

**THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE ON AFRICAN
DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL**

By

Isaac Uduak Effiong

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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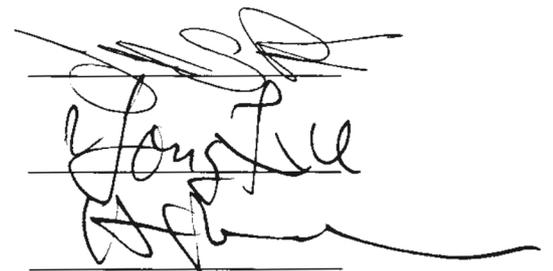
MASTERS OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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The image shows three handwritten signatures in black ink, each written over a horizontal line. The top signature is the most stylized and difficult to read. The middle signature appears to be 'Yong Shik Lee'. The bottom signature is also stylized but more legible than the top one.

Approval as of May, 2014

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE ON AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

By

Isaac Uduak Effiong

South Korea has persistently established its commitment to promoting her development experience globally, and has been widely acknowledged and accepted as a model by development partners (UNDP & World Bank) and other multilateral organizations like G20 and OECD, for Africa and other developing economies. The question I raise in this study is as follows; how do African diplomats (policy makers) react to Korea's use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa? While Seoul's early year's diplomacy was on securing support from African states for its entry to the UN, from the mid-2000s Africa has become Korea's battle field for resources diplomacy and display of soft power by promoting and propagating its development experience as a model of development for Africans. The study revealed that African diplomats recognized and acknowledge Korea's development experience as very desirable and wish that Africa can developed as did Korea which was poor as some African states half a century ago. Most of the resident African diplomats were of the opinion that it not relevant to Africa considering Africa's unique and diverse culture, society, environment and the new global economic order. Others argued that Korea's diplomacy is market driven and resources oriented without serious engagement with imposition of its development experience

without taking into consideration their specific needs and priorities. Some said it is relevant considering the fact that Korea has gone through this process with valuable lessons, skills and technology that is needed in Africa.

DEDICATION

I am dedicating this work to Jehovah the God Almighty for his grace and underserved kindness and to those who will benefit from this work and use this work for benefit of mankind and the humanity. It is a token of my humble contribution to the humanity and services to the society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Jeffrey Robertson whom I acknowledge as my mentor, my special friend, Professor Abe Shragge who is my role model and my thesis writing professor Yong Lee, my father for their invaluable contributions toward making this work what it is and making me who I am today.

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I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my professors notably; Jong-Il You, Changyong Choi, Ji-Hong Kim, Shun Wang, Jinsoo Lee, Il-Chong Nam, Baran Han, Byung-Joon Ahn, Gina Lee and Hun Joo Park for their inspiration, encouragement and always being there for me when I needed them most.

I am deeply grateful to African diplomats in Seoul for their time to respond to my questions, sincere and candid opinions that make this work a success in spite of their busy schedule and the sensitive nature of the interviews.

I am also indebted to my African brothers and sisters for sacrificing their time, resources and for accompanying me to their embassies to make sure that I have access to their diplomats.

I also express my appreciation to the staff of academic and student affairs division especially Ms

Jae Soon Lee, Christine S. Leigh and Eun Chong Lee for their tolerance, patient and support. There is no where I would have done this research successfully without the assistance of my very good friends in the Library (my second home) especially Sung Jin Choi, Eun Joo Bae and Ji Hye Lee for their support, encouragement and always making sure that I have access to whatever material that I needed for this study.

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BIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

South Korea has a very unique development experience and was as poor as some African nations only half a century ago. But today Korea has entered the league of the developed economies with its development experience widely promoted and acknowledged by development partners (UNDP & World Bank) and other multilateral organizations like G20 and OECD as a desirable model of development for Africa and other developing economies. South Korea with an extraordinary increase in per capita income in less than half a century from about \$100 to \$22,000 per year, in spite of many challenges in the beginning, with an average annual growth rate of 6.9 percent from 1960 to 2010 is indeed such a desirable model.

Korea has constantly established her commitment to promoting her development experience globally. For instance, in 2010 Korea joined the league of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and since then she has vigorously contributed in the worldwide deliberations on international development cooperation. Most importantly, in October 2010 Korea hosted the G20 summit (G20 Seoul Summit) during which Seoul sought to demonstrate that it was standing up for, and a representative of developing countries by inviting two non members from Africa (Malawi and Ethiopia) to the summit. Korea demonstrated her commitment toward promoting her development experience worldwide by taking the lead in adopting the “Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth” and its “Multi-Year Action Plan on Development”. The “Seoul Development Consensus” agenda was intended to assist developing countries build capacity in key areas such infrastructure, education, health and agriculture toward sustainable and inclusive

economic growth and development. In the following year, Korea became co-chair of the G20 Development Working Group, again playing a principal role in the implementation of the G20 development agenda.

Korea's commitment and advocacy for a new and inclusive worldwide development partnership was again manifested in 2011 when she hosted the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4). The Forum provided an opportunity for the international community to seek an effective and inclusive development cooperation that is acceptable by new actors, which is country driven and results-oriented. Being the host of the global Forum (HLF-4), South Korea played a crucial role in determining the agenda while providing the necessary support for the success of the meeting and implementation of the Forum's Agenda.

In an attempt to demonstrate her commitment and institutionalized or formalized development cooperation with Africa, Korea has put in place diplomatic initiatives such as: Korea-Africa Forum led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT), Korea - Africa Economic Cooperation Conference (KOAFEC) led by the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (MOSF), Korea-Africa Food & Agriculture Cooperation Initiative and the Korean Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) among others. It is in recognition of these Korean approaches and commitments that Thandika Mkandawire posits that the difference between South Korea and traditional western donors is that while Korea tells Africans how South Korea developed, the traditional donors tell Africans how to develop. Korea allows Africans to decide on what options are best for them without conditionality.¹

The question I raise in this study is, "how do African Diplomats (Policy Makers) react to Korea's

¹Mkandawire, Thandika (2011) Rethinking pan-Africanism: national and the new regionalism In: Moyo, Sam and Yeros, Paris, (eds.) Reclaiming the nation: the return of the national question in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Pluto Press, London, UK, 31-53. ISBN 9780745330822

use of its development experiences in its Diplomacy in Africa?” My hypothesis, which is based on information from South Korea’s effort to promote her development experience as a model of development is as follows: “African Diplomats (Policy Makers) are favorably disposed, curious and receptive toward Korea’s use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa.” The UNDP Report acknowledged that “Korea’s success holds lessons for less developed economies, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.”² South Korea indeed has a developmental experience that is relevant to African hopes and aspirations.

The study proposed here is narrow and focus on a limited and distinct population. My purpose in this study is to test Africans diplomats’ knowledge on the influence of Korea’s development experience in Africa through a one-on-one interview with selected resident African diplomats in Seoul.

² UNDP “*Human Development Report*” 2013

CHAPTER TWO

KOREA - AFRICA RELATIONS

Africa's relationship with Korea date back to 1950s. The cradle of African Unity – Ethiopia also referred to as “beacon of hope for the continent”, in spite her domestic problem of liberation from Italian invasion with the signing of Anglo – Ethiopian Agreement in December 1944, sent about 6,000 troops to fight on the side of Korea during the Inter-Korean war between June 25, 1950 and April 1953. The Ethiopian leader Emperor Haile Selassie while addressing the troops before their departure to Korea said:

*“You are departing on a long crusade in defense of the principle of collective security for world peace, which is very sacred. As you know, we have always sought collective security. Go defeat the invaders and secure peace and order on the Korean peninsula... fight until you win, or die ”*³

The Ethiopian battalion known as Kagnew meaning ‘defeat’ in Ethiopian language under the command of General Mulugueta Bulli departed Addis Ababa on train through Djibouti. The Ethiopian troops travelled thirty days and nights on ship across the Indian Ocean to fight for the freedom of Korea.

According to the order of Emperor Selassie, the Kagnew Battalion fought bravely despite losing about 121 of their troops and about 536 wounded; none of their soldiers was captured by the enemy. It was in recognition of the outstanding achievement of the Ethiopian troops that General Claude B. Ferenbough wrote in his letter to the Kagnew Battalion:

³Won, T. The Eternal Partnership: Ethiopia and Korea – A History of the Participation of the Ethiopian Forces in the Korean War. Published & copyrighted by Ministry of Patriots & Veterans Affairs. Edited by Korea Association of Military Studies, (2012). P. 14

“I have recognized your courage, passion and sense of responsibility as our comrade in arms in Korea since you were placed under my command on July 7, 1951. When placed in an intense training, you made a great effort to familiarize yourselves with the training, and weather in Korea as well as learn how to handle modern weapons and tactics the US provided. As a result, you have made your mission successful overall, and have completed reconnaissance patrols in notoriously dangerous areas with particular success. Clearly your outstanding accomplishments in the field deserve our sincere admiration and respect. And it is a great honour to have such valiant soldiers, the terror to the enemy, in my command. God bless you.”⁴

It was on the basis of this that Korea established a significant strong relationship with Ethiopia and Africa at large. Among the first African countries to have diplomatic relations with Seoul was Cameroon in 1961 and subsequently with Niger, Congo and Ivory Coast (now Cote D’Ivoire) in future years.

2.1 SOUTH KOREA’S DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

Korean diplomacy in Africa has three stages of evolution;

2.1.1 Diplomacy for Vote in the United Nations (1960—1970)

After the Korean War in 1953 with the signing of Armistice Agreement with the North, South and North Korea engaged in a fierce diplomatic war in the UN to secure more support, diplomatic recognition and political legitimacy as members of the international community especially vis-à-vis African countries.⁵ North Korea’s existing diplomatic relations with some

⁴ Ibid p.72

⁵Yoon-dho Ra, ‘The Perspective of Cooperation between Korea and Africa in 1990’s,’ Africa Research, 4 (1988), 93-113.; Ui-sup Shi and Je-yeong Park, ‘The Direction of Korea’s Foreign Policy towards Africa,’ Journal of Africa Studies Association Korea 4/2 (1989), 145-155

African countries that gained independence in the 1960s intensified South Korea's recognition crusade in Africa.⁶ North Korea had an advantageous position over their southern brothers, particularly with the Non - Aligned Movement, especially when it gathered more momentum in the mid-1950s. As a result Pyongyang had 23 permanent diplomatic missions in Africa during the 1970s whilst Seoul had only 10 diplomatic missions.⁷ Consequently Seoul's motivation in the early years focused on establishing diplomatic ties with Africa to compete with the North which ultimately helped the South secure her membership in the UN.

2.1.2 Short Term Cooperation (1980s-1990s).

After many years of debate and fight regarding Korean issue, the UN in 1976 finally decided not to discuss the Korean issue any longer in the General Assembly. Consequently, Seoul decided to expand its foreign policy and diplomatic cooperation to include those countries with difference political system and principles from that of South Korea especially in Africa."⁸ President Chun Doo-hwan in the early 1980s promoted the famous South-South diplomacy. To demonstrate his commitment to this policy, Chun invited two African heads of states to Korea, President Samuel Kanyon Doe of Liberia and President Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga of Zaire (now Congo DR).

