

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

COUNTERPUNCH

MARCH 4, 2022

The 2022 South Korean Presidential Election: Will Koreans Choose Pragmatism or Saber-Rattling?

BY SIMONE CHUN

0.7% Conservative Victory Margin

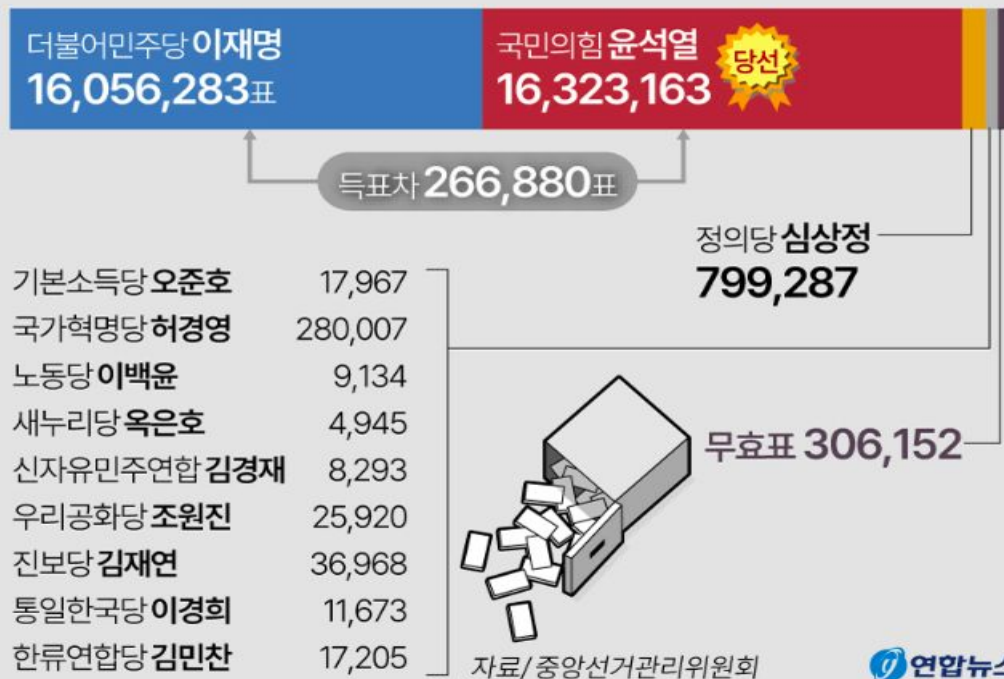
20대 대선 득표율 단위: %



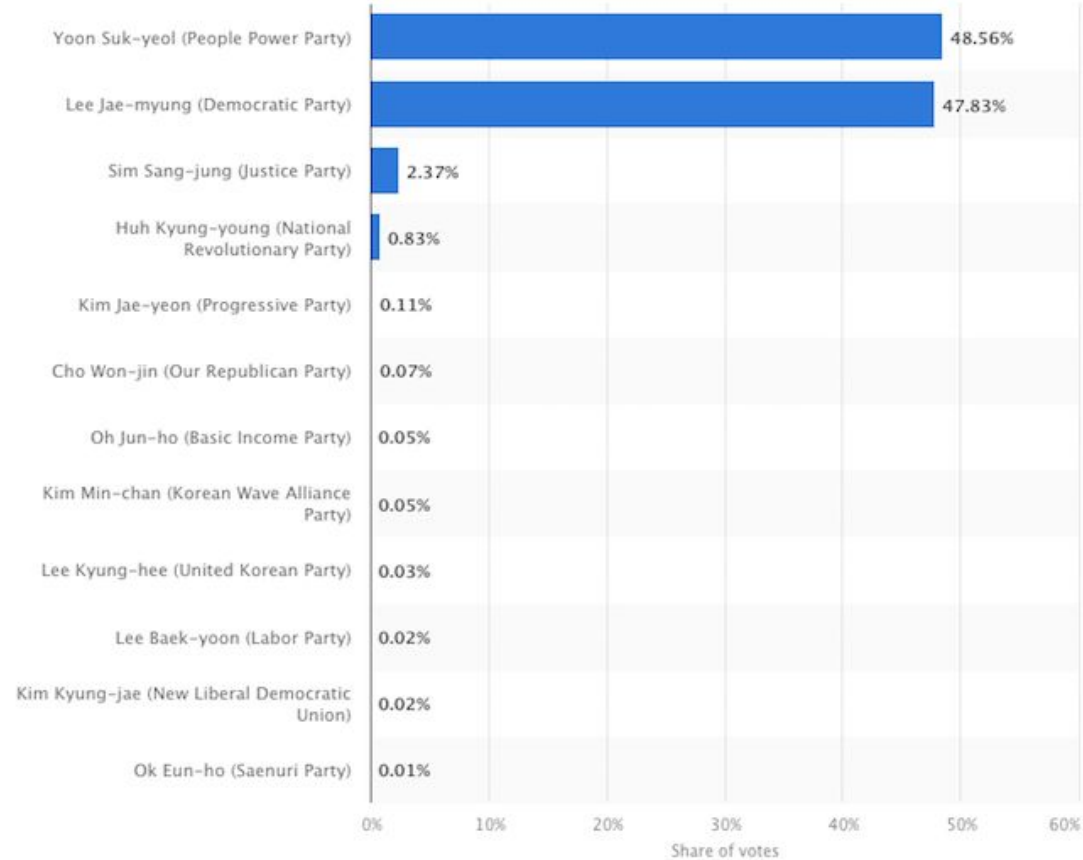
More votes for liberal and progressive parties

