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Korea and China
– A Case of Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP)**

Changyong CHOI

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

June Mi KANG

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

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A Comparative Study of ODA Strategies of South Korea and China: A Case of Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP)

Changyong Choi (KDI School of Public Policy and Management)

June Mi Kang (Center for Regulatory Studies, KDI)

I. Post-2015 Agenda and Knowledge Sharing

The year 2015 marks when the agreement on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were reached among the representatives from all over the world in September 2000. It also marks the start of evaluating the results of MDGs and searching for the new direction of development cooperation. MDGs put forward the eight goals of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development. While also proposing the twenty-one detailed goals under each of the eight goals and the sixty indicators for evaluating the results, MDGs carry their significance in overcoming the issues with investment and resource distribution as seen existing development cooperation, and proposing the new vision and direction in the field of development cooperation.¹ In addition, MDGs carry weight in that very detailed figures were set under each goal to improve the effectiveness of development assistance, and also in that MDGs attempted to bring the international community together and organize their efforts. Notwithstanding such achievements, however, the plan for MDGs has arrived to its final year of 2015 while displaying both accomplishment and limitation, as seen in the assessment reports from the major international organizations.²

For the past years, there has been a heated discussion over what should be the core agenda of the post-2015 to replace the MDGs, how should the distribution system, organization, and utilization of development assistance should be improved, and finally how should the new frame for the development cooperation in the 21st century should be restructured. Based on such consideration, the international community agreed to place the emphasis of the Post-2015 on the four core areas of inclusive social

¹ Refer to www.beyond2015.org for the overall evaluation of the MDGs and research on the outcomes by sectors

² UN System Task Team, *Realizing the Future We Want for All*, New York, June 2012; OECD, *Beyond the Millennium Development Goals: Towards an OECD contribution to the post-2015 agenda*.

development, environmental sustainability, inclusive economic development, and peace and security under the three fundamental principles of human rights, equality, and sustainability. In light of this, the OECD proposes 11 elements in order to effectively achieve the post-2015 goals under these three principles and the four core areas. Among these elements, the ninth element proposes to “Share Knowledge,” which becomes a basis for “knowledge sharing program as a non-financial resource” to be discusses in this paper.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the results of the Korean case of Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) and to share the future outlook and the tasks. With such aim, this paper first overviews the significance of “knowledge sharing” as an important feature of the post-2015. Then, the paper examines the South Korean case of KSP, which has become the distinct brand for the Korean way of development cooperation. Following such analysis, this paper moves to investigate the success and the limitations of the Chinese development cooperation. By comparing the Korean and the Chinese way of development cooperation strategies, the paper concludes with the policy implications for future cooperation between the two countries.

II. Theoretical Background of Knowledge Sharing and Overview of KSP

1. Theoretical Background of Knowledge Sharing

Notwithstanding the interest in knowledge sharing has been increasing, the discussion over the position and the role of knowledge sharing as “nonfinancial development assistance” is still at a rudimentary stage. Given this, the following three fundamental questions for examining a specific phenomenon or a subject may be applied to the KSP as well. First, what are the modes and the contents of the KSP? Second, how is the KSP perceived by the people? Finally, what are the values that the KSP adds to the field of development cooperation?

Keeping these questions in mind, it is necessary to start with the basic discussion about development cooperation. While the idea of *international development cooperation* is composed of three different key words of *international*, *development*, and *cooperation*, the term is widely used as a single concept. Then what kinds of theoretical background and practical meaning does this concept carry as non-financial resource within the spectrum of international development cooperation? Examining the characteristics of each keyword is helpful in understanding the theoretical background for the KSP.

First, understanding the keyword *international* begins with the mainstream theories of realism and liberalism within the field of international relations. Unlike realism that considers the country's self-interest and security as the top priority, liberalism emphasizes cooperation among the actors in the international community and argues that it's possible to mobilize an international organization and for it to become effective. In addition, the concept of *development* accepts the institutionalism approach in that institutions and policies are important in addition to the three factors of production (capital, labor, and land). Given this, it's possible for capital (K) to be supplemented with the other K of knowledge for economic development. It should also be noted that *knowledge* here not just limited to the individual level. Instead, it carries rather extended meaning and includes public institutions and policies.³ On the other hand, as recently highlighted in the communication theories, *cooperation* asserts the communication among the actors, as the deep understanding among the actors can only come from bilateral or multilateral communication rather than the one-way transfer.

Given this, the KSP can be defined as non-financial resource that practices cooperation among the actors in the international community by *sharing knowledge—or development experience*—represented by institutions and policies through learning and communication support among involved parties. This is also the reason why knowledge sharing has been actively utilized to overcome the conventional North-South type of top-down, unilateral aid structure.

