2022 South Korean Presidential Elections: No Mandate for a Hawkish Pivot

Prepared for the Korea Peace Now! - NJ/NY Chapter Webinar
Impact of South Korean elections on Korea Peace Efforts

Dr. Simone Chun
04.11.2022
Overview

1. A hawkish new president and the “Washington Consensus”
2. Exploiting a razor-thin victory as a mandate for brinkmanship
3. More votes for liberal and progressive parties
4. The North Korean “threat” and the US anti-China machine
5. Obstacles to implementing hardline policies
6. Contesting the new hawkishness
MARCH 4, 2022
The 2022 South Korean Presidential Election: Will Koreans Choose Pragmatism or Saber-Rattling?
BY SIMONE CHUN
0.7% Conservative Victory Margin
More votes for liberal and progressive parties

2022 대선 20대 대통령선거 득표수

다불어민주당 이재명
16,056,283표

국민의힘 윤석열
16,323,163

득표차 266,880표

정의당 심상정
799,287

무효표 306,152

기본소득당 오준호 17,967
국가혁명당 허경영 280,007
노동당 이백윤 9,134
새누리당 옥은호 4,945
신자유민주연합 김경재 8,293
우리공화당 조원진 25,920
진보당 김재언 36,968
통일한국당 이경희 11,673
한류연합당 김민찬 17,205

자료/중앙선거관리위원회

개발 99.49% 현재
Election Results

- Yoon Suk-yeol (People Power Party): 48.56%
- Lee Jae-myung (Democratic Party): 47.83%
- Sim Sang-jung (Justice Party): 2.37%
- Huh Kyung-young (National Revolutionary Party): 0.83%
- Kim Jae-yeon (Progressive Party): 0.11%
- Cho Won-jin (Our Republican Party): 0.07%
- Oh Jun-ho (Basic Income Party): 0.05%
- Kim Min-chan (Korean Wave Alliance Party): 0.05%
- Lee Kyung-hee (United Korean Party): 0.03%
- Lee Baek-yoon (Labor Party): 0.02%
- Kim Kyung-jae (New Liberal Democratic Union): 0.02%
- Ok Eun-ho (Saenuri Party): 0.01%
대선 과정에서 윤석열 당선자는 호남에, 고원이 경북 안동에 이 후보는 영남에 공을 없이 줄었다. 국민의힘은 호남에서의 독보적 영역을 30%로 잡기도 했다.
이에 따라 이번 대선에서 부리 깔은 지역 구도에 눈에 띄는 변화가 생길지 주목했다. 그러나 영남은 윤 당선자에게, 호남은 이 후보에게 불구하 공을 두는 표를 앞장선 현상은 여전했다.
Yoon’s Low Approval Ratings
Record-Low Confidence in Yoon’s Ability to Perform Presidential Duties

윤석열 대통령 당선인 국정 수행 전망
단위: %

긍정적 52.7
부정적 41.2
잘 모름 6.1

역대 대통령 당선 직후 국정 수행 전망

이명박 79.3
박근혜 64.4
문재인 74.8

※미디어에 의해 리얼미터 조사
10월 10~11일 전국 18세 이상 1018명 대상 조사

자료: 리얼미터

The JoongAng
[Column] A month of Yoon shows he’s following footsteps of failed former presidents


By Back Ki-chul, executive editor
Opinion: South Korea’s hawkish new president will be good for the Western alliance
Time to reconstitute pressure on Pyongyang

BY ANTHONY RUGGIERO AND BEHNAAM BEN TALEBLU, OPINION CONTRIBUTORS - 03/19/22 5:00 PM ET
THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS ARE THEIR OWN AND NOT OF THE HILL
HOW WASHINGTON AND SEOUL CAN GET ON THE SAME PAGE TO DETER NORTH KOREA

TOBY DALTON

COMMENTARY

APRIL 4, 2022
South Korea's New Conservative President Will Likely Setback Peace and Gender Equality | Opinion

CHRISTINE AHN, FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WOMEN CROSS DMZ

