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Development of Freedom (Uhuru) Ideology and the Inspirations of the Nationalist Ideological Movements in Kenya and South Korea

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Abstract
This article traces the origin of nationalistic movements in Kenyan and South Korean history and examined factors which inspired nationalism movements in both countries. For example, it established that in Kenya, the desire and thirst for freedom/independence and the development of freedom (Uhuru) ideology were some of the factors that inspired nationalism movements. In South Korea, various theories (defend orthodoxy, eastern learning movement, and ban heterodoxy) which emancipated from 19th century by some individuals played major roles in inspiring and motivating Koreans people not only to join nationalistic movements, but, to strengthen such movements. In both countries, the political terrains were coated with several ideological colors which manifested themselves in different phases even as the two countries were going through different transitional experiences. As opposed to Park Chung-hee's radical revolutionist ideologist reflected on his foreign policy which also were highly tied towards the US and were subject to Washington's demand, Kenya's ideological movements were cautious, a fact that was reflected on how the country formulated its foreign policy. For instance, Kenya opted for the moderate view and shun out extreme rhetoric which many other newly independent African countries chose. This article traces the root of the freedom ideologies (uhuru) and their inspirations in both countries.

Keywords: Nationalistic Ideological movement in Kenya, National Ideological movement in South Korea, Emergence of ideological movements, National identity, Elite class, Self rule, Orthodoxy, Eastern learning movement, Heterodoxy, Uhuru ideology, Freedom, Independence, Dynasties, Enlightenment Ideological movement, Tonghak movement Confucianism, Revolutionists ideology, Foreign relations.

1. The Kenya's Experience

In order to discuss the development of freedom (Uhuru) ideology in Kenya, it is important to define the meaning of what ideology is. Martin (2015) argues that because of the plurality of various ways of how the term ideology is usually used by scholars, it is therefore important for scholars to begin by acknowledging such understandings.

Additionally, Migdal (2018) observes that three ways in which the term ideology has been used; first, it has been used to signify a belief of an imaginary world of ideas which are independent of the material world. Second, some scholars such as Marx regrets that it has been used as a blanket to cover faces of majority mass population towards believing in a world of things which only exist in the mind.

Despite differences in understanding the meaning of the term ideology, the general agreement by many is that the term has been used to refer to opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. Connolly (2017) therefore defines ideology as sets of principles and beliefs held by individuals or groups of individuals. It is on these beliefs and principles that the operations of political parties, political systems and organizations are based.

The term *uhuru* is a Swahili word which means freedom. Freedom (*uhuru*) ideological movement developed many years before independence. According to Bienen (2015), freedom ideology formed part of the major spirit behind the call for independence. Many Africans were inspired by the strong desire for freedom. Many of them even died when fighting for freedom.

According to Miller (2018), at independence, majority of individuals especially those who took over the leadership positions were from elite groups. They were people with good education many of whom were trained in the British system of education. Across the political divide, these elite nationalists shared the same freedom (uhuru) ideology. He argues that at independence, all nationalist movements in Kenya had their ideologies purely based on uhuru. To them, the main concerns were on nothing else except to focus on uhuru.

In his article on *Political Parties and Ideology in Kenya*, Anyang' Nyong'o writes that in the 1960s, nationalists pursued uhuru ideology because of its diverse social enrichment. For him, uhuru was used as mobilizing ideology to bring

Kenyans together and share with them the expectations of freedom. However, he regrets that uhuru ideology was based on exaggeration as its proponents made many promises to Kenyans many of which could not be achieved. In fact, Nyong'o claims that it became a serious challenge for nationalists (who were now in power) to implement it.

Consequently, Kagwanja (January, 2015) in his article on *Two faces on Kenyan-Competing ideologies mining the road to 2017* agrees with Anyang' Nyong'o that many arising challenges made it difficult for the nationalists to fulfill the promises of uhuru as an ideological movement as they initially thought.

According to Pantin and Teelucksingh (2017), nationalist movements in Africa were inspired by certain events and proceedings especially in the manner in which the colonial governments governed African Countries. They observed that many African countries were left in a worrying situation. Many communities were divided with others completely dysfunctional. Further, there were many problems left unsolved hence were passed over to the newly formed independent governments.

For instance, Krenn (2015) points out that ideology of many leaders who took over power from the colonial government in Africa were highly influenced and inspired by events which happened prior to independence. These were grievances which various nationalist movements such as Associations like Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Young Kavirondo Association, Coast Africa Association or East Africa Association had raised. They included matters to do with continued grabbing of African lands to settle Whiteman, return of the alienated land back since many Kenyans were left landless and forced to live as squatters. Leaders agitated for the release of political prisoners, issues to do with white man superiority over black man in which Africans were not allowed to access certain areas or learning institutions, forced labor and unjust laws.