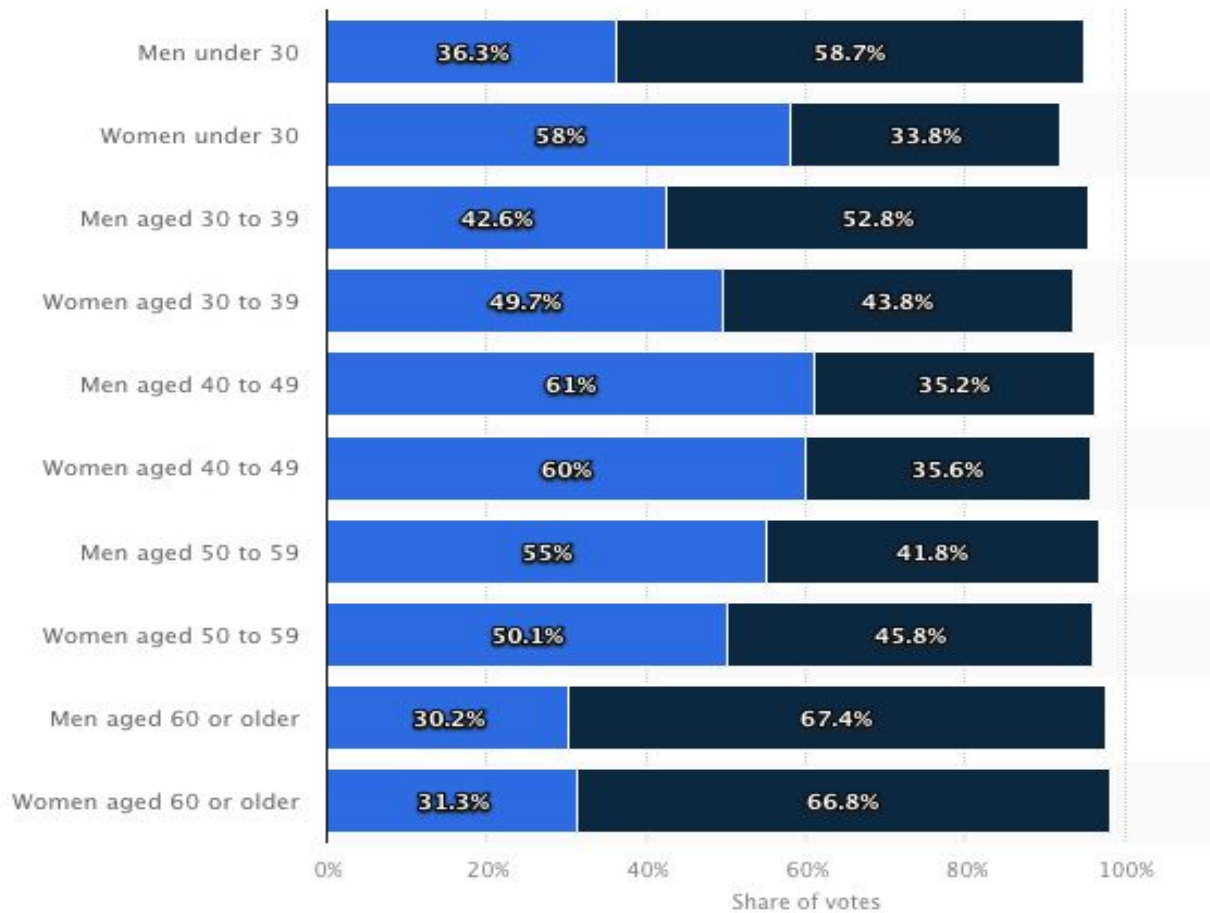
2022 대선 20대 대통령선거 득표수

개표 99.49% 현재



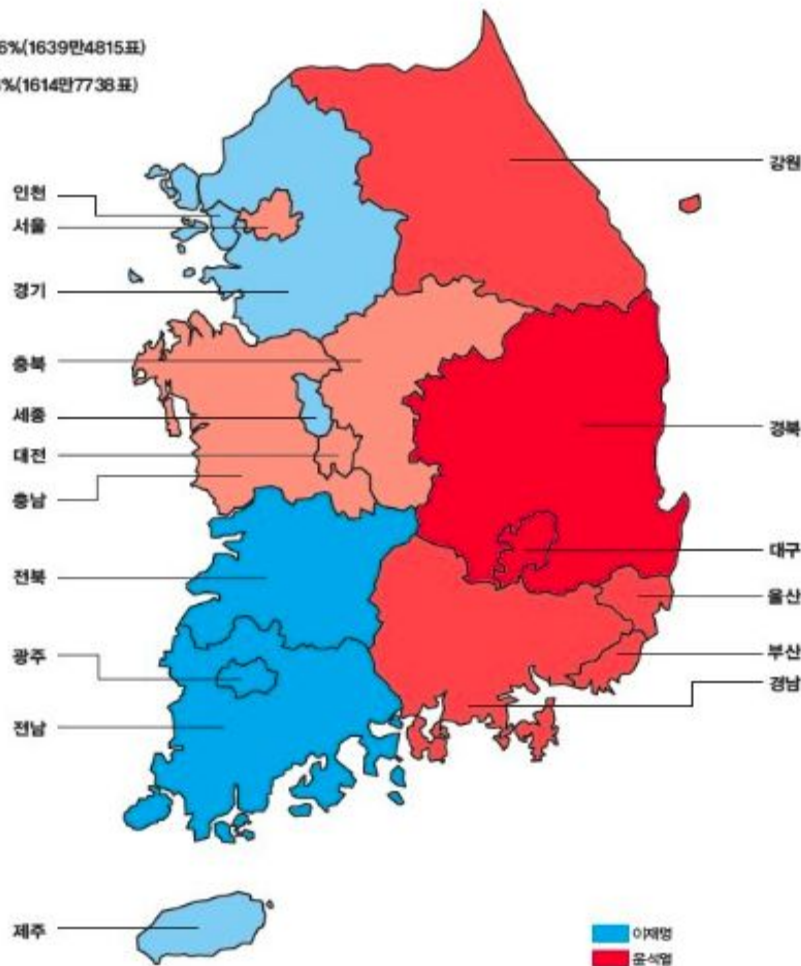
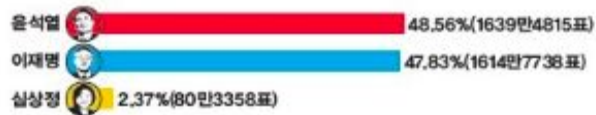
Election Results





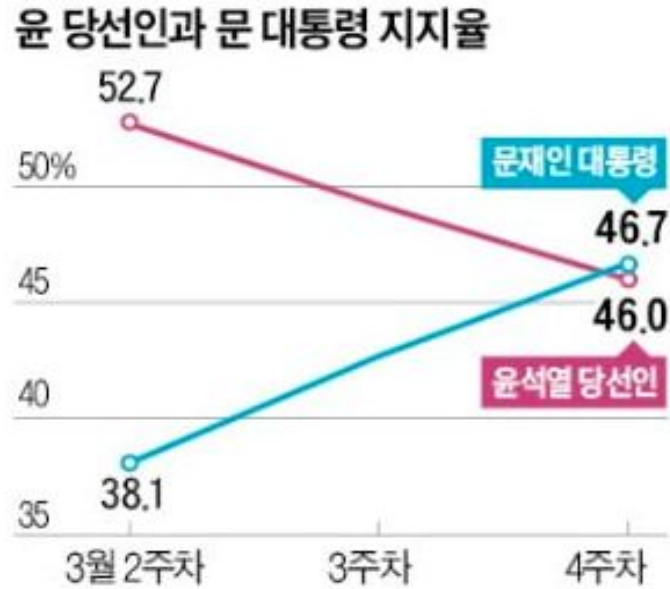
● Lee Jae-myung (Democratic Party) ● Yoon Suk-yeol (People Power Party)

주요 후보별 득표



대선 과정에서 윤석열 당선자는 호남에, 고향이 경북 안동인 이 후보는 영남에 공을 많이 들였다. 국민의힘은 호남에서의 득표를 목표치를 30%로 잡기도 했다. 이에 따라 이번 대선에서 뿌리 깊은 지역 구도에 눈에 띄는 변화가 생길지 주목됐다. 그러나 영남은 윤 당선자에게, 호남은 이 후보에게 몰표를 주는 표출현상은 여전히 어렵다.

