vienna,UN,1961), Preamble, Article 3

development. Therefore, there has been number of system to regulate the economic relation between nations. These efforts will work for the fulfillment of the diplomacy based on morality and justice in the international community. In this paragraph, I would like to briefly review how then morality and justice can be practiced in the functions of diplomacy.

4.1.1 Representing the Sending State in the Receiving State

The first important function of diplomatic mission is “representation of the sending state in the receiving state”. The receiving state will recognize the government of sending state through the diplomatic mission and their staffs. Therefore, the policy or act of mission carries weight of the image or policy of the sending state. This brings emphasis on the importance of the attitude or behavior of the mission or its staffs. Therefore, the mission and the member of the mission should perform their diplomatic duty to reveal their right national image in the receiving state and also should make effort to enhance their national image in the receiving state through their behavior based on morality and justice.

4.1.2 Protecting in the Receiving State the Interests of the Sending State and of Its Nationals

It is important duty for the diplomatic mission to protect the national interest of the sending state in the receiving state. This includes the protection of the nationals of the sending state. However, the condition is ‘within the limits permitted by international law’. So this protection does not mean that a diplomatic mission shall overlook or compromise with the illegal behavior of their nationals. This also does not mean that the mission can damage the interest of the receiving state to seek for their own interest. The interest and law of the receiving state should be always respected. The interest of both receiving nation and sending nation should be protected and respected.

What the mission need to do is to protect their own nationals not to be harassed by the authority of the receiving nation without proper reason just because of their being foreign

nationals in the receiving nation. Here the principle of morality and justice should be always applied especially in protection of interest of the nation or its nationals.

Especially, the world becomes narrower and narrower due to the development of information technologies. During this generation, the barrier between nations is disappearing. Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture.⁸⁷ Advances in transportation and in telecommunications infrastructure including the rise of the internet, and mobile phones have been major factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities. During this time, diplomatic mission can't focus on only protecting nationals of the sending state. They should rather facilitate the fulfillment of morality and justice so that no any party can go through unfair treatment.

4.1.3 Negotiating with the Government of the Receiving State

Negotiation between states is a conversation between two state representatives to find best solution which benefit both parties on the issues which involve interest of the two states. Negotiation in diplomatic stage is crucial since it will involve national interest of the two states. Here we can learn that the mutual trust is the major element of success in negotiation between any parties including the diplomatic mission. How can the two parties have trust relationship? It is possible when both parties seek for common and universal value. The common and universal value is respect of human right, morality and justice. For any negotiation to be done successfully there should be common point of agreement. In the negotiation, there can be difference of economic or political interest that will be gained between the two parties. But when each party agrees certain superior value that will be achieved, they can agree and settle the dispute. So the negotiation can be successful. The superior value should humanity, morality and justice. By clearly recognizing the superior value, the two parties in negotiation can have trust relationship.

⁸⁷ Albrow, Martin and Elizabeth King (eds.) (1990), "*Globalization, Knowledge and Society London*"

4.1.4 Ascertaining the Conditions and Developments and Reporting to the Sending State

Diplomatic mission is supposed to ascertain by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving state, and report to the government of the sending state. Acquiring the status of development in the receiving state has dual purpose. First of all, it is for the interest of the sending state. It is because having knowledge about the development experience of other nations will be beneficial to the sending state. Secondly it is also for the interest of the receiving state. It is because it will promote the positive image of the receiving state in the sending state. However it can be interest of receiving state only when the information is ascertained by lawful mean and in the extent permitted by the receiving state. The diplomatic mission should not use illegal way in ascertaining the information of development and should keep the principle of morality.

4.1.5 Promoting Friendly Relations between the Sending State and the Receiving State

The diplomatic mission should do a role of promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations. Friendly relationship will be developed through communication and cultural exchange. Nowadays, the greatest impact can arise through cultural exchange. The emphasis on culture of Korea has been revealed well in the statement of Kim Ku, a leader of the Korean independence movement and president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. He said “I want our nation to be the most beautiful in the world. By this I do not mean the most powerful nation. Because I have felt the pain of being invaded by another nation, I do not want my nation to invade others. It is sufficient that our wealth makes our lives abundant; it is sufficient that our strength is able to prevent foreign invasions. The only thing that I desire in infinite quantity is the power of a noble culture. This is because the power of culture both makes us happy and gives happiness to others”⁸⁸ He emphasized the importance of culture in contributing the

⁸⁸ Kim Gu(March 1st, 1948), “*Baekbeomilji*”, *Excerpt*

world peace. The exchange of culture does not only mean emotional friendship of the two nations. It rather means sharing of the culture based on morality and God fearing and humanity.

4.1.6 Development assistance from developed countries to the developing countries

The function of diplomacy can also include many other sections. Each country has the time of development procedure and can reach to the matured condition. And the developed countries should share their experience of development with other nations and this is the duty based on humanity. Especially, in modern age, development assistance is considered to be very important role of diplomacy. There should be cooperation in economic development so that the cooperation can bring prosperity of both nation and enhancement of the quality of human life. To promote the equal development and human right, there should be transfer of technologies and knowledge as well as the economic assistance for the development.

4.2 Morality and Justice in the Diplomatic Relation between Korea and Kenya

In this paragraph, I would like to review how the morality and justice can be applied in the diplomatic relationship between Korea and Kenya. This will be reviewed majorly in the sector of political affairs, development cooperation and economic cooperation. Especially International development cooperation is considered to be important part of diplomacy to fulfill the morality and justice in the international society. It is a work based on the humanity for the developed countries to support the development of the developing countries. ‘International development cooperation’ is integrated effort of the international community to reduce the economic gap and to enhance the basic human right in the developing countries.⁸⁹ Therefore, I would like to review larger portion of this paragraph to find out proper way of the activities of ‘International development cooperation’. Diplomatic effort is important in ‘International development cooperation’ because the main actor of development is the receiving state herself. And in that case, the

⁸⁹ http://www.odakorea.go.kr/ODAPage_2012/T01/L01_S01.jsp

receiving state and sending state need negotiation and cooperation which can be done through diplomatic effort by the two government representatives.

