



CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY AS A DEVELOPED COUNTRY

Alexander Downer, Eun Mee Kim, Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Pascal Lamy,
Federica Mogherini, Ramon Pacheco Pardo, Michael Reiterer,
Scott A. Snyder, Jisun Song, and Young-Kwan Yoon

Challenges and Opportunities of Korea's Foreign Policy as a Developed Country

Alexander Downer, Eun Mee Kim,
Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Pascal Lamy,
Federica Mogherini, Ramon Pacheco Pardo,
Michael Reiterer, Scott A. Snyder, Jisun Song,
and Young-Kwan Yoon

Policy Analysis 22-01

**Challenges and Opportunities of Korea's Foreign Policy as
a Developed Country**

KOREA INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY (KIEP)
Building C, Sejong National Research Complex, 370,
Sicheong-daero, Sejong-si, Korea
Tel: 82-44-414-1251 Fax: 82-44-414-1144
URL: <http://www.kiep.go.kr>

Heungchong Kim, President

Published September 30, 2022 in Korea by KIEP
ISBN 978-89-322-1832-8 94320
978-89-322-1088-9 (set)
Price USD 7

© 2022 KIEP



Preface

The diplomacy of a nation is a complex form of art, where the most appropriate means are employed to realise national goals based on strict recognition of the nation's capabilities and careful assessment of the diplomatic conditions surrounding the nation. Foreign policies can be understood as a purposeful effort to secure and maximise strategic autonomy and thus create policy space in international relations. Therefore, the implementation of these policies must be effective and to the point, and they must be employed in a consistent and sustainable manner.

The operation of foreign policies, however, must be prefaced on awareness of the conditions within and surrounding the nation, and aligned with an outlook and vision for the path ahead. The fundamental questions of who we are, where we stand, and where we should head must form the body of policy, onto which internal factors such as the nation's diplomatic capacities and external factors such as power shifts in international relations and geopolitical and geo-economic factors are reflected.

In this context, what kind of country the Republic of Korea is and where it currently lies must be asked, in order to build up the new foreign policy of the government of the ROK. The answer would be that the nation was split into two more than seventy years ago, suffered the tragedy of major war in the twentieth century, and remains exposed to risks created by this division which continue to threaten the survival of the nation itself; and that following an exceptionally successful period of compressed economic growth, and even more dramatic process of democratisation, the nation is today perceived as an advanced country open to the outside world, free and dynamic, but at the same

time caught up in social conflict.

Based upon this perception of the realities within and surrounding the nation, this volume was initiated to elaborate what kind of new policy directions Korea should conduct as a nation of the developed world. Over the past seventy years, the basic direction of Korea's diplomacy had been to concentrate on the four major powers in the region, thus limiting itself to a form of "survival diplomacy," stemming from the reality of division on the Korean Peninsula and self-identification as an underdeveloped or developing country. National diplomacy was decided upon the realistic perspective of a developing minor nation navigating Cold War-type circumstances. Operating within a thought process centered on the Korean Peninsula and where national security was placed above all else, this Cold War-type realistic diplomacy of a developing minor nation revolved around efforts to grow in hard power, largely limited to a passive and defensive form of diplomacy targeting major powers.

While the country has since joined the ranks of advanced nations, the aim of Korea's foreign policies still remains above all to ensure the security of the nation and its people. As a free, dynamic, and advanced democratic state, however, the Korea of today has clearly entered a stage where its diplomacy should now aim for the promotion of peace and prosperity, expanding the boundaries of its international policies beyond the traditional focus on survival. Indeed, the limitations of diplomacy centred on the four major powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula need to be pointed out, and the need to expand the boundaries of Korea's diplomacy should be emphasised.

Professor Ramon Pacheco Pardo from VUB has taken the responsibility of making the volume of this book, and I would like to deliver my sincere appreciation for his efforts. Without his dedication, it would not be possible to publish this book. Much gratitude should be given to the contributors of each chapter: Professor Yoon Young-kwan, Ambassador Michael Reiterer, President Kim Eun-mee and Dr. Song Jisun, Mr. Pascal Lamy and Mr. Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Professor Alexander Downer, Dr. Scott Snyder, and Ms. Federica Mogherini.

I really hope this book can contribute to understanding the condition and need for Korea's new foreign policies, and enlightening policy directions of Korea's external policy stances.

Heungchong Kim
President, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy



Executive Summary

The South Korea of 2022 is a developed country, a strong democracy, and a cultural powerhouse. Its diplomacy has become more active and comprehensive than ever before. In 2021 alone, South Korea was a guest at the G7 summit hosted by the United Kingdom, participated in an exclusive 12-country plenary during the Summit for Democracy, and joined the Global Supply Chain Resilience Summit on the margins of the G20 — South Korea, of course, being one of the founding members of this group of 20 leading countries. Seoul also hosted the P4G Summit last May, as well as the UN Peacekeeping Ministerial last December. To top it off, South Korea became the first country in history that the United Nation's UNCTAD agency upgraded from developing to developed.

South Korea's seat at the top of key decision-making tables and extensive diplomatic activity in spite of the COVID-19 pandemic call for a re-evaluation of its foreign policy. The old adage of South Korea being a 'shrimp among whales' is outdated and does not correspond to the reality of contemporary South Korea. Some policy-makers and analysts in South Korea may feel that their country remains a small power at the mercy of the United States, China, and other more powerful neighbours. But this is not how the rest of the world sees and treats South Korea anymore. Increasingly, this is not how South Korean politicians, officials, and thinkers see their country either.

There is a need, therefore, for a new paradigm in South Korea's foreign policy that reflects the country's new position as a global player. This new paradigm ought to be based on South Korea's status as a developed country.

In this context, developed status stands for Seoul's politico-diplomatic, economic, security, and cultural position at the global level. It stands for a South Korea that has more foreign policy tools at its disposal and has a voice in global affairs. But it also stands for a South Korea that has more responsibilities and that cannot wait for others to address transnational issues.

Global governance is a case in point. Certainly, global governance institutions and multilateralism more broadly have been weakened by Sino-American competition — and particularly China's dissatisfaction with existing arrangements — as well as the willingness of some great powers to use military power to pursue their goals. But as Yoon Young-kwan explains, middle powers such as South Korea benefit from the work that these institutions do to support cooperation and, to an extent, restrain the unilateral tendencies of great powers. South Korea should thus continue to support multilateralism, even as it also participates in regional arrangements and minilaterals from which it also benefits.

Climate change multilateralism is a specific area in which South Korea should get more actively involved, including leading by example. Michael Reiterer shows that if there is one area in which multilateralism is crucial and if anything is becoming stronger, it is climate change. South Korea is among a growing number of countries committed to the implementation of agreements to fight climate changes, most notably through a pledge to become carbon neutral by 2050. But Seoul has to follow up on its commitment. Actions, rather than words, are necessary when it comes to addressing climate change. The South Korean people will expect no less from their government, given their

concern about this issue.

Health governance is another area where South Korea will need to step up. The COVID-19 pandemic has been the greatest shock to the living conditions of South Koreans in decades, in common with the people of many other countries. explain, South Korea's response to the pandemic has been rightly praised. But as Eun Mee Kim and Jisung Song make clear, the focus should now be in making sure that COVID-19 becomes manageable — i.e., 'living with COVID' — and that the international community prevents future pandemics. In this respect, South Korea is in a position to contribute to WHO discussions about pandemic prevention, to develop, manufacture, and distribute vaccines, and to help address other global health issues.

Economic and trade multilateralism has certainly taken a hit in recent years, especially due to the Sino-American trade war and growing economic nationalism. This is detrimental to South Korea, one of the countries that has benefited the most from trade liberalisation over the decades. Pascal Lamy and Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki explain that, under these circumstances, Seoul should continue to work with like-minded partners to try to uphold the WTO and global trade openness more generally. At the same time, South Korea should support and actively participate in regional trade initiatives such as RCEP or CPTPP. For ultimately, regional trade agreements support rather than undermine the global trade regime.

Asia and Indo-Pacific region has become the centre of global geopolitics. Economic growth, security risks, and political power is shifting towards this part of the world. South Korea cannot afford to be a secondary actor in the

region. As Alexander Downer suggests, South Korea has the diplomatic, economic, and security capabilities to be more proactive in the region. Crucially, partners across Asia and the Indo-Pacific also want a more proactive South Korea. And whereas asking South Korea to ‘give up’ on China is unrealistic, Seoul can certainly more openly work together with like-minded partners such as the United States, Australia, or Japan to manage China’s rise and contribute to a more stable region.

The ROK-US alliance continues to be one of the key cornerstones of South Korean foreign policy. This not only applies to managing the threat coming from North Korea. The alliance has already moved beyond the narrow confines of the Korean Peninsula. As Scott Snyder points out, South Korea and the United States today cooperate in East Asia, the Indo-Pacific, and globally. And the alliance is not purely defensive in nature anymore. It has taken a more proactive turn, fostering cooperation between the two allies by themselves but also, crucially, with other like-minded partners. This benefits South Korea itself, as it gives it a greater say in Indo-Pacific and global matters.

The South Korea-EU relationship has significantly strengthened in recent years. This makes sense, for the two partners share their values and increasingly recognise the need for expanding their range of partnerships. Federica Mogherini analyses the ways in which Seoul and Brussels can benefit from expanding their cooperation. In the case of South Korea, working together with the EU can help underpin more resilient global governance institutions. Furthermore, working together with the EU can help South Korea to become part of groups of like-minded partners seeking to uphold the

interests and values that Seoul shares. In other words, the relationship with the EU supports South Korea as it pursues its own goals.

As a developed country, South Korea has to move from a reactive to a proactive foreign policy. As the contributors to this report discuss in detail, embracing its role as developed country will allow South Korea to become more recognised as a key foreign policy actor — but also to benefit itself from a more active role in international affairs.



Contributors

Alexander Downer

Mr. Alexander Downer is Executive Chair of the International School for Government at King's College London. From 2014 to 2018, Mr Downer was Australian High Commissioner to the UK. Prior to that, he was Australia's longest-serving Minister for Foreign Affairs, a role he held from 1996 to 2007. Mr Downer also served as Opposition Leader and leader of the Liberal Party of Australia from 1994 to 1995 and was Member of the Australian Parliament for Mayo for over 20 years. In addition to a range of other political and diplomatic roles, he was Executive Director of the Australian Chamber of Commerce and the United Nations Secretary General's Special Advisor on Cyprus, in which he worked on peace talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. He is currently Chairman of the UK think tank Policy Exchange, the Chairman of the Royal Overseas League and is a trustee of the International Crisis Group. He is a non-executive director of Yellowcake PLC.

Eun Mee Kim

Prof. Kim Eun Mee is the 17th President of Ewha Womans University. She is Professor in the Graduate School of International Studies, Director of the Ewha Global Health Institute for Girls and Women, former Dean of the Graduate School, former Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, and former Director of the Institute for Development and Human Security at Ewha Womans University. She was appointed by the UN Secretary General in December 2016 to serve as one of the fifteen Independent Group

of Scientists to work on the *Global Sustainable Development Report 2019*, which was presented to the UN Secretary General and heads of member states at the UN General Assembly in September 2019. She served as President of the Korea Association of International Development and Cooperation (2011, 2012). She has served on the Committee for International Development Cooperation under the Prime Minister's Office, the Policy Advisory Committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.

Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki

Mr. Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki is a policy advisor for international trade at International Trade Intelligence, associated researcher at the Jacques Delors Institute and co-founder of the Trade Policy Exchange. He has worked with international organisations and national governments, where he provides expertise on digital trade and the negotiation and implementation regional trade agreements. Prior to his advisory work, Nicolas was a doctoral researcher at the University of Cambridge with a focus on Indian trade agreements. He holds an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge and studied politics, economics, and law at the University of Münster, Germany, and McGill University, Canada.

Pascal Lamy

Mr. Pascal Lamy is the President of the Paris Peace Forum and of the European branch of the Brunswick Group. He coordinates the

Jacques Delors Institutes (Paris, Berlin, Brussels). He is an affiliated professor at the China Europe International Business School (CEIBS) (Shanghai) and at HEC (Paris). From 2005 to 2013, he served two consecutive terms as Director General of the World Trade Organization (WTO). He was previously Trade Commissioner (1999-2004); Director General of Crédit Lyonnais (1994-1999); Chief of Staff of the President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors and his G7 Sherpa (1985-1994); Deputy Chief of Staff of the French Prime Minister (1983-1985), and to the French Minister of the Economy and Finance (1981-1983). His most recent publications are *Strange New World* (Odile Jacob 2020) and *Où va le monde?* (Odile Jacob 2018).

Federica Mogherini

Ms. Federica Mogherini is the Rector of the College of Europe since September 2020. Previously, she has served as the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission from 2014 to 2019. She is a Fellow of the Harvard Kennedy School and has co-chaired the United Nations High Level Panel on Internal Displacement from January 2020 until September 2021. Prior to joining the EU, she was Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (2014) and a Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies (2008-14). In her parliamentary capacity, she was Head of the Italian Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Vice-President of its Political Committee (2013-14).

Ramon Pacheco Pardo

Prof. Ramon Pacheco Pardo is the KF-VUB Korea Chair at the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy (CSDS) of the Brussels School of Governance (BSoG- VUB). He is also Professor of International Relations at King's College London. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Prof. Pacheco Pardo is also Adjunct Fellow (Non-resident) with the Korea Chair at CSIS, a Non-resident Fellow with Sejong Institute and Committee Member at CSCAP EU. His publications include the book *North Korea- US Relations from Kim Jong Il to Kim Jong Un*, published in 2019, and *Shrimp to Whale: South Korea from the Forgotten War to BTS*, to be published in 2022. He has participated in track 1.5 and 2 dialogues with South Korea, North Korea, China and Japan.

Michael Reiterer

Prof. Michael Reiterer is Distinguished Professor at the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy (CSDS) of the Brussels School of Governance. After graduating as Dr. jur. from the University of Innsbruck, post-graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University/Bologna Centre and the Graduate Institute for International Studies in Geneva were further stepping stones to his habilitation (PhD) in International Politics at the University of Innsbruck (2005) focussing on EU-Asia relations. In September 2020, he retired from the European Diplomatic Service (European External Action Service-EEAS) as

Ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary of the European Union to the Republic of Korea; previous posts include Ambassador to Switzerland and the Principality of Liechtenstein, Deputy Head of Mission/Minister at the EU Delegation to Japan, and Minister Counsellor at the Permanent Representation of Austria to the EU.

Scott A. Snyder

Mr. Scott A. Snyder is Senior Fellow for Korea studies and Director of the program on U.S.-Korea policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Prior to joining CFR, Mr. Snyder was a Senior Associate in the International Relations program of the Asia Foundation, where he served as the Asia Foundation's representative in Korea (2000–2004). Mr. Snyder has worked as an Asia specialist in the research and studies program of the U.S. Institute of Peace and as acting director of Asia Society's contemporary affairs program. He was a Pantech visiting fellow at Stanford University's Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center during 2005–2006. Mr. Snyder received a BA from Rice University and an MA from the regional studies East Asia program at Harvard University.

Jisun Song

Dr. Song Jisun is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security of the Korea National Diplomatic Academy. Previously, she worked as Research Professor at the Institute for Development and Human Security of Ewha Womans University. She received her Ph.D. in International Studies from

Ewha Womans University. Her research areas and publications center around foreign aid strategy, aid effectiveness, foreign aid modalities, global health security, and gender and development.

Young-Kwan Yoon

Prof. Yoon Young-kwan is a Professor Emeritus at Department of Political Science and International Relations, Seoul National University. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Korean government (2003-04). Professor Yoon was Senior Visiting Scholar at the Belfer Center and Kim Koo Visiting Professor at Department of Government, Harvard University in 2021. He served as Korea's eminent representative to and the Co-chair of the East Asia Vision Group II (ASEAN+3 Summit) from September 2011 to October 2012. He published numerous books and articles, some of which appeared in *World Politics*, *International Political Science Review*, *Asian Survey*, *The National Interest*, *Project Syndicate*, etc.



Contents

Preface	3
Executive Summary	6
Contributors	11
Chapter 1.	
Introduction: New South Korean Foreign Policy as a Developed Country	23
<i>Ramon Pacheco Pardo (KF-VUB Korea Chair, Brussels School of Governance & Professor of International Relations, King's College London)</i>	
1. Introduction	24
2. Brief History of South Korean Foreign Policy Since Its Democratic Transition	26
3. Foreign Policy Tools of South Korea as a Developed Country ...	28
4. Expectations of South Korea as a Developed Country ...	32
5. Summary of Key Points	38
Chapter 2.	
South Korea and Global Governance: Achievements and Challenges	41
<i>Young-Kwan Yoon (Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University)</i>	
1. Global Governance and South Korea's Past Efforts	42
2. Some Limitations of South Korea's Past Policies of Global Governance	45

3. For a More Effective Set of Policies of South Korea in Relation to Global Governance	48
--	----

Chapter 3.

**Climate Change and the EU’s and South Korea’s
New Green Deals: Greenwash or Actions? 53**

*Michael Reiterer (Distinguished Professor, Centre for Security,
Diplomacy and Strategy (CSDS), Brussels School of Governance)*

1. Introduction	54
2. Initiatives by the Moon Jae-in Administration	55
3. Critical Views on the Korean Program and Commitment ..	59
4. The Critical Views of Korea’s Civil Society	63
5. Change of Governments vs. Continuity	65
6. EU-South Korea Cooperation – from Words to Deeds? ..	65
7. The EU Green Deal and the South Korean New Deal: Similar but not the Same	70
8. Conclusions – A Plea for a Common Climate Change Diplomacy	72

Chapter 4.

South Korea and Global Health Cooperation 77

Eun Mee Kim (President, Ewha Womans University)

Jisun Song (Assistant Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy)

1. Introduction	78
2. Overview of South Korea’s Global Health Cooperation ...	82

3. Opportunities and Challenges for South Korea’s Global Health Engagement	87
4. Moving Forward	95

Chapter 5.

South Korea’s Role in Global Trade Governance: From Tiger to Ranger?

Pascal Lamy (President, Paris Peace Forum)

Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki (Policy Advisor, International Trade Intelligence)

1. Introduction	98
2. The Political Economy of South Korea’s Trade Policy: Power and Plenty	99
3. How South Korea Engages in Global and Regional Trade Governance: Technical Engagement without Political Leadership	103
4. South Korea’s Approach to Emerging Trade Policy Issues	108
5. Conclusion	112

Chapter 6.

South Korea’s Role in East Asia and Indo-Pacific Security

*Alexander Downer (Executive Chair, International School for
Government, King’s College London)*

1. Introduction	116
-----------------------	-----

2. The North Korean Security Challenge	116
3. The United States, China, and Security in the Indo-Pacific	118
4. South Korea and Security in the Indo-Pacific	121
5. US-China Tensions and the Role of South Korea	124
6. Conclusion: South Korea, the United States, and the Liberal Bloc	129

Chapter 7.

A Revitalised US-South Korea Alliance and Its Contributions to Global Security 131

Scott A. Snyder (Senior Fellow for Korea Studies, Council on Foreign Relations)

1. Introduction	132
2. Development of a Global Framework for US-South Korea Alliance Cooperation	133
3. The 2009 US-South Korea Joint Vision Statement and the Expansion of Off-Peninsula Alliance Support for International Security	134
4. The Park/Moon and Trump Administrations: A Pause in US-South Korea Alliance-Based Global Engagement	136
5. The Revitalisation of US-South Korea International Cooperation Under the Moon and Biden Administrations	139

6. The US-South Korea Alliance and Its Relationship with
the US-Led Free and Open Indo-Pacific and the Global
Security Architecture 143

Chapter 8.

**South Korea and European Union:
Natural Partners for Multilateralism 149**

*Federica Mogherini (Rector, College of Europe, Bruges and
Natolin (Warsaw))*

1. Introduction 150
2. A Strategic Partnership 151
3. Building on a Solid Basis in Challenging Times 152
4. The EU vis-à-vis Asia and the Indo-Pacific:
A New Level of Political Attention 154
5. The EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy 156
6. Joint Contributions to Multilateralism 158
7. Global and Regional Security 159
8. Conclusion 162

References 164



Table

Table 1. South Korea's Latest Contributions to the Global Health Initiatives	84
--	----



Figure

Figure 1. South Korea's Health ODA in 2018-2022	86
---	----

Chapter 1



Introduction: New South Korean Foreign Policy as a Developed Country

Ramon Pacheco Pardo

*(KF-VUB Korea Chair, Brussels School of Governance &
Professor of International Relations, King's College London)*

- 
1. Introduction
 2. Brief History of South Korean Foreign Policy Since Its Democratic Transition
 3. Foreign Policy Tools of South Korea as a Developed Country
 4. Expectations of South Korea as a Developed Country
 5. Summary of Key Points

1. Introduction

The South Korea of 2022 is a developed country, a strong democracy, and a cultural powerhouse. Its diplomacy has become more active and comprehensive than ever before. In 2021 alone, South Korea was a guest at the G7 summit hosted by the United Kingdom, participated in an exclusive 12-country plenary during the Summit for Democracy, and joined the Global Supply Chain Resilience Summit on the margins of the G20 — South Korea, of course, being one of the founding members of this group of 20 leading countries. Seoul also hosted the P4G Summit last May, as well as the UN Peacekeeping Ministerial last December. And South Korea issued joint statements and signed political, security, and economic agreements with countries as varied as Australia, Austria, Cambodia, Israel, Kazakhstan, Spain, or the United States. To top it off, South Korea became the first country in history that the United Nation's UNCTAD agency upgraded from developing to developed. 25 years after South Korea joined the OECD, the United Nations finally caught up.

South Korea's seat at the top of key decision-making tables and extensive diplomatic activity in spite of the COVID-19 pandemic call for a re-evaluation of its foreign policy. The old adage of South Korea being a 'shrimp among whales' is outdated and does not correspond to the reality of contemporary South Korea. No 'shrimp' is invited to summits of some of the world's biggest economies, is asked to speak at summits of leading democracies, or joins meetings of countries whose companies are crucial to global economic networks. Some policy-makers and analysts in South Korea may feel that their country remains a small power at the mercy of the United States, China, and other more powerful neighbours. But this is not how the rest of the world sees and treats South Korea anymore. Increasingly, this is not how South Korean politicians, officials, and thinkers see their country either.

There is a need, therefore, for a new paradigm in South Korea's foreign policy that reflects the country's new position as a global player. This new paradigm ought to be based on South Korea's status as a developed country. In this context, developed status stands for Seoul's politico-diplomatic, economic, security, and cultural position at the global level. It stands for a South Korea that has more foreign policy tools as its disposal and has a voice in global affairs. But it also stands for a South Korea that has more responsibilities and that cannot wait for others to address transnational issues. As a developed country, South Korea has to move from a reactive to a proactive foreign policy.

The contributors to this report include both experienced practitioners and world-leading scholars hailing from the Asia-Pacific, Europe, and the United States — as well as from South Korea itself. Their contributions are divided into two blocks. The first block focuses on global governance. Contributors analyse South Korea's history and potential contributions to global governance; its role in the area of climate change in relation to government pledges to implement a green deal; its role in the area of global health cooperation, also with reference to the COVID-19 pandemic; and its role in global trade governance, an area suffering as a result of Sino-American tensions. These areas have been selected because they are amongst the most salient in when it comes to global governance, and are thus areas ripe for developed South Korea to contribute to. The second block focuses on South Korea's role in its immediate neighbourhood and together with two of its strongest partners. Contributors analyse the role that the Yoon Seok-yul government can play in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific, South Korea's natural regions of operation; how South Korea can work together with its long-standing ally, the US to boost its foreign policy actions within this region but also globally; and the extent to which South Korea can work together with the EU at the global level, given their similar values, interests, and goals. Put together, these contributions provide a holistic view of South Korea's foreign policy as a developed country.

As contributors show and advise in their chapters, South Korea is a sought after partner that can build on its own domestic policies, interests, and priorities to contribute to a better, safer, and more prosperous world. With President Yoon and his team having recently taken office, we hope that this report will contribute to forge a new South Korean foreign policy as a developed country.

2. Brief History of South Korean Foreign Policy Since Its Democratic Transition

Since its transition to democracy in the late 1980s and even before then, South Korean leaders have sought to pursue an autonomous foreign policy. This is normal for a country that suffered decades of colonialism, had to fight a fratricidal war, and then was in need of a strong alliance to prevent the possibility of another invasion. The goal of autonomy, therefore, underpins the foreign policy of South Korea. It is the ultimate goal that the country aspires to. However, successive South Korean presidents have made clear that autonomy does not mean isolation. For decades, South Korea has seen strong partnerships, participation in regional initiatives, and multilateralism as enablers of the country's autonomy. Therefore, the starting point of South Korean contemporary foreign policy is autonomy in the context of a network of relationships and agreements of which Seoul is part.

In recent decades, South Korea's foreign policy has mainly focused on improving inter-Korean relations, strengthening the ROK-US alliance, and managing China's rise. This is understandable. Any South Korean president, whether liberal or conservative, wishes to improve relations with North Korea, achieve reconciliation, and hopefully set the conditions for eventual reunification. South Korean leaders also have to manage an alliance with the country's longest and strongest partner, the United States. As the years and

decades have gone by, the alliance has only become more multifaceted, covering a growing number of issues and regions. Meanwhile, China's phenomenal economic, security, and diplomatic rise to the centre of world politics arguably is the main foreign policy story of the post-Cold War era. The 'tyranny of geography' mandates that Seoul has no choice but to consider Beijing's behaviour as part of its foreign policy.

Yet, dating back to presidents Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sam South Korea has seen itself as a middle power with interests well beyond the Korean Peninsula and its immediate neighbourhood. South Korea's entry into the United Nations under Roh and Kim's *Segyehwa* or Globalisation policy made this clear. Under presidents Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, this focus on other regions continued. Coming in the throes of the Asian Financial Crisis, Kim's presidency, in particular, was marked by the advent of ASEAN+3 cooperation that went on to expand under Roh. This way, South Korea became a key actor in East Asia. Presidents Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye continued this focus on East Asia. Coming after the Global Financial Crisis, however, the Lee presidency was marked by South Korea's role as a member of the G20. Park, meanwhile, sought to create coalitions between South Korea and other middle powers such as MIKTA. Finally, president Moon Jae-in was in power when the COVID-19 pandemic struck and Russia invaded Ukraine. This further elevated the role of South Korea within East Asia but also globally, as Seoul was called upon to deal with the economic, political, and health fallout of the pandemic, while joining the US, the European Union, and other like-minded partners in condemning and sanctioning Moscow for its actions.

At the same time as South Korea has become a more active regional and global player, it has also become more discerning in terms of the foreign policy issues it seeks to focus on. This is logical, for outside of the United States, China, and arguably the European Union no other foreign policy actor has the ability or the capacity to address every single foreign policy issue. In the case of South Korea, it seems that over the years it has

prioritised taking leadership roles in regional and global governance institutions; actively promoting open trade and economic governance cooperation; leading the conversation in initiatives related to climate change and green growth; supporting economic development as a donor country and also using its expertise; focusing on specific security issues such as non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, peacekeeping, or maritime security; and acting as a bridge between developed and developing countries.

South Korean foreign policy, therefore, has evolved in recent decades and is not circumscribed to the North Korea-United States-China triangle anymore. With president Yoon having taken office recently the worst of the COVID-19 pandemic seemingly in the past, and Russia's ongoing aggression of Ukraine the expectation is that Seoul will only become a more active foreign policy actor. Certainly, it would make sense to continue to focus on the issue-areas in which South Korea has acquired a good reputation due to years of activity and the expertise that the country's diplomats, military, and experts have. But the new president should be aware that South Korea will be asked to make more contributions to these areas, and also to contribute to other areas it many have disregarded in the past. Thus, South Korea should prepare to build on the contemporary history of its foreign policy to become an even bigger contributor to global affairs.

3. Foreign Policy Tools of South Korea as a Developed Country

The South Korea of 2022 has a wide range of tools at its disposal to implement its foreign policy and achieve its preferred objectives. To begin with, the country has a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) with around 2,500 diplomats working in its headquarters and over 120 embassies and permanent missions as of January 2022.¹⁾ The 2019 Global Diplomacy Index

ranks South Korea 13th in the world and fourth in Asia in terms of the strength of its diplomatic corps.²⁾ Trained at the Korean National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA), South Korean diplomats are highly-skilled. Some of them have also achieved leading positions in multilateral organisations. Above all, Ban Ki-moon was Secretary General of the United Nations from 2007 to 2016.

MOFA is home to KOICA. South Korea's main development agency operates 44 offices across Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and multilateral organisations.³⁾ South Korea was the first country to graduate from aid recipient to donor in 2010. As of 2020, South Korea's official development assistant stood at US\$2.25 billion or 0.14 percent of gross national income.⁴⁾ This puts South Korea towards the middle in terms of volume but towards the bottom in terms of percentage among OECD members.

MOFA also houses the Korea Foundation (KF).⁵⁾ Founded in 1992, the Korea Foundation is South Korea's main public diplomacy agency. As of January 2022, it has eight offices spread across Asia, Europe, and the United States.⁶⁾ The Korea Foundation funds research, events fellowships, and training programmes to spread knowledge and discuss Korean Peninsula affairs, including on South Korean foreign policy.

South Korea has one of the strongest militaries in the world as well. The

1) MOFA, *2021 년도 예산 개요(III-2) (2021 Budget Overview (III-2))*, Seoul, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, 2021.

2) Lowy Institute, *Lowy Institute Global Diplomacy Index*, 2019, available at <https://global.diplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/#> (accessed 10 January 2022).

3) KOICA, *해외사무소 (Overseas Offices)*, 2022, available at https://www.koica.go.kr/koica_kr/863/subview.do (accessed 10 January 2022).

4) OECD, *Official Development Assistance 2020 – Preliminary Data*, 2022, available at https://public.tableau.com/views/ODA_GNI/ODA2020?:language=fr&:display_count=y&:publish=yes&:origin=viz_share_link?&:showVizHome=no#1 (accessed 10 January 2022).

5) The author holds the Korea Foundation-funded KF-VUB Korea Chair at the Brussels School of Governance of Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

6) Korea Foundation, *Organization Chart*, 2022, available at <https://www.kf.or.kr/kfEng/cm/cntnts/cntntsView2.do?mi=2128> (accessed 10 January 2022).

South Korean army comprises 599,00 active personnel and 3,100,000 reserve personnel as of 2021.⁷⁾ It was ranked as the sixth most powerful military in the world that same year.⁸⁾ Dating back to 1994, the South Korean military has actively participated in UN peacekeeping missions across the world. As of 2021, South Korea was the sixth largest troop contributor to UN peacekeeping among OECD members — and the top one outside of Western Europe.⁹⁾ The South Korean military also contributes to other multilateral initiatives, such as Combined Task Force 151 — the multinational naval force operating in the Gulf of Aden.

The country also has two intelligence gathering agencies at its disposal to support its foreign policy. Established in 1961, today's National Intelligence Service (NIS) collects intelligence to protect South Korea against external threats. It is also involved in the cybersecurity of the country. In addition, the Ministry of National Defense (MND) has been operating the Defense Security Support Command (DSSC) since 2018. The DSSC replaced the Defense Security Command (DSC) set up in 1977. It collects intelligence directly related to South Korean security.

As the tenth largest economy in the world, South Korea also is a formidable economic power. As of January 2022, South Korea has 15 free trade agreements signed and in effect.¹⁰⁾ These include trade deals with the three biggest economies in the world — China, the European Union, and the United States. And South Korea is also part of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the biggest regional trade agreement in the

7) International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2021*, London, Routledge, 2021.

8) Global Firepower, *2021 Military Strength Ranking*, 2022, available at <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php> (accessed 10 January 2022).

9) United Nations, *Summary of Troops Contributing Countries by Ranking: Police, UN Military Experts on Mission, Staff Officers and Troops*, 2021, available at https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/02-country_ranking_34_jan2021.pdf (accessed 10 January 2022).

10) MOTIE, *Korea's FTA Network*, 2022, available at <https://english.motie.go.kr/en/if/ftanetwork/ftanetwork.jsp> (accessed 10 January 2022).

world by size of the economies involved. The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MOTIE) also operates the Korea Trade Promotion Agency (KOTRA). Launched in 1962, KOTRA is tasked with promoting exports and inward investment. As of January 2022, KOTRA operates ten offices and 127 business centres spread out across the world.¹¹⁾

More generally, South Korea's high-tech *chaebol* and other firms are crucial developers and manufacturers of products such as semiconductors, electric batteries, green ships, cars, robots, vaccines, smartphones, and a whole range of products without which the world economy cannot function. Thus, South Korea's economic power also includes these firms that are central to global supply chains and to consumers' lives. Countries across the Americas, Asia, and Europe compete to attract factories from South Korean firms. This gives economic leverage to South Korea.