President Chun become the first Korean head of state in history to make a presidential visit to Africa in August 1982 after receiving official invitations from Nigeria, Gabon, Senegal and Kenya. His visit to these African countries was followed by greater economic cooperation between these countries and Korea. For example in the mid-1980s export to Africa accounted for

⁶Young-tae Chung, 'The Stage of Inter-state Relationship Development between Korea and Africa,' Africa Research 4 (1988), 49-72

⁷As of 2012, South Korea has 19 embassies and North Korea has ten; see

http://www.mofat.go.kr/introduce/abroad/list/middleeast/index.jsp?menu=m_70_50_10&tabmenu=t_4

⁸Jeong,Eun-Sook(ed),Hanguk UiDae Gaedoguk Uegyo (Korea's Foreign Policy towards developing countries) seoul;Hanwool Academy,2009

six percent of Korea's total export.⁹ However the promising economic and diplomatic cooperation between Korea and Africa suffered a setback as many African countries were trapped in serious political, economic and social crisis largely attributed to debt and the subsequent Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) of the West that undermined African country's capacity for development. With African countries economic woes and stagnation, frequent violent conflict, the impact of SAP and the persistent strong influence of the former colonial masters in the region, South Korea decided to suspend her effort in building strong diplomatic relation with African countries after it gained entry to the UN in September 1991. Since that year, the number of Korean embassies and consulates in Africa reduced from 18 to 13, a manifestation of Seoul's lack of a systematic and sustainable approach in its relation with Africa.

2.1.3 Energy and Resources Diplomacy (2000s – Till Date)

While the 1980s is generally referred to as the lost decade in Africa, the 1990s was seen as the decade of transition with the spread of democratization, reduction in civil conflict and stabilization of some country's economies in the continent. The earlier strategic decision by Seoul to suspend her effort in building a strong diplomatic ties and presence in Africa was short-lived, especially with the end of the cold war and increased globalization of the world economy. South Korea's renewed interest in having stronger diplomatic engagement with African countries may partly be attributed to relative political stability in the continent, but to a large extent in pursuit of energy and industrial resources security. Korea's industrial structure is highly energy dependent; the three highest energy consuming sectors of petrochemical, steel and cement industries take up to 79 percent of the country's total industrial energy consumption or needs.

⁹ The Korea International Trade Association

Korea's overall energy import dependency increased from 87.9 percent in 1990 to 97.2 percent in 2000 and slightly decreased to 96.2 percent in 2010.¹⁰ Obviously, Korea is in dire need to diversify its energy supply from the increasingly unstable Middle East region, which represents the largest source of Korea oil import (74.3 percent in 1990, 76.8 percent in 2000 and 81.8 percent in 2010).¹¹ This trend is the driving force of Seoul's emphasis on energy and resource diplomacy in Africa.¹²

Two consecutive governments played an important part in placing Africa decisively and consistently on Korea's foreign policy agenda. During the administration of Roh Moo-hyun, Ban Ki-moon, the then Foreign Affairs Minister (who is now the UN Secretary-General) advocated for a change in Seoul's trade and aid policies in Africa. President Roh's official visit to Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria in 2006, 24 years since President Chun Doo-hwan's African tour of 1982, fundamentally launched Seoul's energy and resource diplomacy in Africa. The objective and motivation for the visit was to secure deals with leading economies and oil producers (Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria) in Africa and link the Official Development Assistance (ODA) funded projects to resource concessions from these countries. For example, Nigeria National Petroleum (NNPC) production sharing contract with Korea National Oil Corporation (KNOC) for OPL 321 and OPL 323 offshore deep-water blocks located in the Gulf of Guinea, which was signed on March 10, 2006 with the subsequent Joint Operating Agreements that was signed on the 7 June 2007.¹³ The new African Initiative promised to triple Korea's Official Development Assistance to Africa between 2006 and 2009 with the formal launch of two Korea - Africa Forums. Apart

¹⁰Korea Energy Management Corporation, *Energy and Climate Change Handbook 2011* (Seoul: KEMCO, 2011).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1

¹² See Ho-young Lee, 'The Change of Korea's Foreign Policy toward Africa: Energy and Resource Diplomacy,' *Journal of International Politics* 16/2 (2011) 137-163.

¹³ http://www.equatorexploration.com/operations/nigeria_opl_323_and_321.aspx (Retrieved 3/01/2014)

from putting Africa back on Seoul's foreign policy agenda, the initiative also assisted the then Foreign Affairs Minister Ban Ki-moon in his campaign for the United Nations Secretary General position. The current UN Secretary General was the first Korean Foreign Affairs Minister to visit Africa. Amongst the countries he visited were Libya, Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, Congo and Tanzania, four of them being Non-Permanent Members of the UN Security Council.

2.3 KOREA'S DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES AND STRATEGIES IN AFRICA

President Roh during the visit also advocated Korea initiative for Africa's development cooperation with the aim of putting in place a comprehensive strategic framework for Seoul's cooperation with African states. The key component of this initiative which served as the pillars of the institutional structure of Korea-Africa diplomatic ties was the promise of threefold Official Development Assistance to Africa which was sustained by the subsequent administration of Lee Myung-bak and the launch of two Korea-Africa Forums in 2006, Korea - Africa Economic Cooperation Conference (KOAFEC) anchored by the Ministry of Strategy and Finance (MOSF) and Korea-Africa Forum spearheaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT). These initiatives serve as the backbone for institutionalizing and strengthening Korea-Africa relations.

The Lee Myung-bak administration's effort in seeking strong diplomatic ties with Africa was as a result of crisis in the global energy market, especially in the Middle East, which intensifies international competition among energy and resources demand countries. Consequently, Korea introduced a broad based multilateral approach and strategy for her resources diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade started building an energy cooperation belt across Africa

and other parts of the world with the appointment of energy cooperation advisors overseas at their various diplomatic missions across resource rich regions.

In Africa, Korea adopted a “selection and concentration” strategy. In this strategy African countries were clustered into four zones, Central Africa, South Africa, West Africa and East Africa with Kenya, South Africa, Ghana and Nigeria as coordinating countries respectively for each zone. The main objective of this mission was to make detailed studies on the resources of each country in respective zone and work out concrete plans on how to engage each state for their resources development and exploration. This approach was made known to African leaders and policy makers in 2010 during the 3rd Korea - Africa Economic Cooperation Conference (KOAFEC) entitled “Rising Africa – Together with Korea.” As part of the diplomatic infrastructure needed to participate in resource development with oil-producing and mineral-rich states like South Africa, Libya, Nigeria, Algeria and Angola, Korea used its IT and construction industries to offer projects designed to the need of these countries and provided assistance in building social infrastructures while promoting its development experience as a model of development to these countries.

Entering into either bilateral or multilateral agreements with African states to secure legal and systemic diplomacies for lasting cooperation was another strategy adopted by Seoul. In order to remove hindrances and barriers for Korean business in Africa such agreements become very crucial especially on investment protection and double taxation prevention. Among the first to be considered for such agreements were Angola, Madagascar and Zambia, which were considered as emerging or new investment targets in Africa.

It is equally important to acknowledge Korea's contemporary roles in Africa especially on post Arab Spring and peace keeping operations. Just like Libya, Tunisia and Egypt, Seoul had experienced similar transition from dictatorship to democracy. Korea's G20 effort of being a 'bridge' between the developed and the developing world has given Seoul opportunity to work closely with the current G20 presidency - France in providing technical assistance in the transition process as these countries undergo political reform, build democratic institution, and economic development after the Arab Spring. The trial and sentenced of suspected Somali pirates, the use of it navy and other efforts by Seoul in combating the pirates in the horn of Africa is very commendable. Also worthy of note is Seoul's support to UN Peace - Keeping operation in South Sudan with about 280 personnel from Korea among others. Other strategic diplomatic campaigns or initiatives included: K-Developia, Global Development Learning Network (GDLN), Knowledge Sharing Programmes (KSP) and the UNDP Seoul Policy Centre for Global Development Partnership.

These strategic approaches appear to be more concrete and effective than Korea's previous diplomatic policy on Africa. According to Lee, Ho-young these approaches seem more tangible and real than Seoul's earlier diplomatic policy towards Africa. He however, argued that Seoul's previous failure was not entirely due to lack of good policy, but to him what is more imperative than formulating tactical strategy and technical action plans, is a change in Seoul's attitude and perception of Africa.¹⁴

¹⁴Lee, Ho-young. *Korea's Policies on Africa: Development of Energy and Resources Diplomacy*, Journal of International Politics, Vol.16,No.2. Published by the Iimin International Relation Institute.

CHAPTER THREE

KOREA'S DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

The critical role of knowledge for development attracted universal or international attention in the mid 1990s. In an attempt to recognize the explanatory factors of development, concentration was focused on knowledge as the critical factor responsible for the difference of outcomes in economic growth and development between countries that have successfully developed and those that are unable or failed to develop. In the later years, knowledge was recognized as the main or major component for successful development by many development experts and actors. For instance, in the World Development Report 1998-99, the World Bank stated that “knowledge, not capital, is the key to sustained economic growth and improvement in human well-being.”¹⁵ Consequent upon such development, knowledge sharing has gained global acceptance and identified as a critical ingredient for successful and efficient development cooperation by various economies or countries, development partners and institutions. They have integrated knowledge sharing in the various facets of their development cooperation campaign. Using its exceptional development experience, Seoul has placed itself as dynamic and principal advocate of knowledge sharing for development. Showing the way in building the knowledge sharing dialogue by emphasizing its significance at global stage such as the G20 Seoul Development Consensus and the HLF4 Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation, Seoul is indeed playing a critical role in encouraging and promoting knowledge sharing. It therefore become imperative to examine some of Korea's knowledge sharing initiatives.

¹⁵World Bank, World Development Report 1998-99

3.1 Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP)

The knowledge sharing program (KSP) is a knowledge built economic development and cooperation program intended to share and promote Korea's development experiences with partner countries. This program offers a wide-range of policy consultations planned to the need of the participating countries in addition to training programs, in-depth analysis and capacity building for policy makers.

The three components of this program are;

- Policy consultation – Bilateral KSP
- Joint consultation with international organizations – Multilateral KSP
- Modularization of Korea's development experience.

3.1.1 Policy Consultation – Bilateral KSP

Policy consultation otherwise known as Bilateral KSP, is made up of qualified and knowledgeable consultants and experts working with policy makers and local consultants from the participating countries through joint research, training, consultation and technical assistance held interchangeably between Seoul and the partner countries. The program was launched in 2004 and anchored by Korea Development Institute under Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

3.1.2 Joint Consultation with International Organizations – Multilateral KSP

The multilateral KSP is in conjunction with international organizations. Experts are drawn from international organizations with consultants from the KSP to work together to ensure the implementation of technical assistance on programmes and projects in the participating

countries. It is being spearheaded by Korea EXIM bank since it came into existence in 2011.

3.1.3 Modularization of Korea's development experience

This project produces an all-inclusive set of knowledge content that systematically document the Korean development experience for efficient and effective promotion and sharing with the developing countries. The Modularization project includes industrial development, agricultural policy, economic policy, human resources, health and medicine among others.

The KSP program since its inception in 2004 with only two partner countries has been widely accepted as strategic model for development by more 39 partner countries globally in 2012 with eleven African countries participating.