4.2.1 Political Affairs

Korea and Kenya has been developing their political cooperation since the establishment of their diplomatic relations in 1963. It is because the two countries has been firmly sharing the common value which is promotion of democracy and capitalism as well as international peace and enhancing human right. The two countries shall continue to maintain their political relations to seek international peace and security, justice and morality together.

4.2.1.1 Challenges of Diplomacy for the Political Cooperation

For the political cooperation, the two countries need to recognize the importance of seeking for common value. The common value can be happiness of the people of the two countries and enhancement of human right, freedom and human development. Regardless of material possession, the happiness and freedom of human being can be realized when they seek for the value of morality. However the challenges are the diplomatic relations was easily oriented for the economic interest only. In this way, if the economic concern changed, the relationship between two countries can be weakened any time. Also the political power comes from the common view and unity and consensus from people of the nation. The challenge of Kenya is that there is observation of difficulty of unity between tribal groups. Therefore, it has been difficult to bring one common belief and synergy effect was difficult to be fulfilled.

4.2.1.2 The Role of Diplomacy in Political Relation Based on Morality and Justice

The friendly relationship should be based on the humanity based on God given divine nature. The duty of Korea for Kenya is not just maintaining a good relationship with a country that is in opposite side of the earth. The relationship should be based on human love and brotherly love. If there is any pain or challenge in Kenya, Korea also should be able to feel as if the pain is her own.

Political power comes from people of the nation in democratic stage. The division should be overcome within each country first. Kenya should be able to overcome tribalism and should have one faith. Since 80% of the population comes from Christianity, the Christianity can be a good way of binding the people of Kenya with brotherly love. Korea also is suffering from division between South and North Korea. In Korean society still there is a trauma caused by civil war. And there is South-South conflict on Korean Peninsula. The word "South-South conflict" describes the different — often opposite — positions South Koreans take on North Korea in regard to its leader, its security threat or how to achieve reunification. This kind of division should be overcome so that the diplomacy of Korea can do the role of connecting Kenya to Korea to have common focus. However, it is hopeful to see that almost 40% of Korean population comes from Christianity which is much higher to compare to other Asian countries. (China 5%, Japan 0.8%). Therefore, there is high possibility of sharing the common value based on morality and justice and human love between the two countries. Therefore diplomatic mission should make an effort to promote the common value that the people of the two countries can commonly share. This should be brotherly love and mutual progress.

4.2.2 Economic Affairs

As we reviewed in previous chapter, the economic relations between the two countries, unbalance has been found easily especially in trade matter. Korea export manufactured item to Kenya and Kenya export raw material to Korea and there has been trade unbalance. For Kenya, this kind of phenomena happens not only with Korea but also with many other countries.

How then, can the diplomacy of Korea contribute to minimize the chronic unbalance of economic relations? USA is providing the Africa Growth Opportunity Act. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) is a legislation that has been approved by the U.S. Congress in May 2000. The purpose of this legislation is to assist the economies of sub-Saharan Africa and to improve economic relations between the United States and the region.⁹⁰ After completing its initial 15-year period of validity, the AGOA legislation

⁹⁰ B&FT. *"US outline new AGOA strategy"*. Ghana Web

was extended on 29 June 2015 by a further 10 years, to 2025. As the result of AGOA, statistics shows in fact, a much positive result in trade balance.

In view of this, Korea also should consider to apply similar way or find out third solution to improve the economic relation between Korea and Kenya based on morality. Otherwise, the unbalance of trade will increase.

4.2.3 Development Cooperation

4.2.3.1 The Perception of Young Kenyan People in Regard to the Development Assistance

In current world, the international development cooperation is considered to be the diplomatic activities based on humanity to promote friendly relationship between the two countries. Moreover, development assistance is indeed the practice of humanity and can contribute to the international peace and security.

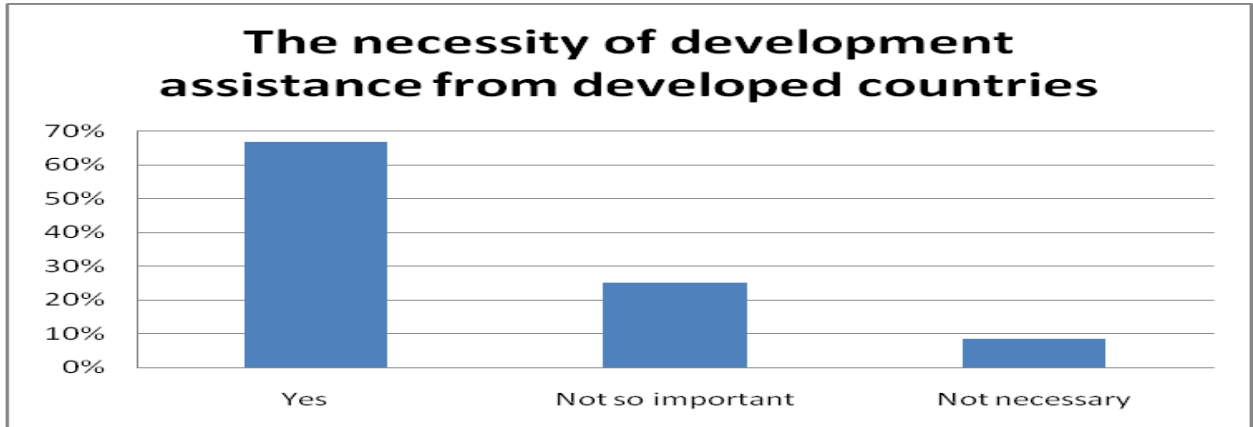
However, the important fact which should not be overlooked is that the main actor of development is the own country who shall progress in their own development. And each country has different historical, political, social and cultural back ground. Therefore, it is important, first of all, to know the perception of Kenyan people about the ongoing development assistance for Kenya. In this regard, the survey was performed among young intellectual people. Survey was done randomly selected person among the students or graduates from the University of Nairobi during August 2016.