South Korea also counts soft power among its foreign policy tools. The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) established a Hallyu Support Cooperation Division in recognition of the benefits that the Korean Wave has brought to South Korea. Other agencies such as the Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA) —also part of MCST— or South Korean embassies across the world have also been providing support to South Korean contemporary culture. In addition, as of January 2022 the MCST manages 33 Korean Cultural centres across Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe.¹²⁾ These centres focus on both traditional Korean and contemporary South Korean cultures.

Besides the work carried out by the MCST, South Korean pop, movies, and dramas have huge following across the world as of 2022. The Korean Wave now knows no borders. And while not directly related to South Korean foreign policy, Seoul accrues soft power thanks to recognition as one

11) KOTRA, *Global Networks*, 2022, available at <https://www.kotra.or.kr/foreign/main/KHEMUI010M.html> (accessed 10 January 2022).

12) Korean Culture and Information Service, *History*, 2022, available at <https://www.kocis.go.kr/eng/openHistory.do> (accessed 10 January 2022).

of the purveyors of global culture. Indeed, as of 2021 South Korea was ranked 11th in the world and third in Asia in terms of soft power.¹³⁾ Arguably, South Korean soft power has never been as big as it is today.

4. Expectations of South Korea as a Developed Country

With great power comes great responsibility, as the centuries-old adage goes. A South Korea that is more developed is a South Korea that is more powerful. And a South Korea that is more powerful has a number of expectations to fulfil. This is more so the case as the centre of economic, security, and political gravity is shifting from West to East. As many thinkers predicted, the 21st century is becoming the Asian century. Seoul cannot afford to have a passive foreign policy. It has to proactively discuss and seek to address the expectations that it has to confront.

To start with, South Korea needs to be aware that the international community expects Seoul to make more financial and politico-diplomatic contributions to address global issues. This is the case even if South Korea's interests are not directly at stake. Focusing first on financial contributions, Seoul is now a rich country. Developing countries will increasingly turn to South Korea not only to seek its expertise as a country having graduated to developed status in a short span of time. They will also demand South Korean support with infrastructure projects and social development schemes. In fact, OECD data shows that South Korea distributes its aid more or less evenly between these two sectors.¹⁴⁾ South Korea will need to adapt its aid

13) Brand Finance, *Global Soft Power Index 2021*, 2021, available at <https://brandirectory.com/globalsoftpower/download/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2021.pdf> (accessed 10 January 2022).

14) OECD, *Development Co-operation Profiles – Korea*, 2022, available at <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/d919ff1a-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/5e331623-e>

portfolio to the conditions and requests of recipient countries, as donors did when supporting South Korean development in the past.

Seoul will also need to coordinate its aid with other donors. To an extent, the South Korean government is already doing this thanks to its participation in the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). And of course South Korea coordinates its lending to developing countries with other members of organisations where it is a member, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), or the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Increasingly, however, developing countries can choose between a wide range of potential donors including multiple development banks and the aid agencies of a growing number of countries. This can create problems among donors in terms of ineffective duplication. South Korea will have to strive to avoid this issue as its lending portfolio grows. Regular dialogue and coordination with other donors in Afghanistan until August 2021 serves as a model in this respect.

With regards to politico-diplomatic contributions, South Korea can expect to be called upon to address issues that in the past it may have excused itself from. Take the case of efforts to revive the JCPOA agreement to prevent Iran from developing its nuclear weapons programme. Seoul has been involved in these negotiations as the custodian of frozen Iranian funds that fell under US sanctions. Or take the example of the 2021 military coup in Myanmar, and South Korea's participation in discussions about how to deal with the junta now in power. Increasingly, South Korea will be party to discussions because of its growing centrality to global economic flows, as well as due to its diplomatic clout in certain regions. South Korean policy-makers and experts have to come up with principles that will underpin Seoul's diplomatic involvement in these type of matters.

Furthermore, there is a demand for South Korea to become more vocal in

n&_csp_=b14d4f60505d057b456dd1730d8fcea3&itemIGO=oeed&itemContentType=chapter (accessed 10 January 2022).

its foreign policy to forge ahead with common actions. There are issue-areas in which the international community looks upon certain countries to take a stance. When it comes to dealing with climate change and preventing financial crises, for example, there is a broad agreement that there needs to be cooperation at the global level and with no exceptions. Thus, it is relatively simple for South Korea to join other countries in the G20, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), or the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) to come up with joint statements, actions, or agreements. South Korea has been actively participating in these and other institutions for decades.

The challenge for South Korea is that as a developed country it will now have to raise its voice in more controversial issues. The just-mentioned example of the Myanmar coup is a case in point. Seoul condemned the coup out of its own volition. But if it had not, it would probably have been asked to. In fact, this is what happened with the Open Societies Statement signed by the G7 in July 2021. Having been invited to the summit in the United Kingdom, there was an expectation that Seoul would join G7 members and the other guests to issue a statement supporting human rights, democracy, or social inclusion. The statement implicitly targeted China and Russia. Or take the case of the statement by 14 countries in March 2021 raising concerns about the World Health Organization (WHO) report on the origins of the COVID-19 pandemic. Seoul was one of the 14 signatories of the statement that implicitly targeted China.

Indeed, South Korea is now being asked to join fellow like-minded democratic and free market countries to chastise countries with other values. Above all, these include China. It would not make sense for South Korea to support every single request to raise its voice. For example, several Western countries staged a political boycott of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games but the reasons were unclear, and the move was confined to a relatively small number of countries. More recently, South Korea has been among a handful of countries outside the G7 and the EU that has both

condemned and imposed tough sanctions on Russia following its aggression of Ukraine. Certainly, the South Korean government has to decide on a policy about when it will join condemnations and even sanctions of particular countries or issues. It will also need to consider the extent to which it will want to be involved in the drafting of said condemnations and similar statements, or the sanctions that may come with them. Consistency will be key for Seoul.

Likewise, the rise of minilaterals as a result of the stalemate in some multilateral institutions means that the South Korean government should expect to be asked to join and contribute to more of them. Minilaterals are of course not new. Looking at the case of North Korea's nuclear programme, to take the case of greatest interest to Seoul, the Six-Party Talks were a unilateral attempt to rein on Pyongyang. So was, initially, the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) launched in 2003 to interdict North Korean shipments of weapons of mass destruction. But it is clear that minilaterals have become more common in recent years. The Quad or AUKUS in the area of security or even the Digital Economic Partnership Agreement (DEPA) as a unilateral trade agreement are examples of this trend. So is the 'Nine Eyes' intelligence sharing alliance that US Congress has proposed, with South Korea as one of its potential members.

South Korea has already embraced unilateralism including participation in Quad-Plus meetings to discuss the COVID-19 pandemic, critical technologies, or climate change, joining in the expanded G7, or attending the Global Supply Chain Resilience Summit of 2021. Seoul's application to join DEPA and moves to become a member of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) also show that South Korea believes in trade unilateralism. Thus, even though it remains South Korean policy to support and promote multilateralism, in practice South Korean policy-makers have embraced unilateralism as well.

Again, ultimately unilateralism has become a tool for like-minded partners to drive cooperation forward. In the areas of security and diplomacy,

minilateralism seems to be focusing on coalition-building to address China's rise and what some see as Beijing's assertive behaviour. South Korean policy-makers need to decide the extent to which their country should join these minilateral groups, weighting the benefits of working with like-minded partners against any potential drawbacks. This includes, incidentally, participation in joint naval exercises in the waters of the Indo-Pacific — some of which the ROK Navy has already joined in the past. When it comes to economic minilateral agreements, the crucial difference is that China is or also wants to be part of them. In fact, Beijing has also applied to join CPTPP and DEPA. Given the structure of the South Korean economy, it is a no-brainer to seek membership of these agreements.

The above points out to another crucial in contemporary geopolitics that South Korea cannot ignore: the rivalry between the US and China. Seoul cannot avoid being involved in helping to manage the competition between the two superpowers. And South Korea starts from a favourable position in trying to manage this rivalry, for both Washington and Beijing want to be in good terms with Seoul. This is due to South Korea's economic strength, as well as its diplomatic clout. In the case of the United States, certainly the Joe Biden administration also wants to leverage the ROK-US alliance in its competition with China. But as former Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha or current Trade Minister Moon Sung-wook have indicated, South Korea has leverage not to be crushed by the United States and China as they compete with each other.

South Korea should also play another important card in its toolkit. Namely, few if any countries want to 'choose' between Washington and Beijing. Even Quad members Australia and Japan are part of the RCEP together with China. In the case of Tokyo, it also agreed to set up a military hotline with Beijing last December. India, meanwhile, continues to hold trilateral Foreign Minister-level meetings with China and Russia. Even the United States signed a climate change agreement with China in November 2021. ASEAN countries, the European Union, and other powers, meanwhile,

emphasise that they are open to engagement with China when possible. For the South Korean government, it makes sense to coordinate policy with other countries to try to prevent escalation of tensions between Washington and Beijing. Competition is unlikely to go away any time soon. The question, therefore, is how to manage it.

Ultimately, South Korea's position seems quite clear in that it is siding with the United States and other like-minded partners. The examples of the multilaterals and statements just mentioned show that this is the case. And considering South Korean values and its own grievances towards China, it makes sense for Seoul to take this position. After all, this is the position that Australia, Canada, Japan, or Western European countries have also implicitly or explicitly adopted. But Seoul has also decided not to unnecessarily antagonise Beijing, which again seems to be a common thread among these countries. This seems to be a sensible arrangement for Seoul to implement. The Yoon government will have to decide if it will be its position as well.

Finally, the South Korean government should be prepared to be called upon to take a leading role in certain foreign policy issues. This is the so-called 'policy entrepreneur' role that some countries take on specific issues. Often, it is the European Union, the United States, or, more gradually, China that seek to fulfil this role. But sometimes it is middle powers that seek to become policy entrepreneurs. For example, Denmark seeks to lead international rule-making in the area of green growth, France took a leading role in climate change with the Paris Climate Accord, and Singapore is focusing on trying to set international rules for digital trade. South Korea could try to do the same in areas in which it may have a comparative advantage, such as digital governance due to its strengths in this area, or green growth, where its membership of P4G is an asset. This would probably be done in partnership with other middle powers, which is the model these countries usually follow.

5. Summary of Key Points

As a developed country in the fields of politics and diplomacy, economics, security, and culture, South Korea has to leave behind outdated notions about its foreign policy and place in the world. South Korean policy-makers need to embrace Seoul's new position as a strong, sought-after foreign policy actor. This means South Korea taking a proactive approach towards foreign policy, making use of the range of tools at its disposal, and paying heed to the expectations of the international community.

Taking a proactive approach entails South Korea focusing on its core foreign policy goals but also being aware that it may — or will — be called upon to participate in the resolution of other issues that, traditionally, Seoul could have ignored. To this end, South Korea ought to maximise its autonomy as a foreign policy actor — albeit understanding that autonomy does not mean isolation but working together with partners. It also means prioritising the goals that South Korea wants to focus on, yet accepting that sometimes these goals will need to consider the priorities of the international community at any given time.

In terms of tools, South Korea is in the enviable position of being part of a selected list of countries that count diplomacy, the military, trade, aid, and investment, and soft power among their foreign policy arsenal. This allows Seoul to combine these instruments as necessary to try to achieve its foreign policy objectives. In particular, in recent years South Korea's military strength, economic assets, and soft power credentials have been growing. Traditionally, Seoul would have had to rely on its diplomacy to advance its foreign policy interests. Today, MOFA and its skilled diplomats are part of a wider network of actors and institutions that should work together.

The range of expectations that the international community has of South Korea is now commensurate with its stronger global position. Seoul should be aware that there is an expectation that it will use its economic and politico-diplomatic tools more extensively than in the past. Crucially, South

Korea will sometimes also have to compromise and use these tools in a way that is more beneficial to third parties than to itself. The international community and especially like-minded partners will also demand that Seoul raises its voice and sometimes even economic sticks on a wider cast of foreign policy matters. This includes issues that in the past South Korea could have safely ignored. In addition, South Korea will also be invited to join the minilaterals that are popping up across the Indo-Pacific and beyond. In spite of its support for multilateralism, Seoul has already shown that it sees value in minilaterals. South Korea will also need to become more involved in managing US-China competition. In particular, it will have to work with partners that also prioritise relations with Washington but that do not wish to break all ties with Beijing. And South Korea should also start thinking about areas in which it can take a leading role in global affairs, as other middle powers already do. The time for South Korea to become a policy entrepreneur has come.

All in all, the contributions to this report demonstrate that there are many opportunities for the Yoon government and South Korea at large to embrace its new-found role as a developed country that is more central to international affairs. The new South Korean president and his government are in the fortunate position of taking office at a point in time when the country is one of key actors shaping the present and future of global governance.

Chapter 2



South Korea and Global Governance: Achievements and Challenges

Young-Kwan Yoon

(Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University)

-
- The background of the lower half of the page features a grayscale image of a globe. Overlaid on the globe is a network of gray lines connecting various circular nodes of different sizes. In the bottom right corner, a blurred city skyline with several tall buildings is visible.
1. Global Governance and South Korea's Past Efforts
 2. Some Limitations of South Korea's Past Policies of Global Governance
 3. For a More Effective Set of Policies of South Korea in Relation to Global Governance

1. Global Governance and South Korea's Past Efforts

Deepening interdependence among states and other non-state actors has been causing myriad problems in the world due to the lack of a world government. There is no central authority in the international system that can regulate the relationships among various actors and solve global problems. This is the fundamental dilemma that the global community has been facing for past several decades. So, the issue of “global governance” continues to attract much attention from international academia and policy making circles. James Rosenau, a scholar of international relations, denoted global governance as “the regulation of interdependent relations in the absence of an overarching political authority, such as in the international system.”¹⁵⁾ In this regard, global governance covers diverse activities at international, transnational, and regional levels aiming to provide public goods.

South Korea is a country in the southern half of the Korean Peninsula surrounded by big powers in Northeast Asia. In the last six decades, it has grown economically from a poor developing country to a developed one, gradually achieving the goal of democratisation of its political system. South Korea's efforts to contribute to global (and regional) governance began when it was still one of the least-developed economies. Its efforts to provide global public goods became more active and visible as its economy grew. This chapter briefly reviews the most representative projects of each South Korean administration that have aimed to provide global and regional public goods in the post-Cold War era.¹⁶⁾

Roh Tae-woo was the South Korean president (1988-1993) who witnessed

15) James Rosenau, ‘Toward an Ontology for Global Governance’, in Martin Hewson and Timothy J. Sinclair (Eds.) *Approaches to Global Governance Theory* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999).

16) Leif-Eric Easley and Kyuri Park, ‘South Korea's mismatched diplomacy in Asia: middle power identity, interests, and foreign policy’, *International Politics*, 2018, p. 245.

the end of the Cold War international order. In those years of messy transition, he described South Korea as a “middle power” and wanted it to build stronger regional political and economic ties with the outside world.¹⁷ In 1991, the Roh administration established KOICA, which aimed to provide grants to less-developed economies. Roh’s successor, President Kim Young Sam (1993-1998), pursued *seggyehwa* (globalisation) policy to make Korea “a central player on the world stage.”¹⁸ During his term, South Korea became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1995 and became a member of the OECD in 1996. President Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) focused on regional governance, especially cooperation with the ASEAN+3. For example, he took a leading role in establishing the East Asian Study Group in 2000 and the East Asia Forum in 2003 under the ASEAN+3 framework. President Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008) pursued the policy of promoting peace and prosperity in Northeast Asia. He established the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative in his government to promote South Korea’s pivotal role as an economic and logistical hub of Northeast Asia. In 2010, during the Lee Myung-bak administration (2008-2013), Korea became the first non-G8 country to host the G20 summit. It promoted the green growth policy and established the Global Green Growth Institute. It also hosted the Green Climate Fund to transfer environmental technologies and strategies and financial resources to developing economies. The Park Geun-hye administration (2013-2017) took the leading role in establishing MIKTA, an organisation of five middle-power states belonging to G20, for mutual cooperation. President Park also pursued the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative to promote Korea’s central role in promoting peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia. The Moon Jae-in administration (2017-2022) implemented the New Southern

17) Roh Tae-woo, ‘President Roh Tae-woo’s Speech at the Hoover Institution’, *Palo Alto*, 29 June 1991.

18) Kim Young Sam, ‘The Segyehwa policy of Korea under president Kim Young Sam’, *The Sydney Declaration*, 17 November 1994.

Policy and the New Northern Policy in order to strengthen its ties with countries in the South and the North. It also pushed ahead international health cooperation actively by transferring know-hows of tackling the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021. The Moon administration provided health assistance to more than 120 countries and pledged 200 million USD of financial and in-kind contributions to the COVAX Advanced Market Compensation in 2021 and 2022.¹⁹⁾

In addition, South Korea contributed to global governance by hosting various international conferences like the G20 Summit (2010), the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (2011), Nuclear Security Summit (2012), Seoul Conference on Cyberspace (2013), the twelfth meeting of the Convention on Biological Diversity (2014), the International Telecommunications Union Plenipotentiary Conference (2014), the Seoul Digital Forum (2015), World Water Forum (2015), and the Global Health Security Agenda conference (2015).²⁰⁾ In terms of the number of international conferences South Korea hosted, South Korea was the first in the world in 2016 and 2017 and the second in 2018 according to the Union of International Associations.²¹⁾

A few South Koreans have contributed to international organisations by taking leadership positions. Ban Ki-moon served as Secretary General of the United Nations (2007-2016) and Song Sang-hyun served as a judge (2003-2015) and president (2009-2015) of the International Criminal Court. Lim Ki-tack has been serving as the head of the International Maritime Organization since 2015.²²⁾

19) Statement by H.E. Chung Eui-yong, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea at the 15th Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Barbados, 3-7 October, 2021. Available at https://unctad.org/system/files/non-official-document/u15-gd-12-rok_en.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

20) Easley and Park, *Ibid*, p. 246.

21) Refer to the Union of International Associations, 'International Meetings Statistics Report', 2017, 2018, 2019, available at <https://uia.org/publications/meetings-stats> (accessed 5 April 2022).

South Korea has also been contributing to global governance by providing official development assistance (ODA) to less-developed economies. By joining the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD in 2009, South Korea turned itself from an aid-receiving country to an aid-donor country. According to DAC data, Korea was the seventeenth (2.25 billion USD) out of thirty DAC countries in terms of the amount of ODA provided and the twenty-seventh (0.14%) in terms of ODA grant equivalent as percent of GNI in 2020.²³⁾ Between its joining the United Nations in 1991 and 2021, South Korea dispatched 19,000 troops to the UN's peacekeeping activities. And its financial contribution to UN peacekeeping activities has been the tenth greatest in the world.²⁴⁾

2. Some Limitations of South Korea's Past Policies of Global Governance

Though each South Korean administration has been trying to contribute to global governance in this way, there were a few limitations which worked against more active and effective pursuit of contribution to global governance.

First, the ever-present security threats caused by the frequent provocations by North Korea diverted much attention of the top policy makers and the national resources from concentrating on diplomacy for global governance to handling more immediate North Korean issues. For example, North

22) Easley and Park, *Ibid*, p. 246.

23) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 'Official Development Assistance (ODA)', 2020, available at <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/official-development-assistance.htm> (accessed 5 April 2022).

24) Speech by Minister of Defense of ROK at the Ministerial Meeting of the UN Peace-keeping, December 7, 2021, available at https://www.mnd.go.kr/user/board/List.action?command=view&page=1&boardId=I_26639&boardSeq=I_9389914&titleId=null&id=mnd_060303000000&siteId=mnd (accessed 5 April 2022).

Korea has been developing its nuclear programme for about three decades. It has tested nuclear weapons six times so far since 2005 and test fired missiles quite frequently every year, which led to heightened tension each time. In addition, there were four rounds of direct military conflicts (1999, 2002, 2009, 2010) between the South and the North in the West Sea. North Korea attacked a South Korean corvette killing forty-six soldiers in March 2010 and shelled Yeonpyeong Island, a civilian residential area, killing four people in November. In 1994 and 2017, the Korean Peninsula situation was quite tense and very close to the outbreak of a war.

For instance, while serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2003-04) of the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-08), the author's main challenge was how to solve peacefully the second round of the North Korean nuclear crisis which broke out in October 2002. More than half of his attention and energy was directed to this issue. He had to visit frequently and meet high-level officials in the United States, China, Japan, and Russia to discuss how to make North Korea stop its nuclear programme. The Six Party Talk mechanism was established in 2003 as the result of close cooperation with the US counterpart Secretary of State Colin Powell, who promoted the multilateral format in dealing with the North Korean nuclear issue. In that kind of situation, the issue of global governance could not occupy higher priority. However, the author recognised the importance of the global diplomacy and recommended a significant raise of Korea's ODA provision to President Roh Moo-hyun. President Roh declared in 2006 that South Korea would triple ODA for Africa by 2008 through "Korea's Initiative for Africa's Development."²⁵⁾

The South Koreans, facing the North Korean threats every day, tended to feel that the global issues are not their urgent concern. In addition, most of them felt that South Korea could not afford to contribute much financial

25) Shin Jang Bum, 'Korea's ODA Policy toward Africa', *Journal of International Development Cooperation KOICA Update*, 2006, available at https://www.ejdc.org/archive/view_article?pid=jidc-2006-4-45 (accessed 5 April 2022).

resources to helping people living in difficult situations in other parts of the world. This explains why South Korea with its tenth biggest economy in the world was twenty-eighth in terms of ODA grant equivalent as percent of GNI, as mentioned above. However, it is also true that an increasing number of South Koreans began to recognise that South Korea would have to contribute more to the global community than it was already.

Second, South Korea's domestic political system, which can be characterised as a kind of "winner-takes-all" politics, has made it difficult for its government to pursue more coherent, effective, and long-term foreign policy. The representatives in the national assembly and the president are elected by a simple majority voting system. Those who can get just one more vote than their competitors get the national assembly seats for a four-year term and the presidency for a one-time, five-year term. In this kind of system of non-proportional representation, the winner, the president, and the ruling party tended to monopolise the power and the authority to make most national policies and decisions. The loser didn't have much room for influencing the policy making other than by opposing almost every proposal by the ruling party and the president. This was the reason why there have been such frequent swings of the pendulum from one policy to the opposite direction after the change of the administration. And this is why most policies of South Korea related to global and regional governance could not survive presidents' five-year terms. President Kim Young-sam's *segyebeoma* policy, President Kim Dae-jung's East Asia policy, President Park's Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative, and President Lee Myung-bak's green growth strategy are all typical examples.

Finally, another important aspect of the South Korean governments' foreign policies related to international governance is the incongruence between its proclaimed policy on regional governance and the real pursuit of its regional diplomacy. In the case of a few South Korean administrations, they faced real difficulties in stabilising their relationship with neighbouring states. For example, the Park Geun-hye administration proclaimed that it

would pursue the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative aiming to contribute to regional governance. However, the Park administration neglected the Trilateral Cooperation mechanism among South Korea, China, and Japan, which had been established in 2011.

The main reason for this was the disputes between South Korea and Japan on the history and the territorial issues. From the Korean perspective, the historical revisionist view of the top Japanese political leaders was the main source of the problem. And the bilateral relation between China and Japan was not friendly either. However, even in that kind of difficult situation, the Park administration could have utilised the Trilateral Cooperation mechanism actively if it really wanted to stabilise the relationship among three countries. After all, without a visionary perspective of the political leader and his or her wise handling of South Korea's relations with Japan and China, it will continue to be difficult for any South Korean administration to make a meaningful contribution to regional governance.

3. For a More Effective Set of Policies of South Korea in Relation to Global Governance

South Korea could accumulate important assets like financial resources and know-hows, technologies with which it can contribute to global and regional governance. For example, it was the tenth biggest economy in the world in 2021.²⁶⁾ The UNCTAD decided unanimously to raise the status of South Korea from a developing economy to a developed one on 2 July, 2021. It also has unique know-hows in helping less developed economies, as a country which experienced the transition from a less-developed economy to an advanced economy in about fifty years. It also has achieved some capabilities in high-tech, international health, and environmental areas with

26) IMF (2021).

which it can help other countries and provide public goods.

Other writers in this book will explain how South Korea will be able to assist other countries and provide public goods effectively in each specific area in the following chapters. Thus, the author focused on clarifying some political obstacles working against more effective pursuit of South Korea's policies for global governance from a broader perspective. These were the North Korea factor, domestic political factor, and the leadership factor.

First, regarding the North Korea factor, South Koreans can no longer let the North Korean issue hamper an effective provision of global public goods. Rather, they need to be prepared for providing economic and humanitarian assistance to North Korea when the nuclear problem is resolved and economic sanctions lifted in the future. What needs to be done now for the South Korean government is to continue its efforts to increase South Korea's ODA. Actually, from 2010 to 2018, South Korea's ODA provision has increased by 11.9% annually, while that of DAC countries increased by 2.4%.²⁷⁾ However, it needs to try to shorten the period to reaching a 0.3% ODA/GNI ratio as quickly as possible. After all, South Korea benefited from the global community by receiving foreign aids provided by it and exporting South Korean products to it. In that way, South Korean economy could grow in the past. Now is time for South Korea to return to the global community.

Through this kind of effort, the South Korean government will be able to implement its moral "duty of the rich and the privileged to help the poor and deprived" and the duty of those who have resources and skills to share them with those who have not" in the world of an "increasingly close and interdependent world community."²⁸⁾ One of the positive side effects of

27) Prime Minister Kim Bookyum's speech at the 40th International Development Cooperation Committee meeting, January 27, 2022, available at <https://www.oda.korea.go.kr> (accessed 5 April 2022).

28) Lester B. Pearson, 'A New Strategy for Global Development', *The UNESCO Courier*, February 1970, p. 7, available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000056743> (accessed 5 April 2022).

these efforts would be South Korea's getting more potential supporters in the international community when it tries hard to resolve the North Korea problem and achieve a permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula in the future.

Second, regarding the issue of South Korea's domestic political reform, the author hopes that the new Yoon Suk-yeol administration pursues domestic constitutional reform in the earlier period of its term so that political power can be shared more reasonably through introducing a proportional representation system. This will make South Korea's foreign policy, especially its policy for global and regional governances, more durable, coherent, and effective. The political reform will also make many other domestic policies on, for example, environmental, social, and economic issues less vulnerable to political infightings in domestic politics.

Finally, political leadership matters in the area of global governance as in other areas. The top policy makers need to be courageous, to make bold foreign policy initiatives when necessary by trying to persuade the public rather than just being led by the public's emotions. The new president and other political leaders of South Korea need to recover the normal friendly South Korea-Japan relationship, which has been seriously damaged in the last several years. They need to explain to the general public why South Korea needs to recover relations with Japan.

On the other hand, top leaders of both South Korea and Japan need to take a pragmatic approach to their countries' disputes by separating the historical and territorial issues from the issues of the economic and security cooperation. In this regard, it is worthwhile for the South Korean and Japanese leaders to revitalise the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat, which will be able to stabilise the trilateral relations among South Korea, Japan, and China, contributing significantly to regional governance in Northeast Asia. It would be especially worthwhile to try because the trilateral cooperation mechanism will be able to form a buffer zone in this age of intensifying global competition and conflicts between the United States and China.

After all, if the Yoon administration can do this, the incongruence between South Korean governments' global governance policy and its regional governance policy will disappear, which will help the Yoon administration's achievement of its proclaimed goal of making South Korea "a global pivotal state."²⁹⁾

29) Yoon Suk-yeol, 'South Korea Needs to Step Up', *Foreign Affairs*, 8 February 2022, available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/south-korea/2022-02-08/south-korea-needs-step> (accessed 5 April 2022).

Chapter 3



Climate Change and the EU's and South Korea's New Green Deals: Greenwash or Actions?³⁰⁾

Michael Reiterer

*(Distinguished Professor, Centre for Security, Diplomacy and
Strategy (CSDS), Brussels School of Governance)*

- 
1. Introduction
 2. Initiatives by the Moon Jae-in Administration
 3. Critical Views on the Korean Program and Commitment
 4. The Critical Views of Korea's Civil Society
 5. Change of Governments vs. Continuity
 6. EU-South Korea Cooperation - from Words to Deeds?
 7. The EU Green Deal and the South Korean New Deal: Similar but not the Same
 8. Conclusions – A Plea for a Common Climate Change Diplomacy

1. Introduction

South Korea, “impoverished, sapped by decades of colonialism, ravaged by (the Korean) War, poorly endowed with natural resources, and a mere half of a historic nation”,³¹⁾ set very ambitious goals and within half a century joined the league of the top ten industrial nations. However, this came at a price, politically, socially, and in terms of environment and contributions to climate change. Due to its successful and rapid development, Korea became the tenth largest economy (2020), the eighth largest consumer of energy relying on crude oil, the third largest importer of liquefied natural gas, and the fourth largest importer of coal.³²⁾ The large coal-fired power plants are also important contributors to fine dust, and in this Korea is at the top of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).³³⁾ With energy-intensive industries as the backbone of its industry, South Korea has become the seventh largest emitter of CO₂ worldwide in 2018, with China, the US, and the EU in the lead.

Although it had joined the OECD in 1996, Korea claimed developing country status at the time of the Kyoto Protocol (1997) and was exempt from reducing green gas emissions. Nevertheless, it embarked on the OECD’s long-term Green Growth Strategy, issued in 2009 a Five-Year Plan, set up a Presidential Committee on Green Growth, and aimed to promote eco-friendly new growth engines, enhance peoples’ quality of life, and contribute to international efforts to fight climate change.³⁴⁾ Then Prime

30) I would like to thank Ms. Nagyong Kang for her research assistance.

31) Daniel Tudor, *Korea: The Impossible Country* (Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2012), p. 309.

32) Jae-Seung Lee, ‘EU-Korea partnership on energy and climate change’, in Nicola Casarini, Antonio Fiori, Nam-Kook Kim, Jae-Sung Lee, Ramon Pacheco Pardo (Eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Europe-Korea Relations* (New York: 2022), p. 207.

33) John Feffer, ‘The Myths and Realities of South Korea’s Green New Deal’, *Fair Observer*, 13 December 2021, available at https://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/john-feffer-south-korea-news-green-new-deal-climate-change-green-energy-resources-world-news-79391/ (accessed 5 April 2022).

Minister Han Seung-soo chaired the post-financial crisis OECD Ministerial titled “The Crisis and Beyond: Building a Stronger, Cleaner and Fairer World Economy.”

In recognition of Korea’s engagement under President Lee Myung-bak, which went beyond the Kyoto Protocol commitments, the UN Green Climate Fund was set up in Seoul, as well as the Global Green Growth Institute in 2012, i.e. an inter-governmental international development organisation promoting green growth. The Park Geun-hye administration focused more on “creative economy” and slashed a carbon tax devised by Lee Myung-bak in an apparent effort to distance themselves from the previous administration.³⁵⁾

2. Initiatives by the Moon Jae-in Administration

President Moon Jae-in, elected in 2017 after the impeachment of President Park Geun-hye, picked up on the domestic need for a more environmentally friendly policy following the response to heavy pollution, especially fine dust. This translated into an engagement in the fight of climate change. The National Council on Climate and Air Quality,³⁶⁾ under the leadership of the 8th UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, was a bipartisan move as well as an

34) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), ‘Green Growth in Action: Korea’, available at <https://www.oecd.org/korea/greengrowthinaction/korea.htm> (accessed 5 April 2022).

35) Simon Mundy, ‘S Korea’s Park faces climate change test’, *Financial Times*, 19 November 2014, available at <https://www.ft.com/content/a47c3648-6673-11e4-8bf6-00144fea bdc0> (accessed 5 April 2022).

36) Ramon Pacheco Pardo, Tongfi Kim, Linde Desmaele, Maximilian Ernst, Paula Cantero Dieguez, Riccardo Villa ‘Moon Jae-in’s Policy Towards Multilateral Institutions: Continuity and Change in South Korea’s Global Strategy’, VUB-KF Chair (Brussels: 2019) pp. 22-23, available at https://www.korea-chair.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/KF-VUB_Moon-Jae-Ins-policy-towards-multilateral-institutions.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

attempt to put an interlocutor in charge who has the standing to talk with China about the origin of a fair amount of fine dust in Korea. Announcing the abandonment of nuclear energy and of old coal-fired plants — albeit only domestically, not for export — and a turn towards more renewable energy signalled a change of policy with foreign policy implications. Korea had to catch up as it figures at the very end of the OECD listing of users of renewable energy. Sensing support in Korea, I took the opportunity to intensify lobbying with civil society and candidates in the parliamentary election in presenting the EU New Green Deal on various occasions. At the last minute, the ruling party introduced a Korean Green Deal inspired by the EU's Green Deal³⁷⁾ in its 2020 election manifesto to garner support from a younger electorate. It would be too extreme to ascribe its success to this but it had a mobilising effect.

