

1. SOUTH KOREA AND THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (1993 - 2017)

Ezequiel Ramoneda and Norberto Consani

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to analyze the relations of the Republic of Korea, also known as South Korea, with the countries of Latin American region as a whole, including the Caribbean ones, from their interactions in intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums and the complement with other dialogue and cooperation mechanisms, such as official visits and links with specific group of countries grouped in regional trade blocks, between 1993 and 2017, encompassing the presidencies of Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye. Leaving aside trade and investments, as well as migration flows, in which other Asian countries can also be highlighted, such as China or Japan, is hypothesized that South Korea has pursued an extra-regional middle-power foreign policy in intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums in Latin America and the Caribbean. This work is not arguing whether or not Korea South is a middle-power in the international arena, but, in regard to its international relations with countries of Latin America, it behaves as a middle-power, or it considers itself as one.

As for the Latin American intergovernmental multilateral organizations, special attention will be paid to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), established in 1948, for being the commission of the United Nations in charge of the region, the Inter-

American Development Bank (IADB), established in 1959, which together with the Inter-American Investment Corporation (IIC) and the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF), are the main financial sources of the region, and the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI, in Spanish), established in 1980, which brings together the largest group of countries in the region in pursuit of economic integration. Besides the previous organizations, it will be added as intergovernmental multilateral forums the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC, in Spanish), established in 2010, for being the main forum for political dialogue and consensus, and the only interlocutor to promote and project internationally the concerted voice of the region. And the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC), created in 1999, for being the only bi-regional forum to promote mutual understanding in order to improve economic cooperation and political dialogue of the countries of the region with their counterparts from East Asia. Finally, other processes of political and economic integration will be mentioned, such as the Pacific Alliance (PA), the Central American Integration System (CAIS), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Association of Caribbean States (ACS) and the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR).

The paper will be organized as follows. First, the foreign policy of South Korea will be analyzed from the perspective of the liberal theory of international relations of complex interdependence, complemented with contributions from the theory of middle-power and the theory of leadership applied to international relations. Second, there will be a presentation of the conditions that South Korea finds in the American order to deploy a foreign policy of extra-regional middle-power towards Latin America. After that, the relations of South Korea with the several intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums specified of the region during the different South Korean presidencies mentioned will be analyzed, in paying attention to the analysis of official statements from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, as well as communiqués of the Latin American regional organizations. This is complemented with interviews done to diplomats from the Bureau for Asia and Oceania of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, and South Korean staff of the FEALAC Cyber Secretariat that visited the country to participate in an event of the aforementioned forum. Finally, conclusions will be presented highlighting the opportunities of South Korea as a middle-power, and some of the challenges it faces to achieve it, in Latin America.

SOUTH KOREA, A MIDDLE-POWER FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE

Bearing in mind the state of relations between the countries of East Asia, where South Korea is located, and of Latin America since the end of the Cold War in 1991, which are characterized by less defense concerns and more trade relevance, it is considered that the liberal theory of international relations of complex interdependence is appropriated to analyze the interactions of South Korea and Latin American countries in intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums.

Keohane and Nye (1988) understood interdependence in the international stage as situations where there are reciprocal cost effects in exchanges between countries or between actors from different countries. This was characterized as complex, as they understood that the states relate between one another not only by government agencies but also by other non-governmental and transnational actors, such as transnational corporations and international organizations, getting interconnected through several channels. In turn, they proposed that the agenda of the relations consists of multiple issues that are not ordered in a consistent or a hierarchic manner, but where trade are important and concerns on defense issues are not predominant. Now, they clarified that interdependence should not be understood in terms of situations of balanced mutual dependence. Asymmetries in dependency are the factors that most likely provide actors with sources of influence in their dealings with others. Less dependent actors are often in a position to take advantage of asymmetry in interdependent relationships as sources of power over other actors more dependent in the negotiation on an issue and perhaps even to influence other issues. (pp. 24-25) In other words, a state can build power and improve its international position within the framework of relations that it maintains with other several states through multiple channels, taking advantage of the asymmetries in the relations of mutual dependence that it maintains with others due to complex interdependence.

Nevertheless, In order to take advantage of asymmetries, it is not enough just to be able to do it, gathering the material conditions, but it is necessary to want it, having the will to do it. For the middle countries of the international system, those that, without being on top of the pyramidal hierarchy, are not on the bottom, this is critical. And it is from the perspective of the middle states that the building of power is sought to be understood by taking

advantage of asymmetries in relations of mutual dependence due to complex interdependence. According to Beeson and Higgott (2014), the theory of middle-power makes an important contribution since it provides an alternative way of perceiving international politics, through the perspective not of the primary states, but of the secondary states. After describing middle-powers in a traditional way, characterized as objective, based on a quantitative approach, as occupying an intermediate position in a hierarchy of states in the international system based on a range of quantifiable attributes, as physical size, population, economic indicators, on a geographical approach, as being located geographically between great powers, and on an idealistic normative approach, as being considered reliable states, Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal (1993) proposed an innovative way, characterized as subjective, affirming that the essence of the diplomatic activity of a middle-power is its behavior. According to this approach, the middle-powers are defined primarily by their behaviors: their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their tendency to adopt compromise positions in international disputes, and their tendency to adopt notions of "good international citizenship" to guide their diplomacy. (p. 19) In this sense, it assumes the role of facilitator, mediator, or catalyst in relations between states within intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums, and in the process legitimizing and reinforcing the organization or the forum in question. Also it takes the initiative to intervene in specific theme niches, creating trends by addressing non-traditional issues. In this way, it improves its international profile, its brand country, building confidence, credibility and recognition in other countries, and strengthening the ability to influence of its foreign policy as a middle-power. In line with the aforementioned, Jordaan (2003) stated that the foreign policy of a middle-power is a product of a deliberated action contextually located. However, this does not make other identification strategies of middle-powers are redundant. Rather, the constitutive features of middle-powers aforementioned are important in shaping the internationalization of the middle-power. But there should be more space for the agency, to account for why states with very similar features don't have similar foreign policies. (p. 166) To the above, he added that one of the most striking features of a middle-power is the diversity of ways in which it projects itself into the world, being diplomatic, commercial and / or normative. Another feature is the persistence, as the middle-powers strive to maintain some form of middle-power condition during good and bad times. Goddard (2009) sees agency not as opposed to structure, but as inherent within the structure of the net-

work. (pp. 257-258) She affirms that it is necessary to understand how middle-power is defined in terms of the structural positions that an actor occupies in a system and to explore how this affects its capacity, in order to explain the middle-power agency of this actor. (p. 253) Now she acknowledges that some actors are better positioned than others to increase their influence within the system. Actors gain power and ability to influence by taking advantage of their privileged position and positioning themselves as bridges against structural holes, a location in the structure of the network where two or more actors are disconnected. To bridge then would mean to overcome the distance and link these actors as an intermediary that otherwise would remain disconnected, which would reinforce the privileged position of the intermediary actor. (Goddard and Nexon, 2016, p. 12) In other words, in the framework of complex interdependent relations, the state that, without becoming a mayor power, intends to build power by taking advantage of asymmetries in relations of mutual dependence, must not only meet material conditions, according to its intermediated position in the hierarchy of states, or its geographical location between great powers, but also have the will to carry out strategically a multilateral foreign policy, assuming intermediary roles in the dealing of sensitive issues for the group of the states involved, or building bridges to facilitate dialogue, cooperation and commitment. This is what could be characterized as a middle-power in the framework of the complex interdependence of the relations between the states of East Asia and Latin America.

Among the states that could be considered as middle-powers in this scenario, South Korea is one of the most prominent in recent times. For the past two decades, although its use has not been consistent from government to government, reflecting differences in geographic focus and political orientation, the concept of middle-power has been prominent in South Korea's diplomatic narrative, used by the successive governments as a framework for their vision and strategy of foreign policy. There has been a relatively common view in international relations that South Korea's foreign policy reflects the role and behavior of a generic middle-power. (Watson, 2016, p. 2) South Korea operates with an agenda of issues that corresponds to what is considered commonly in literature as the generic criterion of the behavior of a middle-power. (Kim, 2016, pp. 2-3) During the administration of Kim Young-sam, the South Korean government sought to promote a globalization policy, linking the growing economic power of the country with greater international political participation. (Saxer, 2006, p. 2) But it was during the administra-