Kenya is vigorously moving forward in the economic and social development plan to be “globally competitive and prosperous nation” through ‘vision 2030’⁹¹. Kenya has a lot of potential power for its development due to the healthy Christian faith of young people and their large portion in the population. This means there is large portion of labour power. However, it is also important to critically review the previous history of Kenya since 1960’s. How can Kenya achieve its development? This survey tried to find out the

⁹¹ www.vision2030.go.ke

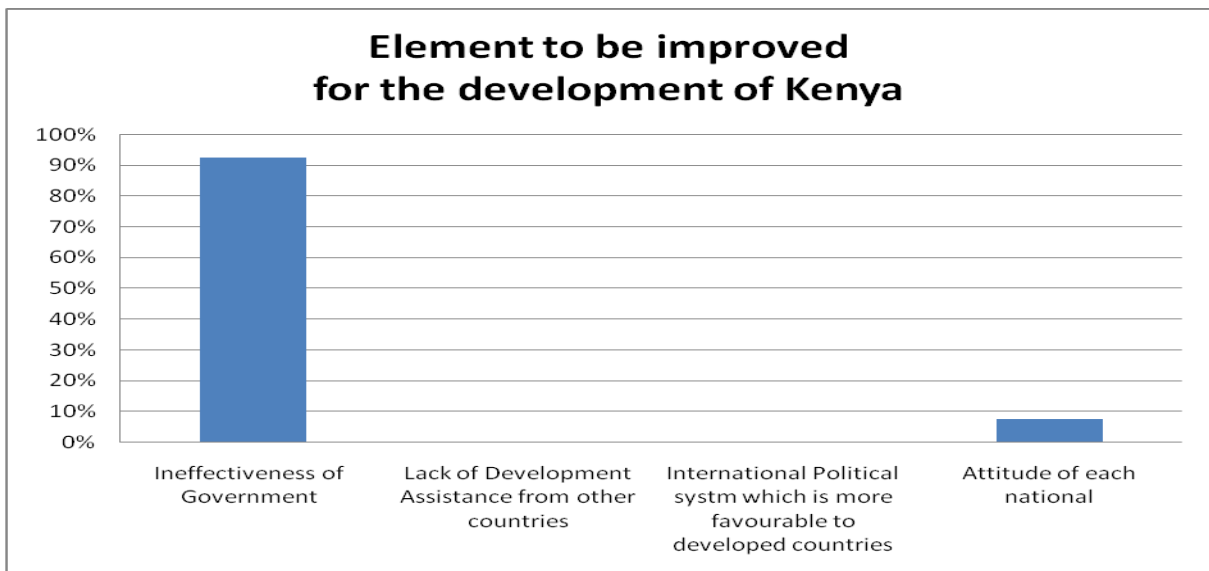
proper way of official development assistance of Korea for Kenya and how to achieve the economic development for Kenya as major part of diplomacy based on morality and justice.

<Chart 4.1: The necessity of development assistance>



Large portion of students said the development assistance is necessary. However there is still some portion which shows the development assistance is not so important or not necessary. This survey shows that even though the development assistance is necessary for the development of a country, it can't explain all about the development of a country. Then what is the most important element for the development of a country?

<Chart 4.2: Element to be improved for the development of Kenya>

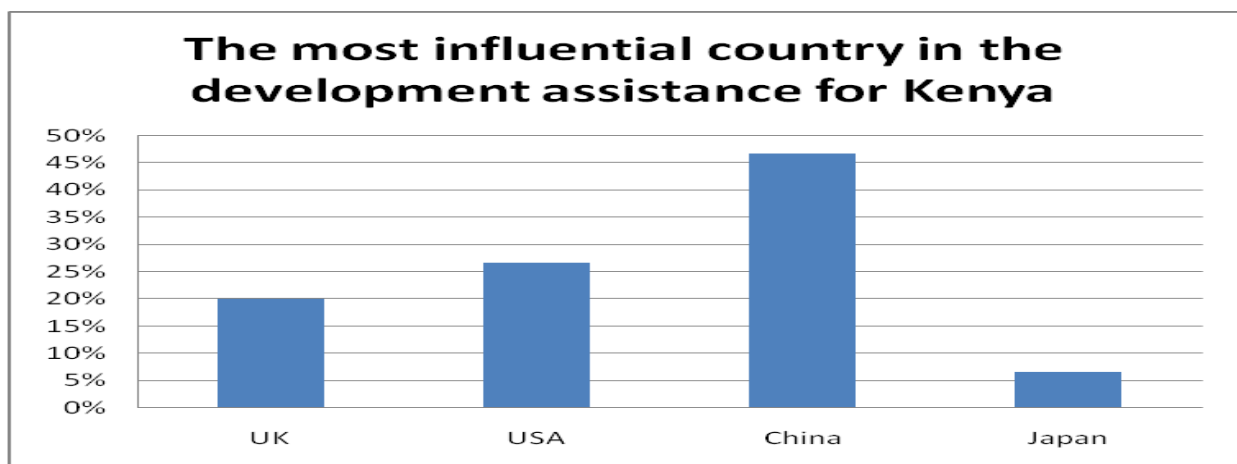


The result of this question shows that young generation perceives that the major challenge which is hindering the development of Kenya is ineffectiveness of government although there have been enough funding or economic development assistances from many developed countries. Kenya has been one of top 10 countries that were able to secure favorable position in official development assistance from EU.⁹²

Here, we can have critical view and know the importance of effective government and the role of leadership in the development of a nation. This survey shows that the most crucial element in the development of a country is the effective and transparent governance and leadership and the attitude of each nationals that is each people of Kenya.

From now, I will review critically the ongoing official development assistances from other countries for Kenya. Below survey shows a country which is perceived as the most influential in their development assistance for Kenya.