Yoon's Low Approval Ratings



Record-Low Confidence in Yoon's Ability to Perform Presidential Duties

윤석열 대통령 당선인 국정 수행 전망

단위: %



역대 대통령 당선 직후 국정 수행 전망



※미디어헤럴드 의뢰 리얼미터 조사
10일~11일 전국 18세 이상 1018명 대상 조사

자료: 리얼미터

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[Column] A month of Yoon shows he's following footsteps of failed former presidents

Posted on : Apr.7,2022 16:55 KST Modified on : Apr.7,2022 16:55 KST

By Back Ki-chul, executive editor





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The Washington Post

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Global Opinions

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Opinion: South Korea's hawkish new president will be good for the Western alliance



By [Henry Olsen](#)

Columnist | [+ Follow](#)

March 10, 2022 | Updated March 10, 2022 at 3:51 p.m. EST

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INTERNATIONAL

Time to reconstitute pressure on Pyongyang

BY ANTHONY RUGGIERO AND BEHNAM 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



Newsweek

OPINION

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





Asia Pacific

South Korea's president-elect wants U.S. nuclear bombers, submarines to return

By Hyonhee Shin

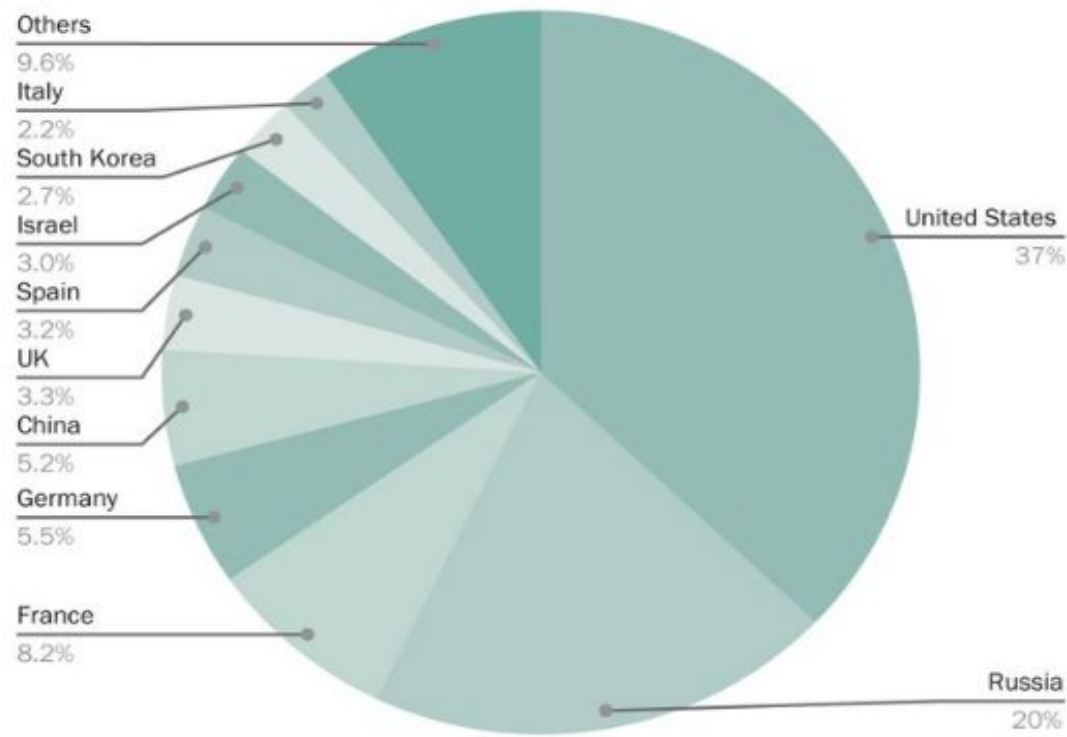
April 6, 2022

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

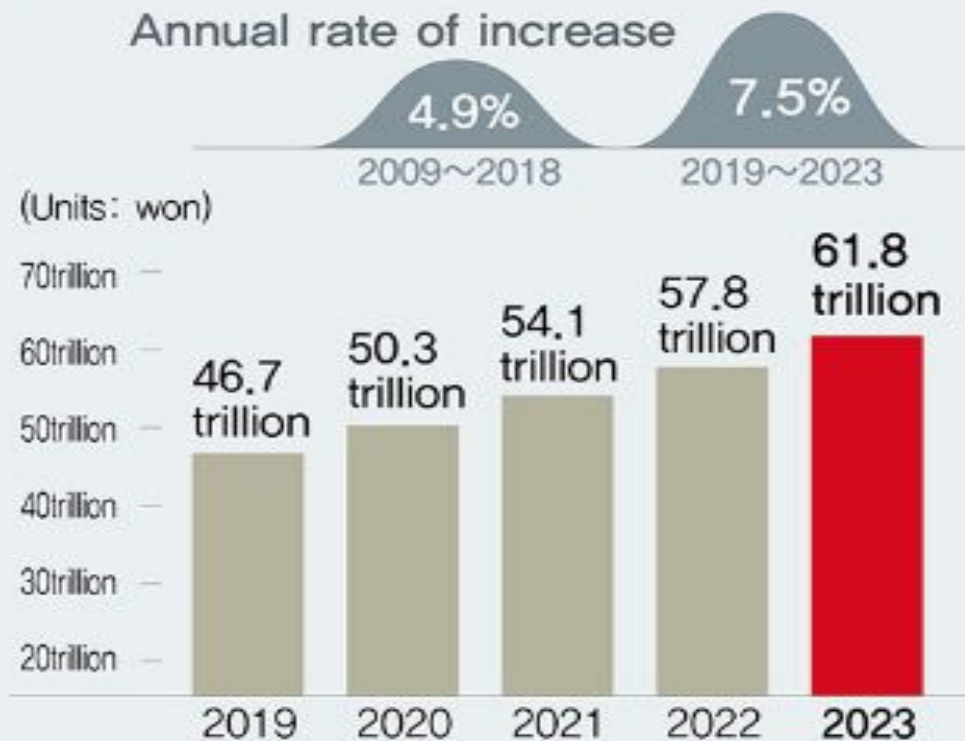


Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, Mar. 2021.