2. Overview of KSP

As the representative case of knowledge sharing, there has been increasing interest given to KSP at both the domestic and the international levels. Recently, important personnel who are in charge of capacity building with respect to macroeconomics and financial management under the IMF Institute for Capacity Development visited Korea and agreed to develop future cooperation plans and capacity building programs with the KSP overseeing institute of Korea Development Institute (KDI). Recognizing the high volume of policy consulting requests that Korea receives, the World Bank is also putting forth efforts to introduce the South Korean case of introducing and operating e-government and finalizing a report co-authored by the domestic as well as the international authors to be published in November. As a country actively participating in

³ Refer to the following for the recent international research literature for each perspective: John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 2014. W.W. Norton & Company; Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, 2001. Princeton University Press; Gideon Rose and Jonathan Tepperman, *The Clash of Ideas*, 2012. Foreign Affairs; Dani Rodrik, *One Economics Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth*, 2007. Princeton University Press. Douglass C. North, *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*, 2005. Princeton University Press.

development cooperation, China also has been showing interest in creating its own version of the KSP in addition to its financial assistance to those countries in need. With the aim to create a similar institute to Korea's Center for International Development (CID) under the KDI, China requested consultation regarding institution operation. This means that the demand and the significance of non-financial development assistance are being extended to supplement the conventional mode of development finance.

Despite such elevated interest, there has been rather a diverse range of opinions regarding the management method and the success of the KSP. As it has been over ten years since the full-fledged effort has begun for the KSP, there have been criticisms over the orientation, project management, and effectiveness of the KSP. Hoping that constructive alternatives would be deduced as the hitherto success and the criticisms would move towards greater convergence, this paper proposes the strategies, future orientation and a few recommendations so that the KSP can grow into the representative model in the non-financial development assistance.

First provided to two countries in 2004, the KSP service was soon expanded to provide consultation to 35 countries by 2013 and to 45 countries and 606 projects by 2014. As for the share of partner countries by region, the close-by continent of Asia and the fast-growing cooperation partner of Latin America account for 23.9% each, while Africa (21.7%). Middle East (15.2%), CIS and other countries (15.2%) follow. It is worth nothing cooperation with 12 transitional countries⁴ has been strengthened as a part of the KSP and it accounts for about 26% of the total projects (See Appendix 2). Such KSP experience with the transitional economies would become valuable for South Korea to play a leading role in development cooperation for North Korea to carry out the strategies and to prepare growth plans, once the full-scale efforts begin at the international level.

<Table 1> Partners for the KSP Policy Advisory Service (2007~2013)

Categories	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
KSP Partner Countries	5	8	11	17	26	33	35
	-	-	1	4	7	10	10
Partners with Priority	-	-	Vietnam	Vietnam, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, Cambodia	Vietnam, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, Mongolia, Ghana, Peru	Indonesia, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, Saudi Arabia, Mongolia, Algeria, Libya, Ghana, Sri	Sri Lanka, Mongolia, Myanmar, Indonesia, Algeria, Ethiopia, Brazil,

⁴ Partner countries in transitional phase: (8 Asian countries) Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, China, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, (Europe: 4 countries) Russia, Hungary, Romania, and Turkey

						Lanka, Peru, Ecuador	Honduras, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan
Regular Partners	Kuwait, Azerbaijan, Ghana, Vietnam, Uzbekistan	Oman, Dominican Republic, Ukraine, Mozambique, Vietnam, Turkey, Algeria, Azerbaijan	Libya, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Cambodia, Kuwait, Dominican Republic, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Algeria, Ghana	Mongolia, Laos, Kazakhstan, UAE, Kuwait, Brazil, Peru, Azerbaijan, Saudi, Libya, Ghana, DRC, Dominican Republic	Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kazakhstan, Laos, Myanmar, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Bolivia, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ethiopia, Algeria, Tanzania, South Africa	UAE, Kazakhstan, Gabon, the Dominican Republic, Laos, Mexico, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Brazil, Ethiopia, Oman, Honduras, Equatorial Guinea, Colombia, Tanzania, Turkey, Panama, the Philippines, Romania, Pakistan, South Africa	Vietnam, Costa Rica, Gabon, Kuwait, Laos, Cambodia, Bangladesh, China, DRC, Ghana, Egypt, Mexico, Belize, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Russia, Romania, Kazakhstan, Hungary, Turkey, Dominican Republic, Tanzania, UAE