Spurred by President Biden's rather unexpected pledge to reduce US emissions by 50-52% by 2030 and the EU's invitation to become more ambitious,³⁸⁾ Korea felt obliged at COP26 to increase its target to meet the 2050 net-zero goal from 24,4% below 2017 levels to 40% below 2018 levels by 2030 and revised its nationally determined contribution (NDC) accordingly.

However, the Climate Action Tracker (CAT) remains highly critical: "Deducting the suggested contribution of forestry and reductions overseas, the target translates into a 32% reduction of domestic emissions by 2030, compared to 2018. To meet the Paris Agreement's 1,5°C temperature limit, the CAT estimates that a domestic emissions reduction of at least 59% by 2030 is needed."³⁹⁾ This is a target which is beyond reach.

37) David Vetter, 'South Korea Embraces EU-Style Green Deal For COVID-19 Recovery', *Forbes*, 16 April 2020, available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/davidvetter/2020/04/16/south-korea-embraces-eu-style-green-deal-for-covid-19-recovery/?sh=16f38b575611> (accessed 5 April 2022).

38) The Korea Herald, 'Time for action on "Green New Deal": EU envoy', 25 August 2020, available at http://www.koreaherald.com/common_prog/newsprint.php?ud=20200825000904&dt=2 (accessed 5 April 2022).

39) <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/south-korea/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

Nevertheless, the Korean Green New Deal could keep the country on the climate change track if implemented, not least in the form of smart investment in conjunction with measures to create jobs⁴⁰⁾ and overcome the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴¹⁾ This is an unfortunate reminder of the situation in 2009 when bold measures were necessary to overcome the financial crisis. Hosting the May 2021 P4G summit which strongly promoted public-private partnerships as laid out in the Seoul Declaration⁴²⁾ was part of Korea's more visible climate diplomacy. This marked a difference from President Biden's virtual and only intergovernmental climate summit of April 2021.⁴³⁾

The New Green Deal, announced in July 2020, foresees investment of 54,3 billion EUR to finance the transition to a green infrastructure, low-carbon and decentralised energy; and to support innovation in green industry and generate 659 000 jobs. In that respect, support for the commercialisation of technology for large-scale carbon capture utilisation and storage (CCUS) should become a win-win situation through job creation. Carbon neutrality by 2050 should be reached by including a necessary increase of renewables in

40) Critics see too much focus on job preservation and creation instead of profound greening of the economy, especially linked to coal, the bedrock of the Korean energy supply. See Josh Smith, Sangmi Cha, 'Jobs come first in South Korea's ambitious "Green New Deal" climate plan', *Reuters*, 8 June 2020, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-environment-newdeal-analys-idUSKBN23F0SV> (accessed 5 April 2022).

41) Nagyong Kang, 'South Korea's New Deal: Will It Lead the Digital and Green Industry?', *KF-VUB Chair Policy Brief*, June 2020, available at https://www.korea-chair.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/KFVUB_Policy-Brief-2020-08.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

42) "We acknowledge that through public-private partnerships in five areas, namely water, energy, food and agriculture, cities and circular economy, P4G scales tangible and market-based solutions that complement international efforts led by the UN to respond to climate change and achieve the SDGs". From *Partnering for Green Growth (P4G) Seoul Declaration*, 31 May 2021, available at <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20210531008900315> (accessed 5 April 2022).

43) European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS), 'President Biden's climate summit', *At A Glance*, May 2021, available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2021/690583/EPRS_ATA\(2021\)690583_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2021/690583/EPRS_ATA(2021)690583_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).

the energy policy mix. The December 2020 Carbon Neutrality Strategy⁴⁴⁾ relies on support for innovative technologies including digitalisation, thus playing to Korea's strengths.

In this respect, special attention for environment and energy SMEs — through funding for green businesses including loans — is essential to broaden the industrial base and to tap the innovative potential of start-ups.

A huge, untapped potential lies in green construction standards and the remodelling of public buildings and schools, which need not only air filters due to fine dust but also better insulation to save energy in summer and winter through air-conditioning and heating.

More smart grids, including offshore windmills, and solar panels are further examples of where infrastructure investment can produce good results. The automotive industry is already in the lead when it comes to batteries for eco-friendly vehicles and research on rendering hydrogen vehicles (commercial and private) more efficient and affordable.

Therefore, the Digital New Deal covers important projects such as setting up of data platforms and promoting industrial convergence with 5G for companies, and rendering government services digitally user friendly through 5G and blockchain technologies. COVID-19 has shown the need to make health care smarter to enhance the cooperation of hospitals and medical research, and to make the production of medical equipment more effective in drawing on these top-notch technologies. Similarly, investment in transport infrastructure and in new modes of transport will have positive climate effects.

Thus, combining 'The Digital New Deal', the 'Digital-Green Industrial Convergence Plan' and the 'Green New Deal'⁴⁵⁾ could give Korea an edge if

44) South Korean Government, '2050 Carbon neutrality strategy' [2050 탄소중립 추진전략], 7 December 2020, available at https://www.gihoo.or.kr/netzero/download/NETZERO_FILE.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

45) Alessandra Tamponi, 'South Korea's Green Path to Recovery', European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS) Op-ed, 18 December 2020, available at <https://eias.org/op-ed/south-koreas-green-path-to-recovery/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

they are implemented without delays. The administration of President Yoon Suk-yeol should not use a grace period of 100 days to engage fully — the order of the day is to catch up on the delays caused by an outgoing administration and the COVID-19 pandemic. There is no time left, as the Korean President of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Lee Hoesung warned about clearly when presenting the 6th assessment report: “This report is a dire warning about the consequences of inaction (···) It shows that climate change is a grave and mounting threat to our wellbeing and a healthy planet. Our actions today will shape how people adapt and nature responds to increasing climate risks.”⁴⁶⁾

3. Critical Views on the Korean Program and Commitment

South Korea and climate change is a love-hate relationship: Love, when making announcements to shine in the international community. Hate, when the costs have to be paid or, better, be avoided? Furthermore, and to a certain extent relatedly, there are two more problematic strands; continuity and effectiveness - which sometimes interact.

The rather engaging Lee Myung-bak administration (2008-2013) was followed by the less enthusiastic Park Geun-Hye administration (2013-2017). The Moon administration wanted to differentiate itself from its predecessor and at first tried to engage more but moderated ambitions when it met with resistance by businesses. The declaration of a “climate emergency” and the urge for a transition to a sustainable society by practically all Korean local

46) Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), ‘Climate change: a threat to human wellbeing and health of the planet’, Press Release, 28 February 2022, available at <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/resources/press/press-release> (accessed 5 April 2022).

communities in 2020⁴⁷) anchored the issue on the political agenda and certainly contributed to the formulation of the New Green Deal.

While hosting international organisations and organising conferences created some goodwill, these actions did not reduce CO₂. One of the main producers of CO₂ worldwide has to shoulder responsibility, take effective actions and strive to be a role model for others. The rather modest first NDC of a 27,2% reduction from 2017 levels in 2020 was no longer sustainable for a strategic partner of the EU. Seeking to reconnect with the Biden administration, President Moon made what appeared to be a bold move at COP26 in Glasgow: i.e. doubling the reduction commitment after having already joined leaders in the 2050 carbon-neutrality commitment.

To the surprise of the Moon administration, the praise was not as enthusiastic as it had hoped for. Some criticism pointed out the continued efforts to separate domestic from international behaviour and having waited too long in the process. At this point, Korea as an industrial power and the 13th largest emitter relying heavily on fossil fuels (close to 70%) with a lead in industries which are carbon intensive (automotive, steel, semi-conductors) has to face its reality and responsibility as a carbon-intensive economy.

There are discrepancies and contradictions: an announcement was made that the new domestic energy mix would move away from nuclear energy (an important contributor to electricity due to high nuclear power plant density) and coal-fired plants and increase the share of renewables to reduce reliance on fossil fuels and natural gas. All this would be done at the same time without a corresponding action plan. While in reality, commissioned coal plants will be built, a major producer of relevant equipment was bailed out, and exports might continue.⁴⁸)

Doubts were raised about the decision made in Glasgow to not join the

47) John Feffer, *The Pandemic Pivot* (Seven Stories Press, 2021).

48) Sam Macdonald, 'South Korea's Climate Pledges: Less Than Meets the Eye', *The Diplomat*, 5 May 2021, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/05/south-koreas-climate-pledges-less-than-meets-the-eye/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

automotive alliance in selling only zero emissions vehicles in major markets by 2035 or the pact to reduce carbon emission from the world's health care systems.⁴⁹⁾ These doubts are then fed by the New Korean Green Deal: is the target job creation or is it greening the economy?

On the other hand, joining the Global Methane Pledge to reduce methane emissions by 30% by 2030 and subscribing to the Glasgow Leaders' Declaration on Forests and Land Use is positive, although the implementation of the latter pledge has to be in line with the need to raise the absorption capacity quickly. Politically, the latter could include a reforestation campaign in North Korea to increase the absorption capacity of greenhouse gases on the Korean Peninsula, should the reclusive country come on board one day, as reforestation abroad may be included up to 5% in the reduction goal. President Moon underlined also the political angle in referring to a "Peace New Deal."⁵⁰⁾

Cooperating with developing countries in this endeavour could also lead to third-country cooperation with other partners. South Korea and the EU could join hands for instance in Africa. Pledging 5 billion USD for a Green New Deal Trust Fund, incidentally managed by the Seoul-based Global Green Growth Institute, is certainly a welcome gesture, albeit one with a strong domestic dimension.

There are some steps in the right direction, with some limitations, to finally increase renewable energy, e.g. the 2021 Carbon Neutrality and Green Growth Act for the Climate Change which promises to foster a hydrogen-based economy through the Hydrogen Economy Roadmap, and a new Energy Plan which includes building large offshore wind farms. Working towards a hydrogen-based economy involves certain challenges, such as technological, political, and environmental issues, setting of priorities and

49) Troy Stangarone, 'What Did South Korea Promise at COP26?', *The Diplomat*, 12 November 2021, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/11/what-did-south-korea-promise-at-cop26/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

50) <https://www.sedaily.com/NewsView/22RDWXJ330> [in Korean].

related decisions concerning research, building of an infrastructure for vehicles, and supplying green hydrogen. These challenges would warrant cooperation on the official and private level.

If P4G were to act as an engine for change in partnership with the private sector, the sustainability movement could be directed to support the efforts of the government. Sustainability has always been part of corporate social responsibility (CSR) but gains another dimension with the increase of green financing. The EU is working on a global standard under the rather esoteric label of “taxonomy,”⁵¹⁾ i.e. rules that aim to guide private investment in activities that are needed to achieve climate neutrality. The proposal raised controversy as the Commission suggests that under certain stringent conditions⁵²⁾ nuclear and gas activities can be added as transitional activities⁵³⁾ to those covered in the Delegated Act on Climate mitigation and adaptation, which has been applicable since 1 January 2022.⁵⁴⁾ South Korea’s National Pension Service, one of the largest retirement funds worldwide, lead the way in announcing it would no longer fund new coal-fired projects for export.⁵⁵⁾

51) European Commission, ‘EU Taxonomy: Commission begins expert consultations on Complementary Delegated Act covering certain nuclear and gas activities’, Press Release, 1 January 2022, available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_2 (accessed 5 April 2022).

52) “These stringent conditions are: for both gas and nuclear, that they contribute to the transition to climate neutrality; for nuclear, that it fulfils nuclear and environmental safety requirements; and for gas, that it contributes to the transition from coal to renewables.” European Commission, ‘EU Taxonomy: Commission presents Complementary Climate Delegated Act to accelerate decarbonisation’, Press Statement, 2 February 2022, available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_711 (accessed 5 April 2022).

53) The redrawing of energy supply lines as a consequence of sanctions against Russia will have impacts difficult to evaluate at the time of writing (April 2022).

54) The European Commission, ‘Document C(2021)2800: Commission Delegated Regulation EU [on climate change]’, 4 June 2021, available at [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=PI_COM:C\(2021\)2800](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=PI_COM:C(2021)2800) (accessed 5 April 2022).

55) Kyle Ferrier, ‘Can South Korea Keep up its Momentum on Climate after the P4G Seoul Summit?’, *The Diplomat*, 4 June 2021, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/06/can-south-korea-keep-up-its-momentum-on-climate-after-the-p4g-seoul-summit/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

While this move was in support of a pledge by President Moon at the virtual April 2021 Summit on Climate hosted by President Biden, the reiteration of the pledge in Glasgow was ambiguous in order to save those projects, domestic and abroad, which are already on the drawing boards. Given the longevity of such plants, this reduces the value of overall commitments and creates doubts which should enter the equation of the otherwise public diplomacy conscious government.

4. The Critical Views of Korea's Civil Society

Korean environmental NGOs track government policies and regularly issue statements based on their analysis. This criticism is also reflected in the media, but compared to other policies the coverage is still rather limited. Climate response issues seem to not be a central part of public interest in South Korea.

Green Korea⁵⁶⁾ established in 1991 is one of the most influential NGOs. It regularly criticises the passivity of the Korean government and society in climate change issues. Actions at COP26 were described as “embarrassing”, the Moon administration’s 2050 carbon-neutrality scenario was “designed in a rush”, and the NDC 40% target included “deceptive” reduction plans aiming only to impress the international community. The plans need to be redone. The plan toward a coal-free society falls short of international standards by far. It was stated that “the Framework Act on Carbon Neutrality is a de facto corporate support act and should be abolished immediately; the government should enact instead the ‘Basic Act on Climate Justice’⁵⁷⁾ and that “the Framework Act does not aim at a green future but

56) Official website link as follows: <https://www.greenkorea.org/> [in Korean].

57) Green Korea, ‘Statement - COP26, which reveals that the COP itself is a problem, turns a blind eye to climate justice again’ [성명 - COP자체가 문제임을 드러낸 COP26, 또다시 기후정의의 외면하다], 14 November, 2021, available at <https://www.greenkorea.org/>.

at industrial growth.”⁵⁸⁾ Similar criticism is voiced by the Korea Climate Crisis Emergency Action Network,⁵⁹⁾ a civil coalition of NGOs and activists to fight the climate crisis. It frames the Korean Green Deal as an economic stimulus plan, lacking climate action plans and structural reforms without specific roadmaps for a transition to a coal-zero society.⁶⁰⁾

Secretary-General of the Energy Transition Forum Lim Jae-min criticised government policies such as the Renewable Energy 3020 Implementation Plan⁶¹⁾ and the National 9th Basic Power Supply and Demand Plan, stating that there is a need for a much faster de-carbonisation and transition to renewable energy in the power generation sector — which accounts for the largest portion of the carbon emissions in South Korea.

Lee Yoo-soo, a senior researcher at the Institute of Energy Economy, points out certain issues such as a lack of institutional arrangements to run the power grid in a flexible manner and accelerate the renewable energy for the energy transition.⁶²⁾

org/activity/weather-change/climatechangeaction-climate-change/90782/ (accessed 5 April 2022).

58) Green Korea, ‘Statement: “Framework on Carbon Neutrality” can’t be the response to the climate crisis’ [성명 -탄소중립 녹색성장법’은 기후위기 대응법이 될 수 없다], 14 November, 2021, available at <https://www.greenkorea.org/activity/weather-change/climatechangeaction-climate-change/89148/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

59) Official website, <http://climate-strike.kr/> [in Korean].

60) Pressian, ‘Is the Korean Green New Deal “green”?’ [한국판 그린 뉴딜에 ‘그린’이 있는 가?], 27 May, 2020, available at <https://www.pressian.com/pages/articles/2020052716455150684#0DKU> (accessed 5 April 2022); The Hankyoreh, ‘Why does the “Korean Green New Deal “lack ”green”?’ [한국판 뉴딜’에는 왜 ‘그린’이 빠져 있을 까], 8 May, 2020, available at <https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/opinion/column/944222.html> (accessed 5 April 2022).

61) Renewable Energy 3020 Implementation Plan (so-called RE3020) is a specific roadmap, announced December 2017, toward energy transition. It sets a goal to produce 20% of its energy from renewable sources by 2030 and increase relevant job creation. For the details, available at <https://www.ica.org/policies/6569-korea-renewable-energy-3020-plan>; <https://www.etrans.or.kr/policy/04.php> (accessed 5 April 2022).

62) Korea Federation for Environmental Movement, ‘The 6th RE100Forum (21. 8.24): Moon Administration’s Renewable Energy Policy Assessment and Future Assignments (Energy Transition centered on the Renewable Energy is necessary)’ [문재인 정부의 재

5. Change of Governments vs. Continuity

Following the change of administration in May 2022, President Yoon and his climate change team should not only keep to commitments made but also use the drive of a new government to keep South Korea firmly on the course to sustainability and within the group of countries leading by example in deeds and not words. In the presidential campaign, climate change unfortunately was not one of the main themes, although it came up in the debate between the two candidates.⁶³⁾

President Moon Jae-in attempted to preserve his legacy and some momentum in his New Year's address,⁶⁴⁾ suggesting to transform Korea's industrial and energy sectors through "just transition". He stated that carbon neutrality should be achieved through building hydrogen industries and strong support for corporate innovation, and aimed internationally to serve as a mediator between the leading and developing states in achieving carbon neutrality.

6. EU-South Korea Cooperation – from Words to Deeds?

Building on the commonalities between the EU Green Deal and the inspired Korean Green New Deal, the intensification of cooperation could

생에너지 정책 평가와 향후 과제 (재생 에너지 중심의 에너지전환 필요 강조), 24 August 2021, accessible at <http://kfem.or.kr/?p=218246> (accessed 5 April 2022).

63) Nayeong Kang, 'Climate change: What Lee Jae-Myung and Yoon Suk-Yeol think'. *KF-VUB Korea Chair*, March 2022, available at <https://brussels-school.be/publications/other-publications/climate-change-what-lee-jae-myung-and-yoon-suk-yeol-think> (accessed 5 April 2022).

64) Moon Jae-in, '2022 New Year's Speech' [2022년 신년사], 3 January, 2022, available at <https://www1.president.go.kr/articles/11710> (accessed 5 April 2022).

become a mutually interesting outcome.

Making use of the untapped potential of the 2011 Framework Agreement (“to address global environmental challenges, in particular climate change”), the sustainable development chapter of the EU-Korea FTA could render the dialogue operational, also as part of the strategic partnership. The implementation of the Environmental Goods Agreement in the WTO where Korea and the EU are participants would be a concrete step.

If a connectivity partnership based on the 2018 EU Asia Connectivity Strategy is formed, the green element should be clearly stressed to mark the contrast with the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. Taking into account the developments since 2018, such a partnership should be extended to the Indo-Pacific⁶⁵⁾ drawing on the Global Gateway⁶⁶⁾ as part of a network diplomacy.

Could Korea and the EU develop a joint climate change diplomacy, bringing elements of EU climate change diplomacy together with Korean activities primarily, but not exclusively, under the New Southern Policy Plus? Where do interests overlap? Third country cooperation in Africa and Asia should be identified in light of ongoing or planned programs. As lessons learned, this cooperation should be executed in a ‘coordinated parallel manner’ because of the diverse administrative cultures. ‘Parallel and coordinated’ means that the individual projects are all part of an overall plan and they complement each other and become part of a whole at the end of the execution. Such an approach needs to be built on common principles, like sustainability and transparency, but avoids joint work on and in the same

65) European Commission, HRVP, Joint Communication, The EU strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, 16 September 2021, available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/jointcommunication_2021_24_1_en.pdf (accessed 15 April 2022).

66) European Commission, HRVP, Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and the European Investment Bank, The Global Gateway, 1 December 2021, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/joint_communication_global_gateway.pdf (accessed 15 April 2022).

project, which is more often a source of problems than of inspiration because of the conflicting administrative rules and cultures.

Although the EU is grappling with the question of how to move away from coal, there should be a common understanding and agreement that the goal is to implement quickly. This should not be allowed to become an obstacle to cooperation. Joint efforts on the ground are necessary, especially with regards to working with local governments and communities. I had the opportunity to join efforts with 8th UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and the UK Ambassador to promote the Beyond Coal campaign at the heart of the Korean coal energy region. Over years, consensus was reached to invest in alternatives with attention to not leaving anybody behind, also with respect to cooperation with the neighbouring governments of Japan and Taiwan. The common concerns and alarming experiences with fine dust was an important drive for these successful endeavours.

Furthermore, inviting mayors to join the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate & Energy⁶⁷⁾ and cooperating in particular with the Mayor of Seoul on this issue was for me “climate change diplomacy in action” on the local level.

One effective way to cut greenhouse gas emissions is to set up an Emissions Trading System (ETS). Building on the success of the EU-ETS, the EU launched in July 2016 a 3.5 million EUR cooperation project in support of the Korean Emissions Trading System.⁶⁸⁾ Jointly steered by the EU and the South Korean Ministry of Environment, the project aimed to unlock the potential of the ETS and transform South Korea into a low carbon economy. Public and private sector representatives received assistance with technical and strategic aspects of the implementation as well

67) Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy, ‘Who We Are’, available at <https://www.globalcovenantofmayors.org/who-we-are/> (accessed 10 January 2022).

68) European Commission, ‘EU launches €3.5 million emissions trading cooperation project with Korea’, 8 July 2016, available at https://ec.europa.eu/clima/news-your-voice/news/eu-launches-eu35-million-emissions-trading-cooperation-project-korea-2016-07-08_en (accessed 5 April 2022).

as on compliance and new mitigation technologies. Korea was the first country in Asia to launch a nationwide ETS and, as such, it is at the forefront of using this tool to reduce emissions.⁶⁹⁾

In 2018, the EU and South Korea set up a Working Group on Energy, Environment and Climate Change under the Framework Agreement. The third meeting took place online in February 2021⁷⁰⁾ and focused on information exchange over concrete actions.⁷¹⁾

The combined political leadership of the EU and South Korea is behind these endeavours. Summit meetings which are thoroughly prepared by both bureaucracie, are a good indicator. On the EU side, summit preparations also involve member states which is an important element for concrete, bilateral follow-up actions.

Noteworthy, in this respect, are the Green Growth Alliance between Korea and Denmark and the German-Korean Energy Partnership. It was also my pleasure to personally engage in the EU Gateway to Korea program in which private companies exhibited their green energy products and services in a successful matchmaking format in 2018⁷²⁾ and 2019.⁷³⁾ These

69) International Carbon Action Partnership, 'Korea Emissions Trading Scheme', 17 November 2021, available at https://icapcarbonaction.com/en/?option=com_etsmap&task=export&format=pdf&layout=list&systems%5B%5D=47 (accessed 8 January 2022).

70) European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS), 'South Korea's pledge to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050', Briefing, June 2021, available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690693/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)690693_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690693/EPRS_BRI(2021)690693_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).

71) European Commission, 'EU-Republic of Korea: Joint press release following the working group on energy, environment and climate change', Press Release, 9 February 2021, available at <https://euraxess.ec.europa.eu/worldwide/south-korea/eu-republic-korea-joint-press-release-following-working-group-energy> (accessed 5 April 2022).

72) European External Action Service, 'EU Gateway to Korea – Green Energy Technology business mission concluded successfully', Press Release, 6 February 2018, available at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/39375/eu-gateway-korea-%E2%80%93-green-energy-technology-business-mission-concluded-successfully_sq (accessed 5 April 2022).

73) European External Action Service, 'EU Gateway to Korea Green Energy Technology

events contributed to my efforts in raising awareness and preparing the ground for the adoption of the Korean Green Deal.

At the 2018 Brussels Summit, the “Strategic Partnership for Common Challenges: The EU enhances its dialogue with the Republic of Korea”⁷⁴⁾ had climate action on the agenda.

As part of the three-year EU-funded EU-Korea Climate Action project (2018-2021),⁷⁵⁾ a bilingual digital EU-Korea Climate Action platform was set up to provide civil society, city representatives, businesses, and academia with a platform to exchange best practices, thereby strengthening the partnership on climate action between the EU and South Korea.

At the 2020 Virtual Leaders’ Meeting,⁷⁶⁾ the EU and South Korea emphasized the urgency of stepping up the global response in the fight against climate change, including commitments to the Paris Agreement and the Partnering for Green Growth and Global Goals 2030 Summit. In the press conference following the meeting, President von der Leyen underlined the need to move from words to deeds, stating: “The question for both sides is now how to deliver on our goal of carbon neutrality. As the Republic of Korea referring to its own Korean Green Deal was very strong on their ideas, we can count on their full support and cooperation in its implementation. We hope that this can be an inspiration to others in the region and a good example — leading by example is often the best.”⁷⁷⁾

Exhibition Held’, Press Release, 24 January 2019, available at https://ceas.europa.eu/delegations/morocco/57055/eu-gateway-korea-green-energy-technology-exhibition-held_bg (accessible 5 April 2022).

74) European Commission, ‘Strategic Partnership for Common Challenges: The EU enhances its dialogue with the Republic of Korea’, 19 October 2018, available at https://ec.europa.eu/fpi/strategic-partnership-common-challenges-eu-enhances-its-dialogue-republic-korea-2018-10-19_en (accessed 5 April 2022).

75) European Union, ‘EU-Korea Climate Action Project’, available at <https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/eu-korea-climate-action-project> (accessed 9 January 2022).

76) European Council, ‘Republic of Korea-EU leaders’ video conference meeting’, 30 June 2020, available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2020/06/30/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

77) Statement by President von der Leyen at the joint press conference with President

Opportunities for businesses to work hand-in-hand with the government to become more sustainable and to explore whether “the hydrogen economy is a new possibility to replace the carbon society and a future growth engine for both Korea and the EU” were also echoed at the 2020 EU-Korea Virtual Business Conference.⁷⁸⁾

7. The EU Green Deal and the South Korean New Deal: Similar but not the Same

The EU Green Deal pursues five main goals: mitigation, biodiversity and environment conservation, climate resilience, quality job creation, and improving standard of living. Policies aim at improving infrastructure, promoting energy transition, reconstructing the economy, achieving a circular economy, and providing an industry transition for agriculture. Job training, research and innovation, international cooperation, and a funding mechanism are the main drivers of the policy.⁷⁹⁾

While the similarities become apparent in the table below, the EU attempts to balance climate crisis and growth strategy, and advocate policies which focus on carbon neutrality. The South Korean Green New Deal, simultaneously pushing the Digital New Deal, puts the focus on growth strategies rather than on a resolute response to climate crisis.

Michel, following the EU-Republic of Korea Summit videoconference, Brussels, 30 June 2020, available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_20_1236 (accessed 5 April 2022).

78) European Chamber of Commerce in Korea, “EU-Korea Virtual Business Conference 2020” successfully concluded’, Press Release, 2 July 2020, available at <https://ecck.or.kr/eu-korea-virtual-business-conference-2020-successfully-concluded/> (accessed 5 April 2022).

79) Taedong Lee, Myungsung Kim, and Natalie Chifamba, ‘Political Framework of Green New Deal: A comparative analysis of the EU and US proposals’, *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, August 2021, 19(2), pp. 221-246.

At the end of December 2021, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, the Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries, the Ministry of Science and ICT, and the Ministry of Education finally published a New Deal and Carbon Neutrality Task Plan 2022⁸⁰⁾ to realise the reduction goal of the NDC target of 40% CO₂ reduction. This joint effort could also help to achieve continuity in the transition from the Moon to Yoon administration.

	EU Green Deal	South Korean New Deal
Concept	Addressing the climate crisis and a new growth strategy.	Accelerating the transition to a green economy with eco-friendly policies and low carbon emission.
Goal	Achieving carbon neutrality by 2050. Decoupling of economic growth and resource use.	Economic and social green transformation towards carbon neutrality by 2050.
Main Policies	Elevate the 2030 and 2050 Climate Goals Eco-friendly energy Clean Net Environment Smart buildings New modes of transport Agriculture Biodiversity Non-toxic environment	Energy efficient building Greening of marine and land cities Ecosystem recovery Water management system Smart grid Renewable energy Electric and hydrogen vehicles Low-carbon green industrial complexes Foundation for R&D to finance green innovation
Budget	1 trillion EUR for 10 years ⁸¹⁾ (1.354 trillion won)	73 trillion EUR won by 2025 53.8 bn EUR

Translated by Research Assistant Kang Nagyeong, original source: Lee, 2020.⁸²⁾

80) Ministry of Environment, ‘Government Task Report: Joint Announcement of the five ministries under the theme of Korean New Deal, Carbon Neutrality’ [한국판 뉴딜, 탄소 중립’을 주제로 5개 부처 합동 발표], Press Release, 28 December 2021, available at <http://www.me.go.kr/home/web/board/read.do?sessionId=9kaoE8g0mRowIB584Cr5eywu.mehome1?pagerOffset=0&maxPageItems=10&maxIndexPages=10&searchKey=&searchValue=&menuId=286&orgCd=&boardId=1497990&boardMasterId=1&boardCategoryId=39&decorator> (accessed 5 April 2022).

81) This figure excludes independent budgets of individual member states.

82) Yoo-jin Lee, ‘*What Green New Deal should it be?* Conference Presentation, for ‘The Green New Deal and the Role of Local Government in Response to the Climate Emergency’ in

8. Conclusions – A Plea for a Common Climate Change Diplomacy

Being successful in playing in the top leagues of international politics⁸³⁾ brings not only glory but also responsibility. Global commons are no longer something for others to take care of and shouldering the consequences of success is no longer free of costs, neither at home nor abroad. In terms of climate change, South Korea has used up natural resources and public goods in its rapid development – making it a role model for many developing states which strive to realise the same success story. A pressing issue like climate change, although overshadowed by the COVID-19 pandemic, asks for action now.⁸⁴⁾ Many concerns about growing costs and the tense geopolitical situation are valid, but no longer justify postponement of actions.

South Korea is in the same boat as the EU. The strategic partners are both set to benefit if they jointly take up these challenges in which digitalisation, technology, and financial means will play a key role. By passing climate laws, both partners legally commit themselves and provide predictability, not in the least for the private sector which also wants to get on board.

The bilateral frameworks for consultation and actions are already closely knit. The same applies to multilateral frameworks where both partners are participants, e.g. the United Nations, Paris Agreement, OECD, the Asia-Europe Meeting, G7, G20, and T10 cooperation with ASEAN to name just

Seoul, South Korea, 28 July 2020, available at <https://bit.ly/34VcO5R> (accessed 5 April 2022).

83) Ramon Pacheco Pardo, ‘With new middle power comes great responsibility for South Korea’, CSDS Policy Brief 24/2021, 8 December 2021, available at <https://brussels-school.be/publications/policy-briefs/new-middle-power-comes-great-responsibility-south-korea> (accessed 5 April 2022).

84) Dennis Tänzler, Daria Ivleva, and Tobias Hausotter, ‘EU climate change diplomacy in a post-Covid-19 world’, European Parliament, July 2021, available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653643/EXPO_STU\(2021\)653643_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653643/EXPO_STU(2021)653643_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).

a few. A commonality of interests and a high degree of complementarity have already been established — the most difficult step is turning all this into concrete actions and it can no longer be postponed. In a networked approach, both parties can attract respective partners with whom they enjoy credibility and influence others to join in and create more momentum.

Climate change obviously needs global engagement and when evaluating all the milestones — Kyoto Protocol, Paris Agreement, and, the latest, COP26 — there is no need for grandiose speeches or greenwashing, but for action. Instigating and supporting such a course of action would render the EU and South Korea more effective in their endeavours to play a more influential role on the international scene — commensurate with their responsibility based on economic power and their contributions to the CO₂ emissions. This should in turn help to get the other main polluters — China, the US, and India — on board.

The EU is committed to pursuing the external dimension of its domestic climate change policies through an active EU climate and energy diplomacy.⁸⁵⁾ Thus, a mutually supportive climate diplomacy⁸⁶⁾ based on leading by example (“walking the talk”) would make a difference, in addition to financial commitments, climate finance, leveraging the respective Green Deals and

85) Council Conclusions, ‘Council conclusions on Climate and Energy Diplomacy: Delivering on the external dimension of the European Green Deal’, 25 January 2021, available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/48057/st05263-en21.pdf> (accessed 5 April 2022).