www.sipri.org
© SIPRI 2021

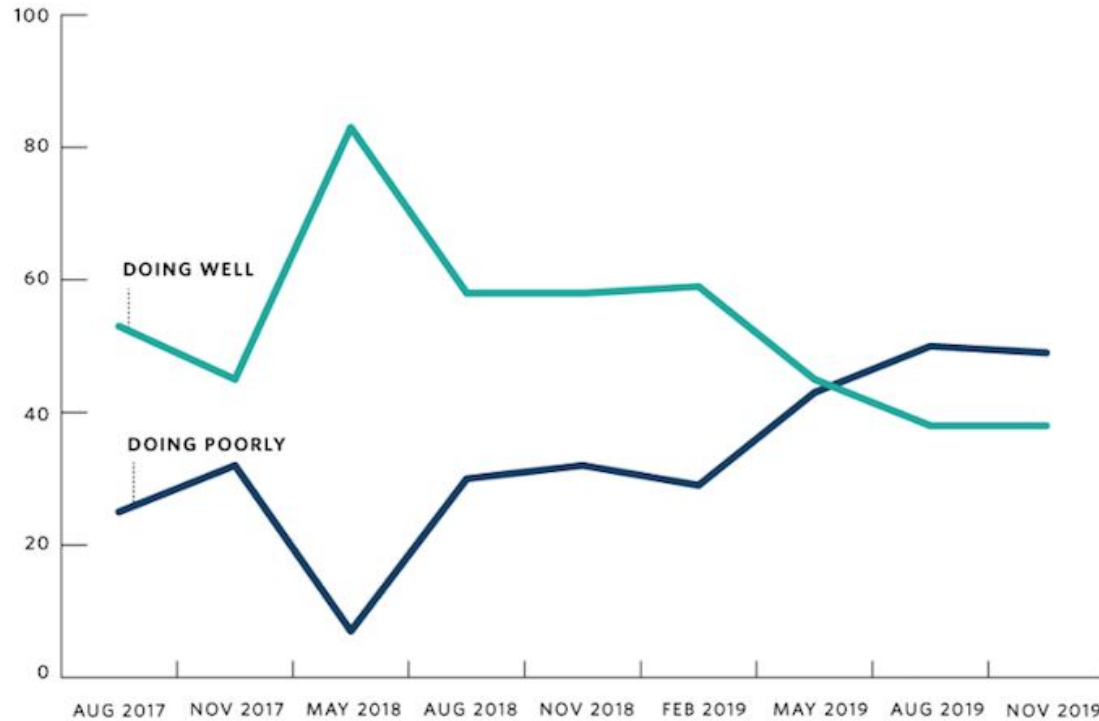


Projected Increase in S. Korean National Defence Budget



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)

all > North Korea

N. Korea won't fire "even a single bullet" toward S. Korea, says Kim Yo-jong

Posted on : Apr 6, 2022 17:40 KST Modified on : Apr 6, 2022 17:40 KST



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

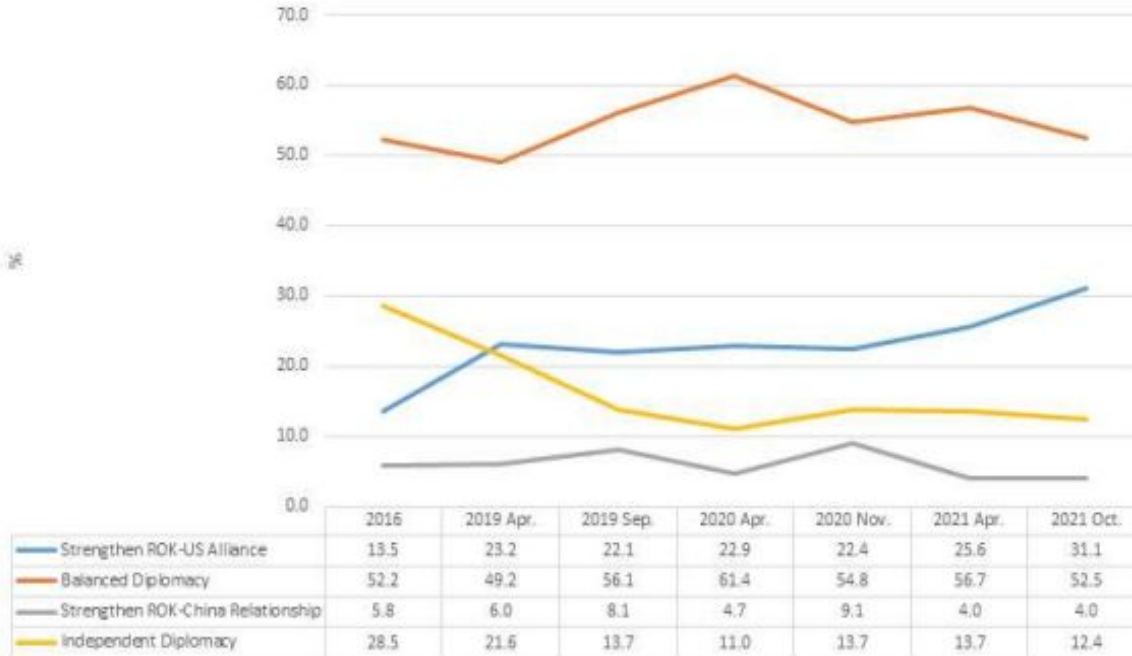


Obstacles to the Hawkish Pivot

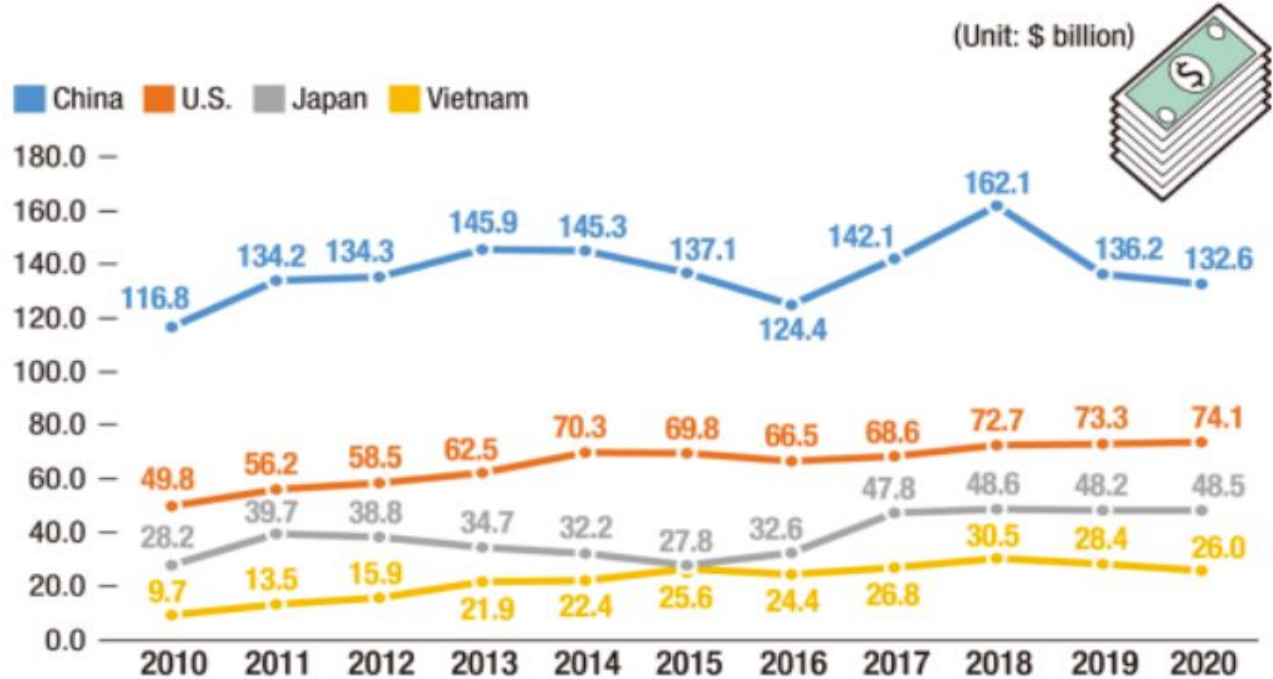
- Difficulty of Yoon's "*No to NK and China, yes to US*" position
- South Korean support for a balanced stance on US-China rivalry
- Failure of hardline CVID strategy toward the North
- China and Russia unlikely to cooperate with the US