3.2 Specific cases in African countries include:

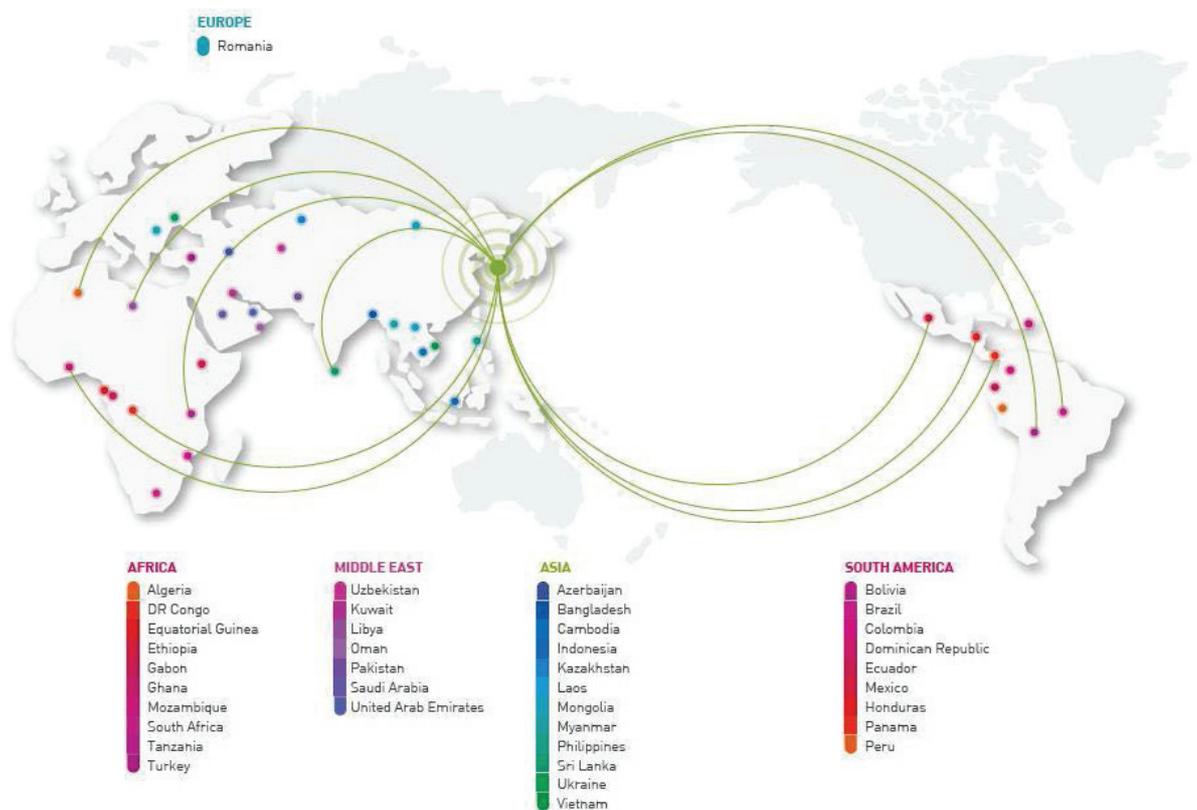
Ghana (2007, 2009~2013)

- Strengthening National Policy Implementation Capability through Ghana Public-Private Partnership (2012)
- Capacity Building in the Implementation of Public Private Partnership (PPP) in Ghana(2013)
- Korean government introduced the PPP as aspect of public finance management, and is now supporting implementation of PPP by supporting establishment of institutions and legal framework.

Algeria (2006, 2008~2009, 2011~2013)

- Enhancing the Consumer Credit Market in Algeria With Special Reference to the Credit Card Market (2006)

- Consulted on establishment of credit card payment network, as well as credit risk management, regulation, and introducing tax and non-tax measures for enhancing the usage of credit cards.
- Supporting the Establishment of the Algeria Vision 2030 (2011~2012).
- Supporting Algeria to establish mid & long term development plan, identifying five major areas of cooperation and providing policy directions for such sectors in the long run 1) transformation to knowledge based economy, 2) Reform of Governance Structure, 3) Education Reform, 4) Public Health Reform, 5) Territorial Development.



The diagram above shows the 39 partner countries globally with - Costa Rica and Belize as new partner countries since 2013

3.3 Korea - Africa Food and Agricultural Cooperation Initiative (KAFACI)

This initiative is a multilateral cooperation and intergovernmental organization whose principal objective is to improve food production, realize sustainable agriculture and provide extension services to African countries through knowledge sharing on agricultural technologies and information. The Korea Africa Food and Agricultural Cooperation Initiative was formally launched in Seoul in July 2010. The participating African countries include; Angola, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, DR Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, Zimbabwe and the Republic of Korea.

Since its first General Assembly meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in March 2011, the organization has carried out numerous cooperation projects with various African countries participating. Along with on-the-job Training, and workshops, KAFACI has operated country based projects on priority agricultural issues in African region. The various country projects in the 17 participating countries are shown on the table below:

COUNTRIES	PROJECTS
Angola	Local Inbred Lines Generation for Adapted Varieties Production on Maize (Zea Mays L.)
Cameroon	Development of High Yielding Rice Cultivars Adaptable to Cameroon
Comoros	Implementation of Hatchery for the Production of Chicks in Comoros
Cote D'Ivoire	Maize Seed Production and Diffusion for Sustainable Food Security in Cote d'Ivoire
Congo DR	Development of High Yielding Rice for Democratic Republic of the Congo

Ethiopia	Improving Water Productivity for Sustainable Irrigation Water Management in Crop Production
Ghana	Developing and Transforming Vegetable Technologies in Ghana: The Case of Tomato
Gabon	Application of Rice Mechanization Technologies in Irrigated Rice Fields in Gabon
Kenya	Rice Post Harvest Support for Food Security and Economic Growth in Kenya
Malawi	Development and Application of Post-harvest Technologies of Horticultural Crops
Morocco	Production of Vaccine Against Rift Valley Fever Virus Trough Expression Of Immunogenic Proteins In Plant Hairy Root
Nigeria	Rice Productivity Enhancement Research and Development
Senegal	Participative Varietal Selection (PVS) Assisted by Markers of Some South Korean Varieties
Sudan	Development of improved soybean varieties and germplasm for rainfed and irrigated farming
Tunisia	Development of Informative DNA Markers through Association Mapping In Tunisian Olive (<i>OleaEuropaea</i> L.) To Improve Drought Tolerance
Uganda	Development and Dissemination of Aflatoxin Resistant Maize Varieties for Improved Food Security
Zimbabwe	Development and Application of an Integrated Mechanization System for Soybean Cultivation.

Source: KAFACI BROCHURE. www.kafaci.org

3.4 CRITIQUE OF KOREA'S DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA.

In spite of South Korea's laudable diplomatic initiative in Africa, some scholars held contrary opinion to Korean diplomacy in Africa. Prominent among them is the renown economic historian Kevin O'Rourke in his paper entitled '*power and plenty*' quoted in ['The New Scramble for Africa' by Pa'draig Carmody] which argued that;

One of the most worrying news of last year (2008) was that involving Korea's Daewoo Logistics leasing almost half of Madagascar's arable land on a 99 year basis. According to the initial reports, the land was to be lease for around US\$12 an acre, but an article in the Financial Times subsequently reported that in fact Daewoo was planning to lease the land at zero cost, with increase employment opportunities for the locals being the sole pay off which would accrue to the African island.

The alarming aspect of this story was not that Daewoo's behavior was pretty obviously exploitative. Rather, it was the Korean motivation for the deal: 'we want to plant corn there to ensure our food security. Food can be a weapon in this world', said Hong Jong-wan, a manager at Daewoo. 'We can either export the harvests to other countries or ship them back to Korea in case of a food crisis.' In turn, this rationale can be explained by the fact that '[Food-importing countries] have lost trust in trade because of the price this year' (in the words of Joachim von Braun, director of the International policy Food Research Institute in Washington)

The Korean deal with Madagascar provides lens on a wide range of different issues. Walt explained that Korea was planning to use three quarters of the land for corn production while the

remaining part would be used to produce palm oil for biofuel¹⁶. Being the world's third largest importer of corn, Korea's planned to replace about half of her corn import with supply from Madagascar given the rising food prices of 2008 as noted above. Most importantly according to Sohn Se-joo(quoted in Frynas and Paulo 2007,p.232), Korea was very keen to diversify her energy supplies through biofuel and sourcing of petroleum and fossil fuel from traditional sources like the Middle East¹⁷.

On the other hand in Madagascar the land deal became a very serious political issue which contributed to the coup that brought President Andry Nirina Rajoelina to power on 21 March 2009. President Rajoelina's first act was to scrap the land deal. According Pdraig Carmody, the president said, "In the constitution, it is stipulated that Madagascar's land is neither for sale nor for rent, so the agreement with Daewoo is cancel"¹⁸. A government official from the country studying at KDI School also confirmed the story and explained that land is an inheritance for the citizens of Madagascar. The student of KDI School maintained that, culturally their land is sacred and should not be sold out to foreigners.

An senior researcher on African economies – Elijah Munyi at the Korea Institute for Development Strategy criticize the promotion of the New Community Movement (Saemaul Undong) by Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) in Africa specifically in Congo DR and Tanzania "*as a long shot policy, ill-suited for Africa's realities, as it requires a level of government institutional capacity lacking in Africa and heavy agricultural subsidization, which*

¹⁶Walt, V. (2008). 'The breadbasket of South Korea: Madagascar'. Time, 23 Nov.

¹⁷Frynas, J. G.,and M. Paulo(2007). *A new scramble for African oil? Historical, political and business perspectives*. African Affairs 106(423): 229-51.

¹⁸Padraig Carmody, *The New Scramble for Africa*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011; 145 p. ISBN – 13: 978-0-7456-4784-5,

today is constrained by the WTO"¹⁹. The New Community Movement (Saemaul Undong) agricultural policy has been widely acknowledged and credited with the enormous growth in Korea's rural income and development of the 1970s.

Another case in point was the controversial 3,000 housing unit deal for security personnel in Ghana with STX Corporation of South Korea at a cost of \$1.5 billion for the first phase in 2009. The deal was widely criticized by the media and the public which eventually led to the cancellation of the deal in 2010 by the government of Ghana with the government repossessing all 15 sites that was given over to STX Korea for the construction of the failed affordable housing project. A top government official studying in Seoul from the country also confirmed the story, citing board room wrangling, the cost of the project, funding, and lack of commitment from the Koreans on the use of local content in the project as the main reason for the cancellation of the deal by the government. The Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA) criticized the project arguing that; the housing deal was exploitative on the part the Korean firm considering the cost and the transfer of technology after receiving Sovereign Guarantee based on oil revenue from government, free land, water, electricity and duty free importation of materials.

¹⁹Folley, Rob. *Korea's ODA to Africa: Strategic or Humanitarian?* U.S. - Korea Institute 2010 Yearbook, at SAIS. John Hopkins University, Washington. p.88

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

To do justice to the big evaluative issue of the impact of the Korean development experience on its diplomacy in Africa one would have to develop a cross-country survey of African nations on policy makers at various levels and administrators. The cross-country study is too difficult to carry out in a limited time frame and resources, as a result of these limitations; I decided to engage in an exploratory field interview among the resident African diplomats in Seoul using narrative theory approach.