86) Marc Vanheukelen, ‘EU Climate Diplomacy: Projecting Green Global Leadership’, College of Europe, EU Diplomacy Papers 6/2021, available at https://www.coleurope.eu/sites/default/files/uploads/event/EDP%206%202021_Vanheukelen_3.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022); Olivia Lazard calls in this context for a “for a coherent and comprehensive European ecological diplomacy, which focuses more intently on conflict and fragile zones and systemically shifts the EU’s geoeconomic, regulatory, trade, and multilateral power toward efforts that advance socio-ecological peace and stabilization.” From ‘The Need for an EU ecological diplomacy’, in Olivia Lazard, Richard Youngs (Eds.) *The EU and Climate Security: Toward Ecological Diplomacy* (Carnegie Europe, 2021) available at https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Youngs_and_Lazard_EU_Climate_FINAL_07.08.21.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

factoring them into development assistance, and the important carrot of market access for goods in compliance with climate-related rules.⁸⁷⁾

Korea is already working with the private sector, e.g. through the P4G framework and Fit For 55 Package. As a candidate, President Yoon had expressed interest in working with the private sector to facilitate renewable energy through Special Economic Zones.⁸⁸⁾ Now he has the chance to follow-up and implement. Furthermore, South Korea serves as an aviation hub and would like to further develop this service. Thus, supporting initiatives like the Toulouse Declaration⁸⁹⁾ (the first public-private initiative supporting aviation's decarbonisation goals to achieve net-zero CO₂ emissions by 2050) made by Destination 2050, a group of 35 European countries and 146 industry stakeholders aiming at an EU Pact for Aviation Decarbonisation, could become a common project, also extending to ASEAN as part of EU-South Korea cooperation to strengthen ASEAN centrality. (The EU concluded in June 2021 the ASEAN-EU Comprehensive Air Transport Agreement.)

Closer to traditional diplomacy are aspects of the geopolitics of decarbonisation (e.g. exit effects on fossil fuel exporting countries; impact on alliances securing fuels and their transport paths; creation of new technological and raw material dependencies; assuring related resilient supply and production lines; shift of power from the gift of nature to the

87) The 'Fit for 55: delivering the EU's 2030 Climate Target on the way to climate neutrality' package, proposed by the European Commission, 14 July 2021, contains many measures to this effect. See <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52021DC0550&from=EN>. For a broader overview see https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal/delivering-european-green-deal_en (accessed 3 February 2022).

88) Nayeong Kang, *op. cit.*

89) Destination 2050, 'European countries sign breakthrough "Toulouse Declaration" with aviation: driving sector's decarbonisation plans forward', Press Release, 4 February 2022, available at https://www.eraa.org/sites/default/files/european_countries_sign_breakthrough_toulouse_declaration_with_aviation_-_driving_sectors_decarbonisation_plans_forward.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

merits of technology) and the nexus of climate and security in the long transition period ahead of us where mismanagement would increase security risks and lead to climate induced crisis situations.

The Strategic Compass,⁹⁰⁾ the EU's most recent security evaluation and action plan, identifies climate change as a threat multiplier impacting not only security in general but specifically key energy infrastructure, agricultural activities and scarcity of natural resources. Environmental and climate change concerns therefore need to be mainstreamed in the EU's civilian and military CSDP missions and operations. By the end of 2023, member states should have action plans ready to prepare the armed forces for climate change.

The EU and Korea have dedicated climate change ambassadors who should be tasked to hammer out a common approach which would serve the common goal of fighting climate change more efficiently.

Joint effort is also needed to keep the fight against climate change on track. Its importance was diminished in a large extent due to the dominance of concerns about the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the human misery, the negative effects of the aggression by Russia on Ukraine threaten a slow down in the post COVID-19 recovery and a surge in commodity prices, creating immense costs for governments to offset them. Furthermore, funds are deviated for military use which will create a lack of resources in the fight against climate change even though time is running out.

The author wishes to recognise the research assistance by Kang Nayeong, Seoul National University, Master in European Studies, University of Leuven, and the support of Prof. Kang Kyungsook, Wonkwang University.

90) European Union, A Strategic Compass for Security and Defence, 21 March 2022, available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/strategic_compass_en3_web.pdf (accessed 15 April 2022).

Chapter 4



South Korea and Global Health Cooperation

Eun Mee Kim

(President, Ewha Womans University)

Jisun Song

(Assistant Professor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy)

- 
1. Introduction
 2. Overview of South Korea's Global Health Cooperation
 3. Opportunities and Challenges for South Korea's Global Health Engagement
 4. Moving Forward

1. Introduction

Unlike other pandemics, the unprecedented global pandemic of COVID-19 has hit the whole world without discrimination. It also highlighted how the entire globe is vulnerable to infectious disease and reminded us that no one country can successfully respond to the disease by itself.

At the same time, COVID-19 has impacted developing countries with a great force. Developing countries are facing unequal access to COVID-19 testing, vaccines, and therapeutics, with only 12% of the people in low-income countries being vaccinated compared to 68% of high-income countries.⁹¹⁾ Unfortunately, the effects of COVID-19 have not been limited to the health sector. In 2020, COVID-19 pushed around 119 to 124 million people back into extreme poverty, causing extreme poverty to rise for the first time since the Asian Financial Crisis in the late 1990s. The prolonged closure of educational facilities has challenged the progress made in education. In particular, vulnerable groups including women and children have been disproportionately affected by the pandemic. Violence against women intensified, with up to 10 million additional girls placed at risk of child marriage due to the pandemic.⁹²⁾

While the international community embarks on year three of the global pandemic, a myriad of unsolved problems calls for stronger global solidarity. However, the pandemic has also revealed some limitations in the current global health governance. First, the weakening role of multilateralism made it difficult for global and collective response. The authority of the World Health Organization (WHO) was challenged in light of the geopolitical competition between the United States and China, with the Trump administration declaring its intention to withdraw from the WHO although

91) United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 'Global Dashboard for Vaccine Equity', 2021, available at data.undp.org/vaccine-equity/ (accessed 21 February 2022).

92) UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 'The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2021', pp. 1-64.

the decision was later reversed in the Biden administration. The WHO's late declaration of the pandemic and doubts that the organisation is independent and impartial, among others, undermined its credibility as a multilateral health organisation. Universal health coverage advanced by the WHO and the United Nations were all but forgotten during the pandemic.

At the same time, global health channels have proliferated and the role of global health initiatives strengthened beyond their usual scope. For instance, the WHO, together with France, the European Commission, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, launched the Access to COVID-19 Tools Accelerator (ACT-A) as a global collaboration platform to accelerate development, production, and equitable access to COVID-19 tests, treatments, and vaccines. Global health initiatives, such as the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI) and Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance (Gavi), are co-leading COVAX, the vaccine pillar of the ACT-A. Other global health initiatives such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund), Unitaid, and the Foundation for Innovative New Diagnostics are supporting the other three pillars (i.e. diagnostics, treatments, and health systems pillars) of the ACT-A. Such cases show the pivotal roles of the global health initiatives in the COVID-19 response.

Furthermore, donor countries have placed health issues at the table at mini-lateral platforms, such as the G7, G20, Quad, and BRICS meetings. In light of the strategic competition between major powers, donors, mainly the US and China, have actively used mini-lateral dialogues to expand their network and cooperation based on their allies. Health issues in developing countries, including equal access to vaccines and health system strengthening, have been discussed in such meetings. For instance, the Quad member states, i.e., Australia, India, Japan and the US, announced in September 2021 that they will launch the Quad vaccine experts group to support health security and COVID-19 response in the Indo-Pacific region.⁹³⁾ The G7

93) The White House, 'Joint Statement from Quad Leaders', 2021, available at <https://>

member countries reaffirmed their commitment to speed up vaccine delivery in 2021.⁹⁴⁾

One of the most notable changes in the COVID-19 era was the rise of nationalism. It was at the centre of developed countries' COVID-19 response, and many developed countries were quick to close their borders and focus their energies on their own citizens as they were grappling with COVID-19 cases in their own countries, especially during the earlier phase of the pandemic. High-income countries were competitive in securing vaccines for their citizens first and have even begun to offer booster shots while the low-income countries are still short of COVID-19 vaccines. Developed countries' national interest has also been reflected in their foreign assistance. There has also been a greater tendency to strategically align diplomatic strategies with foreign aid, using the latter as a key instrument in donors' diplomacy. For instance, the US and China engaged in competitive vaccine diplomacy by providing domestically produced vaccines to developing countries bilaterally and multilaterally, the latter via the COVAX program, to its key partner countries. Such donations were made in the form of foreign aid or international development cooperation. Later, the European Union also implemented its own vaccine diplomacy through the Team Europe Initiative and launched local vaccine manufacturing investment in Africa,⁹⁵⁾ which is its key partner region. South Korea was not an exception. While it stepped up its global health cooperation efforts, almost half of its official development assistance (ODA) specifically designated for partner countries'

www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/24/joint-statement-from-quad-leaders/ (accessed February 21, 2022).

94) G7, 'Carbis Bay G7 Summit Communique: Our Shared Agenda for Global Action to Build Back Better,' 2021.

95) European Commission (EC), 'Vaccinating the World: "Team Europe" to Share More than 200 Million Doses of COVID-19 Vaccines with Low and Middle-Income Countries by the End of 2021', 2021, available at https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/news/vaccinating-world-team-europe-share-more-200-million-doses-covid-19-vaccines-low-and-middle_en (accessed 21 February 2022).

COVID-19 response was allocated to Asia, its priority partner region.

Last but not least, the global pandemic highlighted the importance of private and public stakeholders' participation in health including civil society organisations, academia, and private foundations. Oxford University teamed up with Astrazeneca and developed a COVID-19 vaccine. Civil society organisations have been pivotal in providing necessary assistance to those in need. Wellcome Trust, a private philanthropic group, is co-leading the treatment pillar of the ACT-A with Unitaid and WHO, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation committed more than 1.8 billion USD for COVID-19 response in developing countries.⁹⁶⁾ Reflecting these trends, the WHO is discussing the involvement of non-state actors in WHO's governing bodies.

Understanding the changes in global health governance is crucial for South Korea to strengthen its role as a global player. South Korea was officially categorised as a developed economy by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 2021. It has been 12 years since it joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as a donor country. Thus, it is high time that South Korea fulfil its obligations as a responsible and developed donor country.

Against this backdrop, this chapter will specifically focus on South Korea's global health cooperation. Not only was South Korea recognised for its successful COVID-19 response, but health has always been one of the priority sectors in its ODA. The authors will review the status of South Korea's global health cooperation in the next section, followed by the analysis of its global health engagement. This chapter will conclude with key recommendations for South Korea to become a more active global player.

96) BMGF, 'The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Pledges \$50 Million to Increase Access to Safe and Affordable COVID-19 Vaccines in Lower-Income Countries', 2021, available at <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/ideas/media-center/press-releases/2021/06/the-bill-and-melinda-gates-foundation-pledges-50-million-to-increase-access-to-safe-and-affordable-covid-19-vaccines-in-lower-income-countries> (accessed 21 February 2022).

2. Overview of South Korea's Global Health Cooperation

During the COVID-19 era, South Korea significantly strengthened its role and contribution in terms of its engagement in global health governance and provision of foreign assistance on health. South Korea's participation in global health governance involved (a) participating in the governance of major global health organisations, (b) creating global platforms for stronger partnerships and dialogues on global health, and (c) joining global efforts for international cooperation on health.⁹⁷⁾

In terms of governance, South Korea is a member of the World Health Assembly and sits as a vice-chair at the World Health Organization's Executive Board. South Korea is also participating in the decision-making bodies of major global health initiatives. For instance, it is a member of the executive board for Unitaid, innovative financing to scale up access to medicines, and has an independent vote. It also joined other like-minded donors in Gavi and the Global Fund's governance board. In Gavi, it is a member along with the US, Australia, and Japan, and the four-country group is currently represented by Australia with Australia holding the vice-chair seat until the end of 2023. On the Global Fund board, it is an alternate non-voting member of the 'additional public donors' group. While South Korea has contributed to CEPI, another key global health initiative in the COVID-19 era, it is not a board member. Yet, as an investor, it joins CEPI's Investors Council where all investors are invited to join. In light of the global pandemic, South Korea participates as a member of the market shapers in

97) This section is adapted from the authors' assessment of South Korea's global health cooperation in Eun Mee Kim and Jisun Song, 'Analysis of South Korea's Experience with the COVID-19 Pandemic and its Relations with the WHO', in van der Veere, Florian Schneider, and Catherine Yuk-ping Lo (Eds.) *Public Health in Asia during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Global Health Governance, Migrant Labour, and International Health Crises* (Amsterdam University Press, 2022).

the ACT-A Facilitation Council.

For South Korea, participation in the governance meetings of such multilateral platforms can consolidate its influence as a middle power country as well as a global agenda-setter while responding to partner countries' needs. For instance, participation in the organisation's decision-making process in which key issues such as budget and strategies are discussed can give more opportunities for South Korea to advance its agenda.⁹⁸⁾

However, South Korea's position in the decision-making bodies of multilateral health organisations varies by institution. One of the barometers that decide South Korea's role is its level of financial contributions, especially in comparison to other donors. First, it is important to note that South Korea's assessed contributions to the WHO are determined by the country's income level and are managed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MOHW). In addition to the MOHW, other ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Environment, finance WHO projects in developing countries.⁹⁹⁾ On the other hand, South Korea's contributions to the four global health initiatives mentioned above, i.e. CEPI, Gavi, Global Fund, and Unitaïd, are provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). MOFA mainly provides funding through the innovative development finance mechanism called the Global Disease Eradication Fund (GDEF) which is based on the air-ticket solidarity levy system. As the name suggests, GDEF channels its funds to health-related projects and institutions intending to prevent and eradicate global infectious diseases and achieve the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 3 on health and well-being. South Korea's latest contributions to the global health initiatives are listed in Table 1 below.

98) *Ibid.*, pp. 177-95.

99) CIDC, '2020 International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget)', Republic of Korea: Committee for International Development Cooperation (in Korean).

Table 1. South Korea's Latest Contributions to the Global Health Initiatives

Initiative	Starting Year	Latest Contributions
CEPI	2020	9 million USD for 2020–2022
Gavi	2010	140 million USD for 2021–2025 (Direct funding: 30 million USD, COVAX AMC: 110 million USD)
Global Fund	2013	25 million USD for 2020–2022
Unitaid	2008	16 million USD for 2019–2021 (Direct funding: 15 million USD, ACT-A: 1 million USD)

Source: CEPI, Gavi, Global Fund, Unitaid, MOFA, and KOICA website (accessed 30 January 2022).

Before COVID-19, the size of South Korea's contributions to the aforementioned global health initiatives was relatively even. For instance, South Korea provided an average of 4 million USD annually to Gavi (4 million USD annually for 2015-2017), the Global Fund (around 12 million USD for 2017-2019), and Unitaid (4 million USD annually for 2013-2018). With the pandemic, there was a stronger call for high-income countries to raise their contributions to support those in need. While South Korea's funds for the multilateral health initiatives increased, even newly funding CEPI, South Korea seems to focus primarily on the Global Fund and Gavi. South Korea also made notable contributions to other multilateral health platforms, such as pledging 200 million USD to COVAX Advance Market Commitment (AMC) in 2021-2022 for developing countries' better access to COVID-19 vaccines. Although South Korea did not explicitly state its motives for funding such initiatives, the decisions may have been influenced by the alignment between the initiatives' program areas and South Korea's ODA priorities, their effectiveness and impact in partner countries, and opportunities they offer for the South Korean private sector.¹⁰⁰⁾ A potential explanation for higher commitment to Gavi and the Global Fund may be that the two initiatives implement health projects in North Korea, which is a

100) Kim and Song, pp. 177-95.

key issue for South Korea.

Another important instrument for South Korea's contribution to global health security is its bilateral and multilateral ODA. South Korea's multilateral aid to health includes its contributions to the aforementioned multilateral health institutions: the WHO, COVAX AMC, CEPI, Gavi, Global Fund, and Unitaid. Since South Korea maintains a bilateral and multilateral ratio of 75 to 25, with around 75% of total ODA being allocated to bilateral aid,¹⁰¹⁾ bilateral health aid has been essential in improving health and well-being in partner countries.

Health has been a principal sector in South Korea's ODA. It was already the second-largest sector in 2019 after transportation¹⁰²⁾ and health will be the top priority sector in 2022 with 13.2% of total bilateral ODA allocated to the sector with both grants and concessional loans provided.¹⁰³⁾ Global health risk response was chosen as the first priority task in South Korea's mid-term ODA strategy for 2021-2025 and the government clearly stated its will to gradually expand the health aid budget.¹⁰⁴⁾ Figure 1 shows the volume and share of South Korea's health aid in the last five years. While the share of health aid out of total bilateral aid experienced slight fluctuations, the amount of bilateral health ODA gradually increased as South Korea's total ODA budget grew, jumping from 278 billion KRW (243 million USD) in 2018 to 425 billion KRW (372 million USD) in 2022.

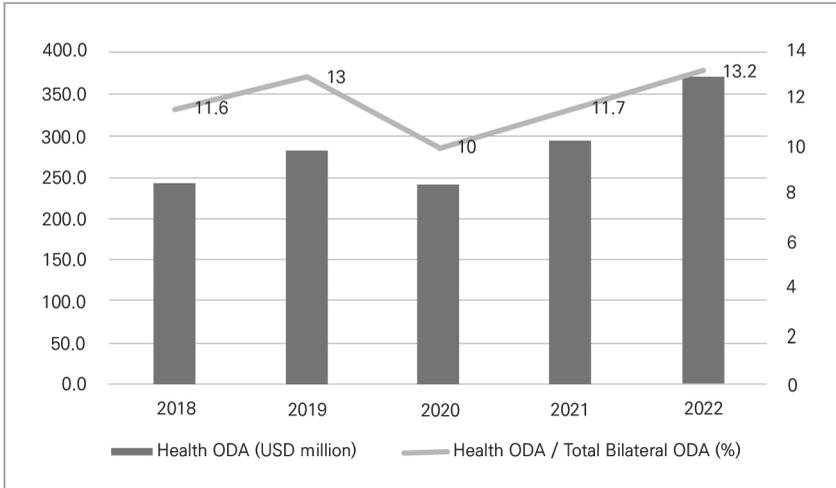
101) CIDC, '3rd Mid-Term Strategy for International Development Cooperation', 2021, Republic of Korea: Committee for International Development Cooperation (in Korean).

102) CIDC, '2019 International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget)', Republic of Korea: Committee for International Development Cooperation (in Korean).

103) CIDC, '2022 International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget)', Republic of Korea: Committee for International Development Cooperation (in Korean).

104) CIDC, 2021.

Figure 1. South Korea's Health ODA in 2018-2022



Note: South Korea's health ODA in KRW was converted to USD based on Korea's 2021 Exchange rate retrieved from the OECD website (accessed 21 February 2022).

Source: Committee for International Development Cooperation's Annual International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget) from 2018 to 2022.

In May 2020, South Korea launched a series of global solidarity platforms for comprehensive COVID-19 response at the UN, WHO, and UNESCO. It first created the UN Group of Friends of Solidarity for Global Health Security to strengthen the UN's response to health security issues, including COVID-19. It is the first group of friends launched at the UN after the COVID-19 outbreak. The group held its high-level meeting as a side event at the 2020 UN General Assembly and worked in partnership with the WHO to prepare its programme of work for 2021.¹⁰⁵⁾ It also founded the Support

105) Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), 'ROK-Led "UN Group of Friends of Solidarity for Global Health Security" Holds Virtual High-Level Meeting', 2020, available at https://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5676/view.do?seq=321234&srchFr=&%3BsrchTo=&%3BsrchWord=&%3BsrchTp=&%3Bmulti_itm_seq=0&%3Bitm_seq_1=0&%3Bitm_seq_2=0&%3Bcompany_cd=&%3Bcompany_nm (accessed 21 January 2022); WHO, 'Collaboration within the United Nations System and with Other Intergovernmental Organizations'.

Group for Global Infectious Disease Response with the WHO, seeking to build an effective global infectious disease response system. Lastly, it launched the Group of Friends for Solidarity and Inclusion with Global Citizenship Education at UNESCO, aiming to galvanise global cooperation and discussion on various forms of inhumane acts, including discrimination, provoked by COVID-19. This group contributed to adopting the ‘Global Call against Racism’ in 2020.¹⁰⁶⁾ South Korea participates as a chair or core member in all three platforms, which are open to all countries.

South Korea also launched the Northeast Asia Cooperation for Health Security initiative in 2020, a regional cooperation initiative for a joint response to health security issues including COVID-19. Major countries in the region, including the US, China, Japan, Russia, and Mongolia, are participating in the platform.¹⁰⁷⁾

3. Opportunities and Challenges for South Korea’s Global Health Engagement

Although South Korea was severely affected by COVID-19 from the early stage, it was able to effectively react to the outbreak domestically even with its ups and downs. Recognising the growing demand for support for partner countries, MOFA launched the ODA Korea: Building Trust initiative in 2020 to strengthen global transparency, resilience, unity, and safety with its partner countries through humanitarian assistance, health aid, and other

106) UNESCO, ‘The Republic of Korea and UNESCO Hold Strategic Dialogue on Shared Priorities’, 2021, available at <https://en.unesco.org/news/republic-korea-and-unesco-hold-strategic-dialogue-shared-priorities> (accessed 21 February 2022).

107) MOFA, ‘3rd Virtual Meeting on “Northeast Asia Cooperation for Health Security (NEACHS)” Held on May 27’, 2021, available at https://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5676/view.do?seq=321698#:~:text=- (accessed 21 February 2022). NEACHS is a regional cooperation on other new infectious diseases.

sectoral aid.¹⁰⁸⁾

Also noteworthy was South Korea's endeavours to contribute to collective global health security, particularly through multilateralism. South Korea took a proactive role in establishing international arenas for global dialogues and solidarity, such as the UN Group of Friends of Solidarity for Global Health Security, WHO Support Group for Global Infectious Disease Response and the UNESCO Group of Friends for Solidarity and Inclusion with Global Citizenship Education. It also made intentional efforts to take a more significant role in helping its partner countries respond to the pandemic. For example, South Korea expressed its interest in supporting capacity building in global health security and the WHO designated South Korea as the global bio-manufacturing training hub to help low and middle-income countries produce their own vaccines and therapeutics, thereby contributing to reducing global vaccine inequality, in February 2022. It is crucial that the momentum be sustained and further strengthened as the world will continue to face a myriad of humanitarian and developmental challenges in the post-COVID-19 era.

While South Korea certainly stepped up its efforts, more active and meaningful action that better reflects its global status as a developed country is required. The fact that it was invited to the G7 Summit for two consecutive years in 2020 and 2021 reflects both its enhanced global stature as well as the international community's expectation for it to play a bigger role in global affairs. In particular, it needs to strengthen its engagement in terms of global health governance and contributions.

Global health governance through international organisations remains essential. For instance, the WHO is a key pillar of ACT-A and was recommended by its independent panel to establish the Global Health

108) UNDP Seoul Policy Centre, 'International Development Cooperation', 2020, available at https://www1.undp.org/content/seoul_policy_center/en/home/presscenter/articles/2019/Collection_of_Examples_from_the_Republic_of_Korea/international-development-cooperation.html (accessed 21 February 2022).

Threats Council, a high-level platform to lead pandemic preparedness and response. Thus, it is likely that efforts to revitalise multilateralism on health focusing on the WHO will continue in the post-COVID-19 era. South Korea's sustained and solidified partnerships with multilateral health institutions could bring more opportunities for it to play a greater role in the global health security agenda.

The Yoon government will be reviewing the current level of participation in global health initiatives and decide whether to maintain the status quo or provide greater support for health initiatives. Given that South Korea has raised its voice to call attention to the need for a multilateral platform for global issues, it is likely that the new administration would enhance its support for global initiatives. President Yoon has brought in former presidential candidate Ahn Chul Soo to his administration transition team as the chairperson. Ahn, who is also a medical doctor, who was seen throughout the campaign, often wearing a doctor's white coat, assisting with COVID-19 testing at hospitals, would be a strong sign of support for health- and science-related initiatives. We believe this will have a positive influence in enhancing South Korea's role in the global arena, especially in global public health. The health-related initiatives of the Moon administration have played a pivotal role in the COVID-19 era and meet South Korea's different objectives, and thus, we expect that this focus will remain with the new administration. For instance, South Korean pharmaceutical companies have benefitted from CEPI, Gavi, and Global Fund in terms of research and development, manufacturing, and procurement. Gavi and Global Fund not only work in North Korea but cover major infectious diseases. South Korea has a stronger voice at Unitaid and much of Unitaid's funding comes from an air-ticket solidarity levy, the same innovative financing mechanism that South Korea adopted to fund GDEF. Cooperating with all four initiatives can give South Korea opportunities to be involved in various global health issues. However, South Korea does not have an even level of influence across the four initiatives, only having an independent seat at the governing

board in Unitaid. In principle, it would be most ideal to increase the overall budget to continue funding global health initiatives that South Korea has already been supporting. It would also ensure continuity in the government's global health strategy.¹⁰⁹⁾ The new administration is expected to continue South Korea's global strategies, and allow South Korea to play a more active role as a donor and agenda-setter. Although the final decision is left to the new government that has taken office on May 10, 2022 with President Yoon Suk-yeol, continuing the funding of Gavi and the Global Fund may be an optimal choice for the new administration. President Yoon stated that he will promote humanitarian assistance to North Korea regardless of the political situation and promote diplomacy that prioritises national interests. The fact that more South Korean companies are participating in Gavi and the Global Fund's procurement process also bodes well for the South Korean government's likelihood of focusing on these two mechanisms.

On a related note, the fact that South Korea's financial contributions to the initiatives are not on par with other donor countries may pose an additional challenge. For instance, as of February 2022, South Korea was the 15th largest government donor to COVAX AMC,¹¹⁰⁾ providing even more than Belgium, Australia, and Denmark, who allocated a similar amount of ODA in 2019.¹¹¹⁾ However, it is important to note that South Korea's

109) For instance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea announced its intention to increase contributions to CEPI for the next strategic period at the Global Pandemic Preparedness Summit on March 7-8, 2022.

110) WHO, 'Access to COVID-19 Tools Funding Commitment Tracker', 2022, available at <https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/access-to-covid-19-tools-tracker> (accessed 21 February 2022).

111) According to the OECD, South Korea was the 16th largest donor out of 29 OECD DAC member states, excluding the European Union Institutions in 2020. South Korea provided US\$ 2.25 billion (16th) in total ODA while Belgium allocated US\$ 2.29 billion (15th) and Australia disbursed US\$ 2.56 billion (14th). Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 'Official Development Assistance 2020 - Preliminary Data', Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Statistics, 2021, available at https://public.tableau.com/views/ODA_GNI/ODA2020?:language=fr&:display_count=y&publish=yes&:origin=viz_share_link?&:showVizHome=no#1

financial contributions to COVAX AMC, which were channelled through Gavi, were specifically made due to the COVID-19 outbreak. Prior to the pandemic, South Korea's contributions to the individual initiatives were small in comparison to other donors with similar ODA budgets. For instance, while South Korea invested 3 million USD to CEPI in 2020, Belgium provided 5.4 million USD and Australia 5.3 million USD.¹¹²⁾ While South Korea was the first Asian donor to pledge to Gavi in 2010, other middle-power countries, such as Australia have made far greater pledges. For 2021-2025, Australia pledged direct funding of 219.4 million USD.¹¹³⁾ Growing demand for South Korea's contributions will only continue. The WHO already called upon South Korea to contribute 500 million USD in 2021-2022 to ACT-A as its fair share,¹¹⁴⁾ which is more than twice the 200 million USD it pledged for 2020-2021. Predictable, flexible, multi-year, and increased funding to international organizations not only supports international institutes in operating more effectively and efficiently, but it also helps South Korea increase its influence in key agencies and enhance its engagement in global governance, thereby reinforcing its global role. It is noteworthy to remember that past South Korean governments regardless of their incumbent party's political perspective have all supported increasing ODA and also its global influence.

We expect that the new Yoon administration will continue this tradition. President Yoon announced his commitment to support the implementation of the SDGs and increase South Korea's ODA/GNI ratio from the current 0.15% to the DAC average, which was 0.32% in 2020, when he announced

(accessed 21 February 2022).

111) Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI) '2020 Annual Progress Report', 2021.

112) *Ibid.*

113) Gavi, 'Donor Profiles - Australia', 2021, available at gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/donor-profiles/australia (accessed 21 February 2022).

114) WHO, 'Consolidated Financing Framework for ACT-A Agency & In-Country Needs October 2021 to September 2022', 9 February 2022.

his 20 election pledges on diplomacy and defence policies in January 2022. He also stressed on February 8, 2022, that he would expand South Korea's overseas development assistance programs.¹¹⁵⁾ Yet, he did not specify the target year for reaching the DAC average of ODA/GNI. Should it be within his five-year term, this would mean speedy achievement of the current ODA goal of doubling ODA between 2019 and 2030, a slightly modified goal of reaching 0.30% ODA/GNI by 2030.¹¹⁶⁾ If his target is also 2030, then this would mean a similar or slightly higher ODA target from his previous administration. An increase in the total ODA budget coupled with restored GDEF revenue with normalised international travels may lead to an increased government budget allocated to multilateral health organisations and initiatives. President Yoon's strong foreign policy team gives hope that it will have assertive policies and global stance for international development cooperation and the will for multilateral engagement with international organizations.

In parallel to multilateral institutions, discussions on global health are taking place on mini-lateral platforms. We are also witnessing stronger collaboration and cooperation among key allies. For instance, the Quad members, led by the US, have partnered to launch the Quad Vaccine Partnership, pledge billions of vaccine donations, and invest in the health security of developing countries.¹¹⁷⁾ Simultaneously, the EU member states are strengthening their own global health cooperation under the Team Europe initiative. Yet, South Korea belongs to neither of these key

115) Suk-yeol Yoon, 'South Korea Needs to Step Up', *Foreign Affairs*, February 8, 2022, available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/south-korea/2022-02-08/south-korea-needs-step> (accessed March 10 2022).

116) South Korea's ODA goal has been to reach 0.20% ODA/GNI by 2020 and 0.30% ODA/GNI by 2030. However, the South Korean government modified the latter to double the ODA budget between 2019 and 2030 in the Third Mid-term ODA Strategy for 2021-2025 to account for the potential influence of shifting GNI.

117) The White House, 'Fact Sheet: Quad Summit', 2021, available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/12/fact-sheet-quad-summit/> (accessed 21 February 2022).

mini-lateral platforms. Although it launched the Northeast Asia Cooperation for Health Security initiative, it remains a working-level meeting. One potential opportunity for South Korea to engage in high-level mini-lateral dialogues on global health may be the development of the Quad Plus concept. South Korea, along with other like-minded countries, were invited to the Quad meetings in 2021. This is also in line with President Yoon's pledge made in January 2022 to join the working group on vaccine, climate change, and emerging technologies under the Quad Partnership. As strategic competition between the US and China continues, it's expected that the US will cooperate with its allies on key issues including health based on universal values of democracy, rule of law, human rights, etc. South Korea and the US have already paved the way for mutual partnership on global health, such as announcing the establishment of the KORUS Global Vaccine Partnership at the KOR-US Summit in 2021. President Yoon also highlighted global cooperation based on liberal democratic values as well as the fact that South Korea is well-positioned to take a leadership role in pandemic response.¹¹⁸⁾ Not only does South Korea abide by the liberal democratic values in its international development cooperation, but health has been a priority sector in its ODA. Thus, on the global health agenda, South Korea could play a more strategic role in the Quad Plus. Since Quad's geographic focus is on the Indo-Pacific, it will also be in South Korea's interest to seek avenues of cooperation in Quad Plus format, since its international development cooperation has always placed utmost importance on the Asian region. At the same time, this should not mean closing its doors on China. In fact, global health can be an area where the two countries can cooperate and President Yoon showed his intention to do so in September 2021 when he listed public health along with economy, climate change, nuclear non-proliferation, green energy, and cultural exchange as partnership areas that can benefit both countries.

118) Yoon (2022).

The next opportunity for South Korea is the expanding multi-stakeholder participation in global health governance. Noteworthy is the recent WHO reform concerning the involvement of non-state actors in the WHO's governing bodies.¹¹⁹⁾ Prior to and during the global pandemic, South Korea's pharmaceutical industry has formed partnerships with multilateral health institutions. Also, South Korea's private sector, from the pharmaceutical industry to universities to hospitals, will participate in the WHO's global biomanufacturing training hub. Although the current status of partnership is more contract-based without any involvement in the governance, the changing landscape could give opportunities for the South Korean private sector to venture into the global health governance.