Policy advisory service for the partner countries is composed of the following ten different sectors based on sharing Korea's development experience: 1) industrial policy, 2) innovation policy, 3) macro-economy development strategy, 4) monetary policy, 5) export promotion, 6) sustainable growth, 7) financial operations, 8) training, 9) enterprise development, and 10) agriculture and fisheries development. As for the frequency of policy advisory by each category, policy advisory related to industry and investment promotion accounts for the largest proportion at 14.5%. While the science & IT and innovation sector (14%) and the macroeconomic and development strategy sector (13.7%) have similar shares, the agricultural & fisheries development policy displays relatively lower frequency at 4%. As for the KSP with the transitional countries, the most frequently requested services were the industry & investment promotion policies (16.5%), the trade & export policies (12.3%), the financial policies and financial

system innovation (11.8%), the macroeconomic strategies and the science & IT promotion and innovation (10.8% each), while the needs for agriculture and figures development policies (4.2%) were relatively lower.

<Table 2> Status of KSP Service by Sector

Categories	All Partners		Transitional Countries	
		%		%
Total	606	100.0	212	100.0
(1) Industrial Policy and Investment Promotion (Including Infrastructure-related)	88	14.5	35	16.5
(2) Science & IT Development and Innovation	86	14.2	23	10.8
(3) Macroeconomic and Development Strategies	83	13.7	23	10.8
(4) Monetary Policy and Financial System Innovation	63	10.4	25	11.8
(5) Trade, Export Promotion	58	9.6	26	12.3
(6) Sustainable and Land Development (Regional Development, including Energy-Related)	56	9.2	22	10.4
(7) Financial Management and Public Administration	54	8.9	17	8.0
(8) Training and Education System Innovation (Including Labor and Employment)	46	7.6	15	7.1
(9) Enterprise Development Strategies (including SMEs)	33	5.4	13	6.1
(10) Agriculture and Fisheries Development	25	4.1	9	4.2
(11) Other (Law & Regulatory, Tourism, etc.)	14	2.3	4	1.9

In addition, the following table uses the KDI as the basis to calculate the invested budget per each country over the past three years. As seen below, the average budget per each advisory program amounts at 330 million KRW. The budget for the training programs per each country averages at 70 million KRW, though it varies depending on

the number of participants and the scale of the project. As for the case of KDI, the total program budget size went down from 17 billion KRW to 14 billion KRW in 2014. This is largely because the KDI, the Korea Institute for Industrial Economics & Trade (KIET), the Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS) have divided the KSP to best utilize the expertise of each organization.

<Table 3> Average Budget for the KSP and the Consulting/Training Program as Executed by the KDI

<Unit: Million KRW>

Categories	2012	2013	2014
Total Budget	170	166	140
Average Budget for Consulting Service	3.2	3.6	3.2
Average Budget for Training Service	1.0	0.5	0.6