Narrative Theory

A story may do more than just narrate events; stories can narrates events in such a way that makes them comprehensible, there-by conveying not just information but also rendering them intelligible. Therefore, narrative in this context may be described as a type of explanation.²⁰ For instance, when a murder suspect is invited by the police to "tell his story," the police are asking the suspect to give an explanation of where he was when the crime was committed and the blood on his cloths. Irrespective of what happen the suspect will be judged base on how best he is able to "tell his story" depending on the adequacy of his explanation²¹.

The explanatory power of narrative accounted for the models of explanation obtained in the philosophy of science. For instance, historians question the understanding that narrative or story-telling convey when such events are considered from the general perspective of other disciplines like sociology, economics and political science. Clinical psychologists need to know whether an

²⁰Peter B. *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984),

²¹Velleman, J.D. *Narrative Explanation*. *The Philosophical Review*, Vol 112, No.1 (Jan., 2003), pp1-25, Duke University Press.

indicative action a life-story enhances the understanding acquired by fitting such behavior into diagnostic categories. From the above illustration the police or the judges sometimes inquire to know what sort of explanatory value there is in an accuser giving his explanation or defense in the form of narrative or a story²².

From the foregoing the question of how storytelling conveys understanding is inseparable from the question of what makes for a good story. Of course, a good story can be good in many accidental respects, ranging from the sophistication of its expression to the personal attractions of its characters. According to J. David “*what makes a story good specifically as a story [is] what makes it a good example of storytelling or narrative is its excellence at a particular way of organizing events into an intelligible whole*”²³

Indeed it is possible to talk about narrative across human science. For instance, in economics, psychology, sociology, political science and even management theory, there has been a significant embrace of narrative as a fundamental research tool. For example nothing would be left of *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crises* by Allison without narratives. The same apply to *The Twenty Year’s Crisis* of E. H. Carr and *Politics of Nations* written by Hans Morgenthau.

8.1 Diplomats as Storytellers

Narrative theory has generated a host of competing definitions. According to Geoffrey Robert the most prominent especially among diplomats and international historians is “*it is simply the practice of telling stories about connected sequence of human action. The aim of this story*

²²Ibid

²³J.DavidVellaman*NarrativeExplanation*. The Philosophical Review, Vol. 112, No. 1 (Jan., 2003), pp. 1-25,Duke university press

*telling is not only to explain the action in question but to enhance and extend understanding, comprehension and experience.”*²⁴

Senehi described narratives or storytelling as “language encompassing vocabulary, grammar rules, norms of communicative behavior, and narrative forms of language is society’s most complex symbolic system.”²⁵ As such, language encodes the culture of a particular community, including shared understandings of identity, power, history, values, and utopian visions. It may simply and sufficiently be defined as “*someone telling someone else that something happened*” according to Smith²⁶.

According to Schwartz, “*citizen-diplomats are coming together across profound divides to understand social conflicts through interpersonal conversations whether in the context of conference, public conversations, dialogue, negotiations, or other encounters.*”²⁷ Such interventions involve personal storytelling and inevitably become a process of collaboratively developing mutual recognition and social knowledge” Harold Saunders argues that the Israeli-Palestinian peace process of 1993 would not have been possible without narratives or stories from diplomats directed at addressing conflict issues as well as everyday intergroup interactions involving “countless Israelis and Palestinians” over the preceding 20 years.²⁸ Hale revealed that “throughout history, storytellers have often served as ambassadors and diplomats.”²⁹

²⁴ Geoffrey Robert, History, theory and the narrative turn in international relation, Review of international studies(2006), 32,703-714, British international studies association

²⁵Jessica Senehi“Constructive Storytelling: A Peace Process” A Journal of The Network of Peace and Conflict Studies (2002) Volume 9, Number 2

²⁶Smith, Barbara Herrnstein. 1981. “Narrative Version, Narrative Theories.” In W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., On Narrative. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

²⁷ Schwartz, Richard D. 1989. “Arab-Jewish Dialogue in the United States.”In Louis Kriesberg, Terrell A. Northrup, and Stuart J. Thorson, eds., Intractable Conflicts and Their Transformation. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.

²⁸ Saunders, Harold H. 1999. A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Social and Ethnic Conflicts. New York: St. Martin’s Press

²⁹ Hale, Thomas A. 1998. Griots and Griottes: Masters of Words and Music. Bloomington: Indiana

8.2 Diplomats as Policy Makers

As Nicolson puts it, the role of diplomats has often been confused with that of policy making and foreign policy.³⁰ Though the role of policy making rest largely on the political leadership, the role of the diplomat in the policy making process cannot be underestimated. According to Rossow

*“The principal contribution of the diplomat to the policy process comes from his skills in interpretation between cultures. He utilizes this skill in two directions. He interprets and appraises for his clients situations and development in foreign cultural contexts, and he also acts as the advocate of his client in pursuing the latter’s policy goals abroad”.*³¹

Rossow explains that as a policy maker, the diplomat requires more than just straight-forward intelligence which is evidenced-based, situational and subject to direct and indirect observation. The special skill of the diplomat in cross-cultural analysis equips him/her to make accurate and reliable evaluation of policy goals and objectives. Often policy makers rely on this unique skill of the diplomat during the decision making process.

Beyond his basic function as an advocate and cross cultural interpreter, the diplomat performs even more critical functions such as monitoring the policy making process and inform policy makers of its progress. Again the diplomat plays an advisory role to the policy makers at the early stages of policy formulation, alerting them of the necessary conditions required for successful implementation of policy options to enable policy maker make informed policy choices.

³⁰ Nicolson. H, (1950), “Diplomacy”, London, Oxford University Press.

³¹Rossow,R “The Professionalization of the New Diplomacy” World Politics, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Jul., 1962), pp. 561-575, The Johns Hopkins University Press

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

During the research, interviews were conducted with resident African diplomats in Seoul from nine African diplomatic missions out of the seventeen African diplomatic missions. Most of the resident diplomats interviewed spend at least two years in Seoul with working experience spanning between five to twenty years as a diplomat, trained and serve in different countries like UK, US, Germany, Netherlands, China, Japan, Malaysia, Brazil, Chile, Ethiopia, South Africa, Sudan, Russia among others. Seven out of the nine were from sub-Saharan Africa, six were from natural resources rich countries, two were Muslims and three were female diplomats. The diplomats were selected on the basis of experience, geographical representation, religion and the natural resource available in their countries. They were further categorized as: top level diplomats (3), middle level diplomats (4) and junior level diplomats (2). The interviewees were very much familiar and well informed about Korea's development experience through interpersonal relations, seminars and conferences organized by Korean government. Each diplomat gave a brief narrative or told a story on Korea's use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa. From the research findings the stories focused on the following key issues.

- Relevance of Korean development experience in its diplomacy in Africa.
- Motives behind Korea's diplomacy in Africa.
- Discriminatory treatment of African diplomats.
- Use of diplomatic channel of communication.
- Expectations of African diplomats (policy makers).

9.1 Relevance of Korean development experience in its diplomacy in Africa.

In September 2010 during the 3rd Korea - Africa Economic Cooperation Conference (KOAFEC) entitled “Rising Africa – Together with Korea. Minister Yoon Jeung-hyun the then Minister of Strategy and Finance is said:

From a nation torn apart by harsh colonial rule and devastating war, we struggled as one of the poorest countries in Asia. But through ceaseless efforts, we accumulated extensive knowhow in navigating our way to economic success. We hope to put our experience to use to help African countries find their way to prosperity.³²

The Minister’s emphasis on the common colonial history with Africa and Korea’s development success highlights Seoul’s promotion of her development experience as a model to Africa and their capability in providing technical knowhow for development. There by emphasizing the relevance of Korea’s development experience in its diplomacy in Africa.

The diplomats had these to say in response to Korea’s use of its development experience to further its diplomacy in Africa:

“It is not relevant at all. They are just dangling a carrot (Korean Development Experience) on African leaders and policy makers to get what they want. It is all about raw materials for their industries and market for their products. ”

³²Folley,Rob. *Korea’s ODA to Africa: Strategic or Humanitarian?* U.S.- Korea Institute 2010 Yearbook at SAIS. John Hopkins University, Washington.p.87

“It is all fake; they only pretend to help because there is something they are looking for (resources). I don’t see what they do in Africa. African countries like Ethiopia, South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria among others at one point or the other were of help to Korea.”

“It is not relevant to Africa. It is only a source of inspiration. If Korea can do it then we can do it. It is not even a model we have to copy because of our unique culture and environment. It is not helping Africa to develop, it make us more dependent. They are only using another strategy because they know we are tired of the western exploitation. Korea is interested in countries with natural resources like oil, diamond, coal etc. They say look at what I am coming with yet the motive is the same like that of US, EU and China”

“The New Community Movement (Saemaul Undong) is not relevant to us. In fact I was reliably informed by Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) top official that they were given specific instruction to promote the Saemaul Undong project as legacy of the president’s father”.

Korea’s capitalist inclination and alliance with the west especially the United States makes African diplomats very suspicious and doubtful of Seoul’s commitment to its campaign and advocacy of building a robust Korea – Africa development cooperation using her development experience. Seoul’s attitude towards Africa is yet to recognize Africa as a true and equal partner, an existing historical practice of the west, which Chinese have also adopted (engaging solely for natural resource and market oriented relationship without any regard for the continent and the people). African diplomats are not interested in a country’s development experience, rather they are much more interested in countries and regions of the world who are committed to engage Africans as a people and equal partners even as the market transaction takes place. It is

important to realize that African diplomats (policy makers) are well educated in western institutions, quite well-informed and experienced in international system and global economy. Some of them have served or work in other emerging economies or developed economies and are committed to the transformation of the continent. This transforming generation of African diplomats (policy makers) are also familiar with the western perception and misperception about Africa and the disabling narratives of conflict, failure and disease among others. Therefore Korea's development experience though unique and desirable is seen as one among others (Asian Tigers and even Israel). To them every country has its own unique development experience that can never be replicated by another however desirable it might be.

According to Kalu and Kim the main challenge confronting Korea is "its ability to transcend the mendacity of seeing Africa from the misperception of the west as resources rather than the people"³³. It is not sufficient to bring some Africans especially government official to Seoul to study Korean and culture or engage in capacity building, Seoul must also learn and understand African environment, culture and language because Africa has what will help Korea to sustain its export based economy(natural resources and market for export). On the other hand Korea has what Africans are looking for (science & technology, infrastructure and human capital)

On the contrary, some of the African diplomats interviewed told the following stories on the relevant of Korea's development experience in Africa.

"It is relevant to maybe some extent but it cannot be replicated in Africa considering the new world order, globalization and democracy. Africa is quite different from Korea culturally and

³³Kalu, Kelechi and Kim, Jiyoung. Post Busan Challenges for South Korea's Africa Relation. Korea Observer; Summer 2012;43,2; ProQuest Central Basic p.279

otherwise.”

“It is relevant considering the fact that they don't have any natural resources and yet they are able to develop through human resources development. We need to develop our human resources for us to develop like Korea. They always say ‘together we can do it’.”