<Chart 4.3: The most influential country in the development assistance>



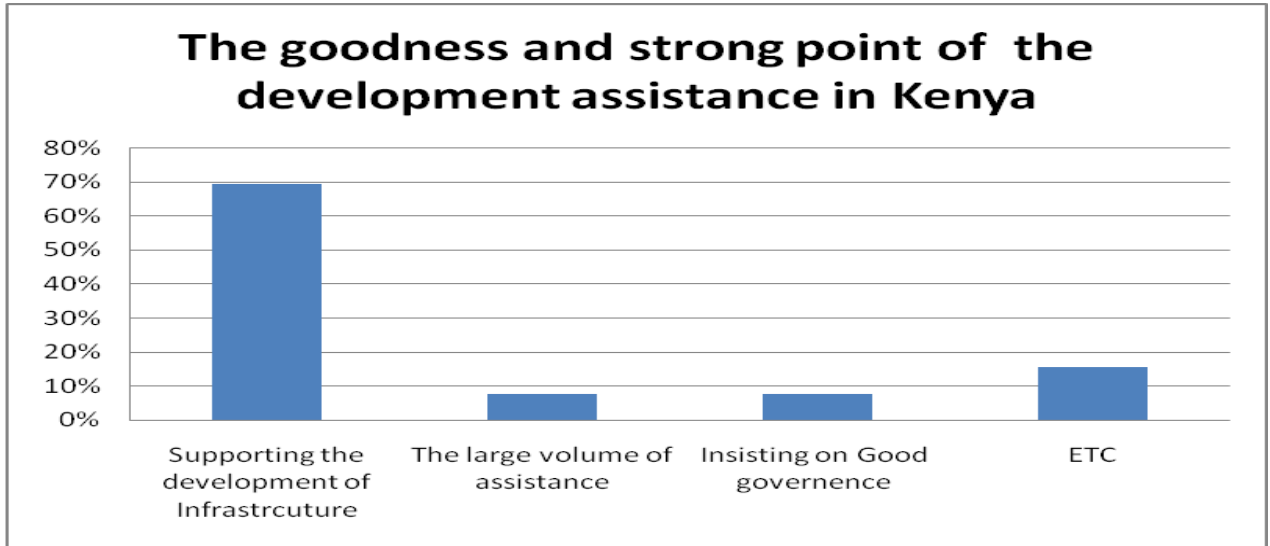
The chart shows that China and USA appear to be the most influential in the official development for Kenya. However, since China is not yet a member of DAC (Development Assistance Committee) countries⁹³, in fact it is hard to figure out the exact volume of development assistance by China. Yet it is quite surprising that China is perceived to be the most influential country in the Official Development Assistance. It is

⁹² European Commission. <https://euaidexplorer.ec.europa.eu/DevelopmentAtlas.do>

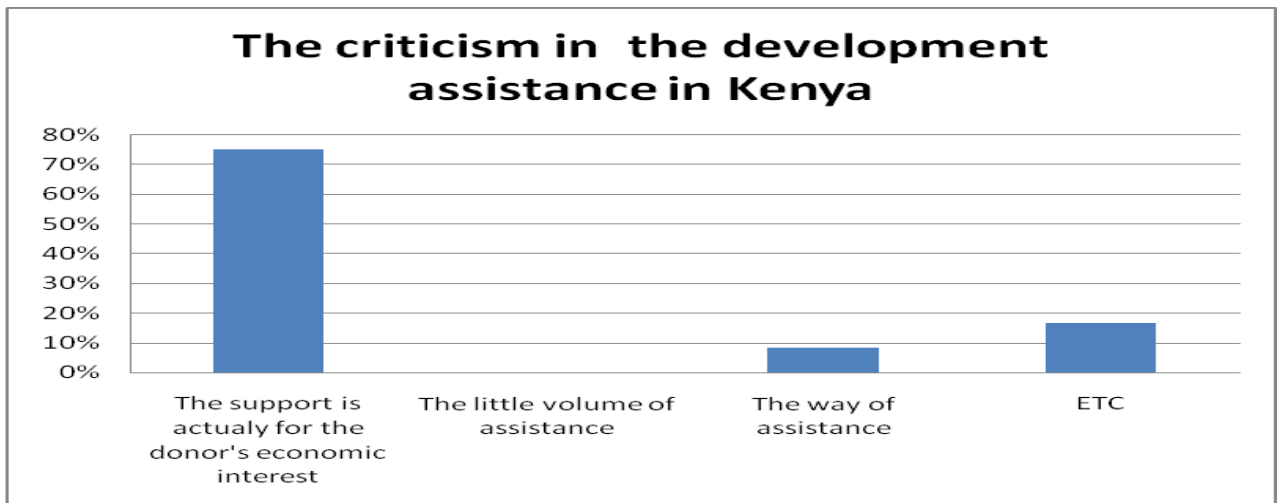
⁹³ <http://www.oecd.org/dac/dacmembers.htm>

because through the deal between the two governments, China is supporting many infrastructure building of Kenya in return of requesting benefit of having the right of developing natural resources.