ON 3/11/22 AT 7:30 AM EST
South Korea's president-elect wants U.S. nuclear bombers, submarines to return

By Hyonhee Shin
April 6, 2022
1:43 AM PDT
0.7% Victory Margin ≠ Mandate for a Hawkish Pivot

- Voters’ anger at the failed progressive reforms
- More votes for liberals, progressives than conservatives:
  - 50.3 percent votes for liberal and progressive parties
  - 48 percent votes for the conservative party
- Yoon’s hardline policies unpopular among Korean voters
- Consistently strong public support for inter-Korean engagement
Global Share of Major Arms Exports by the 10 Largest Exporters: 2016-20

- United States: 37%
- Russia: 20%
- France: 8.2%
- Germany: 5.5%
- China: 5.2%
- UK: 3.2%
- Spain: 3.0%
- Israel: 2.7%
- South Korea: 2.2%
- Italy: 2.2%
- Others: 9.6%

Projected Increase in S. Korean National Defence Budget

Source: Ministry of National Defence
Public Perception of Moon’s North Korea Policy

[source: Gallup]
North Korean “Threat” & US Anti-China Policy

- US-China tensions feed into tensions in the Korean Peninsula
- The North Korean threat sells well to the American public
- As well as to conservatives in Korea:
  
  *The North Korean threat provides justification for the right-wing regime in the South. Relaxation with North Korea would mean conservatives losing power.* (Noam Chomsky)
N. Korea won’t fire “even a single bullet” toward S. Korea, says Kim Yo-jong

Kim Jong Un's sister warns North Korea could 'eliminate' the South with nuclear weapons

Kim Yo-jong said it was a 'very big mistake' to threaten Pyongyang and declared the North's nuclear forces were ready to respond

By Nicola Smith, ASIA CORRESPONDENT
5 April 2022 - 3:51pm
Obstacles to the Hawkish Pivot

- Difficulty of Yoon’s “No to NK and China, yes to US” position
- South Korean support for a balanced stance on US-China rivalry
- Failure of hardline CVID strategy toward the North
- China and Russia unlikely to cooperate with the US
S. Koreans Prefer Balanced Diplomacy

Direction of Diplomatic Policy toward US and China
Key S. Korean Export Destinations

(Unit: $ billion)

Source: Korea Customs Service
S. Korean Perception of China: Economic Interest

50% of South Koreans believe S. Korea and China can benefit each other economically
50% of South Koreans believe that the US is diminishing as a global leader
Younger South Koreans increasingly disagree with participating in the US-led world order.
Majority of S. Koreans optimistic about inter-Korean relationship

항후 남북관계에 대한 인식 조사

항후 남북관계에 대한 인식 조사(그림;민주평통)
Majority of S. Koreans do not Regard the North as an Enemy

![Bar chart showing the percentage of South Koreans who do not regard the North as an enemy. The majority of responses fall in the range of 46.5% to 80.4%.](chart.png)
Majority of S. Koreans Approve of Inter-Korean Engagement
Majority of S. Koreans Approve of Inter-Korean Engagement
Majority of S. Koreans Want Peace with the North

South Korean public opinion regarding a peace agreement to end the Korean War
Do South Koreans Support a Peace Treaty With the North?

A recent survey finds a majority of Koreans approve of the idea — even among supporters of President-elect Yoon Suk-yeol.
South Koreans Support a Peace Treaty

“Despite recent missile tests by North Korea and the lack of meaningful inter-Korean dialogue, a clear majority of South Koreans approve of the idea. Even among those who had planned to vote for Yoon Suk-yeol, the conservative presidential candidate (now president-elect) a thin majority support a peace treaty, in contrast to Yoon’s rhetoric about a tougher stance toward North Korea and the expectation that his administration will not continue President Moon Jae-in’s call for a peace treaty without first denuclearization efforts by Pyongyang.”