“It is very relevant especially their industrial and technological achievements and success”

There is no denying the fact that Korea was poorer than Ghana about half a century ago, but today Korea's GDP is fourteen times Ghana's GDP without a single oil well or mines. Korea like many other countries has travelled the path of development with real life lessons and experience that is worthy of emulation. Some economist even argued that Korea's population size matches that of some Africa economies making Seoul's development experience more relevance than that of far bigger economies and competitors like China, India and Brazil. But the question is, can such experience be replicated or relevance in Africa today given its unique culture and environment? For instance, it is unimaginable that the Saemaul Undong Movement of the 1960's can be replicated or relevance in Africa today. A pilot program of the movement in Congo and Tanzania has not recorded any success story according to top government official of those countries studying at leading academic institution in Seoul.

Elijah Munyi at the Korea Institute for Development Strategy also criticize the promotion of the New Community Movement (Saemaul Undong) by Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) in Africa specifically in Congo DR and Tanzania *“as a long shot policy, ill-suited for Africa's realities, as it requires a level of government institutional capacity lacking in Africa and*

heavy agricultural subsidization, which today is constrained by the WTO”³⁴.

9.2 Motives behind Korea’s diplomacy in Africa.

On the motives behind Korea’s use of her development experience in pursuit of its diplomacy in Africa the diplomats gave the following narratives:

“Diplomacy is driven by personal interest of any country and Korea is not an exception. Securing market for their products, energy, and resources for their industries are the main motives behind Korean diplomacy in Africa. Korea does not have definite policy and meaningful engagement with Africa. Her diplomacy is market driven and resources oriented without serious engagement. In fact Korea is the least among the OECD countries in terms of engagement with Africa.”

“Korea is interested in countries with natural resources like oil, diamond, coal etc. They say look at what I am coming with yet the motive is the same like that of US, EU and China. For example the Korean government promised to build a museum in the capital city of my country. To show their motivation for the project, Korean official leave the capital city where the project is sited to visit the mine site in other cities very far from the capital. Just at the early stage of the project they are putting pressure on my government to have a mining contract. The museum project was just a way of getting into my country for the resources that we have.”

“My dear, it is a question of using what you have to get what you don’t have. Korea doesn’t have

³⁴Folley, Rob. *Korea’s ODA to Africa: Strategic or Humanitarian?* U.S. - Korea Institute 2010 Yearbook, at SAIS. John Hopkins University, Washington. p.88

any natural resource. But my issue is, why are there giving us their development experience and not their technology? They don't talk about transfer of technology. We don't need an out-dated policy. We need modern technology. There are other countries with similar technology like Japan and China. There is nothing so special about Korea; after all they stole the technology from Japan”

I disagree with the claims or opinions of African diplomats on the motives behind Korea's use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa. The realism theory of international relations offered relevance in analyzing the motives behind the relationship between Korea and Africa. The core argument here is that society is anarchical and nations act in rational ways to minimize costs while maximizing profit on their perceived advantages. This gives conceptual clarity to the motivation behind Korea's relationship with Africa. Proponents of political realism, among them Doyle and Waltz, argued that states act in a rational manner, doing a cost benefit analysis, looking at maximizing their advantages^{35 36}. The relationship between Korea and Africa should be understood within the context of the realist perspective. This theory explains how Korea views Africa politically and economically as well as African diplomat's view of Korea's use its development experience in pursuit of its diplomacy in Africa.

It is equally important to understand that diplomacy is about interest and Korea's case is not an exception. As much as African diplomats championed their interest so also should Korea. From a more realist point of view for instance, a poor farmer in Korea worked so hard to end a living and as a responsible citizen pay tax to the government of Korea. The tax payer's money is used by Seoul to provide aid and ODA to Africa especially in human capital development. It is worthy

³⁵ Doyle, M.W. *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (Norton New York 1997)

³⁶ Waltz, K.N. *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley Reading 1979)

to acknowledge that the Korean government has provided scholarships for Africans especially government officials. Also worthy of note is Seoul's use of her soft middle power to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing economies through several international initiatives such as 2010 G20 Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth and 2011 Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4). The principle of reciprocity or quid pro quo must be observed here. African diplomat must be realistic and accept to give something back in a reasonable manner.

On the other hand Seoul must realize that its development experience is not relevance or acceptable as a fundamental trade off for Africa's natural resource. Seoul must articulate its development experience sufficiently taking into consideration what Africa really need at the moment which is technology and infrastructure and not its development experience.

9.3 Discriminatory Treatment of African Diplomats

During the research most of the diplomats complained of discriminatory treatment. They accused Seoul of preferential treatment for the western diplomats. Here are some of their stories;

“Korean diplomat are not even seen let alone interact with them, even when they are invited for important programs, they hardly honour such invitations. They have the mentality of not respecting African diplomats. Disregarding Africans generally and give much attention and regards to the western diplomats. It has affected our diplomatic relations seriously. To tell you how serious the issue is, African Ambassadors in their last meeting took a unanimous decision not to accept Directors or other government officials other than a Minister in their important

programs such as Independence Day celebration and communicated their decision to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.”

“I see them as racist towards Africans. They treat Africans with disrespect even though they preach fairness and equality. In Africa we treat foreigners with respect and dignity including Koreans. I hate being looked down upon on the basis of my skin color”

“Diplomatic world is very tough, lack of privacy, not free to do what one would want to do. It is like living inside a box. Koreans are nice and open-minded. But they give more consideration and regards to western diplomats than African diplomats. For instance they send junior government officials (Director of African Affairs) instead of Ambassadors or Ministers to our meeting and important programs like independent days celebrations. Diplomats from the West always have direct access and contact with the ministers but this not the case with African diplomats. This is diplomatic discrimination. They don't allow us to bring food from our countries but we allow them bring Kimchi to our countries. We complain about it, yet there is no response.”

On the occasion of independent day celebration of Kenya on December 16, 2013 at Hyatt hotel a top African diplomat had this to say concerning the discriminatory treatment of Africa diplomats: *Look! Have you seen any of their officials? Where are there? There are not here. They don't attend our functions, yet they expect us to attend their functions.*

Another diplomat said; *if they don't send their top official to our function, we will be forced to do what is called “Reciprocity” in diplomacy by advising our government to do same them in our country.*

“In Korea they have the obnoxious law of \$100,000 account deposit for a D8 Visa before you can do any business in Korea with targets to meet. If such targets are not met the person face deportation. As a result of this obnoxious law a lot of Africans end up in prison losing all that they toiled for their livelihood. Now they are planning to review it upward to \$150,000. No African country is doing this to Koreans citizens”

The preferential treatment of the western diplomats by Seoul is a clear manifestation of strong diplomatic ties and commitment to the west, an issue that make African diplomats doubtful of Seoul sincerity and commitment to Korea – African development cooperation using its development experience. This indeed has made the use of its development experience as a diplomatic tool for diplomacy in Africa unacceptable and irrelevant. In fact Seoul’s success story is seen as western manipulation to check the rising China and the influence of Moscow in the region after the Korean War.

9.4 Use of Diplomatic Channel of Communication.

The following are the narratives of African diplomats on their experiences and the use of diplomatic channel of communication in Korea.

“Instead of engaging Africans directly using the diplomatic channel, they rather use their agencies like KOICA and KOTRA. They fail in most cases because the embassy informs the Principal of their dubious act. For example they fail to get my country listed in the KSP program because the embassy was not aware of such program.”

“They sometimes forget that we have an embassy in Seoul. For instance when my minister visited KDI, my ambassador was so surprise and embarrassed about KSP when the president of

KDI told the minister about it. If we don't have information we cannot advise our government about it. It is a general problem sharing information of bilateral cooperation here. We are here for that, not to spy or otherwise"

"If you ask KOICA about a certain project or program in Africa you will have a different story from that of MOFAT and KOTRA. Sometime you don't even know who to approach and whom to complain to".

The use of diplomatic channel of communication is very critical in building mutually beneficial and strong diplomatic relationship. It demonstrates mutual respect and regard for the international norms, rules and practices for parties involved. This kind of attitude by Seoul is an act of disregard and disrespect to African diplomats and the continent at large. The most critical diplomatic channel of communication is the embassies. Seoul's failure to recognize the critical role of using the diplomatic channel of communication especially the embassies has contributed significantly in its inability to convince the African diplomats (policy makers) on the relevance its development experience. Because it is not well articulated with the participation of African diplomats (policy makers) taking into consideration the culture and specific needs of various African countries. Imagine a situation where an ambassador is not even aware of the knowledge sharing program (KSP), just to be inform about it when his minister visited the president of KDI. At the end, the embarrassment will not be resolved in favor of Seoul, because it is the responsibility of Seoul to consult with the ambassadors first before reaching out to their principals. There is no way such an ambassador can support or speak in favor of the relevance of Korea's development experience in Africa. This explained why most of the African diplomats are of the opinion that Korea's development experience is not relevance. In fact, most of them

see it as imposition of out dated policies on the continent just as the west did in 1980s with the imposition structural adjustment policies (SAP) that undermined African economy's capacity for development.

9.5 Expectations of African Diplomats (Policy Makers)

While acknowledging Korea's development experience as desirable and expressing curiosity to cooperate with Korea in their development process the resident African diplomats (policy makers) expressed the following concerns for mutually beneficial cooperation and stronger diplomatic relations.

“Visit the continent not only when and where they have interest. Increase their presence in Africa. It is one thing having an embassy but it's another thing having key official like ministers or presidents visit the continent. This is very important for any meaningful engagement and bilateral cooperation. For instance Korean president last visited my country in 1982.”

“Korea should have specialists in specific countries of the continent. Africa is not a country, but a continent made up of 54 independent countries. The continent is highly diverse with different cultures and environments politically and socially. If you send someone who doesn't understand the culture and environment of a particular country he or she will only be counting days to return to the home country.”

It is very surprising that since President Roh's official visit to Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria in 2006, 24 years after President Chun Doo-hwan's African tour of 1982, no other Korean president has visited Africa. Whereas: Chinese president visit Africa regularly and pledge \$20 billion loan and \$98 billion in ODA after building a \$200 million AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Japanese

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe last month visited Ethiopia, Mozambique and Ivory Coast where he unveiled \$32 billion package which included \$14 billion in ODA and \$6.5billion for infrastructure, US President Barack Obama visited Africa twice during his first year in office and most recently late last year with a commitment of \$100 billion in aid and over 11,000 Americans working for its agencies and other organization in Africa. Seoul only operates 22 diplomatic missions in Africa compared to US 52, Japan 33 and China 45. Korea's present in Africa has been very limited. This explained why African diplomat are not favorably dispose to Seoul approach and commitment in Africa especially the use of its development experience. To them Seoul use of its development as a diplomatic tool is not relevance at all when compared to what others are doing in the continent especially China and Japan.

“Seoul should discuss their intervention with us first taking into consideration our priorities rather than just pick a phone to tell us we have a grant for water project in your country. I have been advising my colleagues not to accept such grants to do what they want. I will continue to fight against the imposition project on us. In fact that is why such project fails as was the case in Cote D’Ivoire”.

“Initiate Build Operate and Transfer Projects in Africa with full participation of the local people and make them master of their projects. They only build but do not allow anyone to operate let alone transfer. Create employment for the unemployed youths in Africa by establishing industries and factories using our resources as raw material, instead of exporting them and bring us the finished product to buy. Unemployment is one of the major challenges confronting our leaders and policy makers.”