Bilateral health cooperation with partner countries leaves room for improvement. Through diplomatic and ODA strategies, including but not limited to the New Southern Policy, New Northern Policy, and the ODA Korea: Building Trust initiative, it fortified its contributions to strengthening partner countries' health systems. However, it has failed to meet its promised commitment of increasing its ODA/GNI to 0.20% by 2020, which is far lower than the UN target of 0.7% ODA/GNI. Although South Korea did not reduce its ODA budget in spite of recent domestic economic constraints, much government effort will be required to meet the new target of doubling its ODA between 2019 and 2030. This also comes when there is decreasing public support for ODA. Only 76% of the total population favoured the provision of ODA in 2021,¹²⁰⁾ which was the lowest support rate since 2012. Mobilising sufficient public support over mid- to long-term periods will be necessary for South Korea to achieve its target by 2030.

There are also systematic issues that undermine South Korea's development

119) WHO, 'WHO Reform: Involvement of Non-State Actors in WHO's Governing Bodies', 2021.

120) Office of the Prime Minister, 'Press Release: 2021 ODA National Awareness Survey Result', 2022, available at <https://www.korea.kr/news/pressReleaseView.do?newsId=156492422> (accessed 21 February 2022) (in Korean).

effectiveness. South Korea has severe aid fragmentation issues, with over 40 ministries, government agencies, and regional governments implementing their own aid projects. The problem has also been addressed by the OECD DAC through peer reviews on South Korea. MOFA and the Ministry of Economy and Finance remain two major players, with their combined aid budget accounting for over 80% of total aid. While the Committee for International Development Cooperation has strived to build better linkages among various aid projects, the current aid structure is complex and hampers aid effectiveness and efficiency. It is imperative that the aid system be improved and harmonised, particularly grant aid projects that are more dispersed than concessional loans. MOFA, which is already managing most grants and leads the Council on grants, should manage all grants for better impact and alignment between foreign aid and diplomatic strategies. Ministries outside of MOFA have already provided their expertise based on their sector-specific knowledge. For instance, MOFA has cooperated with the Korea Disease Control and Prevention Agency in Unitaid, with the latter participating as an alternate board member in MOFA. They also have working-level consultations with MOFA to contribute to South Korea's grant aid strategy. Health-wise, it will also be beneficial for MOFA to maintain partnership channels with other ministries, as health issues are becoming more interrelated and interdependent with other issues such as trade (e.g., the trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights on COVID-19 vaccines), climate, and finance.

4. Moving Forward

With South Korea's growing presence in the international community, there will be growing demand for it to fulfil its role as a responsible developed country by stepping up its financial and diplomatic contributions. In light of the continuous strategic competition between the US and China and the

United States' coalition-building efforts, South Korea will be required to take more action and join other fellow like-minded democratic countries.

Global health cooperation could be one of the most suitable sectors that South Korea should concentrate on to meet such growing demands. Global health cooperation has emerged as a key agenda in South Korea's diplomacy amid the global pandemic. It is also one of the areas where there is less controversy, both domestically and internationally, around South Korea taking a more proactive role. South Korea's global health cooperation, like other areas of its international development cooperation, has been practised based on universal values and shared principles. In fact, South Korea became more vocal in pushing forward the agenda, joining other like-minded countries in calling for stronger unity, solidarity, and commitment based on multilateralism to ensure equal global access to vaccines and build a stronger global health system.¹²¹⁾ At the same time, it needs to recognise that its financial pledges to global health have not met expectations, and that renewed commitment to meet its ODA target and unwavering focus on health is required.

As mentioned before, the changing global landscape and South Korea's aid system may pose both opportunities and challenges in enhancing its contributions to global health. The new administration should take stock of the progress made so far and take a more proactive approach to advance its global health agenda and contributions to become a key international player.

121) Justin Trudeau, Sahle-Work Zewde, Jae-in Moon, Jacinda Ardern, Cyril Ramaphosa, Pedro Sánchez Pérez-Castejón, Stefan Lofven, and Elyes Fakhfakh, 'Opinion: The International Community Must Guarantee Equal Global Access to a Covid-19 Vaccine', *The Washington Post*, 2022, available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/07/15/international-community-must-guarantee-equal-global-access-covid-19-vaccine/> (accessed 21 February 2022); J. V. Bainimarama, Prayut Chan-o-cha, António Luís Santos da Costa, Mario Draghi, Klaus Iohannis, Boris Johnson, Paul Kagame *et al.*, 'COVID-19 Shows Why United Action Is Needed for More Robust International Health Architecture', 2021, WHO, available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/commentaries/detail/op-ed---covid-19-shows-why-united-action-is-needed-for-more-robust-international-health-architecture> (accessed 21 February 2022).

Chapter 5



South Korea's Role in Global Trade Governance: From Tiger to Ranger?

Pascal Lamy

(President, Paris Peace Forum)

Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki

(Policy Advisor, International Trade Intelligence)¹²²

- 
1. Introduction
 2. The Political Economy of South Korea's Trade Policy: Power and Plenty
 3. How South Korea Engages in Global and Regional Trade Governance: Technical Engagement without Political Leadership
 4. South Korea's Approach to Emerging Trade Policy Issues
 5. Conclusion

1. Introduction

South Korea's rapid transformation from a developing country with less than 1% of the world's population into the world's tenth-largest economy is an impressive achievement and the go-to case study of the export-led growth model. It is illustrative that within only six decades, South Korea's per capita GDP increased two-hundred-fold, from 158 USD in 1960 to 31,600 USD in 2020.¹²³⁾

The story behind South Korea's so-called "tiger economy" is a mix of successful industrial policy and structural economic reforms, an effective education system, diversified industrial conglomerates, sought-after consumer products, and cultural exports with global appeal. It is fundamentally also a geoeconomic success story, a story of access to foreign markets and deep economic integration with regional and global value chains, which have made South Korea one of the world's most important manufacturing hubs.¹²⁴⁾

But South Korea finds itself in a difficult geopolitical position with complicated relationships in its neighbourhood. To its west, the threats and opportunities of a rising China loom large. To its east, historical grievances with Japan strain bilateral relations with an important trading partner. Just a stone's throw away from Seoul, North Korea threatens stability on the Korean Peninsula with the world's fourth-largest military and nuclear sabre rattling. As trade and security issues have become increasingly intertwined, South Korea's trade policy has had to tread carefully to not upset a delicate balance between its economic and security interests.

122) The authors would like to thank Taeho Bark, Christophe Besse, Ramon Pacheco Pardo, Sunsook Park, Sébastien Miroudot, and Sergios Stamnas for their valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this chapter. The responsibility for any errors, interpretations, or omissions lies solely with the authors.

123) World Bank, 'World Development Indicators', 2022.

124) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 'OECD Global Value Chain (GVC) Index', 2022.

Without a doubt, trade and economic integration have benefitted South Korea greatly. It has been a key beneficiary of an open global trading system. For years, the guiding principle of South Korea's trade policy was to obtain market access for its goods, both at the multilateral level and through regional trade agreements. But its open economy has exposed South Korea to external vulnerabilities that may become more difficult to manage as the global trading system faces increasing geopolitical uncertainty and must address new challenges from the digital transformation and climate change. As South Korea has become a key stakeholder of the current trading order, it must therefore reevaluate its role in global trade governance. South Korean policymakers will have to reshape a tiger economy with a voracious appetite for market access and transform it to become one of the rangers that guard a sustainable and open order. The prospect of such a transformation depends on the political economy of South Korea's trade policy that shapes its role in global trade governance, in particular its participation in international institutions and regional trade agreements.

2. The Political Economy of South Korea's Trade Policy: Power and Plenty

South Korea's trade policy is shaped by its defensive and offensive commercial objectives and idiosyncratic geopolitical imperatives. Striking a balance between the two has been the overarching goal of South Korean trade policy. This goal determines South Korea's role in global trade governance and its position on emerging trade policy issues.

South Korea's commercial objectives are closely related to its structure as one of the world's most open economies. Amongst G20 countries, for example, it has the third-highest trade-to-GDP and export-to-GDP ratios, which in 2020 were at 69% and 37%, respectively.¹²⁵ This openness has

contributed to South Korea's economic growth and has made it one of the world's five most diversified economies.¹²⁶⁾ Importantly, the manufacturing sector continues to underwrite South Korea's export performance. In 2020, it contributed to 27% of South Korea's GDP, 91% of total merchandise exports, and 16% of employment.¹²⁷⁾

ICT products carry particular weight, as they constitute one third of all South Korean merchandise exports.¹²⁸⁾ South Korean consumer electronics brands like LG and Samsung, for example, are recognised worldwide and are amongst the world's largest producers of smartphones and televisions. Recent shortages have also highlighted South Korea's crucial role in the global value chains for semiconductors, particularly memory chips. South Korea also has significant exports and global market share of white goods, automobiles, petrochemicals, and heavy industrial products, including ships. In recent years, South Korean cultural industries, including movies, music, and television, have found a following around the world.

South Korean exports are dominated by large conglomerates (*chaebols*). Although the South Korean government has recently made efforts to diversify ownership structures to increase domestic competition, the market concentration in many sectors remains high, especially when compared with other OECD countries. On the one hand, the *chaebols* are highly innovative businesses with significant R&D spending and diversified portfolios that allow them to quickly seize new market opportunities, which has made them the backbone of South Korea's success on the global stage. On the other hand, they are having a stifling effect on the growth prospects of SMEs, which are afflicted by significantly lower levels of productivity but employ the majority of South Korea's workforce.¹²⁹⁾ Moreover, high market

125) Data for 2020 from World Bank, World Development Indicators (exports/GDP) and World Trade Organization, Trade and Tariff Data (trade/GDP).

126) Harvard Growth Lab, 'Economic Complexity Index,' 2022.

127) World Trade Organization, 'WT/TPR/S/414/Rev.1', December 2021.

128) *Ibid.*

129) OECD, 'OECD Economic Surveys: South Korea 2020', 2020.

concentration also increases the risk of regulatory capture, which can have lopsided effects on trade policy outcomes and general welfare. South Korea's offensive trade policy goals have indeed tended to be closely aligned with the business interests of its largest firms. The *chaebols* want to minimise friction to move capital and intermediate goods throughout their international production networks while also trying to maximise their market share in foreign business and consumer markets. These organisational choices also influence the structure of South Korea's trade relations, independent of government policies. South Korea's engagement in global trade policy discussions therefore depends on how the next government will address the role of *chaebols* in the South Korean economy.

The trade policy of South Korea also accounts for defensive commercial interests, most notably in the agriculture and fisheries sectors, which dominated the economy until the 1960s. Although today South Korea is a net food importer and the primary sector contributes only 2% of GDP, agriculture and fisheries remain politically sensitive.¹³⁰ On the one hand, South Korea has a high population density, and the rural population has been decreasing for decades, because the country is land-scarce and has a shrinking area of farmland.¹³¹ On the other hand, South Korean farming continues to be dominated by small family farms, which are largely on agricultural plots of under one hectare and can be found in every district of the country. Due to a long coastline that defines South Korea's geography, fishing communities are also located in many parts of the country. Overall, farmers and fishermen make up only 5% of employment. However, in view of their geographic distribution throughout the country, they represent an important political constituency.

As distance is a key determinant for trade flows, South Korea's geographic location ties it inevitably into the orbit of other open economies in the

130) World Trade Organization (2021).

131) *Ibid.*

neighbourhood. Amongst South Korea's five largest trading partners, three are in its own region.¹³²⁾ More than 26% of South Korea's exports go to China, 17% to ASEAN, and 5% to Japan. At the same time, 23% of South Korea's imports are from China, 12% from ASEAN, and 10% from Japan.¹³³⁾ (This compares to 9% of exports to the EU-27 and 15% to the US, as well as 12% of imports coming from the EU-27 and 12% from the US.)

As trade policy does not take place in a political vacuum, South Korea has had to experience multiple times in recent years how its difficult geopolitical environment can have very concrete impacts on trade. For example, South Korea's largest trading partner, China, plays an important role in the production networks of South Korean firms. In 2019, more than 24% of South Korea's imports from China and 27% of its exports to China were in intermediate goods.¹³⁴⁾ South Korea is also relying on China for critical raw materials such as tungsten oxide (95% sourced from China) and magnesium ingot (100% sourced from China), which are essential to produce semiconductors and car parts, respectively. The volatility of these arrangements was on display when the United States, the long-term guarantor of South Korea's security, deployed the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system to South Korea in 2016.¹³⁵⁾ China reacted to the deployment with various grey zone actions, which included the closing of South Korean stores in China for alleged safety violations, the stopping of regulatory approval for South Korean video games, and the boycott of popular South Korean pop stars and actors. Moreover, the number of Chinese tourists visiting South Korea fell by half in a year.¹³⁶⁾

Relations with South Korea's closest neighbour, Japan, have also reached the lowest point in decades. A 2012 ruling of the South Korean Supreme

132) Counting ASEAN as a bloc.

133) World Trade Organization, 'Trade and Tariff Data', 2022.

134) World Bank, 'World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS)', 2022.

135) Note that 28,000 US troops were stationed in South Korea at the time of writing.

136) Taeho Bark, 'South Korea's recent trade performance in response to external development', 2022.

Court required Japanese companies to compensate for forced labour during Japan's colonial rule of South Korea.¹³⁷⁾ The South Korean Supreme Court reaffirmed this position in 2018 when it authorised the seizure of Nippon Steel assets. In response, Japan imposed export control on strategic materials to South Korea in 2019, including for hydrogen fluoride and fluorine polyimide, which are critical to produce semiconductors. Despite an earlier dependence on imports of these materials from Japan, South Korean firms have been able to diversify their sourcing since the restrictions were imposed. However, the episode highlights that even the trade relationship with the only other democracy in South Korea's immediate neighbourhood remains highly volatile.

As the non-exhaustive list of examples above illustrates, South Korea's trade policy has been shaped by both economic and geopolitical factors. This has constrained South Korea's role in the governance of global trade. But the prospect of a fragmenting global trading system along political fault lines puts Seoul in an increasingly difficult position to walk this tightrope. If future South Korean governments want to keep relying on export-driven growth, they must become more proactive actors in support of a rules-based and open trading system, which may involve more difficult trade-offs ahead.

3. How South Korea Engages in Global and Regional Trade Governance: Technical Engagement without Political Leadership

South Korea has become a key stakeholder of the open international trading system. It has been a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade since 1967, entered into more than 18 regional trade agreements

¹³⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

(RTAs), and is seeking to join several next-generation agreements, such as the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement (DEPA).¹³⁸⁾ South Korea's active engagement with the trading system at multiple levels of governance has reflected the idiosyncratic political economy of South Korea's trade policy that was illustrated above.

Until recently, South Korea still benefited from multilateral special and differential treatment provisions for developing countries. Notably, under pressure from the United States, South Korea committed in October 2019 to relinquish this status for current and future negotiations at the WTO. Nevertheless, South Korea's Most Favoured Nation (MFN) average tariff rate of 13.9% (60.4% for agricultural products, 6.3% for industrial goods) reflects the more limited commitments it made as a developing country in earlier multilateral tariff cuts, as it remains relatively high compared to other OECD countries.¹³⁹⁾ This continues to provide the country with some leverage in RTA negotiations for granting concessions to partner countries.

South Korea is party to several plurilateral initiatives at the WTO, including the 1994 Government Procurement Agreement, the 1996 Information Technology Agreement (ITA) and its 2015 expansion, the 2015 Trade Facilitation Agreement, and the 2021 Declaration on Services Domestic Regulation. It is also an observer to the WTO Committee on Trade in Civil Aircraft and party to the ongoing discussions on electronic commerce, investment facilitation, trade and environmental sustainability, and micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises. Joining plurilateral agreements that go beyond multilateral commitments has been a success story for South Korea. Its significant trade surplus in ICT goods, for example, has made South Korea one of the key beneficiaries of the ITA. South Korea has also been able to lead by example on trade facilitation issues. The customs clearance

138) World Trade Organization, 'Regional Trade Agreements Database', 2022.

139) All data for 2021 is from the World Trade Organization, 2021.

performance of South Korea Customs is world leading. Its UNI-PASS e-clearance scheme, for example, has been copied by at least fifteen other countries. Moreover, South Korea has a highly effective programme to maximise the utilisation of trade preferences by its firms that should be studied more closely by other countries.

South Korea is also member of several negotiating coalitions at the WTO, notably the Asian Group of Developing Members, the APEC group, the G-10 group, the G-33 group, the Friends of Anti-Dumping Negotiations group, the Joint Proposal (in intellectual property) group and the Ottawa Group for the reform of the multilateral trading system.¹⁴⁰⁾ However, amongst other WTO members, South Korea is sometimes perceived to be insufficiently assertive in proportion to its weight in the global economy. Of course, charting a course to avoid trade and security pitfalls between South Korea's three largest trading partners, China, the European Union, and the United States, has become trickier to navigate in recent years. While this could also put South Korea in a unique position in the middle of the most important dominating actors in the WTO, it should be noted that both of South Korea's nominations for the last two vacancies for the office of WTO Director-General, in 2013 and 2020, were unsuccessful. After the United States paralysed the Appellate Body, South Korea also missed a chance to join the multi-party interim appeal arrangement (MPIA), which could be seen as a vital line of defence for the multilateral trading system.

At the technical level, however, South Korea is highly involved in trade policy discussion, not only at the WTO, but also at the OECD. South Korea, in particular through KIEP, actively participates in the OECD trade committee and relies on OECD research to compare its trade frameworks, benchmark its results, and improve its trade policies. South Korea has in recent years taken some more political responsibility, such as the co- organisation of the

140) World Trade Organization, 'Groups in the Negotiations', 12 April 2021, available at https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/negotiating_groups_e.htm#grp023 (accessed 5 April 2022).

last OECD trade ministerial in October 2021 (along with Luxembourg and the United States). However, South Korea is for the most part not setting the agenda for emerging trade policy discussions.¹⁴¹⁾

Below the multilateral level, South Korea's regional trade policy reflects its commercial interests and geopolitical position. While the multilateral trading system, including important plurilateral agreements like the ITA and its extension, has facilitated lower tariff and non-tariff barriers for some of South Korea's most important exports in key partner countries, South Korea has obtained further concessions in bilateral and minilateral agreements, in particular for its automobile industry.

South Korea's agricultural sensitivities, on the other hand, are reflected in the high peak tariff rates for some agricultural products at the multilateral level (up to 887% for some agricultural goods and 513% for out-of-quota rice). Even South Korea's RTAs have only partial coverage of agricultural products (e.g., the exclusion of rice). As a result of these policy choices, South Korean agricultural products are up to 2.5 times more expensive than global market prices.¹⁴²⁾

Since South Korea negotiated its first RTA with Chile, in 2003, South Korea has concluded a total of eighteen trade agreements, including with all its major trading partners. Its simple average tariff rate on imports from RTA partners is considerably lower than its 13.9% average MFN tariff rate, in particular for the deepest agreements, such as the 2007 United States–South Korea Free Trade Agreement (2.5%) and the 2009 European Union–South Korea Free Trade Agreement (2.9%).¹⁴³⁾ While the trade agreements in its neighbourhood (e.g. with ASEAN, China, and other members of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership [RCEP]) play an important

141) Notable exceptions are areas of market access interest to South Korea, such as telecommunications, where South Korea has actively pushed for further developments of the OECD's services trade restrictiveness index.

142) World Trade Organization, 2021.

143) *Ibid.*

role in South Korea's production networks, South Korea's trade agreements also cover its largest markets for finished goods: the European Union (9% of exports) and the United States (15% of exports).

South Korea's difficult geopolitical position has at times stood in the way of the country entering into trade agreements but also facilitated a strategic diversification of supply chains in recent years. Notably, South Korea did not join 2008-16 negotiations for the failed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which can be interpreted as a strategy to avoid conflict with China, with which South Korea was simultaneously negotiating an RTA (2012-15). Moreover, South Korea already had — or was in the process of negotiating — bilateral and minilateral RTAs with most of its other main trading partners amongst TPP members (e.g., agreements with ASEAN, Australia, Canada, Chile, Peru, New Zealand, and the United States). Joining the negotiations for the RCEP, on the other hand, was diplomatically less sensitive, as RCEP grew out of the economic component of the ASEAN+6 process that has always been an exercise in regional geopolitical balancing.

After nine years of trade talks, RCEP was signed by its fifteen members in November 2020. South Korea ratified the agreement in December 2021, entering into force on 1 February 2022. Although South Korea's existing RTAs are already providing deeper market access for most RCEP partners, the streamlined rules of origin regime are expected to increase intra-regional trade and investment. This could help South Korea to diversify its supply chains away from its current dependence on production networks in China. Importantly, the minilateral cover of RCEP has also allowed South Korea to liberalise trade with Japan, without getting stuck in a bilateral quagmire of historic grievances. The successful conclusion of RCEP has also revived discussions for a trilateral agreement between China, Japan, and South Korea, which were launched in 2013, but were previously caught between different levels of ambition and political obstacles.

While the prospects of the trilateral negotiations remain highly uncertain, the withdrawal of the United States from the TPP and the subsequent

ratification of the replacement CPTPP has created a new regional dynamic. China started signalling its interest to join the agreement and formally applied for CPTPP membership in September 2021. While a success of China's bid is also questionable at the moment, it has provided an opening for Seoul to apply for membership without risking scorn from Beijing. The deep liberalisation commitments of CPTPP in services, investment, intellectual property, and digital trade go significantly beyond the provisions of the comparatively shallow RCEP. This could allow South Korea to further spur a diversification of its supply chain networks.

It is laudable that South Korea is finally showing the will to take a more active role in the emerging trade architecture of the Asia-Pacific region. Future Korean governments should also carefully consider how this new political momentum can be carried over to Geneva, where South Korea could take a clearer stance on safeguarding the open rules-based order, e.g., by joining MPIA and strengthening the role of the WTO Secretariat. While this might not always go down well in Washington, it is important for decision-makers in Seoul to recognise the benefits they gain from a strong multilateral system and invest more political capital to save it from implosion.

4. South Korea's Approach to Emerging Trade Policy Issues

With increasing economic integration, policy challenges that were previously managed independent of trade policy are creating spillover effects for trade governance. This concerns an ever-growing list of issue areas, but the digital transformation and environmental challenges are amongst the most consequential. How South Korea will link its trade policy with the digital and green agendas will therefore become critically important for future trade negotiations at the bilateral, minilateral, and multilateral level.

To take the negative environmental externalities of international trade into account, a growing number of WTO members have started to discuss carbon border adjustment policies.¹⁴⁴⁾ Countries with the ambition to dramatically lower their greenhouse gas emissions to meet climate targets are worried about the effects of “carbon leakage”, i.e., imports from countries with lower standards that don’t price in the environmental externalities of carbon.

South Korea’s economy is the third most energy-intensive amongst International Energy Agency members and is heavily reliant on fossil fuels.¹⁴⁵⁾ Coal, natural gas, and oil currently account for 83% of South Korea’s total primary energy supply, of which the South Korean industry consumes about 55%.¹⁴⁶⁾ To achieve South Korea’s international climate commitments, South Korea’s 2020 Green New Deal set climate targets, including an increase in the share of renewable energy of up to 35% by 2040 and a gradual phase-out of coal and nuclear energy. But given the weight of the manufacturing sector in South Korea’s economy and its industries with a high carbon footprint, this transition will not be easy. The election of Yoon Suk-yeol on 9 March 2022 has brought nuclear energy back into the future energy mix and the new government may restore South Korea’s earlier role as an exporter of lean and safe reactors. However, because of the long-time horizons for such changes in the energy sector, the next government will have to carefully think about how its energy and climate policies can converge with its trade policy in the meantime.

In the recent past, South Korean governments favoured technology-based solutions to carbon reduction and tried to gradually phase out coal from the energy mix, which is currently imported duty-free.¹⁴⁷⁾ South Korea also introduced an Emissions Trading System (ETS) in 2015, but as 90% of

144) Pascal Lamy, Geneviève Pons, and Pierre Leturcq, “Time to Green EU Trade Policy: But How?” *Jacques Delors Institute Policy Paper 241*, 2019.

145) International Energy Agency, ‘South Korea 2020 Energy Policy Review’, 2020.

146) *Ibid.*

147) World Trade Organization, 2021.

emissions trading certificates are provided for free, carbon emissions in all sectors covered by the scheme only reduced 2.3% between 2018 and 2019.¹⁴⁸⁾ At the international level, the South Korean government advocates for an OECD framework on carbon border adjustment that would be compatible with its domestic ETS scheme. However, South Korean industries, in particular the steel sector, continue to see carbon border adjustment mechanisms (CBAMs) primarily as an obstacle to trade and South Korean trade officials have tried to lobby their partner countries hard to obtain exemptions and carve-outs from proposed schemes, starting with the EU's CBAM.

Clearly, a significant divide on this topic exists between different generations and stakeholders, which may explain why South Korea's position so far has been mostly reactive. But there is no way back: Climate measures in all major economies will only gain in importance in the years ahead and linkages with trade policy will continue to increase. If South Korea wants to keep its exports competitive and avoid the worst damages from climate change, the next government would therefore be well-advised to take on a more proactive approach in finding solutions that make the international trading system more sustainable.

Digital trade and data governance issues, long dormant in the multilateral e-commerce agenda, are today also at the forefront of global trade negotiations. With its dominant position in the consumer electronics industry, South Korea is poised to take a leading role in this topic and has recently concluded or expressed interest in several digital agreements — either as chapters of wider trade deals or as stand-alone digital economy pacts.

South Korea is an active participant in the negotiations of the WTO's Joint Statement Initiative on electronic commerce that was launched at the WTO Ministerial Conference in Buenos Aires in 2017. While these negotiations are ongoing, this plurilateral agreement currently faces an uncertain future

148) International Energy Agency, 2020.

due to significant differences in the negotiation positions of major participants on cross-border data transfers. In the meantime, some WTO members, notably Chile, New Zealand, and Singapore, have actively been trying to push in parallel for a regional digital agenda. While South Korea, in comparison, was a bit slower to take the initiative, it has now begun engaging several partners on a bilateral and minilateral basis. RCEP was South Korea's first trade agreement with an extensive digital chapter, which includes provisions to promote the wider use of e-commerce, paperless trading, consumer protection, and abstaining from customs duties on electronic transmissions. The Digital Partnership Agreement with Singapore, signed in December 2021, regulates an even wider range of cross-border digital activities, including electronic payments, paperless trading, cross-border data flows, data localisation, artificial intelligence, digital identities, open government information, cryptography, source code protection, and online consumer protection. South Korea has also recently signalled its intention to join the CPTPP, which contains fewer commitments than the DEA with Singapore but, with eleven signatories, encompasses a wider membership. In late 2021, South Korea has also applied to join the DEPA between Chile and New Zealand and Singapore, which has a coverage comparable to the DEA with Singapore, but the potential to expand to a much wider membership in the future.

The next South Korean government should continue on the promising path of integrating its digital economy with partners in the Asia-Pacific and around the world. To take a leading role, Seoul must also adapt forward-looking domestic policy frameworks for artificial intelligence, consumer protection, content moderation, and privacy protections, as these are the foundation of trust in cross-border data flows. Increasing digitalisation of production and consumption will only raise the stakes for countries that are relying on regional and global value chains and access to foreign consumer markets. Active participation in international discussions on these issues with like-minded partners at an early stage will help to avoid some of the

fragmentation of the internet and its underlying infrastructure that would also be highly detrimental to South Korean hardware exports.

5. Conclusion

Its export-driven economy is testament to how South Korea has successfully carved out a niche in the global trading system, all while balancing a difficult geopolitical situation with defensive and offensive commercial interests. The recent exemptions that South Korea seems to have obtained in the US sanctions against Russia for some low-tech products illustrates how this strategy can sometimes pay off. However, this balancing act has also held South Korea back from taking a leadership position that is commensurate with the weight it now has in the global economy. South Korea's approach to digital and sustainable trade issues is indicative that South Korea should not only adopt trade rules where it can, but also develop new rules where it must, to save an open system from its detractors. While readily engaging in cutting-edge agreements to regulate the digital economy, South Korea has so far only been a reluctant participant in finding a solution on carbon-border adjustment that would help to make the global trading system more sustainable.

There is no doubt that South Korea will need to continue balancing its national security and commercial interest in the future, especially after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which will also become a stress test for the future of the multilateral trading system. The bullying behaviour from China and the Trump administration were already important reminders that South Korea is a key beneficiary of an open trading system with rules, in which might does not make right. Signalling the intention to join the CPTPP was a right step in the direction of doubling down on rules-based economic integration and the next South Korean government should seriously consider making this bid a reality. This would help to counter at least some of the centrifugal forces that are tearing at the seams of the open trading

system, which will only increase in the months and years to come. Given the low likelihood China will be admitted into the CPTPP, it could also present an opportunity to integrate South Korea's production networks more deeply with other countries and diversify away from overreliance on China. Notably, this would hold the potential to integrate more with Japan while steering clear of the negative popular sentiment that such bilateral negotiations entail. But in view of South Korea's global commercial interests, the next South Korean government must also take a clearer stance on WTO reform, including for a more proactive role of the secretariat, and support interim measures, such as the MPIA.

One thing is clear: The time has come for South Korea to shed the skin of a tiger that is only hungry for market access and embrace becoming one of the rangers that uphold the sustainability of an open international trading system. If Seoul wants to continue to rely on global and regional production networks and export markets, this strategy will help South Korea to address its geoeconomic and its geopolitical interests in a fast-changing world.

Chapter 6



South Korea's Role in East Asia and Indo-Pacific Security

Alexander Downer

*(Executive Chair, International School for Government,
King's College London)*

- 
1. Introduction
 2. The North Korean Security Challenge
 3. The United States, China, and Security in the Indo-Pacific
 4. South Korea and Security in the Indo-Pacific
 5. US-China Tensions and the Role of South Korea
 6. Conclusion: South Korea, the United States, and the Liberal Bloc

1. Introduction

Over the next decade, South Korea may play a substantially more important role in the security architecture of the Indo-Pacific region. Its role will be elevated by the emerging security challenges in the region coupled with the growing significance of South Korea as an economic power. This increasingly significant role in regional security architecture will not just be a function of presidential policy in the Blue House, although that will be important. South Korea will increasingly be drawn into regional security challenges, whether willingly or at times unwillingly, should the regional security environment continue to deteriorate.

The security challenges of the Indo-Pacific region are greater today than they have been for decades.

2. The North Korean Security Challenge

First and foremost, there is the Korean Peninsula itself. This has inevitably been the centre piece of South Korean foreign and security policy since the invasion of South Korea by the North in 1950. The unresolved Korean War is, of course, a frozen conflict. It is likely to remain so for many years to come.

During my time as the Australian foreign minister I visited Pyongyang on two occasions, in 2000 and in 2004. Pyongyang is a pleasant city built around the Taedong river and boasts one of the most impressive subway systems I have ever seen. On the other hand, on both visits I arrived in Pyongyang in the evening and the lack of street lighting, traffic, and the other characteristics of a modern bustling Asian city was stark. On both visits I had substantial meetings with many of the leading figures of the North Korean regime. I did my best to try to understand their perspectives and through

understanding of their perspectives gain some comprehension of whether there was any path to peace on the Korean Peninsula.

One evening I was driven out of Pyongyang to a restaurant in the countryside for an official dinner with the then-North Korean foreign minister, Paek Nam-sun. The cuisine was not memorable but the conversation became less pro forma, more spontaneous and was more animated than any other conversation I had had with a North Korean official. I asked the minister to describe in all honesty what he saw as the long-term future for the Korean Peninsula. Did he think eventually there would be military conflict which would be resolved with victory for the North or the South with the imposition of the victorious party's political system? Did he think that circumstances could change which would lead to a negotiated solution between the North and the South and if so, how would that work? Would reunification of the Korean Peninsula ever be possible and under what terms?

The minister explained that the long-term objective of the North was to reunify Korea on the basis of a "one country, two systems" formula. The idea was the South would retain its capitalist characteristics and the North its socialist system and each would have its own government. But overarching both of those governments would be a central, all-Korean federal government which would be responsible for foreign affairs, defence, the currency, and so on. The Korean Peninsula would be reunified but both sides would be able to continue to exist under their preferred political systems.