In 1963 after independence, President Jomo Kenyatta led the country through a successful transition from British colonial rule to self-rule and he explained his agenda for the country which included fighting poverty, disease and ignorance. During Jomo Kenyatta's inauguration as the President of Kenya, Kenyatta and his team promised that the agenda for his government was to; fight poverty, ignorance, and disease. President Kenyatta was determined to have as many Kenyans achieve proper education as possible (Mutie, Mang'oka, Chemwei, and Kitonga, 2015).

It should be noted that, initially, Africans were restricted to basic education which could not give them much. This not only promoted the level of ignorance among Kenyans but made them poorer. An informant to this study explained that during Kenyatta's regime, Kenya had many students going to study abroad on scholarships. Further, Mutie et al (2015) note that besides having many students sent abroad for further studies, many schools were opened up in various part of Kenya.

2. The South Korea's Experience

In South Korea, the ideological movements laid the foundation upon which people got their motivations from. The people of South Korea were inspired by the three ideological movements; the orthodoxy ideological movement, enlightenment ideological movement, and Eastern learning ideological movements.

3. The First Ideological Movement

The orthodoxy ideological movement. According to Yeo, Wildman, and Choi (2017), the orthodoxy ideological movement was founded by Confucius who also became the leading figure and an inspiration for nationalistic ideological movement. It was an ideology which advocated and defended orthodoxy and banning heterodoxy.

Further, the desire to have an orthodox Confucius society in Korea without any foreign influence contributed to the emergence of orthodoxy ideology. It was this thinking which became prominent in Korea and picked by various dynasties from that of Koryo to Yi Danasties. The Confucius ideological thinking influenced South Korea to an extent that many of those who came after Confucius advocated for orthodoxy ideological movements. They maintained that people can be enlightened through culture, learning and moral teachings (Kim and Bryant 2017).

4. The Second Ideological Movement

The enlightenment ideological movement in Korea was propounded by Pak Kyu su (1807-1987). This came as a result of the challenges of adapting to western type of technology, military power and the adoption of the sociopolitical western thought in Korean peninsula. Berger (2017) argues that the enlightenment of ideological movement slowly became a political force which was referred to as the Progressive Party. The progressive Party came up with advanced pattern of foreign institutions, advocated for the establishments of modern schools, hospitals and new government organization in South Korea. According to him, the new ideological movement in South Korea, through the Progressive Party employed foreign technocrats, advisors and also sent students to study abroad the same way Kenya did after independence. The actions were directed towards achieving a common technological means recognized by the Korean people.

5. The Third Ideological Movement

The Tonghak movement (which also referred to as Eastern learning ideological movement) was the third ideological movement in South Korea. It was propounded by Choe Che-u (1824-1864). Ooi and McEvoy-Levy (2017) observes that, Che-u developed this to counter the penetration of Christianity and the erosion of Korean traditional religious thoughts and he referred to his new movement as Eastern Leaning.

In the doctrines of Che-u's religion, he cleverly incorporated the synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. In his attempt to challenge the sociopolitical structure of Confucianism in Korea, Che-u argued that each of the three

religions form part of the way to heaven and further stated that if only people will believe in Eastern learning, that they will be liberated from suffering and will enjoy good life on earth.

6. How Nationalistic Ideological Movements Defined Kenya and South Korea Diplomatic Relations 1964-1978

The Kenyan and South Korean colonial legacy and the new development in the Korean peninsula provide wider understanding on the path the two countries took in 1948 and 1964 respectively. The first republic of South Korea was formed on 15 August 1948, with Syngman Rhee as its first elected president while on December 12, 1963, Kenya gained independence and became a republic in 1964 with Jomo Kenyatta as the first President.

For hundreds of years, the Korean peninsula was a battleground on which the US and USSR (which were the two competing powers) fought their wars which subjected the region to go through tough times and challenges. In comparing both Kenya and South Korean state before the two countries got their independence, just like South Korea, Kenya experienced tough times under British colonial rule during the colonial period. For this reason, in 1948 and 1964, Kenya and South Korea needed socio-political and economic stability. Thompson (2014) noted that a stable political, prosperous economic development and national security was the only way for these countries. According to Kydd (2015), the desire for prosperity contributed much in determining how the two countries formulated their foreign policies and interacted with other countries. The new developments in both the two countries, therefore, redefined how they reached out not only to each other, but, to the rest of the world.

In addition, at independence, just the same way Kenya was united by a common goal and driven by a common interest of throwing away many chains which the country had been subjected to by the colonial government, also, South Korea was on the move to stop communist influence and military rule and realize economic transformation. For this reason, both Kenya and South Korea could not opt for or pursue unfavorable or radical foreign policies and they, therefore, opted for relatively moderate ideologies which could attract other countries.