Africa's biggest challenge today is building physical infrastructure to support development and facilitate the flow of goods and services between individuals, firms, and governments and not any country's development model however desirable it might be. International organizations and western donor countries for the past 150 years have been focusing on relief, emergency activities, immunization, and education neglecting investment in Africa's infrastructure. Apparently, with mistaken belief of the west that private investors will step up and fill the infrastructural financing gap, an expectation that never see the light of the day, only dilapidated and deteriorating roads, rail, construction, harbor and power infrastructure that continue to impede Africa's development. African diplomats want Seoul to expand its engagement in Africa and focus on this long neglected areas in Africa instead of its development experience. This according to the diplomats will intensify political and market competition, create promising new choices in external partnership and most importantly strengthen African capacities to deal with other issues distorting the continent's development especially youth unemployment. It also important to understand that infrastructure is not only a key driver of economic growth and development but also serve as enabler of business competitiveness. The resident African diplomats (policy makers) are favorably disposed to resource for infrastructure deal (cooperation) with Seoul instead of its development experience as a trade off for their natural resources.

Other expectations according other diplomats include;

- *Engage Africa directly using the diplomatic channel.*
- *Give equal and fair treatment to African diplomats.*
- *Abolish the obnoxious law of \$100,000 for D8 Visa.*

Some diplomats blame their leaders citing corruption, greed and selfishness as the challenges confronting the continent.

“I blame our leaders and policy makers because of corruption. There is this saying in my place; “it is how you turn your plate that determines how you are being served”. Koreans don’t like to pay for anything unlike Chinese to get what they want. They are very smart people; even in our embassy they have a policy that we must employ Koreans”

“Our leaders are not proactive; Koreans are not forcing them into any deal. It is greed and what they bargain for that they get. There are other countries out there who are interested in our resource. Some of them engage in such deals to perpetrate themselves in power and amass wealth for themselves and their families at the expense of the mass”

According to Transparency International (TI) estimates on corruption in Africa, African leaders’ embezzled about 30 percent of funding from essential service provision³⁷. The United Nations estimate of 1991 on corruption in Africa also indicated that African leaders siphon about \$200 billion out of Africa. Lawal confirm that this amount exceeded half of foreign ODA to Africa and more than half of its foreign debt. He also argued that “African leaders are self-aggrandizers and self-perpetuators who subvert and debauch every key institution of government to serve their needs and not that of their people”³⁸. According to Kligaard, Vogl, Gray and Kaufmann, other international agencies such as World Bank, International monetary fund (IMF) and Policy experts identified the use of public office for selfish or personal gain and corruption in public sector as a leading constraint that has stalled Africa’s socio-economic and political

³⁷ See AllAfrica.com, article entitled “Africa: Corruption Hampers MDGs - Transparency International.” Retrieved February 12, 2014 from <http://allafrica.com/stories/201010271133.html>

³⁸ Lawal, Gbenga (2007), “Corruption and Development in Africa: Challenges for Political and Economic Change,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Journal*, 2(1): 1-7.

development^{39 40 41}. Mauro documented the negative impact of corruption on economic growth and development of any region or society.^{42 43} African leader and policy makers should wake up and face the realities and stop expecting so much from Korea and blaming others for their misfortunes. They should take advantage of their natural resources and make the best out of it for the overall development of the continent and the people. This explained why the diplomat's interviewed insisted that Africa does not need Korea's development experience to develop, instead selfless and honest leaders like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere among others who during their time made their country's economies even better than that of Korea with particular reference to Ghana.

³⁹ Klitgaard, Robert (1998), "International Cooperation Against Corruption," *Finance and Development*, 35(1): 3-6.

⁴⁰ Vogl, Frank (2004), "Taking Corruption Out of Global Business Levels the Field for U.S. Companies," *World Trade Magazine*.

⁴¹ Gray, Cheryl W. and Kaufmann, Daniel (1998), "Corruption and Development," *Finance and Development*, 35(1), 7-10.

⁴² Mauro, P. (1997) "Effect of corruption on Growth, Investment and Analysis", in Kimberly Ann Elliot (eds), *Corruption in global economy*, Washington, D.C; Institute for international Economics, pp.83-107.

⁴³ Mauro, P. (1995) "Corruption and Growth" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol.110.No.3, pp681-172

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The hypothesis or assumption at the outset of this study was that; African diplomat's (policy maker) are favorably disposed and receptive to Korea's use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa. This assumption or hypothesis was based on the acceptance of Korea's development experience as a model by development partners (UNDP & World Bank) and other multilateral organizations like G20 and OECD, for Africa and other developing economies. But surprisingly the available evidence from the interviews conducted with resident African diplomats (policy makers) in Seoul does not agree with these assumptions.

Nevertheless, it is not advisable to think of replicating the lesson of South Korea's development experience in Africa given the unique cultural and environmental diversity of Africa from the research findings. According to Jeffery and Greg direct mimicry of Korea's development experience in Africa is ill-advised, as it amount to an attempt to reinvent the wheel which is impossible⁴⁴. Many policy successes such as that of Korea's development experiences are not, therefore, simply about replication, but there are best technical practices worthy of emulation like human capital development, infrastructures and technology. Francis Fukuyama (as quoted by Jeffrey and Greg) highlighted the foundation of legal system as reflecting local people, habits, culture and customs varies among countries in Africa and the contexts in which they operate. As Francis observed, today's dynamic environments means that societies are not destined to be confined by their histories or past experiences. He also argued that change and development is

⁴⁴Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mill (2012) *Africa's Third Liberation: The new Search for Prosperity and Jobs*. Penguin Group, Johannesburg, South Africa.

neither linear nor follow a particular path or pattern⁴⁵. It is important to realize that while there is a little gain saying that Korea's development experience over a sustained period is desirable, it is unlikely that African countries can follow such route of rapid economic growth and development given the present day realities and environments in Africa.

Initially Korean scholars and policy makers assume that Korea's development experience of the 1960s is very relevant to Africa especially the sub-Saharan Africa. But this study has revealed that such assumptions were displaced because according to the research findings there are more differences than similarities. For instance Korean society and culture is homogenous. Koreans are very cooperative, diligent and hardworking always working together (Korean spirit). According to some Korean scholars the Korean War was instrumental to Korea's development because the war exposed Korea to the global scene with powerful allies like US, Japan and UN assisting and cooperating with Korea. This gave Korea the impetus to expand their economy and rebuild the country. Beside the then world political and economic system also impacted on Korea's development. For example the Korean War was at the peak of the cool war which played a phenomenal role in Korea's development. Such an event can never repeat itself in the world history. On the other hand Africa is highly diverse heterogeneous society and culture with the highest number of ethnic groups, tribes and language in the world. African does not necessarily have to follow the path of Korea's development experiences but can learn a lot from Korea in terms of modern technology, agriculture and infrastructure. African policy maker's curiosity as late comers to catch up with modern development make them feel that the Korea's past development experience is not relevant. They are more interested in modern technology,

⁴⁵Ibid. 224

infrastructure and employment generation as a fundamental trade-off for their natural resources and not the past experience of Korea. It is important to point out here that Korea – Africa development cooperation cannot simply be defined by government to government relations only. Equally and even more important is people to people relations. Seoul must engage Africa as equal partners and as a people and not only for natural resources and market in exchange for its development experience.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

“There is a great variety of external actors involved in Africa today; both old and new, with varying motivations, who are interested in both short and long-term benefits. There is thus no great sense in characterizing or understanding their actions as imperial or exploitative. The contemporary world is far more complex than it was during the late nineteenth centuries and there is no serious comparison between the past and the present, however compelling or inviting the label might be.”⁴⁶

Today major players or actors (like US, China and South Korea) in the global economy regard the diversification of their resource base from the troubled Middle East a top-most priority in their national policy and are now designing diplomatic strategies toward achieving this objective in Africa.

This research focused on Korea’s use of her development experience in its diplomacy in Africa. While Seoul early year’s diplomacy was on securing support from African states for its entry to the UN, from the mid-2000s Africa has become Korea’s battle field for resources diplomacy and display of soft power by promoting and propagating Korea’s development experience as a model of development for Africans. The study was very narrow and focused on a distinct population (African diplomats) with the purpose of testing Africans diplomats’ knowledge on the influence of Korea’s development experience in Africa through a one-on-one interview with selected

⁴⁶Melber, H. (2009). ‘Global trade regime and multi-polarity: the US and Chinese scramble for African resources markets’. *The New Scramble for Africa: Imperialism, Investment and Development*, ed. R. Southall and H. Melber. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

resident African diplomats in Seoul.

The research findings revealed that African diplomats (policy makers) recognized and acknowledge Korea's development experience as very desirable and wish that Africa can develop as did Korea which was poor as some Africa states half a century ago. Most of them are of the opinion that it not relevant to Africa considering Africa's unique and diverse culture, environment and the new global economic order. Others argued that Korea's diplomacy is market oriented and resources driven without serious engagement with the imposition of its development experience without taking into consideration their specific needs and priorities. Some said it is relevant considering the fact that Korea has gone through this process with valuable lessons, skills and technology that is needed in Africa.

The objective of the study was not to determine who is to blame or fault but to seek ways and means of enhancing better diplomatic cooperation for mutual benefits between Africa and Korea. The most interesting and important revelation from this study is the curiosity of the Africa diplomats (policy makers) to cooperate with Korea in their development process especially in area of modern technology, infrastructure and employment generation. More so, Korea's diplomatic initiative and strategies is very commendable and widely acknowledge by Africa diplomats. Yet, much still needed to be done by both parties to ensure a sustainable and systematic diplomatic cooperation that is mutually beneficial. The final chapter of this research offered some recommendations based on the research findings, which if implemented would help strengthened and sustain the existing diplomatic cooperation between Korea and Africa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Training of specialized diplomats on African issues is very important for understanding and interpretation of the African culture and environment. It is important for Seoul to understand African environment and recognize Africans as a people and equal partner that need investment and employment generation as the basis for diplomatic relations and future profit. Such initiatives and strategies should be supported by serious academic research through collaboration with research institutions in Africa. It is important to note that Korea does not have sufficient information about Africa.

Seoul must increase its presence in Africa while giving fair and equal treatment to African diplomats in Seoul. For instance Korea currently has only 22 diplomatic missions in Africa compared to US with 52, China 45 and Japan 33. While increasing its diplomatic missions and presence in Africa, it is also very important for Seoul to use the diplomatic channel of communication (embassies) to engage Africa. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) should be the sole authority coordinating and implementing their policies and programs in Africa for greater efficiency. This will prevent duplication of functions among the competing agencies and unnecessary competition as a result of overlapping projects and budget waste.

Africa policy maker must avoid the 'me first attitude' and consider the development of the continent as their primary responsibility with Seoul as their strategic and important partner for development while demonstrating avowed commitment and transparency in its diplomatic cooperation with Seoul.