S. Koreans Prefer Balanced Diplomacy

Direction of Diplomatic Policy toward US and China

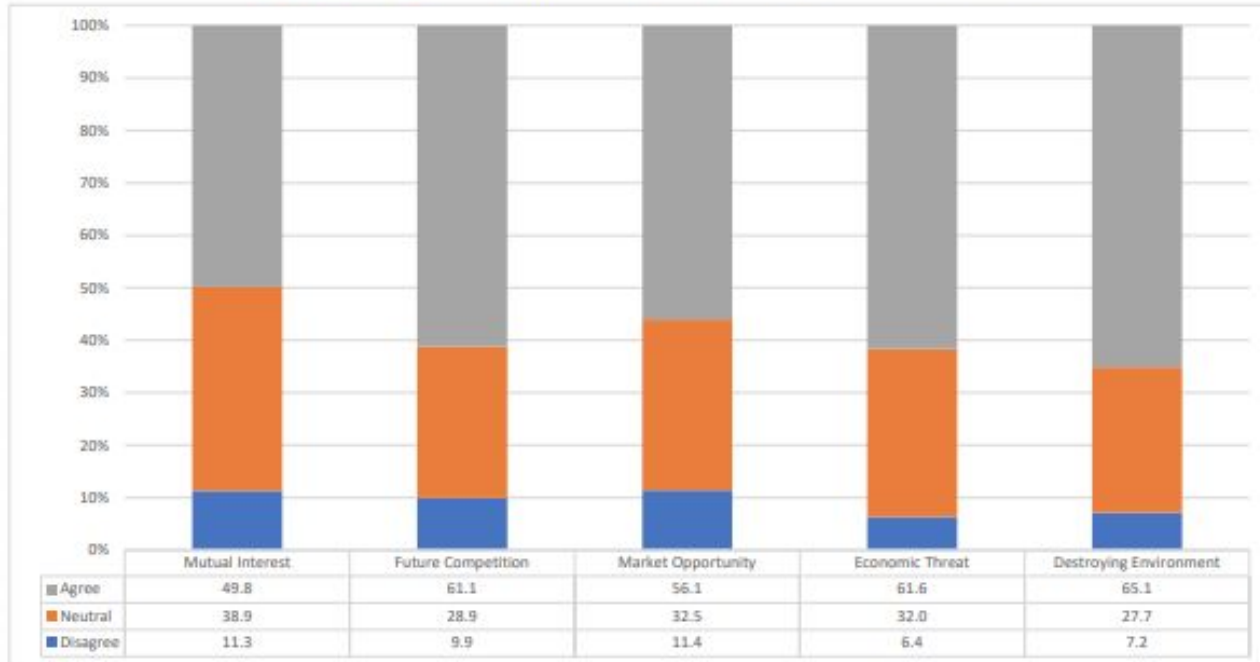


Key S. Korean Export Destinations



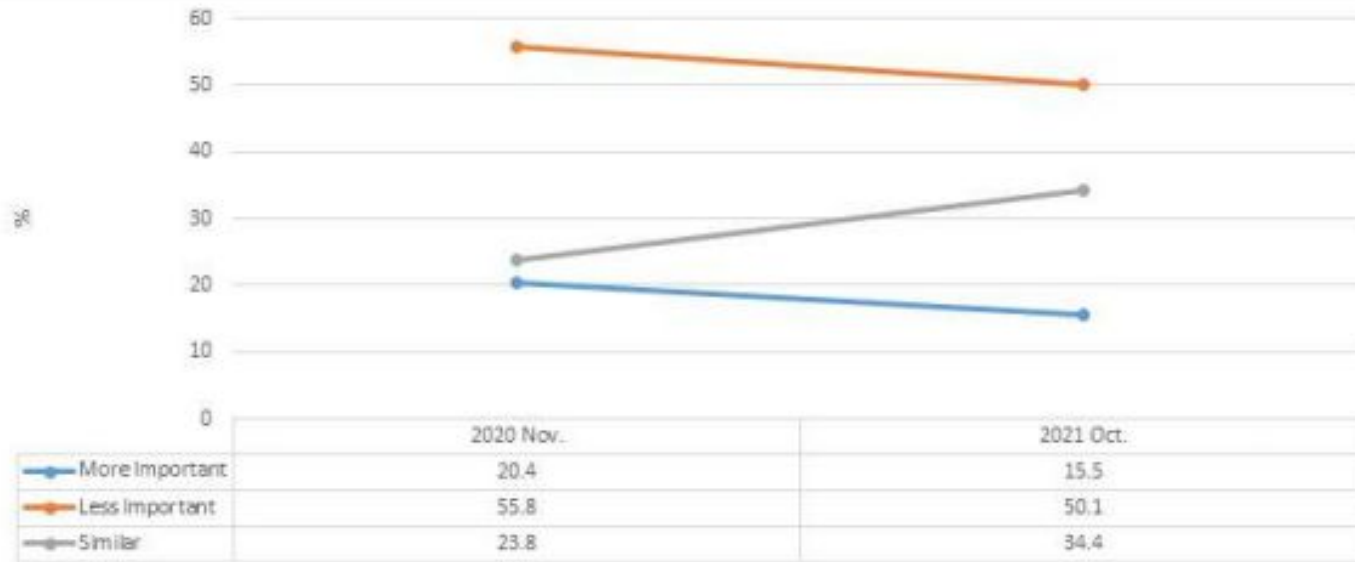
Source: Korea Customs Service

S. Korean Perception of China: Economic Interest



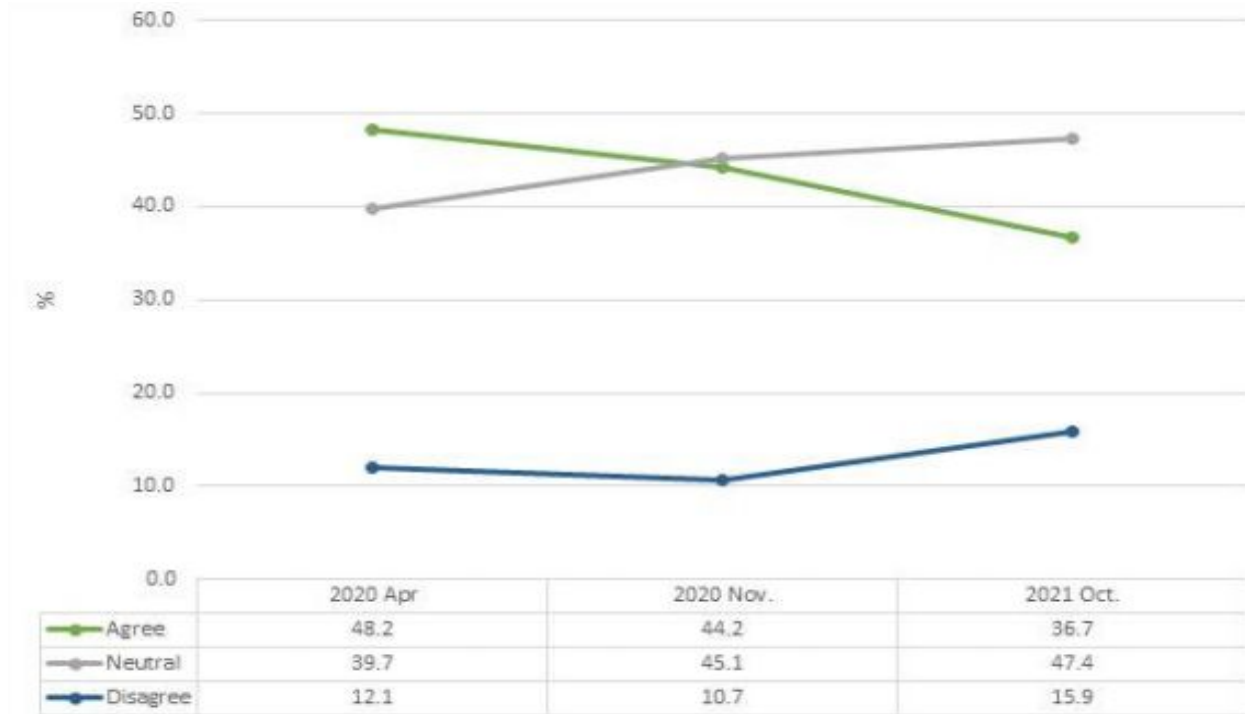
50% of South Koreans believe S. Korea and China can benefit each other economically