Many scholars have described Kenyan ideological movements (1964-1978) as cautious and that it was reflected on how it formulated its foreign policy. For instance, Rono (2018) posits that the moderate view which Kenya adopted help the young country to shun out any extreme rhetoric which dominated foreign policies of many other newly independent African countries like Tanzania. For Holsti (2015), it could have been suicidal for Kenya to make any move that could have antagonized the flow of foreign capital and touched on its national development agenda.

On the same note, South Korea experienced a drastic change in its ideological movement during the third republic under Park Chung Hee. Lyong Choi (2016) argues that Park Chung-hee adopted a more radical revolutionist ideologist in his reign and how he viewed other countries. Park Chung-hee's foreign policy were highly tied towards the US and were subject to Washington's demand. At one point, Park Chung-hee told his people that South Korea needed a very strong leader who could keep off Communists influence from Communist states such as USSR and China and that what South Korea wanted was a leader who will open the country to the rest of the world and connect it with other countries.

Pengying, (2018) asserts that the anti-communist policy which South Korea embraced had a direct influence on how it formulated its foreign policies. It determined domestic and international politics and singled out counties which South Korea could enter into any formal international relations with. Because of it being a pro-US, South Korea received military, economic, political and social support from the United States. During a focus group discussion with a group of officers at the Korean Embassy on 30th July 2018, it was revealed that, with the support from the US, South Korea began reaching out to other countries which were friendly and the US had got much influence and control over. As reports Johnston (2018) this is how South Korea through Park Chung-hee found his way in African countries like Kenya where Park established various relations ranging from economic, political and diplomatic. For this reason, Kenya and South Korea through Park Chug-hee and Jomo Kenyatta signed diplomatic relations in 1964 whereby the two countries agreed to work together and built their relations throughout.

Consequently, in regards to how nationalist ideological movements defined Kenyan foreign relations, the formulations of Kenya-South Korea foreign policies were marked by radical views of national leaders. In his remarks, the officer argued that the radical views of national leaders were characterized by the strong sense of idealism and morality. Arnold (2016) supports this by noting that the adoption of different ideological beliefs by various national leaders resulted in ideological contestation within Kenya African National Union (KANU) which was the ruling party in Kenya. This mostly affected Kenyatta and his Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Whereas President Kenyatta opted for the west, Odinga went east. The contradiction of ideological contestation came out openly when a delegation led by Odinga was sent to the US in 1963 so as to reassure western countries on Kenyans commitment to working closely with them. Ironically, just one year later, in 1964, the same Kenyan government sent another different delegation to China with the same message.

The above contestation further drew a line between the west-leaning side (who were the majority) and the East-leaning leaders led by Odinga (the minority). Hornsby (2013) records that Odinga as one of the major national ideological leaders in Kenya who also advocated for socialist agenda led a team of over twenty-five members of Parliament for a visit to Soviet Union. Morton (1998) in his biography on former President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya gives extensive details on how Odinga's action created ideological tension in Kenya. For example, he says that the fact that Odinga was anti-West, the British government kept a watchful eye on him and keenly followed him and monitored his ties with Eastern bloc countries. For him, Odinga's team was out to make Kenya a more socialist-friendly with China and other Soviet Union. In 1966, President Kenyatta and his team and even the west (Britain) were already convinced that Odinga's group had become a major threat which had to be neutralized. In order to do so, KANU, (which was the ruling party) created eight powerful positions of vice presidents. Odinga lost his powerful position as the vice president.

Later in 1965 when Tom Mboya tabled Sessional Paper for adoption, Kenyatta's government was already become strong ally of the West. Mohiddin (1969) observed that the nature of international relations which Kenya embraced and influenced its diplomatic conduct, economic aspirations, trade, and security were pro-West.

Mohiddin (1969) notes that the pro-West foreign policies had great influence on its diplomatic engagements with other countries especially those in the East. At a point, Mohiddin (1969) argues that Kenya was accused of being a virtual client country which served Western interest despite its non-alignment rhetoric. According to Okumu (1973), the ideological contradictions which dominated the minds of many Kenyan nationalist leaders between 1964-1978 defined the nature of Kenyan foreign relations and further determined which countries Kenya opted to work closely with or not.

In his study on Kenyan policy behavior, Adar (1994) observes that during Kenyatta's regime, Kenya was at a diplomatic crossroad as the country was still looking for ways and means to establish itself in the divided international system. At this time, Adar (1994) argues that the cabinet minister for foreign affairs could not exercise foreign policies both at the formal and informal levels. On the same note, a focus group discussion revealed that even though Kenya had foreign affairs ministers, they were just puppet ministers who could not decide on Kenya's international relations as that were done by Kenyatta and Moi. The ministry of foreign affairs was under the office of president of Kenya.

It was during this time that Kenyatta signed diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1964. To set the ball rolling, South Korea immediately opened its embassy in Nairobi, whereas, Kenya chose to oversee South Korea from China.

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