<Chart 4.4: Goodness of development assistances ongoing>



<Chart 4.5: The criticism in development assistances ongoing>

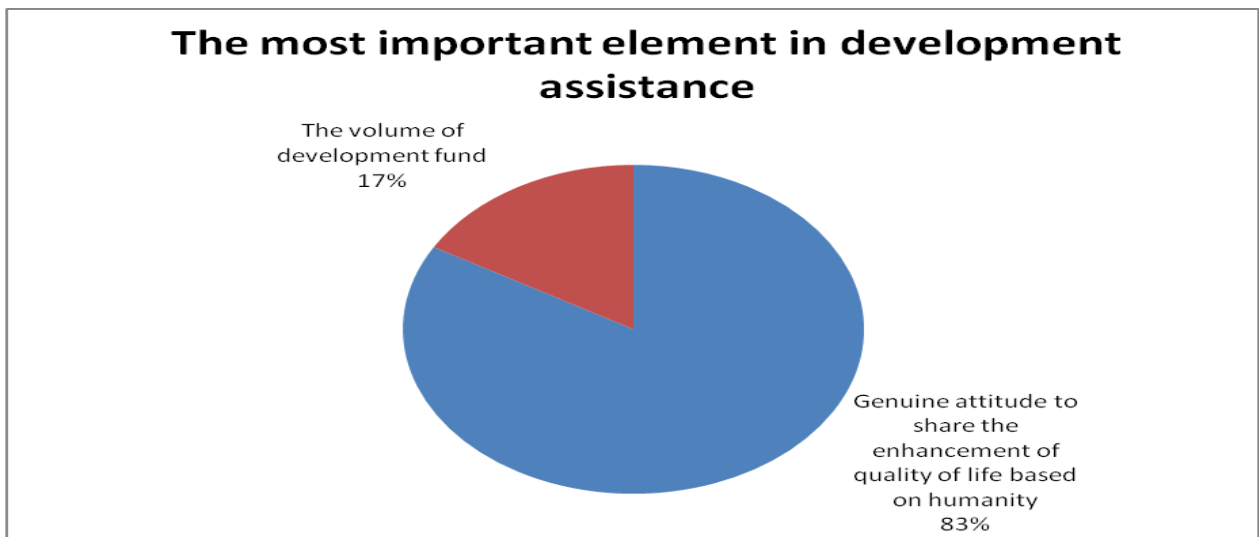


In above survey, the goodness and critical point of the ongoing development assistance are reviewed. This is perception of Kenya young people. This data may not have strategic ground or may not reflect the view of government leadership. However this can help us to have certain guideline to establishment diplomatic policy in regard to the development assistance in case we consider the morality and justice as the first priority.

We can see the largest portion agree that the establishment of infrastructure is considered to be so much helpful to the country. China was able to increase their volume of support since EU countries cancelled many ODA plans due to the failure of establishing good and transparent governance and security concern.⁹⁴ The strategy of Chinese development assistance appears to acquiring natural resources and establishing infrastructures. However, the project is also performed frequently by the Chinese private companies. In this way, the development assistance is so much beneficial to the donor, China. That's why in this survey we can have ironical answer that "The support is actually for the donor's economic interest". Therefore, Kenya governance seems to be in a dilemmatic situation. The most important element in the development is good governance rather than the assistance of fund. Therefore, establishing the good governance should be the first priority rather than short term interest. But it may be also difficult to deny the interest which is ahead and very important for the development of the country.

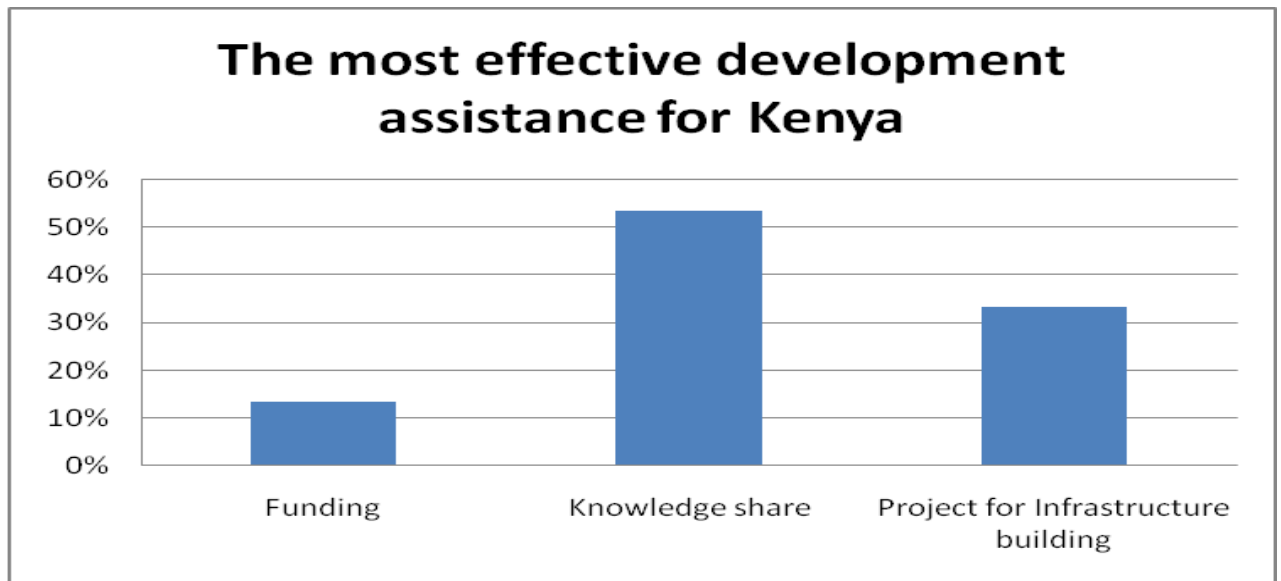
Even if so, in a long term, it will be important to know the most adequate way of the development of the country. Development assistance is necessary. Then what kind of development assistance is the most beneficial to Kenya? And what will be the most important element in the development assistance in general?

<Chart 4.6: The most important element in the development assistance>



⁹⁴ Korea Africa Centre(2015), "Research on Kenya", Seoul, 269page

<Chart 4.7: The most effective way of development assistance for Kenya>



The largest portion of answers shows that the most important element in the development assistance is the genuine intention of the donor. In the history of human being, all things happen because of certain initiative. In the decision of policy makers, their initiative will direct what kind of policy to be made and the effect. Therefore, if the decision of a nation is based on morality and justice, the foreign policy and diplomatic policy will also be able to be made to fulfill the humanity and international peace and security.

Also, the largest portion of answer shows the most effective way of development assistance is knowledge share. There is well known proverb that “It is more beneficial to teach the way of catching fish than to give the fish”. Knowledge share or sharing the experience of development is the most effective way of sharing the knowledge. This shows that Kenyan young intellectual people perceive that the most important element in the national development is the human resources, leadership, good governance and the sharing of knowledge for the development.