This concept of finding a method to reunify the Korean Peninsula is seldom debated in the West but it does help to explain the logic of North Korea's nuclear program. The more I emphasised to the North Korean regime the fruitlessness of the nuclear program, explaining that the nuclear weapons were in reality unusable, the more the regime emphasised that these weapons were vital in the reunification negotiations with the South. I explained to the North Koreans on many occasions the phrase often used by American foreign policy leaders — and used to me by Colin Powell on one

occasion — that if North Korea ever used nuclear weapons, then the United States would turn North Korea into a parking lot.

At that time, North Korea was also exporting missiles and missile technology to other rogue regimes. I explained to my interlocutors how provocative this was as it was only contributing to growing international tensions. I recall very clearly the North Korean trade minister telling me that I had to understand that North Korea had very little to export and this was one of its few ways of earning foreign exchange.

During my visits to South Korea, I visited the DMZ and had discussions with South Korean presidents and American generals about the possibility of resolving the conflict on the Korean Peninsula. I remain of the view today that it is entirely understandable that for the South Korean government its primary focus must be on underwriting the security of the country from the North. Every effort should be made to try to find a peaceful negotiated settlement with the regime in Pyongyang but unless the regime in the North collapses — and it is hard to see China allowing that to happen — then this is likely to remain a frozen conflict.

3. The United States, China, and Security in the Indo-Pacific

South Korea's security is underwritten and guaranteed by the United States and its treaty with the United States and the presence of American forces in Korea and the region are fundamental to ensuring the Korean Peninsula remains at peace. All parties in South Korea understand that and the American guarantee is likely to remain for many years to come. There is understandably a close relationship between the government in Seoul and the administration in Washington.

This relationship between the Americans and South Korea has had

surprisingly few implications for other aspects of Indo-Pacific security. While the security treaties between the United States and Japan and the United States and Australia are the two anchors of the United States security presence in the Indo-Pacific region, the relationship with South Korea is rightly not seen in the same light by many geopolitical analysts.

The American security treaties with Japan and Australia have broad implications for the US's military role in the Indo-Pacific region. They contribute to the balance of power in the region which underwrites its peace and security. Without those treaties which have their roots in the Cold War, the decades of economic reform and growth in the region would never have been achieved.

Today, those treaties continue to be as relevant as they ever were even though the Cold War is long behind us.

In recent years there has been growing tension between a resurgent China proud of its economic achievements and determined not to repeat what it sees as the mistakes of history and the status quo powers in the Indo-Pacific region, in particular the United States. The United States and its allies worry that China wishes to dominate the Indo-Pacific, reducing neighbouring states to being tributes to China. The allies are also concerned that as Chinese military power grows, China will endeavour to change the status quo through the use of force. This has happened in the South China Sea where China's claims to almost all of the sea have been asserted militarily at the expense of competitive claimants such as Vietnam and the Philippines. There is also a perception that China will endeavour to use its newfound regional military strength to occupy Taiwan and expel the democratic regime there.

The United States and its allies have thought long and hard about how to resist this change to the status quo while at the same time maintaining a collaborative relationship with China. As a first step, Australia, the United States, and Japan established what was called the trilateral security dialogue in 2006 and this has now transmogrified into the Quad — with the inclusion

of India. This informal collaborative arrangement was originally designed to improve coordination and cooperation between the United States and its two closest allies in the East Asian hemisphere. The addition of India, at Japan's behest, has strengthened the Quad and as a result the Quad is playing a useful contribution to the power balance in the Indo-Pacific region.

More recently, the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom have established an arrangement known as AUKUS. This is designed to ensure the three countries are able to transfer the most advanced military technologies, including nuclear propulsion for submarines, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, space-based technology, and so on. Again, this measure will contribute very substantially to the power balance in the region.

For South Korea, these changes present a very interesting foreign and security policy question. South Korea is dependent for its security on its alliance with the United States; it has a liberal democratic political system and a liberal economic paradigm. It is an advanced industrial economy and a major trading nation. In that sense, South Korea is part of the broader international family of liberal democracies, a family which is under challenge from more authoritarian regimes and which is meeting that challenge by tightening the security relationship between those countries.

AUKUS and the Quad are in reality a direct security benefit to South Korea. They provide the essential elements of a balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region, thereby underwriting the peace of the region. South Korea is a clear beneficiary of that. The five countries involved in these arrangements are not urging South Korea to join the arrangements at this stage, but as time goes on and depending on the evolution of regional security, the US in particular may wish to include South Korea in the Quad to reinforce the efficacy of that arrangement.

4. South Korea and Security in the Indo-Pacific

South Korea's situation as a function of both its history and geography is inevitably somewhat different from that of other regional democracies. Firstly, it is, as discussed above, understandably focused on the security of the Korean Peninsula. While the United States guarantees the security of South Korea, China guarantees the security of North Korea. In the interests of regional peace, South Korea's governments have inevitably judged that they need a constructive relationship with China. A hostile relationship would only exacerbate risks on the Korean Peninsula.

Secondly, South Korea has very substantial economic relations with China. China is its largest export market taking around 25 percent of South Korea's exports. By contrast, the United States takes around 14 percent of South Korea's exports. China is also an important destination for South Korean corporate investment as well as an important source of domestic investment in South Korea. As the world is coming to realise, China is prepared ruthlessly to use its economic power to try to bring regional nations into line. South Korea's experience in 2017 was illustrative of this.

In 2017, South Korea agreed to an American request to station in South Korea a missile defence system known as Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD). This system is designed to protect South Korea from any missile attack from North Korea, but China interpreted it as a measure directed against the People's Republic of China. In response to the deployment, China imposed what were in effect economic sanctions on South Korea, including closing down shops owned by the South Korean conglomerate Lotte and disrupting a selection of South Korean exports to China. This economic coercion was designed to teach South Korea a lesson and to press on the South Koreans the importance of giving priority to Chinese sensitivities.

This crisis in the relationship between South Korea and China highlighted the dilemma South Korea faces caught as it sometimes can be between its

security relationship with the United States and America's allies on the one hand and a degree of economic dependency on China on the other. Sensitive to this dilemma, South Korea has avoided getting enmeshed in the hard security issues of East Asia by pursuing a policy of strategic ambiguity. South Korean warships have not been involved in freedom of navigation exercises in the South China Sea, exercises frequently undertaken by the US and its allies in order to demonstrate to China that the South China Sea is not a Chinese lake but an international waterway.

In spite of this, South Korean naval forces did participate in a 2019 naval exercise with the United States, Japan, and Australia known as Pacific Vanguard. And South Korea's president and senior officials do emphasise — consistent with the rhetoric of the United States and its allies — that the Indo-Pacific should be a free and open region.

Consistent with its policy of regional strategic caution, South Korea has pursued a policy of diversifying its diplomatic and economic relationships. In particular, the government has further consolidated its relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, South Asia and Australia.

Hitherto, South Korea has had a sophisticated diplomatic relationship with its southern neighbours. It is an ASEAN dialogue partner and is a long-standing member of the ASEAN Regional Forum. Through this body, South Korea is able to contribute to regional diplomatic dialogue on security issues. This mechanism is often undervalued by those who have not participated in it particularly as it has no decision-making function. But the very fact that the foreign ministers of all the significant regional powers get together once a year and have a frank multilateral dialogue as well as a series of bilateral discussions about regional security issues should not be undervalued.

South Korea is also a foundation member of the East Asia Summit. Again, like other ASEAN-inspired institutions, this is not a decision-making body but a consultative mechanism for the leaders of the region.

In these forums, South Korea has unsurprisingly been restrained and

clearly determined to ensure it is not wedged between the United States and China any more than is necessary. Consequently, South Korea has not been a high-profile commentator on China's aggression in the South China Sea. South Korea has avoided becoming heavily engaged in the dispute over the South China Sea. It has not, for example, participated in freedom of navigation exercises as explained above.

South Korea is also a long-standing member of APEC: indeed, along with Australia it was a founder of APEC. Once more, this is a consultative mechanism not a decision-making body, but it does bring together all the significant economies of the Asia-Pacific region and has been an intellectual driving force and catalyst for trade liberalisation. This trade liberalisation has been fundamental to the growth of the regional economy and South Korea has been a particular beneficiary of that. In that sense, APEC has been very beneficial to South Korea.

It is, then, important to understand the degree to which South Korea's political and economic diplomacy in Asia is already substantially diversified. President Moon has shown a determination to extend that diversification through his policy known as the New Southern Policy. Although in practice the New Southern Policy does not constitute a substantial change in direction, it nevertheless emphasises that South Korea wants to avoid being trapped by great power rivalries and competition and that instead it can have a wider and more diverse set of relationships throughout the Indo Pacific region.

The New Southern Policy expands South Korea's relations with the ten ASEAN countries as well as South Asia — particularly India. New trade agreements with countries in the region will be one component of the policy. While these trade agreements will not be pure free trade agreements of the kind countries like Australia and New Zealand aspire to, they will nevertheless build on the already-substantial trade relationships which exist between South Korea and ASEAN.

Importantly, the New Southern Policy also expands South Korea's growing aid budget to build relationships with some of the key ASEAN countries, in

particular Vietnam and Indonesia. This involves South Korea in the development of health care, infrastructure, and education through much of the region.

South Korea's New Southern Policy is built around the theme of peace, prosperity, and people. At first glance, these themes are fairly banal but what is noticeable about them is that there is no reference to security. The implication is that South Korea wants to build its relationships with its southern neighbours without becoming engaged in the hard security issues in the region. Clearly, however, there is an intention to engage in soft security issues such as disaster relief and the South Korean aid budget will doubtless be used to help in that respect.

All this is impressive and is adding substantially to South Korea's influence and soft power which until now has rested more on the performance of South Korean *chaebols* than the actions of the government.

If the South Korean government persists with the New Southern Policy, then that policy will automatically engage the South Korean government in a wider range of economic, political, and even security issues. For example, South Korea may become increasingly active in disaster relief operations, become more influential in the regional security discussions, and become more visible generally in regional political issues. All that is likely to be of benefit to the region given South Korea's economic weight, and its liberal democratic credentials.

5. US-China Tensions and the Role of South Korea

In the years ahead, tensions are likely to remain high between the United States and China. China is unlikely to abandon its aggressive regional diplomacy and in particular pull back from its assertion of sovereignty over the South

China Sea and Taiwan. Indeed, all the signs are that Beijing wishes to apply more intense pressure on Taipei, increasing the risk of miscalculation and possibly even war. While it is unlikely that China will launch a direct military attack on Taiwan, liberal democracies led by the United States will nevertheless give practical support to a Taiwan, which may be subject to intense cyberattacks and other indirect pressure from China.

In order to constrain China, the United States will continue to be active in the region and build upon the foundations it already has. South Korea will increasingly have to ask whether it, too, wants to participate in that power balance or if it wishes to stand aside.

This begs several questions. Firstly, will South Korea as a liberal democracy and an advanced capitalist society decide it would like to join the Quad and will the Quad members wish to have South Korea as a member?

On balance, South Korea would be a welcome addition to the Quad on the grounds that it has a substantial defence force which is highly trained and well equipped. What is more, South Korea is a country with growing political influence in the Indo-Pacific region and so its presence in the Quad would add weight to the perception that the Quad is an instrument of power balance in the region. In that sense, South Korea joining the Quad would strengthen its own security.

One of the key limitations to any South Korean participation is Japan. South Korea's relationship with Japan remains difficult because of unresolved issues from the Second World War — not least the question of comfort women. From the perspective of the United States and its allies, this poor relationship and the unresolved issues between South Korea and Japan are problematic. The two countries are allies of the United States, liberal democracies and sophisticated societies with high per-capita living standards and, in an environment where such societies and nations are under pressure from less prosperous autocracies, tensions between Japan and South Korea are unhelpful.

Ultimately, the differences between Seoul and Tokyo need to be resolved

by the two countries themselves. All the rest of the liberal democratic world can do is stand aside and wait and hope that an appropriate solution be found.

Once these issues are resolved, then it will open more fully the question of South Korean participation in liberal democratic security architecture and power balancing in the Indo-Pacific region. It is possible, but not inevitable, that the Quad may in those circumstances invite South Korea to join with them.

For South Korea to join with the Quad, it would have to change its security policy quite significantly. Joining the Quad would arouse the suspicion if not the wrath of China, and China may retaliate by becoming more recalcitrant on the issue of North Korea, in particular in relation to North Korean nuclear programmes and North Korean missile development. South Korea may decide that it has nothing to lose and that North Korea is unlikely to change policy even if China tried to persuade it to do so.

This would be a rational calculation. As foreign minister, I raised with my then-Chinese counterparts the question of North Korea on many occasions. I recall over a lunch in the mid-2000s asking Li Zhaoxing whether China could exercise its influence to restrain North Korea's nuclear and missile ambitions. The minister smiled, shrugged, and replied that the North Koreans were extremely difficult people to deal with. He added that China shared our concerns about North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, but so far Beijing had been unsuccessful in urging restraint. I argued that North Korea was heavily dependent for both energy and food on China and the regime could not survive without that support. Therefore, they should be more responsive to the submissions of Beijing. The minister said that China could not afford to let North Korea collapse and see the people plunged into poverty and deprivation.

This told me that China would not be willing to allow regime change to take place in North Korea, not only out of humanitarian concerns but for geopolitical reasons. It was always clear China feared a united Korea based on the South Korean model. Such a nation, Beijing fears, would be pro-

Western and potentially dilute China's regional influence if not its security. Ultimately, Beijing will underwrite the administration in Pyongyang.

This is relevant to South Korean calculations about even being willing to join an organisation like the Quad in the event of there being an invitation forthcoming from the United States and its allies.

If South Korea agreed to join the Quad then that may have no implications at all at a practical level for its relationship with Beijing. Nor is Beijing likely in those circumstances to impose a new round of economic sanctions on South Korea. But these are all questions for the distant future and will not come to pass unless the relationship between Japan and South Korea is resolved within a very relatively short time frame.

Outside of North Asia, South Korea has pursued a successful policy of economic engagement with Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region in general. So far, South Korea has negotiated and signed several bilateral trade agreements and is a member of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

RCEP is an important Asia-Pacific framework for liberalising trade amongst the ASEAN countries, North East Asia, and Australia and New Zealand. Importantly, it is a trade agreement which includes China and Japan. Nevertheless, RCEP is not a high-quality free trade agreement comparable with the Comprehensive and Progressive Transpacific Partnership (CPTPP). The CPTPP is a particularly liberal trade agreement amongst 11 nations of the Asia-Pacific region including Japan, Australia, several ASEAN countries, and Mexico. The CPTPP does not include China. Initially, this was because China was not willing to meet the very liberal conditions of membership of the agreement. In recent times, however, the CPTPP has come to be seen as a vehicle which will enable its members to diversify their trade away from excessive dependence on China.

This reduction in dependence on China and in particular on critical supply chains from China has become a central issue for many Indo-Pacific economies. Countries like Australia have experienced the economic price

that China will impose on them if they fall out of line with its wishes. Diversifying supply chains has for many of those countries of the Asia-Pacific region become axiomatic.

This too is a feature of South Korean international economic policy. While President Moon is happy to see his country benefit from trade with China, South Korea's experience with THAAD has reminded it that excessive dependence on trade with China could make South Korea hostage to Chinese diplomacy. South Korea could give consideration to joining the CPTPP. Membership would be particularly beneficial if other major global economies also became members. The United Kingdom, the world's fifth biggest economy, is likely to become a member by the mid-2020s and, in time, we should expect the United States to return to the CPTPP negotiating table. It makes perfect sense for the United States to be a member of that trade agreement and its withdrawal has been a major geopolitical mistake by American administrations.

If South Korea were to join the CPTPP its access to other Indo-Pacific markets would be substantially expanded. That would be of clear economic benefit. Equally, South Korea would be expected to open its markets to other CPTPP members, including its agricultural market. Whatever the domestic political costs may be for doing that, there would be clear long-term economic benefits for South Koreans through getting better access to internationally produced products.

It could be argued that South Korea's security would be strengthened through its membership in a truly liberal regional trade arrangement like the CPTPP. South Korea would become less dependent on supply chains with China and membership of the CPTPP would knit its political relations more closely with countries like Canada, Australia, Japan, and Vietnam.

South Korea, then, is going to be confronted with some challenging geopolitical conundrums over the next decade or so. Its policy of balancing the American alliance with the need for a constructive economic relationship with China and managing the problems of the Korean Peninsula all at the

same time has proved, on the whole, successful. The question for policymakers in Seoul is whether that approach is sustainable.

6. Conclusion: South Korea, the United States, and the Liberal Bloc

As tensions rise between the United States and China and if China maintains its aggressive wolf warrior diplomacy, then liberal democratic and capitalist South Korea will increasingly be pushed into the US's orbit. This is a calculation that Beijing needs to consider. China's aggressive approach to Indo-Pacific countries which, as Beijing sees it, fall out of line has had the entirely counterproductive result of driving those countries increasingly into the hands of Washington. After Australia promoted the idea of an international investigation into the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing, taking great offence, imposed economic sanctions on Australia. Eighteen months later, Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom announce the new AUKUS initiative to exchange leading military technology between the three countries, including technology for nuclear propelled submarines. This was a direct consequence of Beijing's aggression towards Australia and other recalcitrants in the Indo-Pacific region.

We cannot foretell the future but there is a reasonable chance that rationalism will reenter China's foreign policy machine and Beijing will recognise that its more aggressive approach to foreign policy has alienated much of the Indo-Pacific region. Beijing has reminded the Indo-Pacific that the United States has allies whereas China just has clients. These messages must surely be penetrating the higher echelons of the Chinese Communist Party's hierarchy. In time, they will realise they have been pursuing for several years an entirely counter-productive diplomatic strategy.

Should Beijing become more accommodating with the region and build

regional relationships more constructively and with a greater degree of tolerance for regional diversity, then Seoul will be spared many difficult choices. There will not be the urgency to repair relations with Japan and consider joining up with an organisation like the Quad. What is more, Seoul will be less anxious to reduce its dependence on supply chains from China and markets in China if Beijing becomes a more tolerant partner.

Ultimately, South Korea's current ambiguous security strategy in the Asia-Pacific region is dependent on the maintenance of the status quo, even if that status quo has underlying tensions. Any substantial change for the worse in the United States-China relationship has the potential to force the South Korean administration to make hard choices. Ultimately, South Korea will lean towards the United States and its allies for two reasons. Firstly, South Korea is, like Australia, Japan, India, and many of the Southeast Asia nations, a liberal democracy. It is also an advanced capitalist economy which shares common interests with other OECD countries.

Secondly, South Korea's security from the North ultimately depends on its alliance with the United States. Under no circumstances will it want that alliance to be undermined unless the political relationships between the North and the South on the Korean Peninsula fundamentally change.

So our expectations should be that South Korea's policy of security ambiguity will remain in place subject to a further deterioration in the Sino-American relationship. In that environment, South Korea may be invited to join and be willing to join the Quad and participate more fully in the security architecture in the Indo-Pacific region of the United States and its allies.

Chapter 7



A Revitalised US-South Korea Alliance and Its Contributions to Global Security

Scott A. Snyder

(Senior Fellow for Korea Studies, Council on Foreign Relations)

1. Introduction
2. Development of a Global Framework for US-South Korea Alliance Cooperation
3. The 2009 US-South Korea Joint Vision Statement and the Expansion of Off-Peninsula Alliance Support for International Security
4. The Park/Moon and Trump Administrations: A Pause in US-South Korea Alliance-Based Global Engagement
5. The Revitalisation of US-South Korea International Cooperation Under the Moon and Biden Administrations
6. The US-South Korea Alliance and Its Relationship with the US-Led Free and Open Indo-Pacific and the Global Security Architecture

1. Introduction

The primary security focus of the US–South Korea alliance has been the stabilisation of the Korean Peninsula, both by deterring aggression from North Korea and by providing a combination of reassurance and restraint from the United States to South Korea. In these tasks, the alliance in its original form and intent during the Cold War worked primarily as a one-way instrument for the provision of security and stability to the Korean Peninsula. However, South Korea’s economic development and democratic transformation at the end of the Cold War enabled both sides to envision a two-way alliance partnership that has yielded security benefits beyond the peninsula and that has regional and global scope. These developments marked the transformation of the alliance from the patron-client relationship that had existed during the Cold War to a much more ambitious and comprehensive security partnership that took shape during the late 2000s. That wide-ranging partnership was formalised in the 2009 Joint Vision for the US–South Korea security alliance under Presidents Barack Obama and Lee Myung-bak. It was reaffirmed in 2013 under Presidents Obama and Park Geun-hye and was revitalised in 2021 under Presidents Joe Biden and Moon Jae-in.

A broadened scope for the US–South Korea alliance has not diluted the main purpose of the alliance as an instrument for deterring North Korean aggression. Rather, it has enabled new opportunities for deepened cooperation on a range of nontraditional security issues resulting from South Korea’s expanded capabilities and broadened economic and political reach. Through a more comprehensive security and political partnership, South Korea has benefited from the US–South Korea alliance as a platform supporting its international contributions on issues that it might not have otherwise dealt with on its own, while the United States has appreciated South Korea’s expanded international support and willingness to use its capabilities to address a range of global security needs.

The revitalised comprehensive alliance framework laid out in the 2021 Biden–Moon Joint Statement underscores the value of the alliance, both as a component of the global security architecture and as an instrument that aligns closely with other alliance frameworks in support of the liberal international order. As South Korea’s profile and capabilities have increased, however, there remains some tension between South Korea’s reliance on the bilateral alliance as its primary platform for delivering international security contributions and South Korea’s development of multilateral arrangements among like-minded countries.

2. Development of a Global Framework for US-South Korea Alliance Cooperation

The primary catalyst for expanding bilateral alliance cooperation between the United States and South Korea beyond the peninsula ironically came in the form of tensions between US Forces Korea (USFK) and South Korean local authorities in the early 2000s. These tensions came about as a result of the growth and empowerment of South Korean localities adjacent to US bases and required the United States to recognise and accommodate South Korea’s economic development and democratisation. The strains at the local level required redoubled efforts to manage frictions between the US military and local South Korean populations. The accidental death of two schoolgirls caused by a US military vehicle in 2002 encapsulated these frustrations and catalysed months of candlelit demonstrations in South Korea. These peaceful demonstrations among the South Korean public signified the need to address both the relationship between USFK and local communities and a broader sentiment in South Korea that the United States needed to show greater appreciation of South Korean capabilities and contributions to the alliance.

In the aftermath of the demonstrations, the United States and South Korea launched a major effort to revamp the internal structure of the alliance through the consolidation of US bases, return of land to South Korea under the Land Partnership Program, and review of the Future of the Alliance (FOTA) as well as the structure of the Combined Forces Command and issues related to wartime Operational Control (OPCON). Since 2003, the implementation of revised US basing arrangements in South Korea over almost two decades has resulted in the closure of dozens of bases, the return of land to South Korea of many former US bases operating in urban areas, and the transition of USFK headquarters from Yongsan in central Seoul to the 2018 newly expanded Camp Humphreys – the largest US base in Asia – located about fifty miles south of Seoul. Both countries are in the final stages of implementing revamped OPCON arrangements through which a South Korean general would lead the USFK Combined Forces Command once certifications have been completed. Most importantly, FOTA discussions in the mid-2000s laid the foundation for the 2009 US-ROK Alliance Joint Vision statement, which has enabled the alliance to expand its scope and make off-peninsula contributions to international security.

3. The 2009 US-South Korea Joint Vision Statement and the Expansion of Off-Peninsula Alliance Support for International Security

Cooperation through the alliance had previously enabled South Korean military contributions to wars in Vietnam and Iraq, but the 2009 Joint Vision Statement provided a solid framework for a wider range of alliance cooperation activities beyond the peninsula on issues where US and South Korean foreign policy and security interests converged. The statement declared that the two countries “will build a comprehensive strategic alliance

of bilateral, regional and global scope, based on common values and mutual trust.”¹⁴⁹⁾

The broadened scope of the alliance enabled South Korea to join post-conflict stabilization operations in Afghanistan as part of the International Security Assistance Force by contributing troops in the Parwan province and by constructing and running a provincial hospital at the Bagram Air Base.¹⁵⁰⁾ Additionally, South Korea joined the multinational anti-piracy Combined Task Force 151 (CTF-151) off the coast of Somalia in 2009 and maintained continuous participation in the operation through its rotational deployment of destroyers, helicopters, and special operations personnel.¹⁵¹⁾

The Joint Vision Statement provided a framework for the United States and South Korea to support nontraditional security efforts in non-military spheres as well. South Korea actively contributed both funds and personnel to Obama administration-led efforts to contain the Ebola virus disease in 2014-2015, and the United States and South Korea promoted joint development cooperation through the signing of a memorandum of understanding and the identification of a number of joint projects between the USAID and KOICA.

Alongside these efforts, South Korea positioned itself as an increasingly important political partner of the United States through its response to the global financial crisis of 2008 and 2009. At that time, the G20 became prominent in efforts to promote international financial stabilization, in part guided by South Korean contributions as host of the G20 in 2009. In

149) The White House, ‘Joint vision for the alliance of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea’, 19 June 2009, available at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/joint-vision-alliance-united-states-america-and-republic-korea> (accessed 16 April 2022).

150) John Hemmings, ‘The ROK Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan’, in Scott A. Snyder (Ed.) *Global Korea: South Korea’s Contributions to International Security* (Council on Foreign Relations, 2012), pp. 45-60.

151) Terence Roehrig, ‘South Korea’s Counterpiracy Operations in the Gulf of Aden’, Scott A. Snyder (Ed.) *Global Korea: South Korea’s Contributions to International Security* (Council on Foreign Relations, 2012), pp. 38-44.

support of the Obama administration's global nonproliferation efforts, South Korea's president Lee Myung-bak volunteered to host the Nuclear Security Summit in 2012. With support from the United States, South Korea invited the newly established UN's Green Climate Fund to make South Korea its permanent home in Songdo. South Korea actively expanded its global contributions through the alliance during this time.

4. The Park/Moon and Trump Administrations: A Pause in US-South Korea Alliance-Based Global Engagement

The momentum of the US-South Korea alliance in taking up international security responsibilities beyond the Korean Peninsula flagged at the end of the Park and Obama administrations and nearly stalled out completely during the Trump administration. The Park administration affirmed the Obama-Lee 2009 Joint Vision statement through an updated statement in 2013, but the level of energy and attention focused on global security diminished as alliance attention shifted to North Korean nuclear and missile testing and inter-Korean border crises becoming the top priority.¹⁵²⁾ Under the Trump and Moon administrations, managing North Korea once again became an overarching priority of the US and South Korean leaderships, whether it be in the context of North Korea's sprint for nuclear and missile development in 2017 or in the context of Kim Jong-un's turn toward high-profile summitry in 2018 and 2019. The Moon administration's predominant

152) The White House, 'Joint Declaration in Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Alliance between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America', 7 May 2013, available at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/07/joint-declaration-commemoration-60th-anniversary-alliance-between-republ> (accessed 16 April 2022).

foreign policy focus on supporting US–North Korean diplomatic dialogue seemed to overshadow South Korean high-level attention to regional and global issues, while President Trump focused on the drama of his personal relationship with Kim Jong-un and demanded dramatic increases in South Korean financial contributions in support of the alliance.

During this period, South Korea’s global capabilities and reputation continued to grow. South Korea became a top ten global exporter as well as one of the top ten countries in military expenditures, with an economy larger than that of Russia.¹⁵³⁾ South Korea’s reputation as a world-class producer of movies and music skyrocketed as its movies, dramas, and K-pop bands became globally renowned. Both South Korea’s capabilities and global interest in learning about South Korea’s successful modernisation and development continued to grow despite the Moon administration’s seeming preoccupation with North Korea. South Korea’s initial successes in responding to the global pandemic and its relatively rapid economic recovery from the pandemic’s effects generated further international interest in learning lessons from South Korea.

A distinctive non-North Korea-focused foreign policy priority under the Moon administration that received attention from alliance managers was the New Southern Policy, which emphasised peace, people, and prosperity-oriented exchange and cooperation with Southeast Asia.¹⁵⁴⁾ The New Southern Policy built on the emergence of ASEAN as South Korea’s third-largest trading partner and as a major destination for South Korean foreign investment, over half of which went to Vietnam, which emerged in the context of South Korean efforts to reduce reliance on investment in China.

The Trump administration sought to align the New Southern Policy with

153) World Bank, ‘Gross domestic product 2020’, available at <https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf> (accessed 16 April 2022).

154) Presidential Committee on New Southern Policy, ‘Presidential Committee on New Southern Policy’, 27 November 2019, available at https://apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Republic_of_Korea-New_Southern_Policy_Information_Booklet.pdf (accessed 16 April 2022).

its own development of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific policy. The Moon administration initially took a cautious approach toward the coordination of the two policies during Trump's November 2017 visit to South Korea, deferring joint cooperation to wait and analyse how the specifics of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific policy would unfold. The Trump administration asserted unilaterally following the trip that the "alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea will be strengthened and grounded in shared values and mutual trust."¹⁵⁵ Among the possible reasons for the Moon administration's caution were concerns about how China might respond and the fact that the Free and Open Indo-Pacific concept had originally been advanced by Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, with whom the Moon administration maintained a testy relationship.

Following two years of bureaucratic cajoling, the Trump and Moon administrations announced a bilateral US-South Korea Joint Fact Sheet on Regional Cooperation released on the sidelines of the East Asia Summit on November 2, 2019.¹⁵⁶ The document included an emphasis on infrastructure development cooperation and developmental assistance cooperation efforts, the content of which mirrored a joint statement from the United States, Japan, and Australia one year earlier during the 2018 East Asia Summit.¹⁵⁷ The US-South Korea Joint Fact Sheet linked US and South Korean efforts to promote infrastructure and development finance, civil society capacity

155) The White House, 'Remarks by President Trump on His Trip to Asia', 15 November 2017, available at <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-visit-asia-advanced-america-first-priorities/> (accessed 16 April 2022).

156) US Embassy in the Republic of Korea, 'U.S. and ROK Issue a Joint Factsheet on their Regional Cooperation Efforts', 2 November 2019, available at <https://kr.usembassy.gov/110219-joint-fact-sheet-by-the-united-states-and-the-republic-of-korea-on-cooperation-between-the-new-southern-policy-and-the-indo-pacific-strategy/> (accessed 26 April 2022).

157) US Department of State, 'Australia-Japan-United States Trilateral Strategic Dialogue Joint Ministerial Statement', 5 August 2018, available at <https://2017-2021.state.gov/australia-japan-united-states-trilateral-strategic-dialogue-joint-ministerial-statement/index.html> (accessed 16 April 2022).

building, and an emphasis on cooperation in the areas of water management, maritime security, climate change, and health care. But the Moon administration appears to have downplayed the policy linkage with the US Free and Open Indo-Pacific policy in public dialogues with Southeast Asian counterparts.

5. The Revitalisation of US-South Korea International Cooperation Under the Moon and Biden Administrations

The Biden administration came into office vowing to revitalise cooperation with US alliance partners, which had suffered from the Trump administration's transactional "America First" approach to alliance management and Trump's lack of appreciation for alliance partners. The Biden administration signalled a different approach by rapidly clearing from the agenda contentious issues such as the Special Measures Agreement negotiations settling South Korea's financial contribution for on-peninsula costs in support of the alliance.¹⁵⁸ It also signalled its intent to restore the alliances with Japan and South Korea by holding its first major cabinet-level meetings between foreign and defence ministers with both countries and by welcoming Japanese Prime Minister Suga Yoshihide and South Korean President Moon as the first and second foreign leaders to visit the White House after taking office.

As the Biden administration's initial outreach to Japan and South Korea unfolded, it became clear that a primary motive behind the Biden

158) US Department of State, 'Agreement under Article IV of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea', 8 April 2021, available at <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/21-901-Korea-Defense-SMA.pdf> (accessed 16 April 2022).

administration's emphasis on alliance revitalisation was a function of its strategic focus on rivalry with China. To build an effective coalition of like-minded partners dedicated to upholding a rules-based international order and thwarting the threat of coercion from China, the Biden administration strengthened cooperation with Japan, India, and Australia by holding a virtual summit with leaders of the Quad grouping while strengthening policy coordination bilaterally with Japanese and South Korean allies.