CHALLENGSES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the main challenges of this study was how to convince the resident African diplomats to ‘tell a story’ or give narrative on the issues they consider ‘very sensitive’. Some of them refuse to response to my interview questions by mail and only prefer to discuss on the ground of anonymity. Others decline to give specific or their country’s evidence on the ground that it may severe or jeopardize their country’s diplomatic relation with Seoul. Going around African embassies in Seoul in different locations was not only stressful but very costly. Sometimes I have to repeat my visit up to three times just to be able to talk with the right person. For these reasons I requested for an extension of my stay in Seoul from KDI School at my own expense to have the interviews with the resident African diplomats in Seoul.

It was my intention to include a detailed intervention program and investment of Korea for the past ten years in Africa. But all effort to get this information from the officials of the Korean government proved unsuccessful. Being able to contact any Korean diplomat was the most difficult aspect of this study apparently reflecting the findings of the study.

I therefore proposed a further study on Korea’s programs, projects and investment in Africa. It will be very useful to access its impacts, trend, prospect, challenges and it contribution to the development of Africa. I also suggest that an impact and evaluation analysis be conducted on Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) in Africa in collaboration with partner countries. These will not only enhanced or strengthened bilateral cooperation between Korea and the partner countries but shall justify Korea’s use of its development experience in its diplomacy in Africa.

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INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR RESIDENT AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

How long have you been in Korea as a diplomat Sir?

What is your personal experience in Korea?

Have you been lecture on Korean Development experience before?

What is your opinion on the Korean Development Experience?

Please Sir, do you think that the Korean Development experience is relevant in its diplomacy in Africa?

What is your opinion on Korea's diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation?

Is Korea different from US, EU and China in its diplomacy in Africa?

What is that Korea must do to make African policy makers and leaders favorably disposed and receptive towards Seoul diplomacy in Africa

INTERVIEW NOTE CONDUCTED WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

December 16, 2013

The diplomat has spent more than two year in Korea and serve in other countries like UK, Ethiopia and the Netherlands within his twelve years in service as a diplomat.

Considering his personal experience in Korea the diplomat had told the following story:

Korea is still a developing country in spite of her achievement. It is very peaceful and the people are friendly. But Korea is yet to register herself as an international community. For instance in most of their five star hotels there are no international desk or translation for foreign guests and tourists.

Korean diplomat are not even seen let alone interact with them, even when they are invited for important program, they hardly honour such invitations. They have the mentality of not respecting African diplomats. Disregarding Africans generally and give much attention and regards to the western diplomats. It has affected our diplomatic relations seriously. To tell you how serious the issue is, African Ambassador in their last meeting took a unanimous decision not to accept Directors or other government official other than a Minister in their important programs such as Independence Day celebration and communicated their decision to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Instead of engaging Africans directly using the diplomatic channel, they rather use their agencies like KOICA and KOTRA. They fail in most cases because the embassy informs the Principal of their dubious act. For example they fail to get my country listed in the KSP program because the embassy was not aware of such program.

Their limited engagement in Africa is made manifest in the number of African missions in Seoul. So far we have only seventeen African missions in Korea out of the fifty four countries in Africa.

On Korean Development experience awareness the diplomat had this to say:

Yes, I have been privileged to take a course in Korea Economic Development and also participated in seminars and conferences organized by the various agencies of Korea government. The most interesting aspect of it is that, unlike most African countries Korea has no natural resources, yet they are able to make it. Their level of technological development marvels me. For instance I was amazed when I visited their industrial complex at Yeosu. Go there you will see industrial cluster village all linked to each other. Within that area alone you can see the

much they have achieved in terms technological development.

On whether Korean Development experience is relevant in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat gave the following opinion:

It is not relevant at all. They are just dangling a carrot (Korean Development Experience) on African leaders and policy makers to get what they want. It is all about raw materials for their industries and market for their products. They send their national to work in our country under the disguise of expatriate, even when our nationals hold such qualifications. In fact in my country we have more than five thousand Koreans working and earning good wages. They create employment for their citizens using their companies, such as Samsun, Daewoo and KEPCO at the expense our citizens. African continues to suffer in the mist of plenty. Our governments give them enabling environment to invest (e.g. free land) without stringent conditions.

In Korea they have the obnoxious law of \$100,000 account deposit for a D8 Visa before you can do any business in Korea with targets to meet. If such target are not met the person face deportation. As a result of this obnoxious law a lot of Africans end up in prison losing all that they toiled for their livelihood. Now they are planning to review it upward to \$150,000. No African country is doing this to Koreans.

Concerning the diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation the diplomat observed:

It is not working, because these are the issues that such initiatives were meant to address.

Concerning what Korea must do to make African policy makers more curious and receptive towards their resource diplomacy in Africa the diplomat noted:

- *Use their companies and industries to create employment for our youth while exploring our natural resources.*
- *Engage Africa directly using the diplomatic channel.*
- *Give equal and fair treatment to African diplomats.*
- *Abolish the obnoxious law of \$100,000 for D8 Visa.*
- *Increase their present in Africa by establishing more missions.*

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

December 23, 2013

The diplomat has been in Korea for about a year and three months

On his personal experience in Korea the diplomat gave the following narratives:

I see them as racist towards African. They treat African with disrespect even though they preach fairness and equality. In Africa we treat foreigners with respect and dignity including Koreans. I hate being look down upon on the bases of my skin color. For instance an Africa was treated badly by the police because he had a problem with a Korean. But when the incident was reviewed from the security camera (CCTV), he was proved innocent without any apology from neither the police nor the Korean who was at fault. Let alone punished the Korean. Similarly, in the same area a Korean lady frames up a black guy just to implicate him.

On his knowledge of Korean Development experience the diplomat had this to say:

Yes, Koreans market their country everywhere and they invite diplomats to their programs; seminars and conferences to tell their story.

It is very interesting especially the use of CCTV in reducing crime and improving security of lives and property. Their taxi and other transportation system are very safe and efficient.

On the relevance of Korean Development experience in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat argued:

It is all fake; they only pretend to help because there is something they are looking for (resources). I don't see what they do in Africa. African countries like Ethiopia, South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria among others at one point or the other were of help to Korea.

Concerning the diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation the diplomat observed:

They only want the name 'Korea helps' because they were help. They bring most of us here so that when you become something in future you can be of help to them.

On what Korea must do to make African policy makers more curious and receptive towards its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat argued:

I blame our leaders and policy makers because of corruption. There is this saying in my place “it is how you turn your plate that determines how you are being served”. Koreans don’t like to pay for anything unlike Chinese to get what they want. They are very smart people; even in our embassy they have a policy that we must employ Koreans. The issue of illegal immigrants is an international issue. I don’t understand why African immigrants are treated differently, yet they are the people working in their factories adding value to their economy.

On whether Korea is different from US, EU and China in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat said:

No, they have the same goal and objective though the approach might be different in some cases.

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

December 19, 2013

The diplomat is one of the longest serving African diplomats in Seoul with about five years' experience.

From his experience he told the following story:

Diplomatic world is very tough, lack of privacy, not free to do what one would want to do. It is like living inside a box. Koreans are nice and open minded. But they give more consideration and regards to western diplomats than African diplomats. For instance they send junior government officials (Director of African Affairs) instead of Ambassadors or Ministers to our meeting and important programs like independent days celebrations. Diplomats from the west always have direct access and contact with the ministers but this not the case with African diplomats. This is diplomatic discrimination. They don't allow us to bring food from our countries but we allow them bring Kimchi to our countries. We complain about it, yet there is no response.

They extend these treatments to our nationals. For example our nationals complain of discriminatory treatment by their bosses. Another case is when our national was condemn for ten years and was to be released next year, because he had a fight with a Pilipino in prison, they punished only him with six month extension and kept him in isolation without any contact with the outside world putting psychological pressure in him. We are afraid of him going crazy. I also experience discrimination even in subways. They don't want to sit near a black man especially their women.

The diplomat is well vast on Korean Development experience through seminars and conference organized by Korea institute for strategic development, Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), International chamber of commerce and Korea Africa Economic Cooperation ministerial conference. He gave the following account of his opinion on Korea's development experience:

I understand that we don't really need democracy to develop as advocated by the western world. Each country has its own model of development like Korea. Development is more connected to the people's culture. Each country must come up with its own development agenda considering her culture and environment. Africa must put aside democracy. If Korea started with democracy they would not have developed like this. We need strong leadership to develop.

The most interesting aspect of it is the infrastructures, transportation and IT. I am worried about their concentration on modernization, losing the cultural aspect of their development to capitalism. For example in china, construction is based on Chinese architecture thereby preserving their cultural heritage. But here they are losing that aspect of their development to capitalism.

On the relevance of the Development experience of Korea in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat told the following story.

It is not relevant to Africa. It is only a source of inspiration. If Korea can do it then we can do it. It is not even a model we have to copy because of our unique culture and environment. It is not helping Africa to develop, it make us more dependent. They are only using another strategy because they know we are tired of the western exploitation. Korea is interested in countries with natural resources like oil, diamond, coal etc. They say look at what I am coming with yet the motive is the same like that of US, EU and China. For example the Korean government promised to build a museum in the capital city of my country. To show their motivation for the project, Korean official leave the capital city where the project is sited to visit the mine site in other cities very far from the capital. Just at the early stage of the project they are putting pressure on my government to have a mining contact. The museum project was just a way of getting into my country for the resources that we have. I was so shocked when a Korean during the international chamber of commerce conference in Seoul, told us how rich the western part of my country is in terms of cobalt deposit in the region. We never knew about this. Korean present in Africa is not much as compared to other countries like US, EU and China.

On the diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation the expressed the following concerns:

It has not achieved the desire goal and objective because there is no definite policy and meaningful interaction or engagement.

On what Korea must do to make African policy makers favorably disposed, curious and receptive towards its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat had this to say:

Initiate Build Operate and Transfer Project in Africa with full participation of the local people and make them master of their projects. They only build not allow anyone to operate let alone transfer. Create employment for the unemployed youths in Africa by establishing industries and factories using our resources as raw material, instead of exporting them and bring us the finished product to buy. Unemployment is one of the major challenges confronting our leaders and policy makers.

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

December 12, 2013

The diplomat has about two year experience in Korea and had serve in other countries like Sudan and UK. The diplomat has a fair knowledge of Korea's development experience through interaction with government officials, conferences, seminars and personal observations. He had this to say:

It is very remarkable considering the fact that unlike other developed countries that take centuries to develop, Korea did it in just half a century. Most remarkable is their ability to come up with policies and ensure effective and efficient implementation of such policies to achieve the desired goals and objectives. To me they have done so well in terms Infrastructure, Human capital, Education, Research and Development worthy of emulation by African countries.

On whether the Korean Development experience is relevant in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat had this to say:

Diplomacy is driven by personal interest of any country and Korea is not an exception. Securing market for their products, energy, and resources for their industries are the main motives behind Korean resources diplomacy in Africa. Korea does not have definite policy and meaningful engagement with Africa. Her diplomacy is market driven and resources oriented without serious engagement. In fact Korea is the least among the OECD countries in terms of engagement with Africa.

Concerning the diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation he said:

It has not achieved the desire goal and objective because there is no definite policy and meaningful interaction or engagement. It is still a process we have not gotten there yet.

On what Korea has to do to make African policy makers favorably disposed, curious and receptive towards its diplomacy in Africa, the diplomat said:

Change of attitude and meaningful engagement. Everything is about attitude. It is my hope that things may change. Student's contributions like what you are doing are commendable. Most of our nationals are student. So far we have not had any complain of discrimination or maltreatment of any kind.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

How long have you been in Korea as a diplomat Sir?