Through this survey, I was able to come up with following conclusion in regard to the perception of Kenyan young people toward the development assistances. First of all, anyhow development assistances are necessary. Secondly, however the development of a country can be done through the good leadership and effective governance. Even though

there have been much development assistance, when there was no leadership or effective governance, the development was so slow. Third, the young people perceive that, in many cases, the intention of ongoing development assistance is actually for the interest of donors. Forth, the most proper, adequate and desirable way of assistance is knowledge share so that the human resources of Kenya can be built up. For an instance, a renowned report says the main cause for the economic development of Korea to be following four. First, it is strong zeal for the education of the generation. Second, it is good governance. Third, it is faith and common belief of community.⁹⁵ And it is highly believed that Kenya already has the first and the third.

4.2.3.2 The Proper Way of Development Cooperation Diplomacy of Korea with Kenya

What will be the most adequate way of development assistance for Kenya? Based on the survey we can have two big ideas. First, it should be “receiving country oriented development assistance”. Secondly, the focus should be on good governance and development of human resources for the self-oriented and sustainable development.

4.2.3.2.1 Receiving Country Oriented Development Assistance

This means the development assistance should be focused on the receiving country. Having known that the greatest necessity for the development of Kenya is having good and effective governance, the diplomacy also should be supportive on that. The diplomacy should encourage Kenya to have good governance and should be able to support Kenya to have good governance. This can only be done through proper encouragement and diplomatic interaction.

Meanwhile, one of major way of technical support for the good governance is the support for E-government. It is generally believed E-government will contribute to the transparency and effectiveness of the governance. E-government consists of the digital interactions between a citizen and their government (C2G), between governments and government agencies (G2G), between government and citizens (G2C), between

⁹⁵ https://kmac.co.kr/newsletter/read.asp?topmenuKind=12&board_kind=&GotoPage=&pk=3932

government and employees (G2E), and between government and businesses/commerce (G2B). Essentially, e-government delivery models can be broken down into the following categories⁹⁶

Korea has been ranked as 1st for 3 times in the UN evaluation of E-government since 2010. Indeed MOU was signed during the visiting of Korean President Park in May, 2016 in regard to the E-Government cooperation. This can be one of good way to establish good governance in Kenya through diplomatic effort. E-government will expedite the public service and can reduce the time waste and can increase transparency and morality in administration. It is also good point that Kenya is also a leading country in IT infrastructure.

Apart from this, to share the experience of good governance, Korea has been inviting Kenya high officials to Korea to share the experience of development policy. Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world in year 1960. However through the effective governance, leadership and economic development plan, was able to achieve economic development.

The “Saemaul Undong”, also known as the New Community Movement was a political initiative launched on April 22, 1970 by South Korean president Park Chung-hee to modernize the rural South Korean economy. The idea was based on the Korean traditional communalism called *Hyangyak* and *Doorae* which provided the rules for self-governance and cooperation in traditional Korean communities. The early stage of the movement focused on improving the basic living conditions and environments whereas later projects concentrated on building rural infrastructure and increasing community income. Through the great success in the 1970s, economic environment in rural area changed so positively and rapidly. Korea has been inviting Kenya high officials to share the experience of economic development through this kind of development movement.⁹⁷

This kind of cooperation to establish good governance is the major part of diplomacy based on morality and justice. Since Korea and Kenya has similar historical experience

⁹⁶ Jeong Chun Hai (2007), “*Fundamental of Development Administration*”, Selangor: Scholar Press.

⁹⁷ www.saemaul.com

of colonialism and poverty, the two countries can have relationship of mutual prosperity. Korea can be a good partner in the fulfillment of Kenya Vision 2030. Therefore the diplomacy should make a diplomatic effort to improve the relationship based on mutual trust and morality and justice. Although in the beginning stage, the volume of development assistance is smaller compare to other countries such as USA, UK, China or Japan, sharing of the same experience of poverty and the development experience of Korea can grant great partnership to Kenya. The strengths of Korea are the diplomacy based on morality, experience of good governance and economic development and strength in E-government and IT technologies.

The challenge in the development cooperation diplomacy of Korea especially in Public Private Partnership is lack of voluntarily and more specialized project performing of the main actors. Of course, the budget should be allocated in higher level. It is important to go for human resource centered development assistance.

4.2.3.2.2 Human Resource Support through Knowledge Sharing

Famous Jewish proverb says that “It is much more valuable to teach how to catch fish rather than to give fish.” Bible also says “I tell you, get up, take your mat and go home.”⁹⁸ Why did Jesus say that the 38 years paralyzed man should get up and work by himself? It was because that is the way God created him to do. Human being was created to overcome challenges and walk by themselves. There is true happiness of life in such life. In fundamental sense, what they need the most is guidance and inspiration for them to walk by themselves.

Likewise, in the development assistance diplomacy, in fundamental sense, the receiving countries should be able to get up and walk by themselves. This is indeed the respect toward the receiving countries. In this sense, funding or even building infra-structure by foreign assistance alone can’t truly help the receiving countries. The best way is indeed encouraging the developing countries to get up and walk by themselves. The “Knowledge

⁹⁸ Mark 2:11 NIV Bible

Share Program” by Korean Government is in this sense, valuable element of diplomacy based on morality and justice.

Korea has transformed itself from an aid-recipient country to a donor country by achieving great economic growth within the past half century. From a war-torn country to the economic miracle of today, Korea has become the envy of most developing countries in its unprecedented economic growth. Drawing from its own experience of learning from advanced countries, Korea recognizes “knowledge sharing” as an effective and innovative tool for economic development. As a result, the Ministry of Strategy and Finance of the Republic of Korea launched the Knowledge Sharing Program, a new paradigm of development cooperation, in 2004. It aims to share Korea’s development know-how, assisting the partner countries and working towards lessening the knowledge divide.⁹⁹ Korean diplomacy shall make an effort to share the development experience with Kenya even as moral duty in its diplomacy.