The May 21st Joint Statement released following the first Biden–Moon summit proved to be a more comprehensive statement than many expected, covering a wide range of peninsular, regional, and global issues. As the first formal declaration of alliance priorities between a South Korean progressive president and his US counterpart, the statement compared favourably with past joint alliance vision statements of 2009 and 2013. The statement signified a bipartisan consensus in South Korea for strengthened cooperation with the United States. Closer cooperation between the United States and South Korea also mirrored strong public support for the alliance.¹⁵⁹⁾

The Biden–Moon Joint Statement marked three important developments regarding the nature and direction of the alliance. First, both countries acknowledged shared values and interests as the foundation for cooperation by emphasising alliance capabilities as an international security provider. Second, the leaders identified supply chain resiliency as a critical challenge facing the alliance. The alliance's focus on supply chain resiliency challenged South Korea's traditional framing of its approach to Sino-US rivalry by securitising technological and economic choices. Third, the statement laid out a comprehensive agenda for functional cooperation that would broaden and deepen the institutionalisation of alliance cooperation on functional,

159) Karl Friedhoff and Park Suh-young, 'Ahead of Biden-Moon Summit, South Koreans and Americans Align on China and North Korea', *Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, 19 May 2021, available at https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/2021-05/Final%20-%20Biden-Moon%20Summit%20Brief_0.pdf (accessed 16 April 2022).

regional, and global issues.

In crafting the Joint Statement with South Korea, the United States leaned forward further than expected to incorporate Moon administration preferences on how to deal with North Korea. The Biden administration accommodated South Korea's desire to emphasise the importance of a diplomatic pathway for North Korea, including the affirmation of the US–North Korea Singapore Declaration signed by Trump and Kim Jong-un, and the appointment of a Special Envoy for North Korea, Ambassador Sung Kim, whose appointment was announced at the joint press conference following the Biden–Moon summit meeting. Meanwhile, South Korea went further than expected to align with the Biden administration on sensitive China-related issues, including pledges of support for the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea and for preserving peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, all without naming China as the object or motive for deepened coordination within the alliance. This mutual accommodation of priorities underscored the extent to which the alliance has become a political and security partnership.

The identification and embrace of such a comprehensive set of issues and areas was framed primarily around a cooperative agenda through which the United States and South Korea pledged to work together to facilitate the international delivery of public goods. The agenda for expanded functional cooperation highlighted shared objectives on the issues of climate change, global health cooperation such as the establishment of a KORUS Global Vaccine Partnership, cooperation on civil space exploration, nuclear energy production, international development projects, educational exchange, and trade and technology cooperation in areas such as semiconductors, next-generation batteries, artificial intelligence, next-generation communications networks (6G), open radio access network technology, quantum technology, and biotechnology.

The prioritisation of supply chain resiliency as an issue of special focus between the United States and South Korea in the context of rising Sino–US

rivalry challenges South Korea's traditional framework for thinking about its position between the United States and China. For over a decade, South Koreans had conceived of relations with China as a source of economic opportunity while relying on the United States as its primary security guarantor in an approach that emphasised strategic choice avoidance between the two. But rising Sino-US competition, especially in the sphere of technology development, both changed the economic landscape by securitising technology and forced South Korea to make choices in the face of technological decoupling pressures.

The Biden administration's focus on supply chain vulnerabilities and tightening of US controls on technological exports changed both the political context and the business environment for South Korean semiconductor exporters such as Samsung and SK Hynix. These companies had enjoyed a robust export of sophisticated semiconductors to Chinese companies, but new US prohibitions on exports of cutting-edge technology to Chinese firms generated pressure to curtail business with China. At the same time, the US desire to strengthen supply chain resiliency in the semiconductor sector created opportunities for South Korean investment in US-based plants.

The focus on supply chain resiliency is both ambitious and complex. It requires effective government-level coordination to provide an effective and integrated regulatory environment, while also extending the need for public-private coordination with US and South Korean companies that are in competition with each other and motivated primarily by their own bottom lines, making a fully integrated approach difficult to achieve. For instance, US data requests to South Korean firms related to specific aspects of production and supply have raised eyebrows for South Korean firms familiar with how such information requests, for instance from Chinese officials, might be used to weaken South Korean firm profitability and competitive advantage.¹⁶⁰⁾

160) Ji-hoon Lee, 'S.Korea shows rare unease against US request for Samsung data', *Korea*

The US–South Korea joint statement represents an expansion of South Korea’s rhetorical commitment to a coordinated policy in support of existing rules and behavioural norms and against coercive measures to change the current regional status quo in the South China Sea or the Taiwan Straits. But it remains unclear how the US–South Korea alliance would respond in the event of an actual conflict or what sort of contingency planning might be developed related to South Korean involvement in such scenarios, which historically have been precisely the types of sensitive conversations that South Korea tried to avoid. These South Korean sensitivities were reflected in alliance discussions held in 2006 regarding the strategic flexibility of US force deployments in Korea, at which time the United States acknowledged that it “respects the ROK position that it shall not be involved in a regional conflict in Northeast Asia against the will of the Korean people.”¹⁶¹

6. The US–South Korea Alliance and Its Relationship with the US-Led Free and Open Indo-Pacific and the Global Security Architecture

The 2021 Biden–Moon Joint Statement provides strong evidence of the evolution of the US–South Korea alliance into a more equal partnership capable of playing important regional and global roles as a security provider on and beyond the peninsula. The statement was notable because it embraced and extended major elements of prior joint vision statements forged

Economic Daily, 6 October 2021, available at <https://www.kedglobal.com/newsView/ked202110060012> (accessed 16 April 2022).

161) Governments of the US and the Republic of Korea, ‘Statement on the Launch of the Strategic Consultation for Allied Partnership’, Government Publishing Office (GPO), 19 January 2006.

between the United States and South Korean conservative administrations, providing strong evidence of bipartisan domestic support within South Korea for a more robust alliance. Changes within the alliance primarily reflect South Korea's economic and political transformations and enhanced capabilities to contribute to global leadership. But an important question remains regarding how the alliance fits into the regional and global security architecture. The contradiction revolves around the relationship between the alliance as an important platform for South Korea to play an enhanced global role, prospects for more overt South Korean alignment with the United States and other countries on China policy, and the foreign policy attributes, contributions, and roles that South Korea aspires to contribute globally as a developed country firmly ranked as a middle power.

South Korea's foreign policy strategists have largely embraced the idea that South Korea is well-positioned to play a middle power role in the international system. Significant attributes of a middle power in this discourse include an embrace of multilateral cooperation in support of international norms, effective brokering and networking roles, and the development of niche capabilities and contributions within the international system. Yet South Korea's reliance on the alliance with the United States as a major instrument for developing and delivering contributions of international public goods is at odds with South Korea's apparent reluctance to join multilaterally with other partners to achieve the same objectives.

The source of the contradiction lies in the fact that South Korea has avoided making big strategic choices between the United States and China in favour of manoeuvring tactically and making a series of small choices to preserve flexibility and avoid being caught up in major power rivalry. To the extent that South Korea has made choices designed to align with the United States or that might be perceived unfavourably by Beijing, South Korea has made those choices quietly without fanfare so as not to risk China's retaliation. The alliance provides South Korea with an excuse and pretext for avoiding an unpleasant reaction from Beijing, but it may risk the vulnerability that

comes from not being more fully embedded in multilateral efforts better positioned to push back against Chinese power.

The US-Japan and US-South Korea alliances have established an effective but sporadic trilateral mechanism to coordinate policy toward North Korea, but that effort has been limited strictly to coordination on North Korea, remains susceptible to fluctuations in the health of Japan-South Korea bilateral ties, and requires US leadership to function effectively. Moreover, the US-Japanese and US-South Korean joint statements under the Biden administration reflect significant differences between Japan and South Korea in their respective approaches toward China, most notably in their relative willingness to publicly call out China for its challenges to international rules and use of coercive instruments to achieve its foreign policy objectives. Despite these limits, the trilateral mechanism promotes stability and coordination between the two US-led bilateral alliances while promoting a stable environment for Japan and South Korea to better manage bilateral differences.

Likewise, while South Korea has cooperated bilaterally with the United States to link up its New Southern Policy with the US Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy under the Trump and Moon administrations, the United States failed to bring South Korea into the broader multilateral umbrella for joint infrastructure financing and development projects originally created together with Australia and Japan. As a result, US-South Korea infrastructure investment cooperation efforts in Southeast Asia stand apart from multilateral efforts with Australia and Japan. But the joint cooperation pledge helps to ensure that South Korea is not cut out from US-led infrastructure projects in the region and promotes synergy in areas such as international development that combine US and South Korean expertise to build greater capacity in Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, South Korea continues to maintain an ambivalent relationship with Quad, which groups other like-minded US partners Japan, Australia, and India into a coalition focused on the provision of public goods to the

Indo-Pacific region. While reluctant to formally join the Quad out of concern over how China might respond, South Korea has embraced through the bilateral alliance with the United States the main agenda items adopted by Quad, including regional cooperation on climate change, pandemic cooperation, and supply chain resiliency. In this fashion, South Korea is able to operationalise its desire and capacity to demonstrate international leadership by aligning its priorities with those of Quad in support of international stability through the provision of public goods in the Indo-Pacific.

One of the main assets the United States has identified in its competition with China is the partnership with allies. The United States is attempting to mobilise allies to align with US priorities on the basis of commonly held views and values, including by strengthening the US-South Korea alliance. But South Korea has been striking in its failure to align its China policies with those of the United States on a wide range of issues, especially when compared with other US allies. In a study of South Korea and seven other US allies in Europe and Asia, South Korea failed to align with the United States on a wide range of human rights, economic, and security policy issues, the worst performer among the allies under consideration.¹⁶²⁾ The Biden-Moon Joint Statement holds promise as a mechanism by which to deepen US-South Korea policy coordination toward China, but it also reveals the caution and hesitation South Korea holds toward that aim despite the clear affirmation provided through the alliance framework of South Korea's potential capabilities and contributions.

More broadly, outstanding difficulties regarding the integration of the US-South Korea alliance with other instruments for providing public goods in support of international stability raise questions about whether and how the US-South Korea alliance might enhance its ties and coordination with

162) James Goldgeier and Lindsay Ford, 'Retooling America's Alliances to Manage the China Challenge', *Brookings Institution*, 25 January 2021, available at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/retooling-americas-alliances-to-manage-the-china-challenge/> (accessed 16 April 2022).

non-Asian alliances such as NATO or how South Korea might work together with global governance gatherings such as the G7, given South Korean reluctance to integrate bilateral alliance objectives with multilateral efforts, especially when it comes to China. The need for greater interaction and integration between the US–South Korea alliance and NATO has become increasingly apparent both in the context of growing European interest in and contributions to Indo-Pacific security and in the context of the need to align US–South Korea policy with that of European countries in the context of Russia’s invasion of the Ukraine. NATO has established regular ambassadorial-level North Atlantic Council meetings with South Korea, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, known as the “NAC+4,” and has begun cooperation with South Korea to address shared security challenges such as cyber defence, non-proliferation, and counterterrorism. Likewise, South Korea has been accelerating preexisting cooperation efforts with the EU that had been established prior to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine so as to promote mutually reinforcing efforts to meet security challenges in both Europe and Asia.

South Korea’s transformation as a global economic and political leader has both benefited from the platform provided by the US–South Korea alliance and has made possible the development of the alliance into a comprehensive security partnership that not only benefits peninsular security but also has regional and global scope. As a result, the US–South Korea alliance has evolved to the extent that it has a significant role to play alongside the other components of the global security architecture.

Chapter 8



South Korea and European Union: Natural Partners for Multilateralism

Federica Mogherini

(Rector, College of Europe, Bruges and Natolin (Warsaw))

-
1. Introduction
 2. A Strategic Partnership
 3. Building on a Solid Basis in Challenging Times
 4. The EU vis-à-vis Asia and the Indo-Pacific: A New Level of Political Attention
 5. The EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy
 6. Joint Contributions to Multilateralism
 7. Global and Regional Security
 8. Conclusion

1. Introduction

Geographic distance and cultural differences might induce many to believe that South Korea and Europe are worlds apart. Instead, on the contrary, commitment to human rights, democracy, rule of law, market economy, peace, international cooperation, effective multilateralism, and a rules-based global order with the United Nations system at its core make them the most natural of partners. There is an undoubtable communality of interests, values, and a certain vision of regional and international cooperation that brings the European and Korean perspectives to the same side of history, in times when diverging and conflicting postures emerge more and more frequently and dramatically on the geopolitical scene.

The most recent threats to peace and security in Europe posed by the Russian aggression against Ukraine, and the coordinated reaction that Europe and South Korea have taken with the adoption of sanctions, show that the longstanding, structured strategic partnership between the European Union and Seoul is not only a solid and beneficial tool for the two sides in many different sectoral fields of cooperation, but that it also represents one of the effective and essential pillars of a rules-based global order based on multilateralism and respect for international law.

It is in times of crisis that true partnership and friendship is tested, and it is clear to Europeans that South Korea is a truly reliable partner and a friend they can trust and rely upon, even in times of trouble. The new leadership in Seoul will have the opportunity to confirm and relaunch this friendship, and explore how to further expand, strengthen, and deepen a partnership that is quite unique in the current global scene.

2. A Strategic Partnership

The European Union has developed strategic partnerships with only ten countries across the world, four of which are in Asia. Some of them have, over the years, more closely resembled a political statement, or a programmatic declaration, than a real roadmap for cooperation. This is definitely not the case for the EU-Republic of Korea strategic partnership, which has constantly evolved in depth and breadth over the past ten years. Since 2010 in fact, South Korea and the European Union have not only upgraded relations to the level of strategic partnership but have also concluded three key bilateral agreements that cover all three pillars of political, trade, and security cooperation, in parallel with many other specific, sectoral agreements in a number of different fields. South Korea has been the very first country not only in Asia, but in the entire world, to have concluded all three levels of agreements with the European Union. It is a clear symbol of how natural and complete the partnership is: strategic not only in words.

The framework agreement, in force since 2014, designs the overall picture of bilateral cooperation in all key sectors of action, from climate change to counterterrorism, from non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to development assistance, from human rights to energy security. It provides the framework, as the name indicates, for political dialogue and cooperation in all sectors and at all levels.

The free trade agreement entered into force one year later, in 2015, and represented the most ambitious trade deal ever negotiated, concluded, and implemented by the European Union at the time. It aimed at removing barriers to bilateral trade, creating a secure market for goods and services, and promoting a predictable and stable environment for investments. It is the first of the “new generation” of FTAs concluded by the EU, including in particular a chapter on trade and sustainable development. Today, this agreement represents a clear success story that has worked well for both

sides: the European Union is Korea's third biggest trading partner and the largest foreign investor, with Korea being the ninth trading partner for the EU. Regardless of the pandemic, the bilateral trade volume continues to grow over time, having reached in 2020 the record number of 90 billion EUR. Total trade in goods grew between 2010 and 2020 by 45.9%. As of 2020, the EU has been South Korea's third largest source of imports (11.8%) and the fourth largest destination of exports (9.3%).

In 2016, one year after the entry into force of the free trade agreement, the crisis management framework participation agreement entered into force, opening the door to cooperation in the field of security and defence, and underlying the shared interests and approach that Korea and the EU have to peace, security, and stability worldwide. The political and symbolic value of this agreement should not be underestimated, as it was the first one of this kind between the European Union and an Asian country, upgrading the partnership between the two sides on the security and military dimensions from the level of dialogues to the one of operations.

Today, through approximately forty bilateral dialogues and consultations, these three agreements represent the backbone not only of a bilateral partnership, beneficial for both parties, but also the basis and the instrument for a strong regional and global cooperation to the benefit of the larger international community.

3. Building on a Solid Basis in Challenging Times

The pandemic that started in 2020 has not slowed down, or limited, this extremely ambitious level of partnership. On the contrary, cooperation has grown even stronger, and deeper, as it has been clearly indicated by the Korea-EU leaders' virtual summit in 2020, and the subsequent common work to share experiences and best practices in dealing with the sanitary crisis, and to further expand areas of cooperation. In particular, it has been

key for the two sides to exchange, coordinate, and cooperate on measures and best practices to keep societies and economies open in times of a pandemic; on efforts to make vaccines accessible and available to an increasingly large number of countries and world population; and on developing resilient supply chains and further investments in manufacturing capacity and raw materials, with a particular focus on how to strengthen research and invest in effective health systems both at home and in third countries.

As open societies and economies, in fact, Europe and South Korea perfectly understand that, even in times of pandemic, investing in improving health conditions worldwide is not an act of charity, but an investment that is needed out of self-interest. One of the key elements that bring Europe and Korea together is the deep awareness of the need to invest in the stability, security, prosperity, and well-being of both neighbouring and faraway countries, due to the open nature of their economies and societies, and the relevance that global trade, investments, and movement of people, goods, and services has for both.

This extremely solid basis can represent today an ideal starting point to assess and explore future perspectives for strengthening, expanding, and deepening the EU-South Korea partnership even more, and write a new chapter of this success story.

The European Union sees Korea, in fact, not only as a key bilateral partner, but also as a very relevant regional and international player with whom to cooperate even more intensely to promote global peace and stability, democracy, respect for a rules-based international order, and climate change actions. The European Union and South Korea are — and can become even more so in the years to come — fundamental partners in the protection and promotion of multilateralism and global governance, in a time when the need for it has become even more pressing than ever before. This bilateral partnership is ready to evolve into a real instrument for tackling together the key challenges of the 21st century.

South Korea is the 11th largest economy in the world, a member of the OECD and of the G20, plays a critical role in the global economy, including as the second largest producer of semi-conductors, and has the means, the interest, and the will to partner with like-minded partners such as the European Union in pursuing common approaches and goals not only in the region, but well beyond.

A further strengthening of the bilateral strategic partnership could in fact not only serve both sides' interests, but it could also advance a common approach, narrative, and agenda in Asia and globally.

4. The EU vis-à-vis Asia and the Indo-Pacific: A New Level of Political Attention

One important opportunity to strengthen and deepen cooperation between the EU and South Korea, serving as a basis for common engagement both bilaterally and in the multilateral context, is the new level of political attention that has been developed in Europe to the region, namely with the adoption of the EU Indo-Pacific Strategy.

The region has always been important for Europe, but has increasingly become strategically crucial in recent years. The growing economic, demographic, and political weight makes it a key player in shaping the international order and in addressing global challenges. The centrality of the Indo-Pacific is today about far more than just geo-economics: it is geo strategic.

The European Union is already highly interconnected with the region: it is already the top investor, the leading development cooperation partner, and one of the biggest trading partners for the Indo-Pacific. Together, we hold over 70% of global trade in goods and services, and over 60% of foreign direct investments flows.

On this basis, the European Union has always been interested in developing stronger ties, and more effective tools for cooperation, in and with Asia broadly. The economic and trade-related policies and instruments have historically been very strong, but in recent years the EU has tried to expand and strengthen its role in all other fields, from digital to security, from climate to infrastructures — just to mention a few — both in bilateral and in multilateral (regional, subregional, and global) formats.

This interest in investing more into its strategic engagement with the region has developed into a necessity and a political priority as the recent and current dynamics in the Indo-Pacific have given rise to intense and acute geopolitical competition, adding to increasing tensions on trade and supply chains, as well as in technological, political, and security areas.

What is particularly interesting is the fact that, contrary to other international players, the European Union approaches Asia and the Indo-Pacific with a cooperative stand, rather than seeing it as the theatre of a geopolitical competition. The EU purpose is to develop further a principled, long-term engagement, grounded in the rules-based international order, shared values and principles such as commitment to democracy, human rights, and rule of law, and promoting inclusive and effective multilateral cooperation. The aim is not to gain its own space in the geopolitical race and competition, but rather to develop strong and lasting partnerships to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific.

This focus on cooperation represents on one side a natural development of the “European way”: the integration process that has led, over decades, to the creation and consolidation of the EU, was born in the aftermaths of the Second World War, together with the need to turn a continent that had lived and exported conflicts for centuries into a community that shares interests and values and that makes of cooperation a fundamental asset for economic and democratic development. Europe’s ability to not only reconcile, but prosper and grow after the World Wars, was thanks to the long-sighted and wise choices of those leaders that understood that cooperation is simply

more convenient than competition, conflict, and war: Europeans stopped fighting, and started to develop their democracies and economies together, and it worked. As a result, cooperation is a natural constant component of any policy and strategy of the EU: because we have witnessed, and still enjoy, the benefits of that approach, and the price of not following and implementing it.

5. The EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy

The cooperative and inclusive mindset of the EU Indo-Pacific Strategy represents not only a natural element of any European policy, but also, in the specific case, an extremely strong link with the approach to the region that South Korea is traditionally pursuing. The New Southern Policy promoted by Seoul since 2017, and its most recent upgrade “NSP Plus”, is based on exactly the same principle of inclusion and cooperation, refraining from the confrontational approach that prevails in some other corners, and that would be detrimental for both the EU and Korea's interests and values. They also clearly understand and recognise the centrality of other partners, like ASEAN, in developing a cooperative regional approach.

Hence, as one of the closest and most like-minded partners in the region, it is natural that Seoul represents for the European Union a key player and interlocutor in the framework of its Indo-Pacific Strategy, which can offer an additional, regional framework on which to develop and focus cooperation, complementing the already existing bilateral set of agreements.

The seven priorities indicated in the EU Strategy resonate perfectly well with the Korean policies, and could provide a basis for concrete, sectoral cooperation, in a bilateral manner but within a regional approach, should the new leadership in Seoul decide to invest in it: sustainable and inclusive prosperity; green transition; ocean governance; digital governance and partnership; connectivity; security and defence; and human security.

Behind each of these key priorities there are communalities of perspectives and potentially coordinated policies that could be developed by the EU and South Korea into formal frameworks of additional partnership and framework agreements, to make sure that alignment does not only involve declarations of principles, but is translated into concrete, effective, and real actions on both sides. This is, in fact, one of the key elements of the strategic partnership between the EU and Korea: the attention to make things happen in real terms.

Looking into the seven priority areas, we see that the scope for concrete partnership is relevant in each of them. Without going into details for all fields of action, we could just mention four examples that are very realistic and concrete.

A digital partnership agreement could be developed to expand bilateral trade and investments and ensure interoperability of standards for emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence, based on principles of human rights and democracy, but also to work together on resilience of technology supply chains and to facilitate business opportunities for small- and medium-sized enterprises and start-ups.

On ocean governance, Korea and the EU run together a working group on illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, and could partner in supporting countries in the Indo-Pacific to reform their fisheries management and control systems.

In research and innovation, Seoul could become an associated member in the Horizon Europe program, opening the door for more systemic joint research opportunities.

On security and defence, building on the experience of the Korean cooperation with the EU naval operation *Atalanta*, and on the discussions held during the visit of the Chair of the EU Military Committee General Graziano to Seoul in 2021, further cooperation on maritime security, cybersecurity, counterterrorism and crisis management could be developed, in particular in the framework of the “Enhanced Security Cooperation in and with Asia” project — that indicates South Korea as one of the priority

partners.

These avenues of potential strengthened bilateral cooperation, in the framework of a regional strategy with shared values and a common cooperative approach, would represent not only an incredible opportunity for Korea and Europe, but also an important element in the global efforts to promote, protect, and further develop an effective multilateral system. It is in fact very clear that bilateral partnerships and regional frameworks based on inclusive, cooperative, and rules-based approaches are today among the most powerful tools at the disposal of the international community to counter disruptive forces and trends, and build patterns of cooperation that feed the multilateral dynamics and system in a constructive manner.

6. Joint Contributions to Multilateralism

The contribution that the EU and South Korea can give to multilateralism is and can be, therefore, based not only on their individual, separate, or coordinated work within the multilateral frameworks and organizations that already exist, but also on the processes and outcomes of their bilateral partnership, which can serve strategically to forge some wider and broader patterns for effective multilateralism.

Be it on climate action or digital governance, on vaccines access or on maritime security, whatever progress Europe and Korea will manage to build will not only have a positive effect on their own societies and economies, but will also contribute to advancing global policies and instruments — in a moment in history when the international players that are capable and willing to build, rather than dismantle, the rules-based global order are more needed than ever.

This is particularly true and relevant in the context of the security architecture of Northeast Asia, an interest that is literally vital for Seoul, but that is fully shared by the EU, and not only for economic reasons. Developing

a solid, functioning, effective, cooperative security architecture in the region is not only crucial for trade and investment, in fact, but it has also and increasingly become a key element of a more complex, interconnected, global picture.

Terrorist threats, cyberattacks, maritime security, and nuclear safety and non-proliferation are just some of the components of a worldwide security environment that cannot be interpreted on a local or regional basis any longer. Not to mention the impact other issues have on our common security: climate change, pandemics, energy dependence, or the violation of international law (which might have an immediate local or regional effect but can also represent a dangerous precedent that could be followed by new violations elsewhere in the world).

7. Global and Regional Security

Attempts by the Russian Federation to change internationally recognised borders or to use the safety of nuclear facilities as an unconventional weapon in a very conventional conflict, are extremely worrying and dangerous steps in themselves, but could also inspire or set a precedent for others to follow, including in Northeast Asia and in the Korean Peninsula. Nothing of what is done, in the current world dynamics, stays local or regional; everything has the potential to turn global. For this reason European Union and South Korea share a key, vital interest in developing even further their partnership in support of a rules-based cooperative multilateralism. Because this can serve not only their principled vision of international relations, but also and increasingly their immediate security interests in their own respective regions.

This shared interest is, I believe, at the basis of the Korean decision to sanction the Russian aggression against Ukraine, as well as of the EU's willingness and availability to support peace and security in Northeast Asia with all its instruments and means, with a specific focus on the denuclearisation

of the Korean Peninsula. The EU is committed to the achievement of complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearisation, and respect for human rights, as indicated and required by the UN Security Council Resolutions, and could support a process aimed at these objectives in a variety of ways: by contributing to the de-escalation of tensions and the establishment of confidence-building measures between South Korea and North Korea; by supporting denuclearisation negotiations, including by drawing on the relevant elements acquired in the context of the Iran nuclear negotiations (both on the nuclear and on the sanction-related issues); and in helping to develop a realistic and sustainable long-term vision for the political, economic, and societal relationship that could be established all along the gradual steps of implementation of an eventual agreement, and the relevant elements to incentivise it.

The European Union has developed expertise over the decades on all these different tracks, derived both from its own historic process of transitioning to democracy, reconciling in post-war times, and eventually succeeding in building the most advanced multilateral experiment of economic and political integration; and from its direct experience in leading, facilitating, and managing complex multilateral framework of negotiations, including nuclear-related ones like in the case of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran (with its technical nuclear and sanction-lifting connected elements).

Mastering the use of sanctions, and the process of lifting them, in parallel with the verified implementation of the different steps of an agreement, in the context and in synchronisation with a UN-based, multilaterally-agreed framework, with the converging accompanying measures of different relevant global players, is definitely one of the competences that the European Union could fruitfully put at the disposal of a multilateral framework of negotiations for the denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula, in support of peace and security in the region. It is critical that this includes the power to fully continue to implement the sanctions that are in place, as long as no

progress is credibly made, and to put pressure on other international players to do the same, avoiding sanction evasions from the DPRK.

The EU can also continue to work effectively, and in partnership with the relevant international bodies, to raise and address both the human rights and the humanitarian situation in DPRK.

The new Korean leadership will determine, in full autonomy and together with its closest allies and friends, starting from the US administration, how to develop its own policy vis-à-vis the DPRK and the immediate, mid-, and long-term perspectives for an intra-Korean dialogue, and for the denuclearisation process of the peninsula. This will most likely constitute one of the main and most relevant pillars of the overall new regional and foreign policy framework of the newly elected Korean president. It is, and will certainly remain, a highly debated issue internally, inside South Korea; but it is not only a domestic policy, nor a regional concern. How to address North Korea is a matter that needs the ownership and the clear leading role of Seoul, but that requires the active and coordinated involvement of many other different players at multiple levels. There is a clear need to guarantee compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions and to ensure synchronisation of parallel steps between any form of dialogue or negotiation and the formality of decisions in the relevant international entities and bodies, starting with the UN system. The main reason for the need to involve different regional and global players, and their wish and availability to be involved, relates to the fact that the ramifications of the Korean file — in all its different aspects, be it nuclear, military, security, human rights, humanitarian, political or other — expand to many different regions in the world, and represent in some cases a threat and a challenge of a global nature.

South Korea is the best positioned to be in the driving seat, due to its knowledge and understanding of the matter, and to the proximity to the existential threat that the DPRK poses to its people, and has both the responsibility and the opportunity to determine the course of action in this context; but Seoul can and must be supported and accompanied in this

difficult endeavour by its partners, in a broader regional, continental, and global framework.

The European Union can be one of these players, understanding at the same time the need for Korean ownership, and for an accompanying multilateral environment and dynamic. In the EU experience, models of concentric layers of negotiating frameworks have proven to be effective, in different contexts. They allow for a flexible and smart composition of multiple dimensions of a negotiating pattern, ideal in situations where the complexity of the issues, or the number of players involved, require a structure that leaves enough space to the leading role of the parties directly involved (in this case already more than two, given the role of the United States), without ignoring or marginalising the role of all other players that could act as supporting, accompanying, or spoiling powers. The only way to turn a potential spoiler into a cooperative interlocutor is to frame its role into a multilateral dynamic that provides all players with sufficient involvement, without giving any of them a blocking veto power.

8. Conclusion

Complexity of problems require complexity of solutions. The European Union could partner with South Korea, on the solid basis of their bilateral strategic partnership, to articulate, build, and implement a complex but effective pattern to address the multi-dimensional threat posed by DPRK, and the long-term perspectives of the economic, political, and societal future of the peninsula: as a respectful, trusted partner, aware of its role, its potential and its limits — and ready to work together with other partners and players at regional, continental and global level.

This would represent probably the most advanced and relevant development that the strategic partnership between South Korea and the European Union could face. It would be guided and inspired by the values and principles that

the two sides share; it would serve the interests of both; and it would advance multilateralism, peace and security, respect of the rules based global order, human rights, democracy, and respect of international law — as the strategic partnership between the EU and Korea has always done.

References

- Bark, Taeho. 2022. “South Korea’s recent trade performance in response to external development.”
- BMGF. 2021. “The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Pledges \$50 Million to Increase Access to Safe and Affordable COVID-19 Vaccines in Lower-Income Countries.” Available at <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/ideas/media-center/press-releases/2021/06/the-bill-and-melinda-gates-foundation-pledges-50-million-to-increase-access-to-safe-and-affordable-covid-19-vaccines-in-lower-income-countries> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- Brand Finance. 2021. “Global Soft Power Index 2021.” Available at <https://brandirectory.com/globalsoftpower/download/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2021.pdf> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Chung, Eui-yong. 2021. “Statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea at the 15th Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Barbados, 3-7 October, 2021.” Available at https://unctad.org/system/files/non-official-document/u15-gd-12-rok_en.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI). 2021. “2020 Annual Progress Report.”
- Committee for International Development Cooperation (CIDC). 2019. “2019 International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget).” [in Korean]
- Committee for International Development Cooperation (CIDC). 2020. “2020

- International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget).” [in Korean]
- _____. 2021. “3rd Mid-Term Strategy for International Development Cooperation.” [in Korean]
- _____. 2022. “2022 International Development Cooperation Action Plan (Final Budget).” [in Korean]
- Climate Action Tracker. 2022. “Country summary.” Available at <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/south-korea/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Council of the European Union. 2021. “Council conclusions on Climate and Energy Diplomacy: Delivering on the external dimension of the European Green Deal.” (25 January). Available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/48057/st05263-en21.pdf> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Destination 2050. 2022. “European countries sign breakthrough ‘Toulouse Declaration’ with aviation: driving sector’s decarbonisation plans forward.” Press Release. (4 February). Available at https://www.eraa.org/sites/default/files/european_countries_sign_breakthrough_toulouse_declaration_with_aviation_-_driving_sectors_decarbonisation_plans_forward.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Easley, Leif-Eric and Kyuri Park. 2018. “South Korea’s mismatched diplomacy in Asia: middle power identity, interests, and foreign policy.” *International Politics*, Vol. 55, pp. 242-263.
- ETTRANS. 「재생에너지3020 이행계획」. Available at <https://eic.or.kr/policy/04.php> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- European Chamber of Commerce in Korea. 2020. “EU-Korea Virtual Business Conference 2020’ successfully concluded.” Press Release. (2 July). Available at <https://ecck.or.kr/eu-korea-virtual-business-conference-2020-successfully-concluded/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- European Commission. 2016. “EU launches €3.5 million emissions trading cooperation project with Korea.” Available at <https://ec.europa.eu/clima/news-your-voice/news/eu-launches-eu35-million-emissions-tradi>

ng-cooperation-project-korea-2016-07-08_en (accessed 5 April 2022).

_____. 2018. “Strategic Partnership for Common Challenges: The EU enhances its dialogue with the Republic of Korea.” (19 October). Available at https://ec.europa.eu/fpi/strategic-partnership-common-challenges-eu-enhances-its-dialogue-republic-korea-2018-10-19_en (accessed 5 April 2022).