tion of Roh Moo-hyun that South Korea began its middle-power foreign policy, since it sought that South Korea was regarded as a balancer in Northeast Asia. The Lee Myung-bak's administration was the first to officially adopt the middle-power discourse in South Korea's foreign policy, and a Global Korea was the platform from which it was launched. (Jojin, 2015, p. 39) And finally, during the Park Geun-hye's administration, South Korea was understood as a responsible middle-power contributing to world peace and prosperity. (Lee, 2016, p. 44) South Korea has come to be considered in academic literature, the media, and in political statements as one of the leading middle-powers in world politics. Now, there is a growing consensus that South Korea must play a middle-power role corresponding to its growing material capabilities; having to elaborate a new vision of middle-power diplomacy in the 21st century. (Kim, 2014, p. 1) A priori, it can be thought that the geographical location and structural position of South Korea in the Northeast Asia region can hardly be favorable for South Korean governments to carry out efficiently a middle-power foreign policy due to the structural challenges the country faces given the competition with other countries. (Watson, 2016, p. 2; Kim, 2016, pp. 6-9) It is at the center of competition from major world powers, three of which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation, and the United States), four nuclear powers (the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation, the United States, and North Korea), three of the largest economies in the world (the People's Republic of China, the United States, and Japan). And besides all this, Australia, which is a serious actor in terms of security, politics and economics in the region. In this sense, leadership is particularly important for South Korea, to be diplomatically flexible to know how to move among its great neighbors. South Korean governments have a foreign policy aimed at stabilizing and legitimizing the regional and global order through multilateralism, institution building and the contribution of public goods. (Choo and Boisseau du Rocher, 2007, p. 107) Now, if the geographical location and structural position of South Korea in the Northeast Asia region are neglected so to place the country in the broader global international stage, the structural position acquires a new nuance. South Korean governments sought to bring forward an active middle-power foreign policy in an extra-regional and global manner, seeking to exploit broader geo-political spaces where to exercise better their influence. Thus, a paradoxical stage was opened in which South Korea can act more as a middle-power at the worldwide level than in its own region. (Watson, 2016, p. 11) Emphasizing South Korea non-security roles outside of Northeast Asia region (Kim, 2016,

p. 6), the influence of the South Korean middle-power foreign policy is based on its positioning in the network of issues and the ability to connect these issues, rather than on geography, its positioning facing mayor powers, and middle-power resources' metrics. (Watson, 2016, p. 12) The South Korean middle-power foreign policy is creating a dialogue mechanism driven by informal and flexible issues. (Kim, 2013)

SOUTH KOREA AND LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN WITHIN THE AMERICAN GEO-POLITICAL ORDER

South Korea has credibility in both intra-Asian and trans-Pacific community-building processes. (Green, 2017, p. 19) It can be argued that South Korea has managed to find in relations between the states of East Asia and Latin America a broader geo-political order in which to take advantage of its relative relevance in the international system where it can project its middle-power foreign policy in an extra-regionally way.

On the one hand, despite the several economic crises that affected East Asian countries, including South Korea, and Latin American countries, such as Brazil and Argentina, during the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s, since the beginning of the new millennium there has been an increase and diversification in trade and investment flows between South Korea, and other Asian countries, and several Latin American economies, driven by the development of interdependence in the inter-regional relations. On the other hand, in addition to economic incentives, South Korea does not get involved in security issues in the Americas, neither has to face the competition of another great power, except one, the United States, the hegemonic power that does not consider South Korea as a challenge to its project of continental geo-political order in America and in the Asia-Pacific, but rather as a state that fosters regional stability. In regard to security issues in the Latin American region, it can be highlighted the dispatch by South Korea of an elite team trained specifically for humanitarian and disaster relief missions, known as the "Danbi unit", to join the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, after the devastating earthquake that has affected that Caribbean country in 2010. (Miller, 2012; Roehrig, 2013, p. 635). Probably, the most sensitive issue in this regard is the position of Latin American countries vis-à-vis the inter-Korean situation. Historically, North Korea's diplomacy focused primarily on the Third World, in the South and Southeast Asia, Middle East, Africa, and

Latin America regions. In this last region, despite being farther from the reach of its diplomatic influence, due to geographical and cultural issues, but also to the hegemonic presence of the United States, it succeeded, through its claims of no US interventionism in internal affairs and the anti-imperialist initiatives, in generating affinities that lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations with several Latin American countries between 1960 and 1970. For the 2010s, several Latin American countries maintain diplomatic relations with North Korea, being the most important those established with Cuba in 1960, with Venezuela in 1974, with Mexico in 1980, with Peru in 1988, and with Brazil in 2001. Of these countries, two have an embassy in Pyongyang, Cuba and Brazil, and all allow North Korea's diplomatic representation in its territory. (Boydston, 2017; Armstrong, 2009, pp. 3-4) If we divide this group of countries among the sub-regional trade blocs, there are member countries of PA (Chile, Mexico and Peru), on the one hand, while, on the other hand, there are member countries of Mercosur (Venezuela and Brazil). Regarding Mercosur, it can be seen that it does not have a coherent foreign policy position regarding North Korea. While Brazil has spoken out against nuclear tests and the human rights situation in North Korea, the establishment of diplomatic relations in 2001 and, in particular, the opening of the embassy in 2009, followed by a stagnation of the negotiations for a trade agreement between South Korea and Mercosur, and the absence of concrete proposals to promote dialogue, beyond declarations, for the peaceful resolution of the nuclear problem in the Korean peninsula, relatively generates a diplomatic strengthening of the North Korean government. Added to this is that Venezuela supports internationally the North Korean government, with which it maintains ideological and security affinities, as both perceived to be threatened by the United States, to the point of supporting nuclear development and the human rights situation in North Korea. In Argentina, when diplomatic relations with North Korea ended in 1977, its statements are diluted politically, enhanced by Brazilian unilateralism in this regard. In this sense, the distinctive element that unites the Mercosur countries regarding the issue of the denuclearization of North Korea is more the rejection of the policy of the United States, which seeks to commercially and diplomatically isolate North Korea, than a vocation for fostering dialogue between the two Koreas. (Chacón Morales, 2009; Kwak, 2002; Rubio, 2015; Salvia, 2014; Stratfor, 2017) Regarding trade issues, South Korea can seek better economic relations with Latin American economies within the continental geo-economic order that the United States wants. South Korea can share its economic de-

velopment experience in different fields to boost economic development capacities in Latin American countries. And with this, reduce poverty and social inequality. “Development cooperation and middle power diplomacy were combined to form an important pillar of South Korea’s diplomacy”. (Lee, 2014, p. 3) In this regard, the South Korean government strives to play a bridger role between developed and developing countries. (Lee, 2014, p. 20) According to Kim Won-Ho (2014), “the new directions in South Korea’s foreign policy towards Latin America focus on economic cooperation in its broad sense”. According to Lee Kyung-suk (2016), South Korea has sufficient experience and national capacity in terms of Official Development Assistance. (...) Official Development Assistance is one of the main pillars, which has blustered South Korean middle power diplomacy. Official Development Assistance has been regarded as a pipeline for contributing to global peace and prosperity, as well as a tool for interacting with the international community. (pp. 44-47) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), established in 1991, through which it executes official development assistance policies, and the Ministry of Economy and Finance, that manages the soft loans from the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF), established in 1987, through the Korea Development Institute (KDI) and the Export-Import Bank of Korea (EximBank), are the main ministries responsible for carrying out a great part of South Korean cooperation (ECLAC, 2015, pp. 81-82). In this way, South Korea can offer solutions to problems in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

Due to this, South Korea can pursue its extra-regional middle-power foreign policy towards Latin American countries, without affecting its bilateral alliance with the United States, in better political conditions than its main Asian competitor in the Latin American region, the People’s Republic of China. On the latter, while the trade and investment flows that China maintains with several Latin American economies may be greater than the ones of South Koreans, it faces the difficulties of having to deal with the rivalry of the United States as the latter considers it a threat to the balance of economic and political power of the continental order. In addition, it faces another obstacle that complicates its general projection towards the region. Six Latin American countries (Belize, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Paraguay) and four Caribbean countries (Haiti, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines) recognize Taiwan as a sovereign independent state, being more than half of those that recognize it in the world.

In this way, South Korea meets material requirements, based on its international position in the hierarchy of states of East Asia and Latin America, mainly considering its economic indicators, and its location in a more favorable extra-regional order, near to the hegemonic power and where the influence of other Asian powers is relatively contained, in order to take advantage of the network of relations between East Asian and Latin American countries to efficiently implement an extra-regional strategy of middle-power foreign policy, taking roles of facilitator, mediator or catalyst within intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums of the region, generating political power from its economic power and strengthening its position in the international hierarchy. What remains to be explored is how the several South Korean governments have taken advantage of their resources and their position to assume a leadership role in Latin America.

KIM YOUNG-SAM AND KIM DAE-JUNG AND THE LATIN AMERICAN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS

President Roh Taw-woo (February 1988 - February 1993) was the first to visit officially to a Latin American country, Mexico, in September 1991. It was also during his presidency that South Korea joined the forum of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). These were initiatives aimed at the countries that border the Pacific Ocean, where some Latin American countries participate, rather than Latin American region. Rather, it was during the presidency of Kim Young-sam (February 1993 - February 1998), that a real change in the interest of South Korea's foreign policy towards the countries of the Latin American region in the 1990s can be identified, which is given in the context of the end of the Cold War and the improvement of the economic relations between the two sides. (Kim, 1998, p. 1; Kwak, 2002, p. 153) He was the first South Korean president to carry out an official tour to the region in September 1996, visiting Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala and Peru. (Kim, 1998, p. 2) As a closing of it, the first ministerial meeting between South Korea and the Troika of the Rio Group, a forum predecessor of CELAC, was held that same month, on the sidelines of the 51st Session of the United Nations General Assembly. (Kim, 1998, p. 19; Kwak, 2002, p. 154) In addition, prior to the presidential tour to the region, the Latin American and Caribbean Affairs Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was established, being before Latin America part of the American Division, which concentrated its attention mainly in the United States. (Kim, 1998, p. 18; Kwak, 2002,