Other of good example of Human resource support is Civil Society Partnership Program (CPP) by Korea International Cooperation Agency. Most of CPP project are focusing on enhancing competitiveness of civil society. For instance, KOICA has been performing vocational training for youth, provision of cattle for the economic self-supporting in rural community. It also supports women of rural community for their self-supporting. This is through training and education. There is also program for specific technological training for the youth of poor community. These programs mainly focus on education and training. In this way, the development cooperation of Korea focuses on development of human resources in the civil society. There is also program of enhancing sustainability such as increasing sanity in water provision.

The Public Private Partnership program is also done through Business Partnership Program (BPP). Business organization has its own purpose of their commercial interest. Nowadays, frequently, their strategy for the corporate interest comes together with support for civil society. In BPP projects, corporate supports information technology training and education for the people of rural area for their self-establishment. It also

⁹⁹ <http://www.ksp.go.kr/ksp/ksp.jsp>

economically supports people of slum area for their economic self-establishment. In doing this, private commercial sector seek for their business marketing and also do a moral duty toward society. Government, in cooperation with them also can achieve its purpose of public diplomacy.

There is also Creative Technology Solution (CTS) program. Through this project, it finds creative way to contribute the public of civil society in conjunction through high technologies. Through the contribution of technologies, the program aims to achieve welfare and happiness of community.

Through these reviewing, we can see that the development cooperation of Korea focuses on the development of human resources and focusing on human being.

4.2.4 Cultural Exchange

Culture is the most effective thing which can make the public of the two countries to become friendly. The culture can move the people's heart and considered to be soft power which can even stronger than hard power. In previous chapter, we reviewed the cultural effort of Korea to come nearer to Kenya public in combination of the Korean Wave including music, movie, culture and etc. However, the most important element here is that the cultural trend should be based in morality and justice.

4.2.4.1 Characteristics of Korean Culture

The main characteristic of Korean culture has been based on Monotheism. Monotheism has been defined as the belief in the existence of one god or in the oneness of God.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the history, Korean people used to serve one mighty God even before Christianity was preached in early 19th century. Korea is a country where the Catholic religion was established autogenously. In Korea most of people confesses that they have religion be it a Christianity, Catholic or Buddhism or even followers of Confucius. This shows the religious mentality of Korean people. And the freedom of having religion is firmly secured as per the constitution of Korea. This kind of religious attitude contributed

¹⁰⁰ "Monotheism", Britannica, 15th ed. (1986)

Korean people to have improved morality and peace loving attitude compare to other nations.

The number of Christian missionary of Korea was ranked world 2nd next to USA as of 2006. In cultural aspect, we can see the character of peace loving and morality of Korean people. This also appears in Kenya. Kenya also has large portion of Christianity.

4.1.4.2 Public Diplomacy in Cultural Aspects

Generally, public diplomacy intends to promote national interest and security by influencing and interacting with broader publics in foreign countries. The development of information and communication technologies became to provide effective tool to a government to perform their public diplomacy with brother publics in foreign countries. Public diplomacy is practiced through a variety of methods ranging from personal contact and cultural activities.

Cultural activities have been major instruments for the public diplomacy of Korea toward Kenyan public society. Culture is considered to be soft power through which people of different countries can establish friendly and trust relationship. Through cultural activities such as movies, music and sports activities, Korea became friendly to the broad public of Kenya. Especially Korean movie festival has been performed in major cities of Kenya since 2014 continuously every year. Tae-Kwon-Do tournament also has been performed frequently since 2010. Through the public diplomacy by cultural exchange, Korean diplomacy has been making effort to share the mentality of sincerity, honesty and hardworking with Kenya public society.

In addition, it is unique status that Koreans has been contributing to the religious and mental movement and change of Kenyan public society. As per the record, over 300 Korean Christian missionaries are serving their mission in Kenyan public community since year 2010. Some of them serve in university, remote village or in the section of rural development, orphanage or theology school or NGO charity organization. Some of them also serve in medical support. Korea is developed in medical support. Competitiveness in medical industry of Korea drastically increased since 1990. The

success rate of crucial surgery such as transportation of liver reached up to 96% and even higher than many other developed countries such as USA. The rate of survival after surgery for major cancer is also higher than the one of USA or Canada.¹⁰¹ The high competitiveness of medical industry of Korea is also proven by increasing number of foreign visitor for medical treatment in Korea. Korea became to be in a position to support medical treatment many people who are suffering from incurable disease in Kenya. There have been Korean missionaries who arrange and periodically invite Kenyan patient who suffer from incurable disease to Korea for proper treatment. Since life of human being is the most precious and can't be compared to any value, this kind of mission is very meaningful and contributes even diplomatic relations between Korea and Kenya so positively. Considering the population of a country, this is quite unique situation comparing to China or Japan. Likewise, Korean missionaries in Kenya, they are also doing the role of public diplomacy regardless of their own interest, only out of brotherly love toward Kenyan people.

¹⁰¹ <http://news.joins.com/article/18741693>

Chapter Five : Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

5.1.1 The Validity of Application of Morality and Justice in Diplomacy

Through the study, I could learn that a country that rises through sword also fell by sword. A country which seeks for morality and justice in their international relations will eventually rise and prosper. Therefore, a country must practice the value of morality and justice with first priority in their international relations.

5.1.2 The Diplomatic Relationship between Korea and Kenya

Korea established diplomatic ties with Kenya on 7 February 1964 and the two countries celebrated its 50th anniversary of friendly relationship last year. Kenya is located at off the east coast of Africa, the entrance to Africa. Kenya was one of the leading countries in Africa. From the view of Korea, Kenya was strategically the important country in Africa. Also, due to the friendly and safe natural environment and weather, Kenya was having many diplomatic missions and even UNEP headquarter. Besides, Kenya has various kinds of vegetation and wild animals in Africa. There have been numerous national parks and wildlife refuges which invite many tourists from all over the world. From Kenyan point of view, Korea has been a friendly country who has similar historical experience and political and economic system of democracy and capitalism. This must have been beginning of the diplomatic relations of the two countries. Kenya has been supporting Korea's foreign policy such as "Direct dialogue between South Korea and North Korea for the peaceful unification", "Simultaneous admission of South Korea and North Korea to the membership of United Nations", "North Korea's acceptance of the inspection of IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency)". The two countries exchanged the presidential state visit on 1983 and 1990. Since then, the diplomatic relation has been

strengthened and expanded to economics, politics as well as energy, IT technologies, environment, culture and developments assistance.