Timothy S. Rich, April 6, 2022
Majority of S. Koreans Want a Peace Treaty with the North

Do you support a peace treaty between South Korea and North Korea? (in %)

- Overall: 70% Yes, 30% No
- Lee Jae-myung supporters: 90% Yes, 10% No
- Yoon Suk-yeol supporters: 50% Yes, 50% No
Majority of S. Koreans Want a Peace Treaty with the North

Do you support a peace treaty between South Korea and North Korea? (in %)

1 (Very Progressive) 2 3 4 5 6 7 (Very Conservative)

90.48 83.65 85.43 72.85 58.49 38.71 29.41
“Progressives in South Korea face a twofold struggle in the months ahead: pressing their government to improve inter-Korean relations and blocking being dragooned into the U.S. anti-China military machine. At the heart of both issues is resistance to U.S. encroachment upon South Korean sovereignty. It will not be an easy struggle, but it is a necessary one.”
Gregory Elich, February 8, 2022
Resisting a Hawkish Pivot

- Pragmatic and result-oriented approach toward detente
- De-escalation with the North and China
- A united liberal-progressive front
- Expansion of solidarity with other peace groups
- Prevailing in the information war
US•ROK•International 356 Civil Society Groups

Call for Suspending US-ROK Military Exercises & Decreasing Military Tensions on the Korean Peninsula
선제타격
웬말입니까

전쟁광 잡으러 갔다
한반도 전쟁 부르는
한미연합군사훈련 중단 촉구
기자회견
4월 12일 화요일 오후 2시 광화문 미 대사관 앞
유튜브 생중계 민족위tv 백자tv 주권방송
자주민주평화통일민족위원회
전쟁반대! 평화수호!
한미연합군사훈련 중단을 위한 민족위의 행동!

4.12 기자회견
오늘 2시! 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서!
기자회견을 진행합니다. 전쟁광 잠그려 저승사자도 출동!

4.16 평화촉물
오늘 5시! 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서!
노래와 발언이 가득한 평화의 총물을 박합니다.
* 자유 발언 신청도 받아요

4.24 자주행진
오전 11시! 용산 국방부 앞에서!
집회 후 용산 미군기지 앞대행진을 진행합니다!

4.13~28 매일 1인 연설&시위
오전 11시 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서!
참신한 1인 연설과 시위를 진행합니다.
* 주말 제외

유튜브 민족위Tv를 통해 생중계 합니다

한반도 평화
위협하는
한미연합훈련
반대한다

한반도 평화선언!
Korea Peace Appeal

한국전쟁을 끝내고
평화협정을 체결합시다

핵무기도 핵위협도 없는
한반도와 세계를 만들다

제재와 압박이 아닌
대화와 협력으로 갈등을 해결합시다

군비 경쟁의 악순환에서 벗어나
시민 안전과 환경을 위해 투자합시다

For All Humanity
endthekoreanwar.net
endthekoreanwarnow@gmail.com
Since 2020. 7. 27.
2022 여성평화 걷기

"2022 여성평화 걷기" 대장정 월별 순회 구간
04월 전라남도 구간, 05월 전라북도 구간, 06월 경상남도 구간, 07월 경상북도 구간
08월 강원도 구간, 09월 충청남도 구간, 10월 경기도 구간, 11월 강원도 DMZ 구간

주관
문의
사) 평화월드 전국여성모임 (준)
조직ट蚂답 010-9892-2012

4월 13일~28일
전쟁반대 평화수호
한미연합군사훈련 중단 촉구
매일 행동

해피 오전 11시 평화월드 대사관 앞
“윤석열 선전포고에 투쟁으로 맞선다”

민주노총 단위노조 대표자 2022년 투쟁 선호 - 금속노조, 20만 총파업 성사 다짐

한반도 평화 구축은 대통령의 의무
Resisting a Hawkish Pivot

- Pragmatic and result-oriented approach toward detente
- De-escalation with the North and China
- A united liberal-progressive front
- Expansion of solidarity with other peace groups
- Prevailing in the information war
Hyun Lee (1970 - 2022)
“산자여 따르라”
Thank you!

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