pp. 156-158; Uk Heo and Roehrig, 2014; p. 151) Also in 1996 the Korean Council for Latin America and the Caribbean (KCLAC) was established, a non-governmental organization that brings together Korean businessmen and scholars interested in Latin America to promote mutual understanding. (Kim, 1998, p. 17; Kwak, 2002, p. 157) In June 1997 president Kim Young-sam visited Mexico again, (Kim, 1998, p. 2) and the second ministerial meeting between South Korea and the Troika of the Rio Group was held in September 1997, on the sidelines of the 52nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly (Kim, 1998, p. 19). Between 1996 and 1997 there was an important increase in the development aid provided by South Korea to Latin American countries. (Kwak, 2002, p. 155) Moreover, the organization of the Forum of Dialogue and Cooperation between Korea and Latin America was proposed in order to organize the meeting of the Korean foreign minister with their Latin American counterparts, which first meeting took place in El Salvador in August 1997, and the second in Seoul in July 1998. (Kwak, 2002, p. 158) It was during the presidency of Kim Dae-jung (February 1998 - February 2003) that South Korea began in September 1999 negotiations on a free trade agreement with Chile, being the first in its kind between a country from East Asia and another one from Latin America. By means of the Korean Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), South Korea established contact with the ECLAC, reflecting the growing interest in the issue of cooperation in economic development, from which a first joint-project was carried out, named “The Role of International Financial Institutions in the Development of the Economic and Social Infrastructure in Latin America”. As part of it, in June 2002 the document “Multilateral Banking and the Development Financing in a Context of Financial Volatility” was published. (ECLAC, 2002, p. 2) Finally, in September 1999, South Korea participated in the first meeting of senior officials of FEALAC organized in Singapore, and in 2001 in the first meeting of Foreign Ministers of this forum, organized in Chile.

It can be appreciated that it was during the governments of Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung that South Korea sought to have a more proactive relation with the countries of Latin America as a whole. It was an incipient but promising initiative in the midst of the instability that was taking place, both in East Asia, with the Asian crises of 1997-1998, which had a severe impact on South Korea, and in Latin America with the beginning of the Mercosur crisis of 1998-2002 (also known as the double crisis of Brazil in 1998-1999, and Argentina in 2001-2002).

ROH MOO-HYUN AND THE LATIN AMERICAN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS

During the presidency of Roh Moo-hyun (February 2003 - February 2008), the government of South Korea pushed forward a broader foreign policy towards Latin America. In November 2004, taking advantage of his participation in the APEC Summit held in Chile, Roh Moo-hyun organized an official tour to the region, visiting Argentina, Brazil and Chile, (Uk Heo and Roehrig, 2014, p. 151) followed by another in September 2005, when he visited Costa Rica and Mexico, on his way to the 60th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. (MOFA, 2006, p. 78). During his presidency, South Korea signed the free trade agreement with Chile in February 2003, becoming the first of South Korea, as well as the first inter-regional trade agreement between East Asia and Latin America. It was a milestone in South Korea's trade policy. (ADB, 2017; IADB, 2015, p. 31) After his tour of November 2004, in 2005 a joint study on a trade agreement between South Korea and the MERCOSUR member countries began. (MOFA, 2006p. 164) In addition, South Korea began negotiations for a free trade agreement with Canada in July 2005, with Mexico in February 2006 and with the United States in June 2006, the three economies (United States, Canada and Mexico) that signed the North American Free Trade Agreement in December 1992. However, of the three only the bilateral free trade agreement with the United States was signed in June 2007. In August 2003, the Government of South Korea and the General Secretariat of the ALADI established the ALADI-South Korea Cooperation Fund, and in October 2003 both signed a cooperation agreement to carry out joint activities. As a result, a joint seminar "Korean-Latin American Trade Relations" was organized in May 2004 in Montevideo, the first of its kind held with an Asian country. Thus, the Representatives Committee of ALADI considered positively the request of South Korea to be admitted as an observer country, formally becoming so in June 2004, the second Asian country to do so after China (ALADI, 2004; ALADI, 2014).

Relations between South Korea and ECLAC continued to advance. In 2005 they jointly carried out the project "Foreign Direct Investment of the Republic of Korea in Latin America and the Caribbean", followed in 2007 by the project "Building Long-Term Strategies and Public-Private Alliances for the Development of Exports: the Experience of the Republic of Korea". In July 2007, following the signing of a cooperation agreement, the United Nations Economic and Social Council authorized the incorporation of South Korea as

a member state of ECLAC. South Korea sought to focus cooperation with this organization on improving the quality of trade relations, Korean foreign direct investment in the region, public-private partnerships for export development, logistics and transport infrastructure, the innovation of small and middle-sized enterprise, and development planning and public administration. In doing so, it established a fund to finance joint research projects. Meanwhile, South Korea formally became part of the IADB. In November 2004, while the South Korean President was carrying out the regional tour, the Board of Governors authorized the incorporation of South Korea as a member state of the IADB, along with the IIC and the MIF. Almost immediately, in February 2005, EximBank signed a memorandum of understanding with the IADB, with the aim of providing a framework to expand cooperation and coordinate strategies between the two organizations and provide financial resources. (IADB, 2005) Thus, in March 2005, South Korea became a member of the IADB, the second Asian country to do so, after Japan. After that, South Korea contributed financially to carry out joint projects in the region. (IADB, 2004; IADB, 2005; IADB, 2015) In August 2005, South Korea and the IADB established two trust funds, the Knowledge Partnership Korea Fund for Technology and Innovation, to support projects that promote technology improvement, and the Poverty Reduction Fund, to support projects that reduce poverty. (IADB, 2005) In addition, South Korea and the IIC established the Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise Development Fund, to help them become more competitive, and contributed with funds to the MIF, to transfer South Korea's development experience to the Latin American countries. (IADB, 2011)

In September 2007 a meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Korea and the Troika of the Rio Group was held, on the sidelines of the 62nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, where the general situation in Latin America was analyzed, and joint cooperation measures in FEALAC were discussed. (MOFA, 2007) A month before, in August 2007, the III Ministerial Meeting of FEALAC took place in Brazil, in which the Brasilia Declaration was adopted, mentioning, among other issues, the consideration of ECLAC as an adviser to FEALAC, given its experience in conducting studies on trade relations between the countries of East Asia and Latin America. In addition to that, at the same meeting South Korea promised to develop and maintain the organization's official website. (ECLAC, 2008; FEALAC, 2007; MOFA 2007)

The Roh Moo-hyun government laid the foundations from where South Korea could pursue a middle-power foreign policy in Latin America through the intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums of the region. But in doing so, it is considered that South Korea accommodated its strategy to the United States, due to the fact that it paid more attention to ECLAC and IADB, two organizations in which the Latin American countries participate together with the United States, plus one of the two free trade agreements signed during this period was with the United States. Regarding relations between East Asia and Latin America, the commitment made by South Korea in FEALAC to develop and maintain the official website of the organization stands out. These facts would be consolidated in October 2006 when the Minister of International Relations and Trade of South Korea, Ban Ki-moon, was elected as the new Secretary General of the United Nations, assuming in January 2007, which positively meant a significant improvement of South Korea's international prestige.

LEE MYUNG-BAK AND THE LATIN AMERICAN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS

Based on the solid foundations left by Roh Moo-hyun, during the presidency of Lee Myung-bak (Feb 2008 - February 2013) the South Korean government was able to project a more comprehensive and systematic foreign policy towards Latin American region. In this sense, it is not appreciated that a change had taken place, but rather an in-depth continuity, (Chacón Morales, in BCN, 2008) despite of a complicated international economic context, due to the international financial and banking crisis of 2007-2008 that affected the advanced economies of the United States and Europe, but on the contrary, it improved trade relations between the emerging economies of East Asia and Latin America.

In November 2008, taking advantage of his participation in the APEC Summit held in Peru, Lee Myung-bak carried out an official tour to the region, visiting Brazil and Peru, followed by another one in June 2011, when he visited Panama and Mexico, and in June 2012, when he visited Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico, taking advantage in this last opportunity of his participation in the G20 Summit held in Mexico. (Uk Heo and Roehrig, 2014, p. 151) After his tour of November 2008, negotiations on a free trade agreement with

Peru began in March 2009, signing it in November 2010. In addition, negotiations on a free trade agreement with Colombia began in December 2009, signing it in February 2013, just when the presidency of his successor began. If the free trade agreements signed with Chile, Colombia and Peru are considered, plus the negotiations with Mexico, it is possible to appreciate a clear trend of South Korea to deepen trade relations with those Latin American countries with which it shares membership in multilateral organizations and forums of the Pacific rim since the early 1990s, such as PECC and APEC. In June 2012, these four Latin American countries established the AP, where South Korea was admitted as a regional observer country shortly the same year. Also, in October 2010 consultations and studies were carried out to begin negotiations for a free trade agreement between South Korea and Central American countries from CAIS, where South Korea was admitted as a regional observer in August 2012. (ADB, 2017; IADB 2015: 53; MOFA, 2009, p. 97; MOFA, 2014, p. 154) The Latin American countries of the PA and CAIS are politically closer to the United States, as they accept its regional geo-economic order. Meanwhile, in his visits to Brazil in 2008 and 2012, the South Korean government pressed unsuccessfully to push negotiations for a trade agreement with the MERCOSUR member countries. In July 2009, South Korea and Mercosur signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the "Establishment of a Joint Consultative Group to Promote Trade and Investments between MERCOSUR and the Republic of Korea". (IADB, 2015, p. 32) The Mercosur countries were looking for an alternative trade relation, distanced from the regional geo-economic order of the United States. But negotiations were discouraged.