5.1.3 The Application of Morality and Justice in the Diplomacy of Korea with Kenya

Through the study, we could affirm that the diplomacy based on morality and justice will be beneficial to the mutual interest of the countries as well as to the international peace and security. This does not mean that a country must give up seeking for its own national interest. As a nation, a country has duty to develop their economic, social, cultural status to bring happiness to their citizens as well to contribute to the happiness of entire people of the world. Problem is excessive attachment to the national interest disregarding the happiness of people of other nations.

In human history, there have been many cases that countries excessively sought for their own national interest only regardless of the human right of the people of other nation. And they eventually faced with the fall of the nation. However, when country sought for their national interest to contribute to the peace and happiness of entire people of the world, the country actually prospered. Therefore a nation should seek for the value of morality and justice in the diplomacy. This means a country should seek for the happiness and human right of the people of their own nation as well as of the people of other country. Therefore, the principle of morality and justice and brotherly love and humanity should be first priority in all the diplomatic activities between Korea and Kenya. Moreover, the diplomacy of Korea should focus on human resource development to contribute to the true happiness of human society. In this, not only material element but mental and spiritual element also should be considered.

5.2 Conclusions

The diplomacy of Korea in Kenya represents Korean diplomacy toward other countries. And the diplomacy of development assistance became major part of Korean diplomacy toward Kenya.

Through the survey, I was able to come up with following conclusion in regard to the perception of Kenyan young people toward the development assistances. First of all, anyhow development assistances are necessary. Secondly, however the development of a country can be done only through the good leadership and effective governance. Even though there have been much development assistance and funding, when there was no leadership or effective governance, the development was not achieved. Third, the young people perceive that, in many cases, the intention of ongoing development assistance is actually for the interest of donors. Forth, the most proper, adequate and desirable way of assistance is knowledge share so that the human resources of Kenya can be built up.

5.3 Recommendations

Through the 6th TICAD (Tokyo International Conference of African Development) meeting, Japanese Prime minister Abe Shinjo promised to support 33 billion US dollars for the development of Africa and to raise 10 million technical expert for the following three years. It has been observed that this support was for the purpose of competing with China who already has been doing many infrastructures building in Africa countries and promised to support 66 billion US dollars almost in the same period for the development of Africa. We can say that the influence of China in Kenya has already in a high level stage. As a country who has been in the middle of the two powers, Korea who frequently experienced influence or invasion from those two countries is in a situation of great tension for its survival in international community to compete with China and Japan. Korea's development assistance volume for African countries is far much less than the two countries. However, it has been observed that the initiative of the two countries was for their economic, political interest.

What is the most important element in the development assistance? First of all, it should be respect on humanity and brotherly love and genuine heart to help. Secondly, it is motivating the good governance of African leadership and helping the people to get up and walk by themselves according to the divine purpose of God. Third, it is sharing the experience of development and overcoming the same challenge which the other countries do not have. Therefore, Korean diplomacy with Kenya should not overlook the most fundamental and crucial element in its development assistance for Kenya. I recommend the foreign policy makers of Korea to serve their diplomacy with brotherly love and support to raise the human resources for Kenya. Of course, there should be also international consensus to share the fruit of development with Kenya and to create more favorable economic environment.

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Questionnaire

Kenya is vigorously moving forward in the economic and social development plan to be “globally competitive and prosperous nation” through vision 2030. Kenya has a lot of potential power for its development due to healthy Christian faith of young people and their large portion in the population (Labour power). However, it is also important to critically review the previous history of Kenya since 1960’s. The country’s development is still slow even though there has been much official development assistance from developed European countries and US and some Asian countries. Official development assistance is a duty based on humanity and morality that the developed country must contribute for the development of developing country. South Korea also was able to achieve economic development due to the development assistance of developed country after the total devastation by colonial invasion and civil war in early 20th century. In this context, certain development assistance by developed countries may necessary to Kenya.

Your Major of Study :

Your Age :

Your Degree :

Your Job :

1. Reviewing the history since 1960’s, what can be the most crucial element to be improved for the development of Kenya?

- 1) Ineffectiveness of government
 - 2) Lack of development fund and assistance from developed countries
 - 3) International political system structure which is more favorable to the developed countries
 - 4) Attitude of each citizen
 - 5) ETC(Kindly mention) :
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2. Do you think the development assistance from developed countries is necessary for Kenya?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Not so important
- 3) Not necessary at all

3. What can be most the important element in development assistance from the countries which already experienced their development of country?

- 1) Genuine heart to share the enhancement of quality of life based on humanity and love
 - 2) The volume of development fund
 - 3) ETC(Kindly mention) :
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4. What kind of Development assistance will be most necessary and effective for Kenya?

- 1) Funding
 - 2) Knowledge share
 - 3) Project for Infrastructure building
 - 4) ETC
- (Kindly mention) : _____

5. Which country do you find the most influential in development assistance to Kenya in 2010's?

(You can mention in order)

1) UK 2) Germany 3) USA 4) China 5) Japan 6) Korea 7) Others

(Kindly mention)_____

6. What is the goodness of the development assistance from above mentioned country?

1) Supporting the development of Infrastructure in Kenya

2) The volume of assistance

3) The way of assistance (Kindly mention: _____)

4) ETC_____

7. What is the criticism of the development assistance from above mentioned country?

1) The support is actually for their own economic interest

2) The volume of assistance

3) The way of assistance

4) ETC_____

8. Do you have any comment on the way of official development assistance by Korea?

Kindly give your comments.

- Strong point :

- Point which need be improved :

- Your suggestion :