S. Korean Perception of US Global Leadership



50% of South Koreans believe that the US is diminishing as a global leader

S. Korean Sentiment Toward Participation in US-led world order



Younger South Koreans increasingly disagree with participating in the US-led world order

Majority of S. Koreans optimistic about inter-Korean relationship

향후 남북관계에 대한 인식 조사



향후 남북관계에 대한 인식 조사(그림-민주평통)

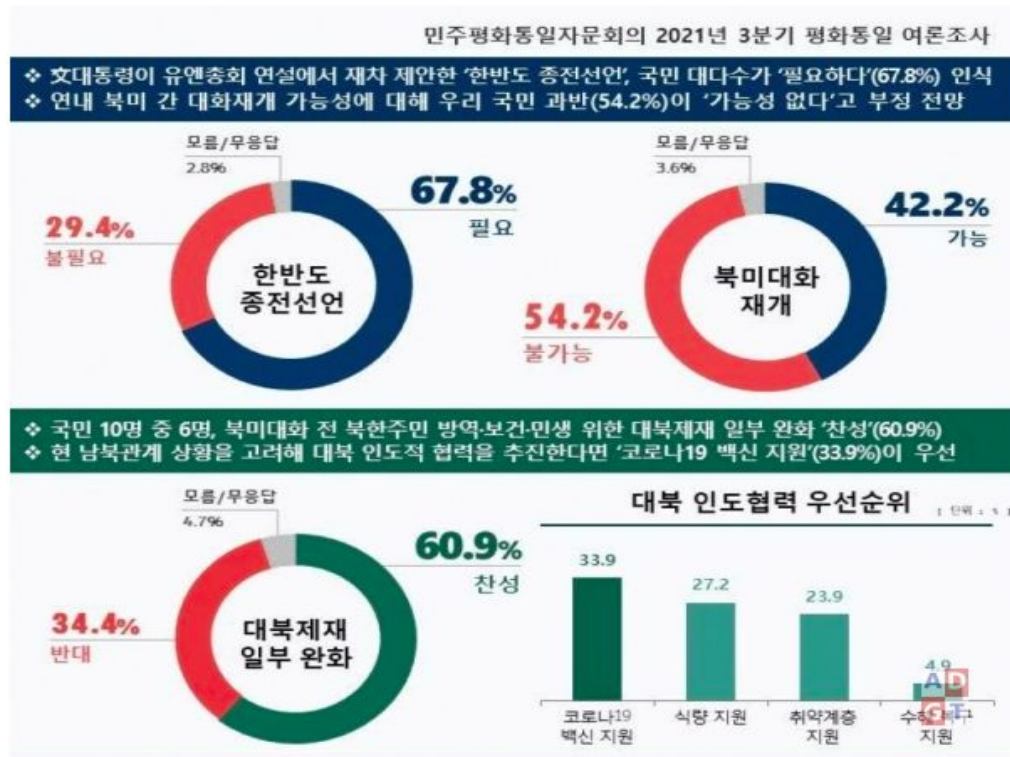
Majority of S. Koreans do not Regard the North as an Enemy

북한에 대한 인식 조사



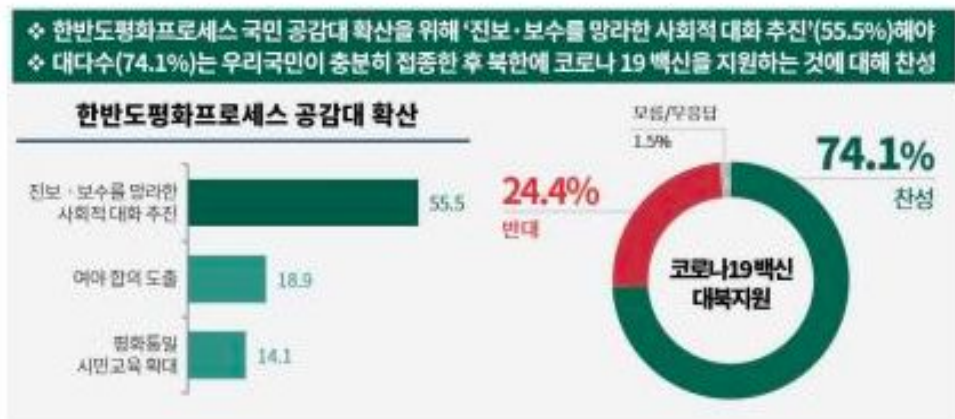
북한에 대한 인식 조사(그림-민주평통)

Majority of S. Koreans Approve of Inter-Korean Engagement

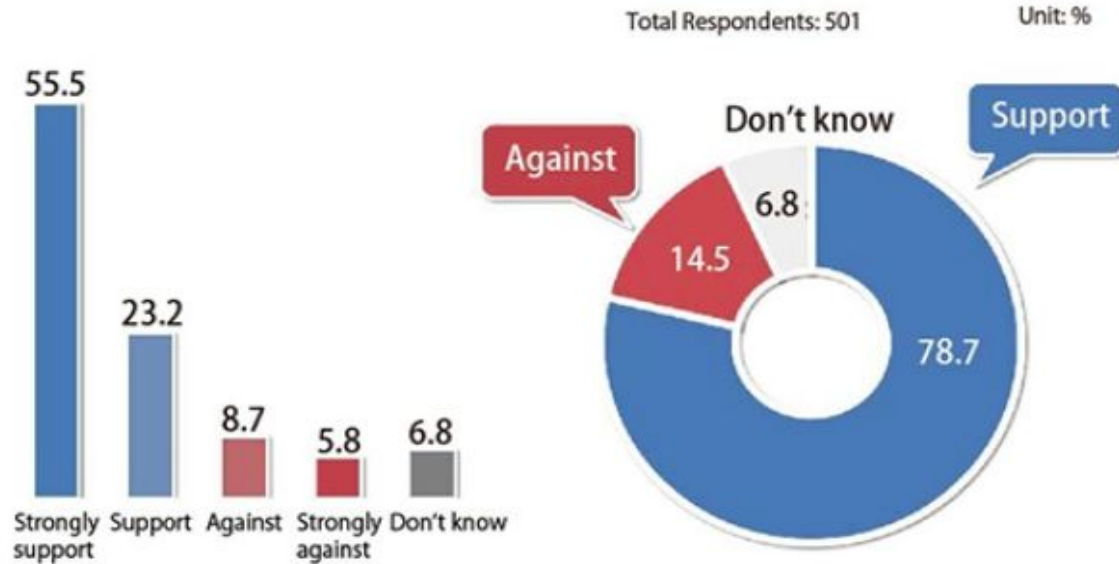


2021년 3분기 국민 평화통일 여론조사 인포그래픽. 민주평화통일자문회의 제공

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

THE KOREAS | DIPLOMACY | EAST ASIA

Do South Koreans Support a Peace Treaty With the North?