It was during the Lee Myung-bak government that development cooperation was identified as a key mean of enhancing South Korean diplomacy, under the notion of "contribution diplomacy". (Lee, 2014, p. 3) In this period, the South Korean government provided financial assistance for cooperation to Latin America countries, through KOICA and EDCF. EDCF provided more cooperation to a limited number of Latin American countries. KOICA provided official development assistance grants between 2007 and 2013 totaling US\$ 288.4 million to more than thirty countries, while EDCF approved loans totaling US\$ 402.1 million to just six countries. (ECLAC, 2015, pp. 81-82) With respect to Intergovernmental Multilateral Organizations and Forums, South Korea deepened cooperation with ECLAC and the IADB. In June 2008, South Korea and ECLAC began the joint project "Latin American Logistic and Infrastructure Connection and the Potentials for Improving Trade Relations

with Asia-Pacific" to analyze measures to improve the region's infrastructure, followed in November 2011 by the project "The Changing Nature of Asian-Latin American Economic Relations", to study the creation and insertion in the value chains that link Latin America with East Asia, the Latin American direct investment in Asia, activities to explore natural resources and integration in the service sector. As part of this latest project, the joint seminar "Seminar on Economic Cooperation between Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean" was held in Seoul in November 2011, on economic cooperation between South Korea and Latin America and Caribbean. KIEP published a book compiling the papers presented at this seminar (ECLAC, 2011; ECLAC 2013, p. 16; ECLAC, 2014; 37; MOFA, 2008, p. 94). In May 2012, on the eve of the regional tour of the South Korean president, the Executive Secretary of the ECLAC paid an official visit to South Korea to participate in the V Annual Meeting of the High-Level Forum on Korea-Latin America Partnership. (ECLAC, 2012) This visit was followed a few days later by the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Korea to ECLAC headquarters in Chile. During this last visit, the agreement between South Korea and ECLAC was expanded and strengthened, including the promotion of exchanges of information and of experts, academicians and students from both regions, joint research projects and seminars and conferences to exchange and discuss experiences, among other academic activities, on topics of common interest in relation to the economic development and specific aspects of bilateral economic relations. That same year, ECLAC translated into Spanish and published the book "The Korean Economy: Six Decades of Growth and Development", edited by Il Sa - Kong and Young - Sun Koh and published by the KDI. (ECLAC, 2012, pp. 15-17; ECLAC, 2015, pp. 82-83; MOFA, 2013, p. 124, MOFA, 2014) Meanwhile, in October 2011 the Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA) signed a memorandum of understanding with the IADB, within the framework of the Korean and Latin American and Caribbean Business Forum organized in Seoul, to collaborate in the promotion of trade and investment, as well as trade facilitation and better logistics in the countries from Latin America. In addition, on the sidelines of the same event, the Korean Communications Commission (KCC), the government office responsible for ICT, signed a memorandum of understanding with the IADB to cooperate together in development of ICT in Latin America, establishing strategic ICT frameworks in the areas of telecommunications, broadband connectivity, infrastructure, regulation, development of public policies and productivity, identifying innovative applications and services in key sectors such as energy, commerce and government, among others. (IADB, 2011; IADB, 2011; IADB,

2011) In addition, in relation to the last-mentioned meeting, the IADB prepared the document "Korea: Breaking the Mold of the Asia-Latin America Relationship". (IADB, 2011, p. V; IADB, 2011) In March 2012, during the 53rd Annual Assembly of the Board of Governors of the IADB, cooperation between KEXIM and IADB was deepened by incorporating KEXIM to the Trade Finance Facilitation Program of the IADB, a mechanism to support the financing of international trade operations for companies in Latin America. In addition, with the financial support of the Knowledge Partnership Korea Fund for Technology and Innovation, the IADB prepared the document "Bridging Gaps, Building Opportunities: Broadband as a Catalyst of Economic Growth and Social Progress in Latin America and the Caribbean. A View from the Industry". (IADB, 2012; IADB 2012)

In addition to the IADB and ECLAC, South Korea made progress in cooperation with CELAC and FEALAC. Through CELAC, the successor forum of the Rio Group, South Korea proposed to deepen relations with the countries of Latin America. In September 2012, on the sidelines of the 67th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the first high-level meeting between South Korea and the CELAC Quartet was held. At this meeting, three levels of cooperation were established between South Korea and Latin America, one bilateral, which includes not only trade, investment and infrastructure, but also human development and tourism, one regional, which includes response to natural disasters, and finally, one global, including climate change, sustainable development, security, disarmament, non-proliferation, among other topics. (MOFA, 2013; CELAC, 2013) Now, it was in FEALAC where South Korea had greater participation. Since 2009, it began to hold an Annual FEALAC Expert Meeting on Current Issues, to promote cooperation among member states. In addition, pushing its initiative to develop and maintain the organization's official website, during the IV Ministerial Meeting organized in January 2010 in Japan, South Korea was chosen to develop, manage and host the Cyber Secretariat, which was launched in March, 2011. Besides facilitating communication and exchange of information, the Cyber Secretariat organizes annual workshops on several topics to improve understanding among member states, which also involved representatives of regional intergovernmental organizations, such as ECLAC. Moreover, during the V Ministerial Meeting organized in August 2011 in Argentina, South Korea proposed the establishment of the organization's Vision Group, which was established in March 2012 in Seoul, with the aim of analyzing the progress of cooperation between East Asia and Latin America, in order to come up with recommendations and

guidelines to improve cooperation among the organization's member countries and strategies for their effective implementation. South Korea invited ECLAC to participate and cooperate with the Vision Group (ECLAC, 2012; MOFA, 2008, p. 93; MOFA, 2008, p. 104; MOFA, 2010; MOFA, 2011; MOFA, 2011; MOFA, 2011; MOFA, 2011, p. 121; MOFA, 2012; MOFA, 2012, pp. 101-102, MOFA, 2013, pp. 122-123). At the VI FEALAC Ministerial Meeting organized in June 2013 in Indonesia, the Vision Group presented its final report, and in the same meeting South Korea proposed the organization of a special summit in 2019, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the establishment of FEALAC, and the organization of the Troika Foreign Ministers' Meeting of FEALAC between the previous, current and next Regional Coordinator in order to overcome communication obstacles. Likewise, in the same meeting ECLAC presented the document "Strengthening Bi-regional Cooperation between Latin America and Asia-Pacific: the role of FEALAC", requested by South Korea. (ECLAC, 2011, p. 7; ECLAC, 2013, p. 10; ECLAC, 2015, p. 7; Hermawan, 2016, pp. 192-193; MOFA, 2013, MOFA, 2013, MOFA, 2013, pp. 122-123) Although the VI FEALAC Ministerial Meeting was held during the presidency of the successor to Lee Myung-bak, if we take into account the calendar between the end of his presidency and the date of the VI FEALAC Ministerial Meeting, less than four months, it is possible to consider the South Korean proposal during this meeting as a legacy from the Lee Myung-bak government, rather than a proposal by the new president.

As a complement to cooperation with Latin American intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums, South Korea held in September 2008 in Seoul the first Annual Meeting of the High-Level Forum on Korea-Latin America Partnership. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade set out to promote debate and consultation with participating countries on how to strengthen, deepen and improve economic, commercial and financial cooperation, as well as in the areas of energy, infrastructure, sustainable development, environment, green economy, health and culture. It aimed to expand South Korea's network of Latin American experts. (MOFA, 2009, p. 96; MOFA, 2011; MOFA, 2014; MOFA, 2015; MOFA, 2016) In 2011, South Korea held the first Annual Meeting of the High-Level Forum on the Korea-Caribbean Partnership, thus covering the region as a whole. (MOFA, 2012, p. 101; MOFA, 2016)

The presidency of Lee Myung-bak gave new importance to the foreign policy of South Korea, more systematic not only with the countries of Latin

America, but also between them and those of East Asia, reaching a new position by pursuing a middle-power leadership. In regards of the different inter-governmental multilateral organizations and forums of Latin America, it promoted their networking, complementing it with multilateral dialogue mechanisms. In this way, it not only contributed to the regional integration of Latin America, but also developed inter-regional cooperation between East Asia and Latin America. This can be framed in the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and many countries of Latin America, which took place in 2012.

PARK GEUN-HYE AND THE LATIN AMERICAN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND FORUMS

During the Park Geun-hye presidency (February 2013 - March 2017) the foreign policy of the South Korean government towards Latin America could be understood as a continuation of the one carried out by President Lee Myung-bak, consolidating South Korea as a middle-power.

In April 2015, Park Geun-hye carried out an official tour to the region, visiting Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Peru, followed in April 2016 by a visit to Mexico after attending the Nuclear Security Summit in the United States. (ECLAC, 2015, pp. 5-7; ECLAC, 2015) During his presidency the free trade agreement with Canada was signed in June 2014, a legacy of the negotiations conducted during the government of Roh Moo-hyun, and negotiations on a free trade agreement with the Central American countries of CAIS were launched in September 2015, as a legacy of the consultations and studies conducted during the government of Lee Myung-bak. (ADB, 2017) In February 2014, a new memorandum of understanding was signed between South Korea and ALADI to promote the exchange of academics and students. (ALADI, 2014) In June 2016, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Korea attended the ACS summit meeting in Cuba for the first time, seeking to improve the relationship and strengthen cooperation with Caribbean countries (MOFA, 2016).