_____. 2020. “Statement by President von der Leyen at the joint press conference with President Michel, following the EU-Republic of Korea Summit videoconference, Brussels, 30 June 2020.” Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_20_1236 (accessed 5 April 2022).

_____. 2021. “Document C(2021)2800: Commission Delegated Regulation EU [on climate change].” Available at [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=PI_COM:C\(2021\)2800](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=PI_COM:C(2021)2800) (accessed 5 April 2022).

_____. 2021. “EU-Republic of Korea: Joint press release following the working group on energy, environment and climate change.” Press Release. (9 February). Available at <https://euraxess.ec.europa.eu/worldwide/south-korea/eu-republic-korea-joint-press-release-following-working-group-energy> (accessed 5 April 2022).

_____. 2021. “Fit for 55: delivering the EU’s 2030 Climate Target on the way to climate neutrality.” Available at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52021DC0550&from=EN>. For a broader overview see https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal/delivering-european-green-deal_en (accessed 3 February 2022).

_____. 2021. “Vaccinating the World: “Team Europe” to Share More than 200 Million Doses of COVID-19 Vaccines with Low and Middle-Income Countries by the End of 2021.” Available at https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/news/vaccinating-world-team-europe-share-more-200-million-doses-covid-19-vaccines-low-and-middle_en (accessed 21 February 2022).

- _____. 2022. “EU Taxonomy: Commission begins expert consultations on Complementary Delegated Act covering certain nuclear and gas activities.” Press Release. (1 January). Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_2 (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2022. “EU Taxonomy: Commission presents Complementary Climate Delegated Act to accelerate decarbonisation.” Press Statement. (2 February). Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_711 (accessed 5 April 2022).
- European Council. 2020. “Republic of Korea-EU leaders’ video conference meeting.” Available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2020/06/30/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- European External Action Service. 2018. “EU Gateway to Korea – Green Energy Technology business mission concluded successfully.” Press Release. (6 February). Available at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/39375/eu-gateway-korea-%E2%80%93-green-energy-technology-business-mission-concluded-successfully_sq (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2019. “EU Gateway to Korea Green Energy Technology Exhibition Held.” Press Release. (24 January). Available at https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/morocco/57055/eu-gateway-korea-green-energy-technology-exhibition-held_bg (accessed 5 April 2022).
- European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS). 2021. “President Biden’s climate summit.” At A Glance. (May). Available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2021/690583/EPRS_ATA\(2021\)690583_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2021/690583/EPRS_ATA(2021)690583_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. “South Korea’s pledge to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050.” Briefing. (June). Available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690693/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)690693_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690693/EPRS_BRI(2021)690693_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).

- European Union. “EU-Korea Climate Action Project.” Available at <https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/eu-korea-climate-action-project> (accessed 9 January 2022).
- Feffer, John. 2021. “The Myths and Realities of South Korea’s Green New Deal.” *Fair Observer*. (13 December). Available at https://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/john-feffer-south-korea-news-green-new-deal-climate-change-green-energy-resources-world-news-79391/ (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. *The Pandemic Pivot*. Seven Stories Press.
- Ferrier, Kyle. 2021. “Can South Korea Keep up its Momentum on Climate after the P4G Seoul Summit?” *The Diplomat*. (4 June). Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/06/can-south-korea-keep-up-its-momentum-on-climate-after-the-p4g-seoul-summit/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Friedhoff, Karl and Park Suh-young. 2021. “Ahead of Biden-Moon Summit, South Koreans and Americans Align on China and North Korea.” Chicago Council on Global Affairs. (19 May). Available at https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/2021-05/Final%20-%20Biden-Moon%20Summit%20Brief_0.pdf (accessed 16 April 2022).
- G7. 2021. “CARBIS BAY G7 SUMMIT COMMUNIQUÉ: Our Shared Agenda for Global Action to Build Back Better.”
- Gavi. 2021. “Donor Profiles – Australia.” Available at gavi.org/investing-gavi/funding/donor-profiles/australia (accessed 21 February 2022).
- Global Firepower. 2022. “2021 Military Strength Ranking.” Available at <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Goldgeier, James and Lindsay Ford. 2021. “Retooling America’s Alliances to Manage the China Challenge.” Brookings Institution. Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/retooling-americas-alliances-to-manage-the-china-challenge/> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- Government of Korea. 2022. “2050 Carbon neutrality strategy’ [2050 탄소중립 추진전략].” Available at https://www.gihoo.or.kr/netzero/download/NETZERO_FILE.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).

- Governments of the U.S. and the Republic of Korea. 2006. “Statement on the Launch of the Strategic Consultation for Allied Partnership.” Government Publishing Office (GPO).
- Green Korea. 2021. “Statement - COP26, which reveals that the COP itself is a problem, turns a blind eye to climate justice again [성명 - COP자체가 문제임을 드러낸 COP26, 또다시 기후정의를 외면하다].” (14 November). Available at <https://www.greenkorea.org/activity/weather-change/climatechangeaction-climate-change/90782/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. “Statement: “Framework on Carbon Neutrality” can’t be the response to the climate crisis [성명 -탄소중립 녹색성장법은 기후위기 대응법이 될 수 없다].” (14 November). Available at <https://www.greenkorea.org/activity/weather-change/climatechangeaction-climate-change/89148/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Harvard Growth Lab. 2022. “Economic Complexity Index.”
- Hemmings, John. 2012. “The ROK Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan.” In Scott Snyder (ed.) *Global Korea: South Korea’s Contributions to International Security*. Council on Foreign Relations.
- International Carbon Action Partnership. 2021. “Korea Emissions Trading Scheme.” Available at https://icapcarbonaction.com/en/?option=com_etmap&task=export&format=pdf&layout=list&systems%5B%5D=47 (accessed 8 January 2022).
- IEA. 2020. “Korea Renewable Energy 3020 Plan.” Available at <https://www.iea.org/policies/6569-korea-renewable-energy-3020-plan> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2020. “South Korea 2020 Energy Policy Review.”
- International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2021. *The Military Balance 2021*. London: Routledge.
- IPCC. 2022. “Climate change: a threat to human wellbeing and health of the planet.” Press Release. (28 February). Available at <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/resources/press/press-release> (accessed 5 April 2022).

- Kang, Nagyeong. 2020. "South Korea's New Deal: Will It Lead the Digital and Green Industry?" KF-VUB Chair Policy Brief. (June). Available at https://www.korea-chair.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/KFVUB_Policy-Brief-2020-08.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2022. "Climate change: What Lee Jae-Myung and Yoon Suk-Yeol think." KF-VUB Korea Chair. (March). Available at <https://brussels-school.be/publications/other-publications/climate-change-what-lee-jae-myung-and-yoon-suk-yeol-think> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Kim, Bookyum. 2022. "Prime Minister's speech at the 40th International Development Cooperation Committee meeting, January 27, 2022." Available at <https://www.odakorea.go.kr> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Kim, Eun Mee and Jisun Song. 2022. "Analysis of South Korea's Experience with the COVID-19 Pandemic and its Relations with the WHO." In van der Veere, Florian Schneider, and Catherine Yuk-ping Lo (eds.) *Public Health in Asia during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Global Health Governance, Migrant Labour, and International Health Crises*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Kim, Young Sam. 1994. "The Segyehwa policy of Korea under president Kim Young Sam." The Sydney Declaration. (17 November)
- Korean Culture and Information Service. 2022. "History." Available at <https://www.kocis.go.kr/eng/openHistory.do> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Korea Federation for Environmental Movement. 2021. "The 6th RE100Forum: Moon Administration's Renewable Energy Policy Assessment and Future Assignments (Energy Transition centered on the Renewable Energy is necessary) [문재인 정부의 재생에너지 정책 평가와 향후 과제 (재생 에너지 중심의 에너지전환 필요 강조)]." (24 August). Available at <http://kfem.or.kr/?p=218246> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Korea Foundation. 2022. "Organization Chart." Available at <https://www.kf.or.kr/kfEng/cm/cntnts/cntntsView2.do?mi=2128> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA). 2022. "Overseas Offices [해외사무소]." Available at https://www.koica.go.kr/koica_kr/863/subview.

- do (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KOTRA). 2022. “Global Networks.” Available at <https://www.kotra.or.kr/foreign/main/KHEMUI010M.html> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Lamy, Pascal, Geneviève Pons, and Pierre Leturcq. 2019. “Time to Green EU Trade Policy: But How?” Jacques Delors Institute Policy Paper, No. 241.
- Lazard, Olivia. 2021. “The Need for an EU ecological diplomacy.” In Olivia Lazard and Richard Youngs (eds.) *The EU and Climate Security: Toward Ecological Diplomacy*. Carnegie Europe. Available at https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Youngs_and_Lazard_EU_Climate_FINAL_07.08.21.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Lee, Jae-Seung. 2022. “EU-Korea partnership on energy and climate change.” In Nicola Casarini, Antonio Fiori, Nam-Kook Kim, Jae-Sung Lee, and Ramon Pacheco Pardo (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Europe-Korea Relations*.
- Lee, Ji-hoon. 2021. “S.Korea shows rare unease against US request for Samsung data.” *Korea Economic Daily*. (6 October). Available at <https://www.kedglobal.com/newsView/ked202110060012> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- Lee, Taedong, Myungsung Kim, and Natalie Chifamba. 2021. “Political Framework of Green New Deal: A comparative analysis of the EU and US proposals.” *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 221-246.
- Lowy Institute. 2019. “Lowy Institute Global Diplomacy Index. 2019.” Available at <https://globaldiplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/#> (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Macdonald, Sam. 2021. “South Korea’s Climate Pledges: Less Than Meets the Eye.” *The Diplomat*. (5 May). Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/05/south-koreas-climate-pledges-less-than-meets-the-eye/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Ministry of Environment. 2021. “Government Task Report: Joint Announcement

of the five ministries under the theme of Korean New Deal, Carbon Neutrality [한국판 뉴딜, 탄소중립을 주제로 5개 부처 합동 발표].” Press Release. (28 December). Available at <http://www.me.go.kr/home/web/board/read.do;jsessionid=9kaoE8g0mRowIB584Cr5eywu.mehome1?pagerOffset=0&maxPageItems=10&maxIndexPages=10&searchKey=&searchValue=&menuId=286&orgCd=&boardId=1497990&boardMasterId=1&boardCategoryId=39&decorator> (accessed 5 April 2022).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). 2020. “ROK-Led “UN Group of Friends of Solidarity for Global Health Security” Holds Virtual High-Level Meeting.” Available at https://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5676/view.do?seq=321234&srchFr=&%3BsrchTo=&%3BsrchWord=&%3BsrchTp=&%3Bmulti_itm_seq=0&%3Bitm_seq_1=0&%3Bitm_seq_2=0&%3Bcompany_cd=&%3Bcompany_nm (accessed 21 January 2022).

_____. 2021. “2021 Budget Overview (III-2) [2021년도 예산 개요 (III-2)].”

_____. 2021. “3rd Virtual Meeting on “Northeast Asia Cooperation for Health Security (NEACHS)” Held on May 27.” Available at https://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5676/view.do?seq=321698#:~:text=- (accessed 21 February 2022).

Ministry of National Defense. 2021. “Speech by Minister of Defense of ROK at the Ministerial Meeting of the UN Peace-keeping, December 7, 2021.” Available at https://www.mnd.go.kr/user/boardList.action?command=view&page=1&boardId=I_26639&boardSeq=I_9389914&titleId=null&id=mnd_060303000000&siteId=mnd (accessed 5 April 2022).

Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy (MOTIE). 2022. “Korea’s FTA Network.” Available at <https://english.motie.go.kr/en/if/ftanetwork/ftanetwork.jsp> (accessed 10 January 2022).

Mundy, Simon. 2014. “S Korea’s Park faces climate change test.” *Financial Times*. (19 November). Available at <https://www.ft.com/content/a47c3648-6673-11e4-8bf6-00144feabd0> (accessed 5 April 2022).

Moon, Jae-in. 2022. “2022 New Year’s Speech [2022년 신년사].” (3 January).

- Available at <https://www1.president.go.kr/articles/11710> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- OECD. 2020. “Official Development Assistance (ODA).” Available at <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/official-development-assistance.htm> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. “Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Statistics.” Available at https://public.tableau.com/views/ODA_GNI/ODA2020?:language=en&:display_count=y&publish=yes&:origin=viz_share_link?&:showVizHome=no#1 (accessed 21 February 2022).
- _____. 2022. “Green Growth in Action: Korea.” Available at <https://www.oecd.org/korea/greengrowthinactionkorea.htm> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2022. “OECD Economic Surveys: South Korea 2020.”
- _____. 2022. “OECD Global Value Chain (GVC) Index.”
- _____. 2022. “Official Development Assistance 2020 – Preliminary Data.” Available at OECD. “Development Co-operation Profiles – Korea.” Available at https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/d919ff1a-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/5e331623-en&_csp_=b14d4f60505d057b456dd1730d8fcea3&itemIGO=oecd&itemContentType=chapter (accessed 10 January 2022).
- Office of the Prime Minister. 2022. “Press Release: 2021 ODA National Awareness Survey Result.” Available at <https://www.korea.kr/news/pressReleaseView.do?newsId=156492422> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- Pacheco Pardo, Ramon. 2021. “With new middle power comes great responsibility for South Korea.” CSDS Policy Brief, 24/2021. (8 December). Available at <https://brussels-school.be/publications/policy-briefs/new-middle-power-comes-great-responsibility-south-korea> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Pacheco Pardo, Ramon, Tongfi Kim, Linde Desmaele, Maximilian Ernst, Paula Cantero Dieguez, and Riccardo Villa. 2019. “Moon Jae-in’s Policy

- Towards Multilateral Institutions: Continuity and Change in South Korea's Global Strategy." VUB-KF Chair. Available at https://www.korea-chair.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/KF-VUB_Moon-Jae-Ins-policy-towards-multilateral-institutions.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Pearson, Lester. 1970. "A New Strategy for Global Development." *The UNESCO Courier*. (February). Available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000056743> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Presidential Committee on New Southern Policy. 2019. "Presidential Committee on New Southern Policy." Available at https://apcss.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Republic_of_Korea-New_Southern_Policy_Information_Booklet.pdf (accessed 16 April 2022).
- Pressian. 2020. "Is the Korean Green New Deal "green"? [한국판 그린 뉴딜에 '그린'이 있는가?]." (27 May). Available at <https://www.pressian.com/pages/articles/2020052716455150684#0DKU> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Roehrig, Terence. 2012. "South Korea's Counterpiracy Operations in the Gulf of Aden." In Scott Snyder (ed.) *Global Korea: South Korea's Contributions to International Security*. Council on Foreign Relations.
- Roh, Tae-woo. 1991. "President Roh Tae-woo's Speech at the Hoover Institution." Palo Alto. (29 June)
- Rosenau, James. 1999. "Toward an Ontology for Global Governance." In Martin Hewson and Timothy J. Sinclair (eds.) *Approaches to Global Governance Theory*. State University of New York: Albany.
- Sedaily. 2021. 「이인영 '탄소중립'은 남북협력 과제... '평화뉴딜' 제안하는 통일부」. (8 September)
- Shin, Jang Bum. 2006. "Korea's ODA Policy toward Africa." *Journal of International Development Cooperation KOICA Update*. Available at https://www.ejdc.org/archive/view_article?pid=jidc-2006-4-45 (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Smith, Josh and Sangmi Cha. 2020. "Jobs come first in South Korea's ambitious "Green New Deal" climate plan." *Reuters*. (8 June). Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-environment-newdeal->

- analys-idUSKBN23F0SV (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Stangarone, Troy. 2021. "What Did South Korea Promise at COP26?" *The Diplomat*. (12 November). Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/11/what-did-south-korea-promise-at-cop26/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Tamponi, Alessandra. 2020. "South Korea's Green Path to Recovery." European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS) Op-ed. (18 December). Available at <https://eias.org/op-ed/south-koreas-green-path-to-recovery/> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Tänzler, Dennis, Daria Ivleva, and Tobias Hausotter. 2021. "EU climate change diplomacy in a post-Covid-19 world." *European Parliament*. (July). Available at [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653643/EXPO_STU\(2021\)653643_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653643/EXPO_STU(2021)653643_EN.pdf) (accessed 5 April 2022).
- The Hankyoreh. 2020. "Why does the "Korean Green New Deal" lack "green"? [한국판 뉴딜'에는 왜 '그린'이 빠져 있을까]." (8 May). Available at <https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/opinion/column/944222.html> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- The Korea Herald. 2020. "Time for action on "Green New Deal": EU envoy." (25 August). Available at http://www.koreaherald.com/common_prog/newsprint.php?ud=20200825000904&dt=2 (accessed 5 April 2022).
- The White House. 2009. "Joint vision for the alliance of the United States of America and the Republic of Korea." Available at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/joint-vision-alliance-united-states-america-and-republic-korea> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- _____. 2013. "Joint Declaration in Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Alliance between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America." Available at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/07/joint-declaration-commemoration-60th-anniversary-alliance-between-republ> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- _____. 2017. "Remarks by President Trump on His Trip to Asia." Available at <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president->

- donald-j-trumps-visit-asia-advanced-america-first-priorities/ (accessed 16 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. "Fact Sheet: Quad Summit." Available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/12/fact-sheet-quad-summit/> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- _____. 2021. "Joint Statement from Quad Leaders." Available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/09/24/joint-statement-from-quad-leaders/> (accessed February 21, 2022).
- Trudeau, Justin, Sahle-Work Zewde, Jae-in Moon, Jacinda Ardern, Cyril Ramaphosa, Pedro Sánchez Pérez-Castejón, Stefan Lofven, and Elyes Fakhfakh. 2022. "Opinion: The International Community Must Guarantee Equal Global Access to a Covid-19 Vaccine." *The Washington Post*. Available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/07/15/international-community-must-guarantee-equal-global-access-covid-19-vaccine/> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- Tudor, Daniel. 2012. *Korea: The Impossible Country*. Tuttle Publishing: Vermont.
- UIA. 2017. "International Meetings Statistics Report." Available at <https://uia.org/publications/meetings-stats> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2018. "International Meetings Statistics Report." Available at <https://uia.org/publications/meetings-stats> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2019. "International Meetings Statistics Report." Available at <https://uia.org/publications/meetings-stats> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- UN. 2021. "Summary of Troops Contributing Countries by Ranking: Police, UN Military Experts on Mission, Staff Officers and Troops." Available at https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/02-country_ranking_34_jan2021.pdf (accessed 10 January 2022).
- _____. 2021. "The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2021." United Nations Publication Issued by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, pp. 1-64.
- UNDP. 2020. "International Development Cooperation." Available at https://www1.undp.org/content/seoul_policy_center/en/home/presscenter/

- articles/2019/Collection_of_Examples_from_the_Republic_of_Korea/international-development-cooperation.html (accessed 21 February 2022).
- _____. 2021. “Global Dashboard for Vaccine Equity.” Available at data.undp.org/vaccine-equity (accessed 21 February 2022).
- UNESCO. 2021. “The Republic of Korea and UNESCO Hold Strategic Dialogue on Shared Priorities.” Available at <https://en.unesco.org/news/republic-korea-and-unesco-hold-strategic-dialogue-shared-priorities> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- U.S. Department of State. 2018. “Australia-Japan-United States Trilateral Strategic Dialogue Joint Ministerial Statement.” Available at <https://2017-2021.state.gov/australia-japan-united-states-trilateral-strategic-dialogue-joint-ministerial-statement/index.html> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. “Agreement under Article IV of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea.” Available at <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/21-901-Korea-Defense-SMA.pdf> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- U.S. Embassy in the Republic of Korea. 2019. “U.S. and ROK Issue a Joint Factsheet on their Regional Cooperation Efforts.” Available at <https://kr.usembassy.gov/110219-joint-fact-sheet-by-the-united-states-and-the-republic-of-korea-on-cooperation-between-the-new-southern-policy-and-the-indo-pacific-strategy/> (accessed 26 April 2022).
- Vanheukelen, Marc. 2021. “EU Climate Diplomacy: Projecting Green Global Leadership.” EU Diplomacy Papers. Available at https://www.coleurope.eu/sites/default/files/uploads/event/EDP%206%202021_Vanheukelen_3.pdf (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Vetter, David. 2020. “South Korea Embraces EU-Style Green Deal For COVID-19 Recovery.” *Forbes*. (16 April). Available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/davidrvetter/2020/04/16/south-korea-embraces-eu-style-green-deal-for-covid-19-recovery/?sh=16f38b575611> (accessed 5 April 2022).

- 2022).
- WHO. 2021. “WHO Reform: Involvement of Non-State Actors in WHO’s Governing Bodies.”
- _____. 2022. “Access to COVID-19 Tools Funding Commitment Tracker.” Available at <https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/access-to-covid-19-tools-tracker> (accessed 21 February 2022).
- _____. 2022. “Consolidated Financing Framework for ACT-A Agency & In-Country Needs October 2021 to September 2022.”
- World Bank. 2020. “Gross domestic product 2020.” Available at <https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf> (accessed 16 April 2022).
- _____. 2022. “World Development Indicators.”
- _____. 2022. “World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS).”
- WTO. 2021. “Groups in the Negotiations.” Available at https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/negotiating_groups_e.htm#grp023 (accessed 5 April 2022).
- _____. 2021. “WT/TPR/S/414/Rev.1.”
- _____. 2022. “Regional Trade Agreements Database.”
- _____. 2022. “Trade and Tariff Data.”
- Yonhap News. 2021. “Full text of the Seoul Declaration adopted at the 2021 P4G Seoul Summit.” (May 31). Available at <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20210531008900315> (accessed 5 April 2022).
- Yoon, Suk-yeol. 2022. “South Korea Needs to Step Up.” *Foreign Affairs*. (8 February). Available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/south-korea/2022-02-08/south-korea-needs-step> (accessed 5 April 2022).

List of KIEP Publications

Policy Analyses

- 22-01 Challenges and Opportunities of Korea's Foreign Policy as a Developed Country / Alexander Downer, Eun Mee Kim, Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Pascal Lamy, Federica Mogherini, Ramon Pacheco Pardo, Michael Reiterer, Scott A. Snyder, Jisun Song, and Young-Kwan Yoon
- 21-01 Internationalization of the Korean Won in the Light of the RMB Internationalization / Hyo Sang Kim, Yunjong Wang, Young Sik Jeong, Liqing Zhang, Chengjun Zhou, Soojoong Nam, Ji Young Moon, Chang Sik Kim, Sunghyun Kim, Jiyou An, Soyoung Kim, and Dayoung Yang
- 20-01 The Income-led Growth in Korea: Status, Prospects and Lessons for Other Countries / Sangyong Joo, Kangkook Lee, Won Jun Nah, Su Min Jeon, and Dong-Hee Joe
- 18-01 The European Union in Crisis: What Challenges Lie ahead and Why It Matters for Korea / KIM Heungchong and Françoise B. NICOLAS eds.
- 17-01 Economic Challenges for Korea: Mega-Trends and Scenario Analyses / Danny Leipziger, Carl J. Dahlman, and Shahid Yusuf
- 16-01 Promoting Dynamic & Innovative Growth in Asia: The Cases of Special Economic Zones and Business Hubs / Hyung-Gon JEONG and Douglas Zhihua ZENG
- 16-02 Implications of Global Recession and Structural Changes for Korean Economy / Minsoo Han, Soobin Kim, and Jinhee Lee
- 15-01 Why Did Korean Domestic Demand Slow Down after the Asian Financial Crisis? / WHANG Unjung, MOON Seongman, AHN Taehyun, KIM Subin, and KIM Junyup

Policy Analyses (in Korean)

- 21-01 Digital Trade Policy in the Era of Digital Transformation / Kyu Yub Lee, Wonseok Choi, Ji Hyun Park, Jun Hyun Eom, Minji Kang, and Unjung Whang
- 21-02 Petroleum Industry Diversification in the Middle East and Its Policy Implication for Korea in the Era of Energy Transition / Kwon Hyung Lee, Sung Hyun Son, Yunhee Jang, Kwang Ho Ryou, and Dawoon Lee

- 21-03 Analysis of the Healthcare Sector in Africa and its Policy Implication for Korea / Young Ho Park, Munsu Kang, Yejin Kim, Kyu Tae Park, and Young-chool Choi
- 21-04 The ASEAN Community in the Post COVID-19 Era: Challenges and Policy Implications / Meeryung La, Ina Choi, Jaewan Cheong, Mingeum Shin, and Hyung Jong Kim
- 21-05 Analysis on India's Trade Policy and Its Implications for Korea-India Cooperation / Jeong Gon Kim, Hyoungmin Han, Hyeyoon Keum, Jong Hun Pek, and Sunhyung Lee
- 21-06 Evaluation and Direction of U.S. International Economic Policies Under Neo-Protectionism / Gusang Kang, Jonghyuk Kim, Jeewoon Rim, and Yeo Joon Yoon
- 21-07 Structural Changes in the Global Value Chain and Policy Responses after COVID-19 / Hyoungmin Han, Sangjun Yea, Sunhyung Lee, Jaewan Cheong, ChiHyun Yun, and Mi Lim Kim
- 21-08 Accelerating Transition towards a Circular Economy and Policy Implications for Korea / Jin-Young Moon, Youngseok Park, Seung Kwon Na, Sunghee Lee, and Eunmi Kim
- 21-09 Japan's New Trade Strategy Amid U.S-China Confrontation / Gyupan Kim, Hyong-Kun Lee, Boram Lee, JungEun Lee, and Seung-Hyun Kim
- 21-10 Green New Deal for Carbon-neutrality and Trade Policy in Korea / Jukwan Lee, Jong Duk Kim, Jin-Young Moon, Jun Hyun Eom, Ji Hyeon Kim, and Jeongmeen Suh
- 21-11 Policy Measures for Foreign Firms to Participate in Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation / Jangho Choi, Jung-kyun Rhee, Yoojeong Choi, and Dae-eun Lee
- 21-12 China's Digital Transformation Strategy and Implications: Focusing on Building 5G Network and Fostering Data Economy / Wonseok Choi, Jihyun Jung, Jeong Gon Kim, Hyojin Lee, Jiwon Choi, Joo Hye Kim, and Seoin Baek
- 21-13 Russia's Energy Strategy in the Northeast Asian Region and New Korea-Russian Cooperation: Focusing on the Natural Gas and Hydrogen Sectors / Joungho Park, Boogyun Kang, Seok Hwan Kim, Won Soon Kwon, and Andrey Kovsh
- 21-14 Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects: An Economic Study of Chinese People's Quality of Life / Wonho Yeon, Sang Baek Hyun, Kyong Hyun Koo, Yoon Jae Ro, Jeonghwan Yun, and Hyojin Lee

- 21-15 Changes, Challenges and Implications of Fiscal and Monetary Policy Directions in the Post Pandemic Era / Sungbae An, Hyosang Kim, Seung-Hyun Kim, Da Young Yang, Jinhee Lee, Ko Un Cho, Wongi Kim, and Jinill Kim
- 21-16 The Internationalization of SMEs via Digital Platforms: Findings and Policy Implications / Kyong Hyun Koo, Gusang Kang, Ji Young Moon, Hyeri Park, Seung Kwon Na, and Jegook Kim
- 21-17 The Policy Direction of International Organizations on Immovable Property Tax and Its Impact on the Macro Economy / Young Sik Jeong, Eunjung Kang, Jinhee Lee, Kyunghun Kim, and Jee Hye Kim
- 21-18 Korea's Regional Cooperation and ODA Policy in Asia: Performance and Challenges / Kwon Yul, Jeonghwan Yun, Eunsuk Lee, Ju Young Lee, Aila Yoo, and Sung Hye Kim
- 21-19 Study of Competition Policies for Inclusive and Innovative Growth / Minsoo Han, Yungshin Jang, Sang-Ha Yoon, Taehyun Oh, and Subin Kim
- 21-20 International Spread of Anti-dumping Measures and Diversification of Investigation Methodologies: Effects and Policy Implications / Moonhee Cho, Cheon-Kee Lee, Minji Kang, and Minchirl Chung
- 21-21 Income and Consumption Inequality in Latin America and Policy Implications for South Korea / Sungwoo Hong, Seungho Lee, Jino Kim, Mi Sook Park, and Yeo Joon Yoon
- 21-22 US-China Conflict, the Analysis on Europe's Perceptions and Relations with the US and China: Historical Study and Prospects / Seung-Keun Lee, Sung-Won Yoon, Yoo Jong Kim, Hyunjung Kim, Yoo-Duk Kang, and Sae Won Chung
- 21-23 30 Years of Korea-Vietnam Economic and Social Cooperation 1992-2021: Achievements, Limitations and Suggestions for Further Expansion / Sungil Kwak, Yong-Hun Beak, Han Woo Lee, Quoc Phuong Le, Manh Loi Vu, and Thi Thanh Huyen Nguyen
- 21-24 New International Tax System and its Impact on Investment of MNE / Sangjun Yea, Hyuk-Hwang Kim, Danbee Park and Hyelin Choi
- 21-25 Development of the IT Industry and Structural Transformation: Focused on IT Cooperation with Russia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan / Minhyeon Jeong, Jiyoung Min, and Dongyeon Jeong

- 21-26 Economic Sanctions against North Korea: Theory and Evidence / Youngseok Park, Munsu Kang, Wonho Yeon, Bumhwan Kim, and Halin Han
- 21-27 China's New Trade Strategy amid U.S-China Confrontation / Sang Baek Hyun, Wonho Yeon, Suyeob Na, Youngsun Kim, and Yun Mi Oh
- 21-28 The US-China Battle for Semiconductor Supremacy and Reshaping of Global Supply Chain / Hyung-Gon Jeong, Yeo Joon Yoon, Wonho Yeon, Seohee Kim, and Dae Young Joo
- 21-29 Case Studies and Empirical Analysis in Social Services Employment / Dong-Hee Joe, Sungwoo Hong, Youngook Jang, and JungEun Lee
- 21-30 The Export Effect of Servitization in Manufacturing / Hyunsoo Kim, Jungu Kang, Hyeeyoon Keum, and Jae Wook Jung
- 21-31 Ten Years of Korea-EU FTA: Achievements and Way Forward / Dong-Hee Joe, Jong Duk Kim, Youngook Jang, Taehyun Oh, Hyun Jean Lee, Minchirl Chung, Hyung Jun Yoon, and Yoo-Duk Kang
- 21-32 Exchange Rate Predictability Based on Market Sentiments / Hyosang Kim, Eunjung Kang, Yuri Kim, Seongman Moon, and Huisu Jang
- 21-33 30th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Central Asia: The Evaluation of Economic Cooperation and Four Major Cooperation Tasks / Young Jin Kim, Seung-soo Hyun, Jong Hwa Lee, Soomi Jeong, Jinsok Sung, Sangche Lee, and Sunmi Jung
- 21-34 The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) at 25: Background, Main Achievements and Policy Implications / Sung-Hoon Park, Myungho Park, and Seung Nyeon Kim
- 21-35 Major Changes in Economic System in the Post-Corona Era: Focusing on Climate Crisis, Digital Platform, Human Resources and Fiscal Sustainability / Deokhyeon Ryu, Minsu Park, Changhui Kang, Biung-Ghi Ju, and Myeongheon Lee
- 21-36 Analysis of Domestic and Foreign Policies to Enhance Social Stability and Inclusion in the Post-Corona Era: Focusing on Public Health, Childbirth and Childcare, Real Estate, and Taxation of Financial Assets / Myeongheon Lee, Jeongho Kim, Sangyeong Lee, Seokgyun Heo, and Seokcheol Hong
- 21-37 Current Development and the Future of Global Climate Finance: Focusing on Green Bonds / Jiyou An, Bokyeong Park, Yujin Bae, Hyeji Ahn, and Kiwook Ha



Challenges and Opportunities of Korea's Foreign Policy as a Developed Country

Alexander Downer, Eun Mee Kim, Nicolas Köhler-Suzuki, Pascal Lamy,
Federica Mogherini, Ramon Pacheco Pardo, Michael Reiterer, Scott A. Snyder,
Jisun Song, and Young-Kwan Yoon

The UNCTAD's decision last year to change Korea's status from a developing country to a developed country symbolizes how Korea is accepted internationally. Correspondingly to its position as a developed country, Korea has to pursue a more proactive foreign policy. This report gathers top-level practitioners and scholars of diplomacy to make suggestions for the new framework for Korea's foreign policy as a developed country. As the contributors to this report discuss in detail, embracing its role as a developed country will allow Korea to become more recognized as a key foreign policy actor—but also to benefit itself from a more active role in international affairs.