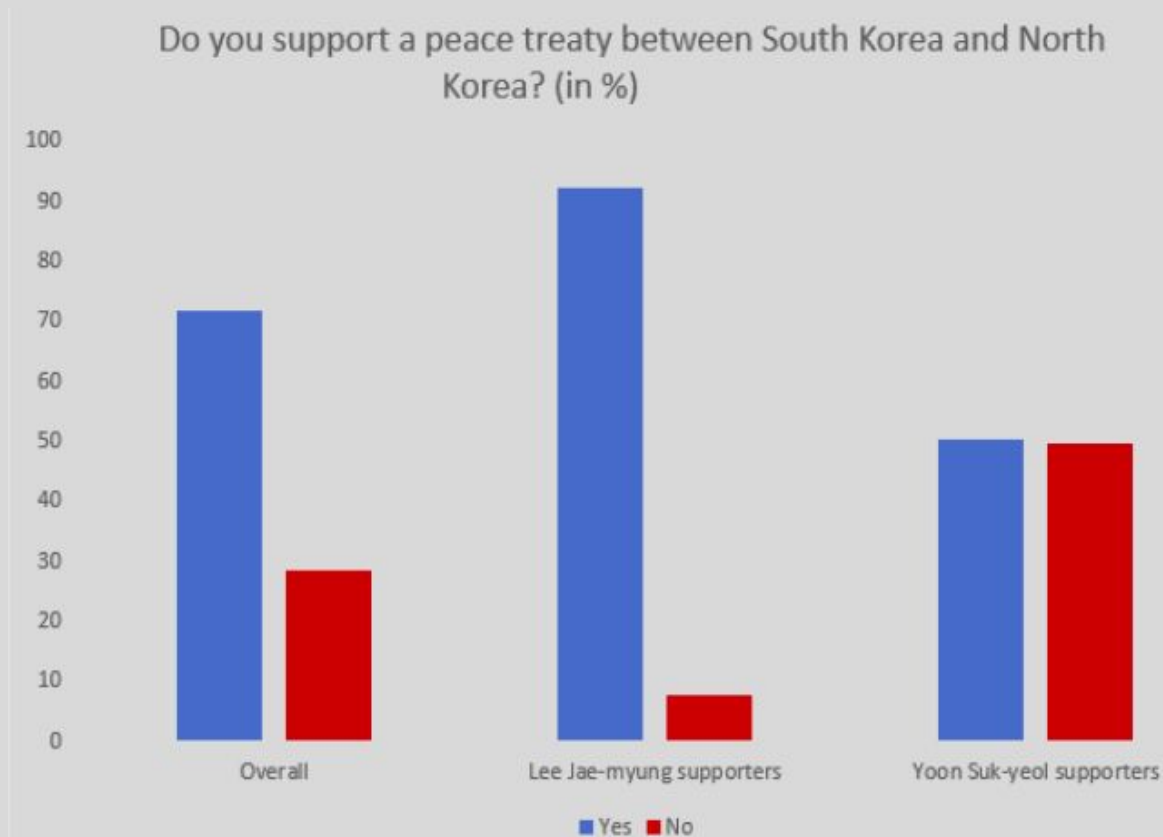
A recent survey finds a majority of Koreans approve of the idea — even among supporters of President-elect Yoon Suk-yeol.

South Koreans Support a Peace Treaty

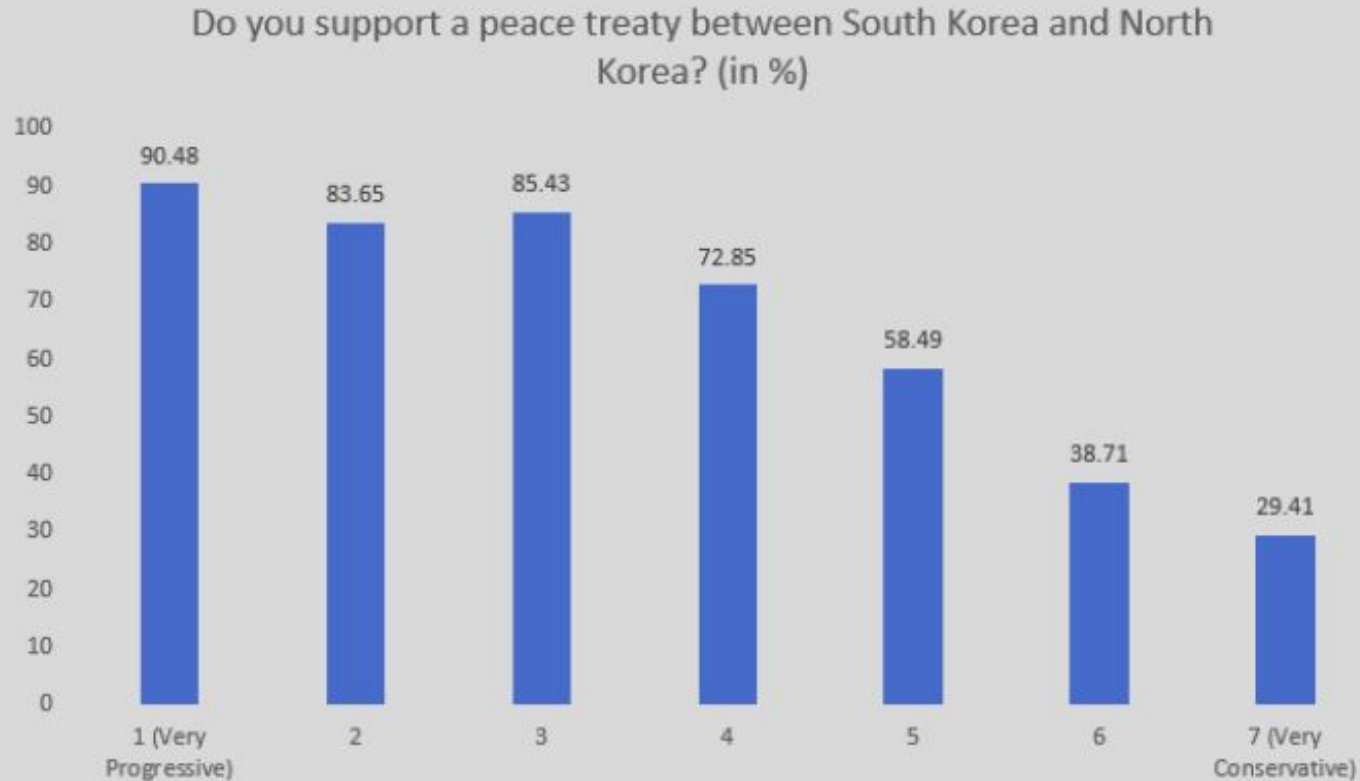
“Despite recent missile tests by North Korea and the lack of meaningful inter-Korean dialogue, a clear majority of South Koreans approve of the idea. Even among those who had planned to vote for Yoon Suk-yeol, the conservative presidential candidate (now president-elect) a thin majority support a peace 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