Regarding intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forum of the region, South Korea continued to deepen cooperation with ECLAC and IADB. In April 2015, on the eve of the regional tour of the South Korean president, ECLAC prepared for the occasion the document "Economic Relations

between Latin America and the Caribbean and the Republic of Korea: Progress and Opportunities". In addition, South Korea and ECLAC began a joint-project on the possible insertion of small and medium-sized enterprises from Latin America in global value chains of transnational corporations of East Asia. As part of this project, the same month a joint seminar was held in Chile on this topic, and the papers presented were compiled and published in June 2015 in the book "Rising concentration in Asia-Latin American value chains: Can small firms turn the tide?". (ECLAC, 2015, pp. 5-7; ECLAC, 2015, pp. 82-83; ECLAC, 2015; ECLAC, 2015) In January 2015, the Ministry of the Interior and Safety of South Korea, responsible for the development of electronic government and related ICTs, signed a memorandum of understanding with the IADB to cooperate in promoting the use of ICTs in the public sector in the region. (IADB, 2015) In addition, the Ministry of Strategy and Finance held in March 2015 in Busan, with the collaboration of KOTRA and KEXIM, the 56th Annual Assembly of the Board of Governors of the IADB. In the same meeting, the High-Level Seminar "New Horizons in Latin America and Caribbean - Asia Development Cooperation: Identifying development solutions through South-South and Triangular Cooperation" was organized. Along with the aforementioned meeting, the Korea-Latin America and the Caribbean Business Summit was held. In addition, the IADB prepared for the occasion the document "Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean: Striving for a Diverse and Dynamic Relationship", and the Knowledge Sharing Forum on Development Experiences "Comparative Experiences of Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean" was organized. (IADB, 2015, p. V; IADB, 2015; IADB, 2015; IADB, 2015; IADB, 2015; IADB, 2015; IADB, 2017; MOFA, 2015)

Regarding relations with CELAC, the second High-Level Meeting between South Korea and the CELAC Quartet was held in 2013 on the sidelines of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, while the third meeting was held in July 2014 in Seoul. In August 2015, at the CELAC meeting of national coordinators, acknowledging all previous support for Latin America, South Korea was selected as one of the organization's five extra-regional strategic partners; the others were China, India, Russia and Turkey. During the fourth High-Level Meeting between South Korea and the CELAC Quartet in September 2015, on the sidelines of the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, deepen cooperation was intended. In April 2016 in Chile, the tripartite seminar between South Korea-CELAC-ECLAC "Exploring Cooperation between the Republic of Korea and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States in the Areas of Innovation and SME internationalization

Strategies” was organized. Among the topics discussed, special attention was paid to promoting scientific and technological innovation and joint work in the development and internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises. (ECLAC, 2016; ECLAC, 2018) During the fifth High-Level Meeting between South Korea and the CELAC Quartet in September 2016 on the sidelines of the 71st Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the results of the seminar were evaluated. Based on them, South Korea proposed to carry out the first Korea-CELAC joint cooperation project, beginning with a Workshop on Capacity Building for the Internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises in Latin America, which was organized in December 2016 in Chile, with the aim of sharing with the Latin American countries the South Korean experience of promoting the small and medium-sized enterprises internationally and expand the network of small and medium-sized enterprises between South Korea and Latin America. (CELAC, 2014; CELAC, 2015; CELAC, 2016; CELAC, 2016; CELAC, 2017; ECLAC, 2016; MOFA, 2015; MOFA, 2016). Regarding relations with FEALAC, South Korea participated in the VI FEALAC Ministerial Meeting held in June 2013 in Indonesia, where the Vision Group proposals began to be discussed. As it was already mentioned, the proposals of South Korea during this meeting could be seen as a legacy of the government of Lee Myung-bak, instead of a proposal of the new government of Park Geun-hye. In August 2015, during the VII FEALAC Ministerial Meeting held in Costa Rica, South Korea was chosen as the host country to organize the next ministerial meeting in May 2017 in Seoul. In September 2016, the first meeting of the Troika Foreign Ministers' Meeting of FEALAC, proposed by South Korea, was held on the sidelines of the 71st session of the United Nations General Assembly, on the same day that the Fifth High-Level Meeting between South Korea and the CELAC Quartet was held. During the meeting, the new FEALAC Action Plan to be adopted at the next FEALAC Ministerial Meeting was discussed.

South Korea's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Yun Byung-se, stated in August 2015 during the VII FEALAC Ministerial Meeting that "my government is not only committed to fostering closer cooperation between Korea and Latin America, but also to forging closer connections between East Asia and Latin America, as part of our broader Latin America diplomacy". And the core of this commitment was explained by him in November 2015 during the VIII Annual Meeting of the High-Level Forum on Korea-Latin America Partnership, when he mentioned that South Korea and Latin America should "(...) improve the quality of their cooperative ties by seeking cooperation in the fields of new growth engines that generate high added value, (...) share

with Latin American countries its experiences and knowledge in the sectors in which it has strength, such as a successful model of development cooperation, and (...) enhance connectivity by building infrastructure for not only transportation, shipping and logistics, but also for cyber space based on information and communications technology (ICT), as well as through FTAs". (MOFA, 2015; MOFA, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Based on the initiatives in the 1990s of the governments of Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung, it is possible to appreciate that South Korea laid the foundation for developing since the mid of 2000s an extra-regional middle-power foreign policy towards the countries of the Latin America region during the governments of Roh Moo-hyun and fundamentally, Lee Myung-bak. With the government of Park Geun-hye South Korea continued what has been done during the previous governments. A number of conditions existed that allowed South Korea to do so. First, a more permissible geo-political order in the region, in which South Korea is considered an ally by the hegemonic power, the United States, while its main competitor, China, faces challenges, not only due to competition from the United States, but also for the diplomatic recognition of Taiwan as a sovereign independent state by several countries of the region. Second, extra-regional middle-power foreign policy towards the Latin American region has a clear economic profile. It has made efforts to contribute to the regional economic and commercial order, as well as promoting the economic development of the countries of the region. On the one hand, South Korea has proven to be interested in negotiating and renegotiating trade agreements bilaterally to improve trade flows. (Kim, Jun, Jung, Sung and Park, 2014, pp. 40-41) Regarding this issue, South Korea can advance in trade agreement negotiations with the Central American countries of CAIS, the Caribbean countries of CARICOM and ACS, and even the South American countries of MERCOSUR, where China can't, because in these regional organizations and forums there are countries that recognize Taiwan as an sovereign independent state, not to mention Mexico, which is under the direct influence of the United States. On the other hand, South Korea has sought to promote economic development cooperation, contributing in a substantive manner to the improvement of the economic capacities of the Latin American countries. South Korea can share its development experience in different fields with other countries to improve their capacities. This has

generated a positive perception of the role of South Korea in the Latin American countries.

Now, Korea South sought not only to contribute to regional prosperity of Latin America, but also to develop regional relations between East Asia and Latin America, by means of encouraging the participation in intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums. South Korea understood the importance of engaging in network diplomacy, deepening bilateral relations with countries and at the same time expanding ties in a multilateral manner in intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums of the region, in addition to other public-private transnational networks. By doing this, it was able to improve its influence and leverage in the region by adopting the role of bridge or intermediary, since it positioned itself as a strategic partner that is capable of aligning and advancing its own interest together with the interests of the Latin American countries. According to the several official statements analyzed, South Korea aims to improve connectivity with the Latin American countries, based on the expansion of their networks, the deepening of strategic dialogue with the main regional consultative mechanisms and the improvement of the perception of the actions it carries out in the region. In response, it seeks to obtain regional support not only in relation to South Korea's role in addressing and solving major international issues, such as environmental protection, poverty eradication, disarmament and non-proliferation, and United Nations reform, but also the tensions that affect the Korean peninsula, especially the intensification of diplomatic pressure against the strategic provocation of nuclear tests and the launching of missiles by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. (MOFA, 2014; MOFA, 2015; MOFA, 2016) In addition, its niche of diplomatic efforts to foster cooperation between East Asia and Latin America helps to create bridges between developed and developing countries in both regions. Thus, while South Korea promotes the deepening of cooperation between East Asia and Latin America, becoming a bridger, it also strengthens regional institutions, which improves mutual understanding and deepens the building of confidence. (Kim, 2014, p. 46; Lee, 2015, pp. 112-116) During the Roh Moo-hyun government, South Korea achieved becoming a partner to the IADB, ALADI and ECLAC, while during the government of Lee Myung-bak, South Korea linked in a more systematic way the intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums of Latin America, to coordinate cooperation between them. This can be appreciated in the participation of ECLAC in FEALAC meetings or in the invitation of representatives of the IADB and ECLAC to the Annual High-Level Forum on the Korea-Latin America Partnership. Furthermore, South Korea sought

to enhance cooperation between East Asia and Latin America through FEALAC. In doing so, South Korea made efforts to provide regional public goods, promoting South Korean ICTs to overcome the geographical distance between the countries of both regions that are members of the forum. In this regard, there is an essential regional public good to highlight, the establishment of the FEALAC Cyber Secretariat by South Korea. The South Korean authorities realized that the structural hole that exists in the relationship between the two regions was not sufficiently covered. To this, it is important to add the efforts made by the South Korean government to favor and assist small and medium-sized Latin American enterprises to internationalize and insert in value chains in the East Asia region. Coinciding with Kim, it can be said that South Korea has become a key player in inter-regional cooperation (Kim, 1998, p. 20).