I am here in Seoul since 02 years.

What is your personal experience in Korea?

My experience in Korea is very rewarding. I note that the Country of the Morning calm is very interesting to discover for a diplomat who comes from the African continent. I think that Korea is, in the unanimous opinion of all the experts in development, an original model of development which can inspire many African countries. What makes the originality of the South Korea model is that it happened over 60 years, so in a single generation. African countries, with their respective specificities can, therefore, be inspired by the South Korean example. Moreover, I was able to note the dynamism of the Korean economy, through the remarkable performance of the country in commercial matters because South Korea is currently ranked 12th World commercial power. In addition, Korea is the only country in the world to be passed a status of recipient of public aid to development to a status of developed country, which provides official development assistance and is member of the Development Committee of the OECD since 2010.

On the diplomatic level, Korea is considered as a soft power that aspires to play a major role in its immediate geostrategic space and to strengthening its anchorage in ASEAN and APEC. Korea participated, on the sidelines of the 68th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, to the launching of the diplomatic initiative called MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia) which focused on soft Powers aspiring to strengthen their cooperation to play a bigger role on the international scene. South Korea is a non-permanent member of the Security Council, and Korea contributed greatly to the maintenance of peace and international security. In terms of climate change, South Korea also plays a very active role on the international stage and issues related to the World Trade Organization. Hence, its very interesting for a diplomat to represent his country in Korea.

Have you been lecture on Korean Development experience before and what is your opinion on the Korean Development Experience?

I think that Korea is a very special country in terms of achieving successfully the process of development. As indicated above, South Korea became the 12th World economic power. The Country of the Fresh morning spends about 0.15% of its national income to ODA and the goal is to increase this rate to 0.25% in 2015. This ODA is distributed as follows: Africa 14.3%, Asia 61.2%, America 11.2%, Europe 3.4% and Oceania 0.8%. The Korean Government is committed to wear in 2012 its assistance to 214 million dollars to Africa to fight poverty and help Africa to sit a sustainable growth.

From 2000 to 2007, South Korea stood at the 1st rank in industrialized countries in terms of increasing the productivity at work place, before Sweden, Japan, the United Kingdom and the USA.

The Korean system of aid management is as follows: two types of aid coexist: bilateral assistance and multilateral aid. Bilateral aid is divided into grants and loans on concessional terms. Grants consisting of donations and technical programs are implemented by the Korean Agency for international cooperation (KOICA) under the supervision of the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Concessional loans are managed by the Korean economic cooperation fund (EDCF), managed by the Export-Import Korean Bank (EXIMBANK) under the supervision of the Korean Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

With regard to multilateral aid which is mainly geared towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), its handled towards multinational development banks and international organizations including the United Nations and its specialized Agencies.

Following the same footsteps, Korea presided the 3rd Presidency of the pilot group on innovative financing for development in 2007 and introduced the same year the solidarity contribution on airline tickets in the country to set up a fund intended to combat epidemics and poverty in the LDCs, particularly in Africa. Korea also supports the international drug purchasing fund managed by the UNITAID and the Global Alliance for vaccines and immunization with special emphasis on the fight against AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis.

Furthermore, since its accession to the status of emerging nation, South Korea has placed its relations with Africa under the sign of sharing its development model forged by a half century of virtuous incentive and planned practices. Initially, South Korea economy focused on the development of its export industries and stopped the observed trend of the predominance of imported products. For that the Office of Economic planning and the development and implementation of the first plan dating from 1962-1966, was created and the Country of the Morning calm was able to establish industries consisting of large conglomerates such as Samsung, Hyundai, Posco, LG etc. (iron spearhead of the Korean economy) which have managed not only to win market shares but also export the knowledge made in South Korea. And it should be recalled that between 1945 and 1961, South Korea received no foreign direct investment but rather benefited donations from the USA. And also we should remember that these large industrial groups have benefited a support of the State, with strong investments in the order of 80%. Despite recommendations from the World Bank requesting that the Korean Government of the time do not invest in heavy industries such as iron and steel, transport equipment, shipbuilding, South Korean authorities at this time, maintains the same level of subsidies to the Korean conglomerates. The growth rate was 8.8% and the country succeeded to achieve food self-sufficiency in rice. This option of the Korean Government bears a fruit that indeed has Korean economy to know a qualitative change. It is thus that in 1960, 63% of Korean workers were employed in agriculture, 11% in industry and mines, and 26% in services. In 1980, this trend was reversed, 34% of Koreans in the agricultural sector, 23% in industry and mines and 43% in services. In addition, in 1963, 600,000 workers were active in the industry; in 1980 they are 4 million. Therefore, South Korea becomes the 1st global shipbuilder. From 1994, the Korean G

overnment engages in an unprecedented policy of dismantling tariff barriers with an option on the liberalization of capital and the market economy. The Asian crisis in 1997 caused a wave of speculation against the currencies of Southeast Asian economies, which has rudely shaken the South Korean economy with a depreciation of the Won and a fall of 7% of GDP comes curb this positive development. To remedy this, the Korean Government engaged on a wave of reforms without precedent with the closure of non-viable banks, the dismantling of some industrial groups and the abandonment of large investment projects. South Korea has even of use has the International Monetary Fund assistance to overcome this economic impasse. Thanks to the reforms undertaken including better regulation of the activities of the conglomerate, a liberalization of the labor market and a restructuring of the banking sector, South Korea reunites with growth in 1998 with the recovery of investment, the return of consumption and acceleration of exports and continued since this date, its market towards the economic emergence.

Please Sir, do you think that the Korean Development experience is relevant in its diplomacy in Africa?

Unclear question

Answer: Quite sensitive

What is your opinion on Korea's diplomatic initiatives like, Korea-Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation?

The cooperation between Africa and the Korea is a win-win partnership.

During its Presidency of the G20 in 2010, Korea has weighed all its weight so that the concerns of Africa are duly taken into account. Korean diplomacy has been at the origin of the adoption of the first Action Plan by the G20 on development. The idea developed by Korea is to help Africa to spend aid and to support its own development by focusing on the growth of the sector private, efficient administration and effective to fight justice against corruption.

The G20 Summit adopted in 2010, under the active contribution of Korean diplomacy the "Seoul Consensus for shared growth development" document and "Multi-year development action Plan" composed of 09 areas of cooperation, including infrastructure, human resources, trade, private investment and job creation, food security, social protection, financial inclusion, the mobilization of national resources and transfers of migrants. The major objective of the action Plan is to improve the economic growth of low income countries through the development of their autonomy to ensure their sustainable growth.

In the same vein, Korea has houses in 2011, the fourth high level Forum on aid effectiveness. Between 2005 and 2009 South Korea multiple by 03 its investment in Africa from 129.7 million of a US \$ 388.4 million US dollars and the objective poster by Seoul is to reach, a long term, the bar of the 1000 billion dollars. According to the World Bank, 53 African countries had a lower GDP of South Korea until 2004. 2.2 Billion dollars for Africa against 1000 billion U.S. dollars for the country of the Morning calm.

Likewise, the Korean diplomacy launched in 2006 the Korea-Africa Economic Cooperation (KOAFEC) managed jointly by the African Development Bank (AfDB), the Korea Eximbank and the Korean Government. The purpose is to have an institutional framework for the strengthening of economic cooperation between the African continent and South Korea. The KOAFEC meets every two years and has developed a biennial action plan whose goal is to promote a positive dynamics in economic projects in Africa. A Fund, the KOAFEC Trust Fund of an amount of US\$ 306.1 million, created by the Korean Government and entrusted management is AFDB.

Is Korea different from US, EU and China in its diplomacy in Africa?

Answer: sensitive question

What is that Korea must do to make African policy makers and leaders favorably disposed, curious and receptive towards its diplomacy in Africa?

Answer: sensitive question

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

December 14, 2013

This particular diplomat has more two year experience in Korea and had serve in other countries including Malaysia, Japan and UK. He is well informed on knowledge of Korea's development experience through conferences and seminars. He had this to say:

Good leadership and commitment of the Koreans to develop. In Africa we come up with good plans and policies, yet they remain on paper after discussing it in luxury hotels. Implementation is far reach. For example we see roads on papers or in the forest. But Koreans are committed to their developments at all levels.

On the relevance of Korean Development experience in its diplomacy in Africa the diplomat had this to say:

It gives us confident that we can make it. If they can do it without any resources, we don't have any excuse. We may not replicate the exact model because of differences in environment, groups and ethnicity. Korea's resources diplomacy is not different from others. We don't have capacity to develop our resource and add value to them. We still need partners like Korea to build our capacity and able to gain from our resource. The point is that their interest is paramount. We should look for win-win situation. Opening up to competition can make a better deal. The best bidder with the interest Africans being considered for the exploration of our resources

On the Korea's diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation he said:

It is in the process of achieving it desired goals and objectives. We are working very hard for the interest and the development of our continent.

On what Korea has to do to make African diplomats (policy makers) favorably disposed and receptive towards its diplomacy in Africa, the diplomat said:

A win – win situation in our resource exploration. We should even benefit more considering the environmental hazard that is involved preferably 70% to 30% in favor of the host country.

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

January 10, 2014

The diplomat has spent more than two year experience in Seoul. She served in other countries of the world namely: Russia, China, Malaysia and UK among others. She has been lectured on Korea's development experience at conferences, seminars and personal observations. She had this to say:

Every development experience of any country is unique to that country and cannot be replicated by another country. Ghana, South Africa, Ethiopia and many other countries in Africa and other part of the world have their unique development experience just like Korea.

On its relevance in its diplomacy in Africa she had this to say:

It is not considering the unique culture and environment in our continent. Africa is very diverse and there is no country's development experience that can be use as a model for the 54 countries. It is not possible.

Concerning diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation she said:

Well, it is a good initiative but much still need to be done. We have similar initiatives with China, Japan, and France among others in the continent. So it's not new to us.

On the expectation of Africa diplomats, she said:

We need infrastructure in the continent and not development experience of the past. We have resources for infrastructure policy that we advocating in the continent. It is the infrastructure that we need to develop our economy.

Concerning the motives behind the diplomacy, the female diplomat said:

Every country has its own interest to protect. Even within the continent the interest of my country comes first before that of the continent.

AN INTERVIEW NOTE WITH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS IN SEOUL

January 9, 2014

The diplomat is one of the most experienced top level African diplomats in Seoul with more than three years' experience. She has served in many countries of the world including UK, India and Canada. On his experience in Seoul she had this to say:

South Korea is an extension of American territory from security, defense and development is masterminded and controlled by the state.

On Korean Development experience she said:

Every development experience of any country is unique to that own country and can never be replicated anywhere because of culture, education and a lot of other factors. African countries have their own development experience. Korea's development experience is not relevance to Africa at all. We are Africans and not Koreans

Concerning Korea's diplomatic initiatives like, Korea – Africa Forum and Korea – Africa Economic Cooperation the diplomat said:

It is not about creating the forum, it's about commitment and fulfillment of commitment and promises made.

On the expectations of African diplomats she said:

We need infrastructure. Let them invest in Africa, build industries through PPP arrangement. We are blessed with abundant natural resource and raw material for industries.