Majority of S. Koreans Want a Peace Treaty with the North



Resisting the US Anti-China Machine

“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

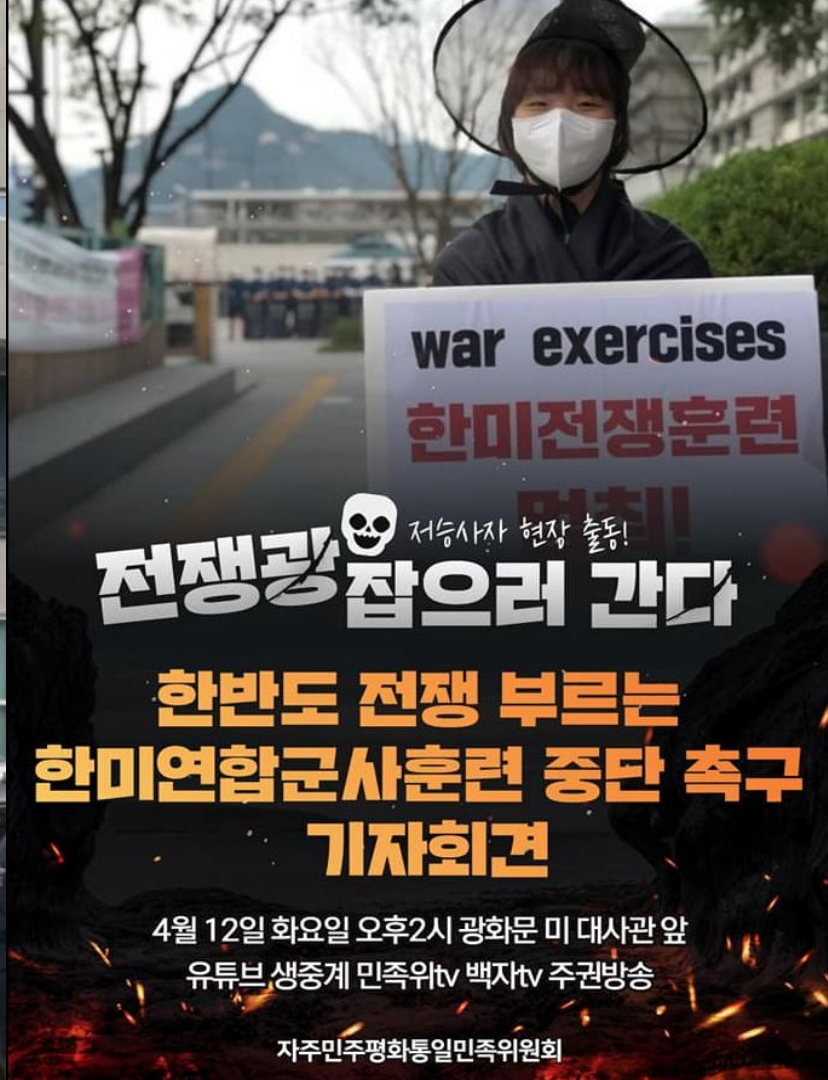
- Pragmatic and result-oriented approach toward detente
- De-escalation with the North and China
- A united liberal-progressive front
- Expansion of solidarity with other peace groups
- Prevailing in the information war

US•ROK•International 356 Civil Society Groups

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







선제타격
웬말입니까

war exercises
한미전쟁훈련

전쟁광  잡으러 간다

한반도 전쟁 부르는
한미연합군사훈련 중단 촉구
기자회견

4월 12일 화요일 오후2시 광화문 미 대사관 앞
유튜브 생중계 민족위tv 백자tv 주권방송

자주민주평화통일민족위원회

전쟁반대! 평화수호!

한미연합군사훈련 중단을 위한 민족위의 행동!

4.12 기자회견

오후 2시! 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서
기자회견을 진행합니다. 전쟁광 잡으러 저승사자도 출동!

4.16 평화촛불

오후 5시! 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서
노래와 발언이 가득한 평화의 촛불을 밝힙니다.
*자유 발언 신청도 받아요!

4.24 자주행진

오전 11시! 용산 국방부 앞에서
집회 후 용산 미군기지 일대
행진을 진행합니다!

4.13~28 매일 1인 연설&시위

오전 11시 광화문 미 대사관 앞에서
참신한 1인 연설과 시위를 진행합니다.
*주말 제외

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평화협정을 체결합시다

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한반도와 세계를 만듭시다

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대화와 협력으로 갈등을 해결합시다

군비 경쟁의 악순환에서 벗어나
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한반도 평화번영·자주통일·남북철도 연결을 염원하는 여성들의 연대·소통 발걸음

2022 여성평화걷기

「2022 여성평화걷기」 대장정 월별 순회 구간

04월 전라남도 구간. 05월 전라북도 구간. 06월 경상남도 구간. 07월 경상북도 구간
08월 충청남도 구간. 09월 충청북도 구간. 10월 경기도 구간. 11월 강원도 DMZ 구간

주관 | 사) 평화철도 전국여성모임 (준)
문의 | 조직담당 010-9892-2012

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

매일 오전 11시 광화문 미 대사관 앞



훈련중단? 7가지 이유 연설!



노래로 외치는 전쟁반대



춤으로 외치는 평화



미국에 고한대영 1인 연설



보이는 라디오 현장방송



적폐대회



한미연합군사훈련 중단
목놓아 외치는 울변대회



한미연합군사훈련 강요
미국 혼남주기 대회



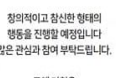
미국인을 위한 특별강제
미국의 선택지



남북공동선언 이행 전시



평화통일 한반도 만들기



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행동을 진행할 예정입니다.
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홈 > 노동과 진보 > 민주노총소식

“윤석열 선전포고에 투쟁으로 맞선다”

민주노총 단위노조 대표자 2022년 투쟁 선포 ... 금속노조, 20만 총파업 성사 다짐

✎ 김규백 편집부장, 사진=신동준 | ⓒ 입력 2022.03.25 16:30 | ⓒ 수정 2022.03.31 15:21 | 댓글 0



민주노총과 금속노조 등 산별노조연맹들이 3월 24일 서울 청계광장에서 ‘2022년 투쟁 선포 민주노총 단위노조 대표자 결의대회’를 열고 있다. 신동준

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!

simonechun@gmail.com
[twitter@SimoneChun](https://twitter.com/SimoneChun)