Using their national resources efficiently to contribute to the economic order and regional trade, by means of the signing of trade agreements, granting higher credits for official development assistance and offering regional public goods to consolidate regional multilateral organizations and forums, offering solutions to regional problems, as well as promoting regionalization through network diplomacy, all integral elements of a middle-power diplomacy, South Korea is managing to transform its middle-power activism in extra-regional middle-power leadership in Latin America, promoting its international status. Due to all these elements, it is possible to affirm that, during the presidencies of Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye, South Korea has carried out an extra-regional middle-power foreign policy towards the Latin American region, especially through its main intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums. Owing to its initiatives, South Korea has demonstrated its commitment, reason why is positively perceived as a non-dangerous goodwill partner by the Latin American countries, compared to other East Asian countries, particularly China, a last integral element of a middle-power foreign policy.

In this context, it is considered that in order to fully develop its extra-regional middle-power foreign policy towards Latin America, South Korea faces the challenge of balancing its foreign policy towards the different regions as well as regional intergovernmental multilateral organizations and forums. A first group of Latin American countries with which South Korea maintains preferential relations are the ones that border the Pacific Ocean, currently grouped in the Pacific Alliance, with which it shares participation in multilateral forums of the Pacific rim, such as PECC and APEC, since the

1990s, and it signed with several of these free trade agreements in the 2000s. A second group of countries are those of Central America. In recent years, South Korea has deepened dialogue with the intergovernmental organizations, such as CAIS, CARICOM, and ACS, becoming an extra-regional observer and participating in negotiations to sign trade agreements. Both the Latin American countries that border the Pacific Ocean, as well as those of Central America, are close to the United States, generating a favorable context. Finally, there is a third group of countries gathered in MERCOSUR. Among them are Brazil and Argentina, two of the three biggest economies in Latin America, along with Mexico, and two of South Korea's main trading partners in the region. However, due to the fact that these countries do not participate in intergovernmental multilateral forums of the Pacific rim, and have set since 2000 protectionist trade policies and adopted an anti-US political regional posture, the negotiations to sign a trade agreement have stalled. In addition to this, the Latin American countries that border the Pacific ocean gathered in the PA have a track record not only in intergovernmental but also in paradiplomatic relations with South Korea, having a more diversified links, facilitating South Korea to carry out a middle-power foreign policy by reaching different actors in an articulated manner. Meanwhile, the South American countries gathered in the Mercosur pursue relations with South Korea mainly in intergovernmental organizations, not incorporating the contributions from other non-governmental actors, having less diversified links, making it difficult for South Korea to carry out a middle-power foreign policy, by reaching different actors in a fragmented way.

South Korea should look beyond APEC, participating in this forum to coordinate the agenda with the United States regarding Latin America, but articulating with the diplomatic efforts carried out in CELAC and, especially, in FEALAC, considering the countries of Latin America that are left out of the intergovernmental multilateral forums of the Pacific rim. In this way it could have a spillover effect to unlock deeper cooperation with Latin American countries as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS AND ESSAYS:

- Armstrong, C. K. (2009). *Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations: the North Korea International Documentation Project* (Working Paper N° 1, pp. 1-40).

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/NKIDP_Working_Paper_1_Juche_and_North_Koreas_Global_Aspirations_web.pdf

- Beeson, M. and Higgott, R. (2014). The changing architecture of politics in the Asia-Pacific: Australia's middle-power moment?. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 14(2), pp. 215–237. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://academic.oup.com/irap/article/14/2/215/729602>
- Choo, J. and Boisseau du Rocher, S. (2007). Korea's Contribution to the Emerging Regional Architecture in East Asia: An Assessment, in N. Françoise (ed.), *Korea in the New Asia. East Asian Integration and the China Factor* (pp. 95-116). Routledge. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=V-rmbhYHYygC>
- Cooper, A. F., Higgott, R. A. and Nossal, K. R. (1993). *Relocating Middle-powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*. University of Britain Columbia Press. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=Hw3laaTpOiIC>
- Cooper, A. F. (2009). Middle-powers: Squeezed out or Adaptive?. *Public Diplomacy Magazine of the Association of Public Diplomacy Scholars*, (2), pp. 29–34.
- Cooper, A. F. (2015). Soft Power and the Recalibration of Middle-powers: South Korea as an East Asian Leader and Canada as the Exemplar of the Traditional Model, in J. Melissen and Yul Sohn (eds.), *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia. A Middle-power in a Troubled Region* (pp. 31-50). Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=5J2kCgAAQBAJ>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2011). Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC): New Biregional Trade and Investment Relations in a Changing World Economic Environment. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/3000/1/S2011594_en.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2013). *Strengthening biregional cooperation between Latin America and Asia-Pacific: The role of FEALAC*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/3119/1/S2013394_en.pdf

- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2015). *Rising concentration in Asia-Latin American value chains: Can small firms turn the tide?*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/38498/S1500073_en.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2015). *Economic Relations Between Latin America and the Caribbean and the Republic of Korea. Advantages and Opportunities*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/37919/S1500286_en.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2016). *Exploring cooperation between the Republic of Korea and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) in the areas of innovation and SME internationalization strategies*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/40720/S1600894_en.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2018). *Innovation and SME internationalization in Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean: Policy experiences and areas for cooperation*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/44147/1/S1800714_en.pdf
- Goddard, S. E. (2009). *Brokering Change: Networks and Entrepreneurs in International Politics*. *International Theory*, 1(2), pp. 249–81.
- Goddard, S. E. and Nexon, D. H. (2016). *The Dynamics of Global Power Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1(1), pp. 4–18.
- Green, M. J. (2017). *Korean Middle-power Diplomacy and Asia’s Emerging Multilateral Architecture*, in V. D. Cha and M. Dumong (eds.), *The Korean Pivot. The Study of South Korea as a Global Power* (pp. 17-34). Center for Strategic and International Studies. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/170718_Cha_KoreanPivot_Web.pdf
- Hermawan, Y. (2016). *Institutionalization of Inter-Regional Cooperation: The Case of ASEM and FEALAC*, in A. Ba, C. Kuik and Sueo Sudo (eds.), *Institutionalizing East Asia. Mapping and Reconfiguring Regional Cooperation* (pp. 177-199). Routledge. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=NBq4CwAAQBAJ>

- Il Sa - Kong and Koh, Y. (eds.). (2010). *The Korean Economy: Six decades of Growth and Development*. Korea Development Institute. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/1449/1/S2012048_es.pdf
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2011). *Korea: Breaking the Mold of the Asia-Latin America Relationship*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/2787/Korea%20Breaking%20the%20Mold%20of%20the%20Asia-Latin%20America%20Relationship.pdf>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2012). *Bridging Gaps, Building Opportunity: Broadband as a Catalyst of Economic Growth and Social Progress in Latin America and the Caribbean. A View from the Industry*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://publications.iadb.org/publications/english/document/Bridging-Gaps-Building-Opportunity-Broadband-as-a-Catalyst-of-Economic-Growth-and-Social-Progress-in-Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean-A-View-from-the-Industry.pdf>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2015). *Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean: Striving for a Diverse and Dynamic Relationship*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/6830/Korea-and-Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean.pdf-ENG>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2015). *Analysis of Experiences in Trade and Investment between LAC and Korea: Lessons Learned in Development*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/7167/KSF_TRADE_KIEP_Discussion%20Paper_21%20AUG%202015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2017). *Korea: New Frontiers in the Asia-Latin America Relationship*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://publications.iadb.org/publications/english/document/Korea-New-Frontiers-in-the-Asia-Latin-America-Relationship.pdf>
- Jyoung, T. (2003). Economic Relations between Korea and Latin America, in P. Smith, K. Horisaka, and S. Nishijima (eds.), *East Asia and Latin America. The Unlikely Alliance* (pp. 58-71). Rowman and Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=3fj2e1_tKZYC

- Jojin, J. V. (2015). Globalization, National Identity and Foreign Policy: Understanding Global Korea. *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 33(2), pp. 38-57. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/cjas/article/view/4965/5392>
- Jordaan, E. (2003). The Concept of a Middle-power in International Relations: Distinguishing Between Emerging and Traditional Middle Owners. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 30(2), pp. 165-181. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soass_research/394/
- Keohane, R. O. and Nye, J. S. (1988). *Power and Interdependence. World Politics in Transition*. Grupo Editor Latinoamericano.
- Kim, K., Jun, B., Jung, S., Sung, K. and Park, J. (2014). *Korea's FTA Strategies and the Korean Peninsula*. Korea National Unification Institute. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=V-rmbhYHYyG>
- Kim, S. (2014). *Roles of Middle-power in East Asia: A Korean Perspective: Middle-power Diplomacy Initiative* (Working Paper Nº 2, pp. 1-35). East Asia Institute. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.sang-kim.net/roles-of-mp.pdf>
- Kim, S. (2016). *South Korea's Middle-Power Diplomacy: Changes and Challenges* (pp. 1-18). Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://www.chatham-house.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2016-06-22-south-korea-middle-power-kim.pdf>
- Kim, W. (1998). Korean-Latin American Relations: Trends and Prospects. *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies*, (11), pp. 21-43. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.ajlas.org/AJLASArticles/1998Vol11SpecialIssue/Won-Ho%20Kim%20Korean-Latin%20American%20Relations%20Trends%20and%20Prospects.pdf>
- Kim, W. (2014). Korean Perspective of Economic Relations between Latin America and Asia, in I. Bartesagui (ed.), *Trade Relations between Latin America and Asia Pacific: Challenges and Opportunities* (pp. 45-50). Latin American – Asia Pacific Observatory of the Latin American Integration Association. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.aladi.org/nsfaladi/estudios.nsf/3EC3199A9A4395B503257C94004D7C8E/%24FILE/Libro_Relaciones_comerciales_AL_AP.pdf

- Kwak, J. (2002). Relations between Korea and Latin America in the XXI Century: A Korean Perspective, in A. Ojeda, Á. Hidalgo and E. Laurentos (coords.), *Signs of Korean Identity* (pp. 153 -171). Editions Gondo. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://previa.uclm.es/area/fae/ceicws/pdfs/libro3.pdf>
- Lee, K. (2016). New Approach of South Korea's Middle-power Diplomacy: Focusing on Global Agenda Setting. *Global Politics Review - Journal of International Studies*, 2(2), pp. 40-57. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.globalpoliticsreview.com/publications/2464-9929_v02_i02_p040.pdf
- Lee, S. (2014). Multilayered World Order and South Korea's Middle-power Diplomacy: The Case of Development Cooperation Policy: Middle-power Diplomacy Initiative (Working Paper N° 6, pp. 1-32). East Asia Institute. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/185179/28.10.2014.pdf>
- Lee, S. (2015). South Korea's Middle-power Activism and the Retooling of its Public Diplomacy, in J. Melissen and Yul Sohn (eds.), *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia. A Middle-powers in a Troubled Region* (pp. 107-130). Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=5J2kCgAAQBAJ>
- López Aymes, J. F. (2016). Korea and the Development Cooperation System: The Internationalization of Developmentalism. *Revista Miríada de la Universidad del Salvador*, 8(12), pp. 11-51. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://p3.usal.edu.ar/index.php/miriada/article/view/3783/4721>
- Roehrig, T. (2013). South Korea, Foreign Aid, and UN Peacekeeping: Contributing to International Peace and Security as a Middle-power. *KOREA OBSERVER*, 44(4), pp. 623-645. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/roehrig-korea-observer-winter-2013.pdf>
- Rubio, C. E. (2015). Breve historia de las relaciones entre Argentina y Corea del Sur, in E. D. Oviedo and D. Navarro-Drazich (eds), *Argentina y sus relaciones con países del Este Asiático* (pp. 513-543). Editorial de la Universidad del Aconcagua. Retrieved November 15th 2019 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318445462_Argentina_y_sus_relaciones_con_los_paises_del_Este_Asiatico
- Titelman, D. (2002). *Multilateral Banking and Development Financing in a Context of*

Financial Volatility. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/5100/1/S026415_en.pdf

- Uk Heo, and Roehrig, T. (2014). *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power and Foreign Relations*. Cambridge University Press. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=RejCAwAAQBAJ>
- Watson, I. (2016). From Middle-power to Pivot Power? Korea's Strategic Shifts. *Asian International Studies Review*, 17(2), pp. 1-25. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://asianisr.org/Manage/Include/download.asp?FileName=AISR-17-2-01_Iain_Watson.pdf&FileDirectoryName=2017010417530482482.pdf&FileDir=Paper%5CArticles

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES:

- Saxer, C. A. (27-30 October 2006). *Globalization as Policy: The South Korean Experience*. Third World Congress of Korean Studies of the Academy of Korean Studies, Seongnam, República de Corea. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://congress.crebox.com/korean/files/2_1358491439.pdf

WEBSITES:

- Latin American Integration Association (ALADI). (s.f.). *Quienes Somos*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.aladi.org/sitioAladi/quienesSomos.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (s.f.). *About us*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/about-us/about-the-inter-american-development-bank,5995.html>
- Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile (BCN). (30 July 2008). *Algunas consideraciones de la Política Exterior Coreana hacia América Latina*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://www.bcn.cl/observatorio/asiapacifico/noticias/politica-exterior-corea-alejandra-chacon>
- Boydston, K. (8 November 2017). *North Korea's Trade in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Peterson Institute for International Economics. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://piie.com/blogs/north-korea-witness-transformation/north-koreas-trade-latin-america-and-caribbean>
- Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2017). *Korea, Republic of Free Trade Agreements*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://aric.adb.org/fta-country>

- Chacón Morales, A. (August 2009). *Percepciones de la política exterior de Corea del Sur hacia Argentina, Brasil y Chile*. Centro de Estudios Corea Argentina de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.uba.ar/ceca/newsletters/agosto_09/nl-nota1.php
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (s.f.). *About ECLAC*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/about>
- Foreign Trade Information System. (s.f.). *Korea*. Organización de Estados Americanos. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.sice.oas.org/agreements_e.asp
- Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC). (s.f.). *What is FEALAC*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.fealac.org/about/info.jsp>
- Kelly, R. (27 February 2015). *The Koreas, Diplomacy, and Regional Autonomy*. The Diplomat. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/the-koreas-diplomacy-and-regional-autonomy/>
- Kim, S. (2013). *Global Governance and Middle Powers: South Korea's Role in the G20. Current Issues in U.S.-ROK Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://www.cfr.org/report/global-governance-and-middle-powers-south-koreas-role-g20>
- Miller, J. B. (22 February 2012). *South Korea's Haiti Soft Power*. The Diplomat. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://thediplomat.com/2012/02/south-koreas-haiti-soft-power/>
- Salvia, Gabriel C. (2014). *Human rights, North Korea and Latin America*. Puente Democrático, Centro para la Apertura y el Desarrollo de América Latina. Retrieved November 15th 2019 www.puentedemocratico.org/publications/?i=7706
- Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe (SELA). (s.f.). *Qué es la CELAC*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.sela.org/celac/quienes-somos/que-es-la-celac/>
- Stratfor. (11 October 2017). *The Limits of Latin American Action on North Korea*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/limits-latin-american-action-north-korea>
- Synder, Scott. (28 March 2015). *South Korean Middle Power Diplomacy and the U.S.Rebalance*. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved November 15th 2019

<http://thediplomat.com/2015/03/south-korean-middle-power-diplomacy-and-the-u-s-rebalance/>

PRESS RELEASES AND OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS:

- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (28 January 2013). *Declaración Política de Santiago de la I Cumbre de la CELAC 2013*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://walk.sela.org/attach/258/EDOCS/SRed/2013/01/T023600004838-0-Declaracion_de_Santiago_de_la_I_Cumbre_CELAC.pdf
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (28 January 2014). *Declaración Política de la Habana de la II Cumbre de la CELAC 2014*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://walk.sela.org/attach/258/EDOCS/SRed/2014/01/T023600005618-0-Declaracion_Final_de_la_II_Cumbre_de_la_CELAC.pdf
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (29 January 2015). *Declaración Política de Belén de la III Cumbre de la CELAC 2015*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://walk.sela.org/attach/258/EDOCS/SRed/2014/01/T023600005618-0-Declaracion_Final_de_la_II_Cumbre_de_la_CELAC.pdf
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (27 January 2016). *Declaración Política de Quito de la IV Cumbre de la CELAC 2016*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.sela.org/media/2088261/iv-cumbre-celac-declaracion-politica.pdf>
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (27 January 2016). *Plan de Acción de la CELAC 2016*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.sela.org/media/2088262/iv-cumbre-celac-plan-accion-2016.pdf>
- Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). (25 January 2017). *Declaración Política de Punta Cana de la V Cumbre de la CELAC 2017*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.sela.org/media/2463711/declaracion-politica-de-punta-cana.pdf>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (26 March 2008). Intervención del Señor José Luis Machinea, Secretario Ejecutivo de la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, en la Ceremonia de Izamiento de la Bandera de Corea en la Cepal. United Na-

tions.Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/prensa/noticias/discursossecretaria/9/32569/Izamiento-Bande-raCorea26MARZO2008.pdf>

- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (9 November 2011). *ECLAC and the Republic of Korea Promote Economic Cooperation between Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/eclac-and-republic-korea-promote-economic-cooperation-between-asia-and-latin-america>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2012). *Actividades del Sistema de la CEPAL durante el Bienio 2010-2011 para Promover y Apoyar la Cooperación Sur-Sur*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.cepal.org/pses34/noticias/paginas/4/46974/2012-458-SES.34-10-Cooperacion_Sur_Sur_WEB.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (25 May 2012). *ECLAC Highlights Cooperation Opportunities between Latin America and the Caribbean and the Republic of Korea*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/eclac-highlights-cooperation-opportunities-between-latin-america-and-caribbean-and>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (28 May 2012). *The Republic of Korea and ECLAC Sign an Agreement for Expanding Mutual Cooperation*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/republic-korea-and-eclac-sign-agreement-expanding-mutual-cooperation>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2013). *Bienial Report (2010-2011)*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/3119/1/S2013394_en.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2014). *Informe de las actividades de cooperación técnica realizadas por el sistema de la CEPAL durante el bienio 2012-2013*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/36824/S1420015_es.pdf
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (2014). *Bienial Report (2012-2013)*. United Nations.Retrieved November 15th

2019 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/3119/1/S2013394_en.pdf

- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (22 April 2015). *The Republic of Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean Strengthen Investment and Trade Ties*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/comunicados/republica-de-corea-y-america-latina-y-el-caribe-estrechan-lazos-de-inversion-y-vinculos>
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). (11 April 2016). *Seminar Republic of Korea-CELAC "Exploring strategies for economic cooperation between Korea-Latin America and Caribbean"*. United Nations. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.cepal.org/en/events/seminar-republic-korea-celac-exploring-strategies-economic-cooperation-between-korea-latin>
- Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC). (23 August 2007). *Brasilia Ministerial Declaration and Programme of Action*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.fealac.org/File_download.jsp?Type=OFFICE&AttachFileIdx=52
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (19 November 2004). *Republic of Korea to join Inter-American Development Bank*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2004-11-19/republic-of-korea-to-join-inter-american-development-bank,1177.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (16 March 2005). *Republic of Korea joins IDB group*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2005-03-16/republic-of-korea-joins-idb-group,1423.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (8 February 2005). *Inter-American Development Bank signs memorandum of understanding with Export-Import Bank of Korea*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2005-02-08/inter-american-development-bank-signs-memorandum-of-understanding-with-export-import-bank-of-korea,443.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (8 August 2005). *Republic of Korea, IDB, establish two trust funds to support development in Latin America, Caribbean*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2005-08-08/republic->

of-korea-idb-establish-two-trust-funds-to-support-development-in-latin-america-caribbean,626.html

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (17 October 2011). *IDB and Korea's Ministry of Strategy and Finance to host Korea-LAC Business Forum in Seoul Oct 21-22*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/announcements/2011-10-17/korea-lac-business-forum,9618.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (17 de octubre de 2011). *Korea's commitment to Latin America and the Caribbean goes beyond trade and investment*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/webstories/2011-10-17/koreas-commitment-to-lac,9617.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (19 October 2011). *New IDB study: Korea offers trade, investment and policy lessons for Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/webstories/2011-10-19/idb-study-korea-latin-america-and-the-caribbean,9620.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (20 October 2011). *Korea-LAC Business Forum opens in Seoul*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2011-10-20/korea-lac-business-forum,9632.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (20 October 2011) *IDB, KOTRA to foster trade, investment in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/announcements/2011-10-20/kotra-to-foster-trade-investment-in-latin-america,9622.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (21 October 2011). *IDB, Korea Communications Commission to work on ICT projects in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/announcements/2011-10-21/korea-and-latin-america-and-the-caribbean,9631.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (20 March 2012). *Export-Import Bank of Korea joins IDB's Trade Finance Facilitation Program*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2012-03-20/korea-eximbank-joins-tffp-program,9903.html>

- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (27 January 2015). *Inter-American Development Bank to hold Annual Meeting in Busan, Republic of Korea*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2015-01-27/annual-meeting-in-busan-republic-of-korea,11056.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (3 February 2015). *IDB and Republic of Korea to deepen cooperation on public sector management*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/announcements/2015-02-03/idb-and-korea-sign-cooperation-agreement,11064.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (19 March 2015). *500 businesspeople to participate in the Korea-LAC Business Summit*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/announcements/2015-03-19/korea-lac-business-summit-2015-busan,11092.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (26 March 2015). *Korean, Latin American and Caribbean firms deepen trade and investment ties at business summit*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2015-03-26/korea-lac-business-summit-2015,11099.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (30 March 2015). *IDB closes annual meeting in Korea, highlighting collaboration between Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2015-03-30/idb-annual-meeting-closing-in-korea,11106.html>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (26 March 2015). *New Horizons in Latin America and Caribbean - Asia Development Cooperation*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/6846/New%20Horizons%20in%20Latin%20America%20and%20Caribbean%20Asia%20Development%20Cooperation.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). (2015). *What are the business opportunities between Korea and Latin America and the Caribbean?*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://idblegacy.iadb.org/en/topics/trade/what-are-the-business-opportunities-between-korea-and-lac,19726.html>
- Latin American Integration Association (ALADI). (16 June 2004). *Aceptación de la*

República de Corea como Observador ante el Comité de Representantes.
Retrieved November 15th 2019 [http://www.aladi.org/nsfaladi/Juridica.nsf/vacuerdoscomite/283F46C29E0FF48903256EB50054152F/\\$FILE/247.pdf](http://www.aladi.org/nsfaladi/Juridica.nsf/vacuerdoscomite/283F46C29E0FF48903256EB50054152F/$FILE/247.pdf)

- Latin American Integration Association (ALADI). (13 May 2004). *Las Relaciones Comerciales Corea-América Latina*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.aladi.org/nsfaladi/reuniones.nsf/vcoreaweb/programa>
- Latin American Integration Association (ALADI). (20 February 2014). *Memorandum Específico de Cooperación entre la Asociación Latinoamérica de Integración y la Embajada de la República de Corea*. Recuperado el 25 November 2019 de http://www.aladi.org/biblioteca/Publicaciones/ALADI/Secretaria_General/SEC_di/2500/2581.doc
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2006). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2006*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=303626>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2007). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2007*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=305440>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2008). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2008*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=307011>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2009). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2009*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=307617>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2010). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2010*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=309464>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2011). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2011*. Retrieved November 15th 2019

- <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=310627>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2012). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2012*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=312278>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2013). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2013*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=315973>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2014). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2014*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=315976>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2015). *South Korea Diplomatic White Paper 2015*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=761&seqno=315981>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (s.f.). *2016 Korea-Latin America Partnership*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <https://klacforum.org:50201/klac2016/Eng/Contents.asp?PageName=Forum%20016&PageSName=Overview&LoadPage=Overview>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (23 August 2007). *Closing Remarks by Trade Minister Kim Jong-hoon at the FEALAC Forum of East Asia and Latin America Cooperation*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=4725&seqno=303716>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (26 September 2007). *ROK-Rio Group Troika Foreign Ministers' Meeting*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=303762>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (19 January 2010).

- Outcome of the 4th FEALAC Foreign Ministers' Meeting*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=308046>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (10 March 2011). *Spokesperson's Press Briefing*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=303&seqno=309787>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (18 August 2011). *Korea to Attend the 5th FEALAC Foreign Ministers' Meeting*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=310247>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (5 September 2011). *3rd FEALAC Expert Meeting on Current Issues (e-Learning) to be Held*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?boardid=302&typeID=12&tableName=TYPE_ENGLISH&seqno=310291
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2 November 2011). *Korea to Hold Economic Meetings with the UN ECLAC and Latin America*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?boardid=302&typeID=12&tableName=TYPE_ENGLISH&seqno=310577
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (9 March 2012). *FEALAC to Hold the 1st Vision Group Meeting and 1st Anniversary Cyber Secretariat Workshop*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?boardid=302&typeID=12&tableName=TYPE_ENGLISH&seqno=310921
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (3 May 2012). *2012 High-Level Forum on ROK-LAC Partnership to be Held*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=311118>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (28 May 2013). *Spokesperson's Press Briefing*. Retrieved November 15th 2019

- <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=303&seqno=312352>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (14 June 2013). *Foreign Minister Seeks to Build Shared Prosperity between East Asia and Latin America*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=312424>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (28 September 2013). *Outcome of the 2nd ROK-CELAC Troika High-Level Meeting*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=312849>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (11 March 2014). *Spokesperson's Press Briefing*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=303&seqno=313497>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (11 March 2014). *4th FEALAC Cyber Secretariat Workshop to Take Place*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=313494>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (29 June 2014). *2014 High-Level Forum on Korea-Latin America Partnership to Take Place*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=313929>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (1 July 2014). *Foreign Minister to Meet with his Counterparts from CELAC's Quartet Countries*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=313934>
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (2 July 2014). *Foreign Minister Stresses that the ROK and Latin America are Important Cooperation Partners for Each Other*. Retrieved November 15th 2019
<http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?type ID=12&boardid=302&seqno=313939>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (21 August 2015). *7th FEALAC FMM Plenary*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/kor-boardread.jsp?typeID=9&boardid=749&tableName=TYPE_SPEECH&seqno=302381
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (21 August 2015). *7th FEALAC FMM Retreat*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/kor-boardread.jsp?typeID=9&boardid=749&tableName=TYPE_SPEECH&seqno=302382
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (25 September 2015). *Foreign Minister to Attend the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=315681>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (25 November 2015). *2015 ROK-Latin America High-Level Forum Takes Place*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=315899>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (27 June 2016). *Foreign Ministry to Host the "2016 Korea-Latin America Partnership: Towards a Shared Vision for Future Cooperation" Event*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=316688>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (23 September 2016). *5th Foreign Ministers' Meeting Held between the ROK and CELAC's Quartet*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=317231>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (23 September 2016). *FEALAC Holds its 1st Troika Foreign Ministers' Meeting*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=317234>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea (MOFA). (27 October 2016). *Outcome of the 6th High-Level Forum on the Korea-Caribbean Partnership*. Retrieved November 15th 2019 <http://www.mofa.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/engreadboard.jsp?typeID=12&boardid=302&seqno=317644>