3. Management Flow of KSP

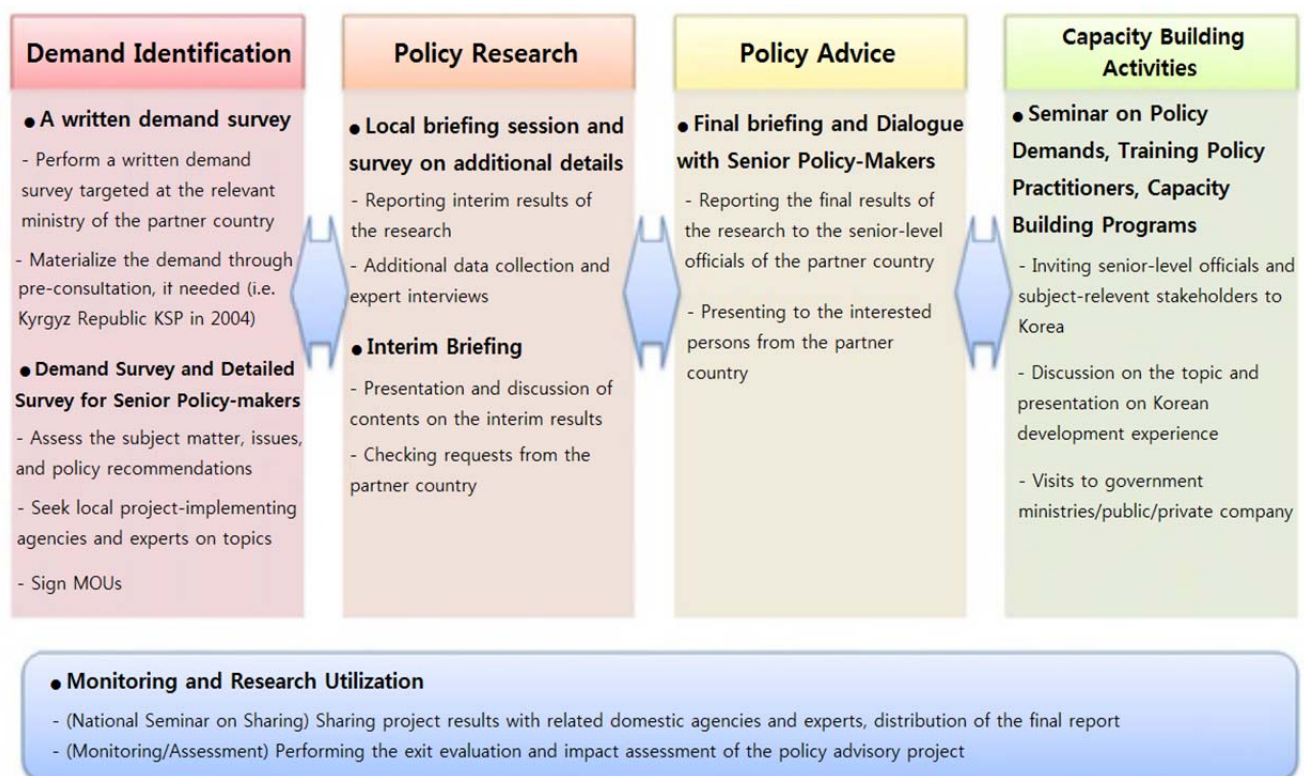
As summarized in the figure below, the KSP is composed of largely four areas of demand identification, policy research, policy advice, and capacity-building activities, and conducts national seminars to share and utilize the results of monitoring and research. In the first stage of *demand identification*, a written request for demand research from the responsible ministries of the partner country is received through the local embassy. Once the request for the demand research is submitted, the policy demand is finalized through consultation with senior policy makers and experts from the partner country. There also may be an additional survey at the local site if needed, depending on the team. Once the policy consulting demand is finalized, the step 2 entails “policy research” in which the Korean research team and the local experts collaborate to analyze the basis for the current policy demand and to perform the basic research on the causes of such issue and the policy goals and visions. During such process, meeting face-to-face with the working group and the high-level officers from the ministries and agencies in charge of policy demand is the key task in improving the standard of the policy advisory.

As the collaborate research on the policy demand progresses, the next step of drafting the “Policy Advisory Report” naturally follows, and this is where the characteristics of the KSP are reflected. The main content of this report includes a summary of the Korean economic development experience and its lessons to share with the partner country. In doing so, it is important to recognize that the Korean case of

economic development process and the institution establishment and operation experience is a unique case that cannot be directly applied to the partner country. Given this, it is crucial not only to summarize the Korean development experience but also to provide political implications tailored to the partner country's needs.⁵

Meanwhile, in order to manage the national, four-step project of KSP, each program officer (PO) performs about 100 tasks from selecting the KSP partner country, pre-consultation, project planning and detail surveys, intermediate briefing, training programs, and the final briefing. Specifically, tasks like drafting and exchanging the documents for each task and internal and external communication require considerable skill.

<Figure 1> Project Management of the KSP



⁵ KSP modularization project organizes (modularizes) the cases of innovative policies and systems that contributed much to Korea's economic and social development in accordance with the standard manual including introduction background, promotion system, policy details, evaluation, implications, and etc. into a report. The result from this modularization business is utilized as the foundation for the knowledge-contents-based development cooperation projects such as the KSP Policy Consultation. A total of 138 policy case studies over 8 sectors from 2010 to 2014 is accumulated and is being shared with the international community. The KDI School of Public Policy and Management is currently operating the management, distribution, and sharing of the modularization project reports with the help from the Korean Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

III. KSP: A Model of Cooperation and Win-win Approach

As previously mentioned, the primary purpose of the KSP is to share the Korean development experience with the international community based on the trust and mutual cooperation between countries. In addition, the KSP plays the complementary role to Korea's recently expanding financial development assistance for developing countries. This is also a certain level of success in the areas of public diplomacy and the spread of soft power that Korea has to expand strategically in the future.⁶

Specifically, once the policy advisory report is finalized, the local senior policy-makers, working groups, and the relevant experts are invited to the senior policy dialogue and the final briefing in the same year. The main purpose of this is to strengthen the partnership and the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The following are the several examples that show both tangible and intangible successes that South Korea obtained through the KSP in recent years:

- **(Case 1: Hungary KSP)** During the Korea—Hungary summit, the two leaders discussed the performance of the KSP and agreed to push forward with the program
- **(Case 2: Uzbekistan KSP)** After successfully performing the capacity building training with the Uzbekistan Ministry of Finance as a part of the KSP, the first Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance Azimov expressed his gratitude in a written document and requested further advisory service through the KSP in the following year.
- **(Case 3: Algeria KSP)** As the policy research and advisory for Algerian National Vision 2030 was performed successfully in 2011 and 2012, Algeria publicly announced the Algerian National Vision 2030 at the Algerian independence 50th anniversary event held in July, 2012
- **(Case 4: Ethiopia KSP)** At the Korea-Ethiopia summit (2015. 04. 14), the two leaders shared the details of the KSP for Ethiopia and discussed how the KSP would contribute to the Ethiopian economic development
- **(Case 5: Saudi Arabia KSP)** The policy research was carried out under the topic of “the Key Challenge for the Transition to Knowledge-Based Economy” in 2011,

⁶ Geoffrey Cowan and Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, In Ghan Sa Rang, 200; Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, In Ghan Sa Rang, 2009.

and the policy advisory for “Establishing the Strategies for Knowledge-Based Economy” was performed per the special request from the Saudi government in 2012, during which the Saudi government bore the entire cost of the project of \$2 million USD.

In addition to such tangible and intangible outcomes, consulting for policy and institutions and capacity building programs for the government officials and experts from the partner countries that are actually need in the partner countries act as a great complement to the conventional ODA projects centered on the financial resources. These cases exemplify the objectives are achieved through the KSP by sharing Korea’s comparative advantage of establishing policies and institutions and proposing policy alternatives responding to the demands of the partner countries through collaboration between the two countries. Particularly the KSP is evaluated to increase the linkage between projects in the process of “field research—policy consultation—capacity building” by providing programs like interim report, training sessions for policy makers, and additional capacity building training around the submission of policy advisory report.

Moreover, giving weights to the mutual communication and sharing in accordance with the objective of the KSP is also another characteristic of the program. For instance, the local demand report becomes the basis for deciding the topic for the KSP policy advisory, and the topic is confirmed and detailed through preliminary meetings with the collaborating ministries in the partner countries. Further, in the stages for policy research and capacity building, the local experts participate in the research in order to better reflect the partner country’s policy demands and current status so that the KSP services is filled with better quality research and consultations. This is to provide policy advice while reflecting the partner country’s ideas as much as possible by exchanging with the local high-level officials and the working group during the entire process of the KSP.

However, as a late-comer in international development cooperation, South Korea lacks appropriate advising experience and a pool of experts in reality. Hence, there are still much to be improved in future for better management of the KSP. Recognizing such issue, KDI newly created the Division of Policy Consultation & Evaluation under the Center for International Development (CID) to organize task forces for improving KSP and performed a full-scale evaluation process on the existing business methods and outcomes. Project management needing or not needing improvements were identified through such process, and a total of 119 improvement projects were specified and then classified into short-medium-and long-term projects based on this evaluation to be carried out beginning in early 2015. Among several issues are what has been commonly

pointed out both internally and externally, improvements are being made to places such as management of the policy advisory reports, transparency in expert selection, and selection of the subcontract agency. The improvements to these three issues are briefly summarized below.

IV. Reconstruction of KSP Monitoring and Evaluation System

As a rule, development cooperation projects have to have the goals to be achieved through the projects set first prior to the evaluation and the execution of the projects, in order to establish an evaluation system and criteria are set accordingly. Rather than settling on the goals first before moving onto the implementation, however, most of the current KSP services either underestimate or overestimate the role of the KSP depending on the evaluation entity, as they receive the recipient country's policy demands in the year before the implementation stage.

This then becomes the source for underestimation by limiting the evaluation scope per topic to 40-page-long policy advisory report due to the lack of project's objective, textbook style of inflexible application of the policy evaluation methods, or overestimation of the KSP leading to demands for economic impact assessment in the recipient country through the KSP policy advisory. Therefore, there is the need to restructure the KSP project's objective and evaluation criteria to international development cooperation projects using the non-financial resources, reflecting the characteristics of the knowledge sharing program.

Below are the proposed evaluation criteria reflecting the characteristics of knowledge sharing discussed in the first chapter. The first is the promotion of cooperation and public diplomacy through knowledge sharing. Albeit it cannot completely disregard a realist or mercantilist concerns like putting the country's self-interest and security as the priority, the KSP aims to carry out its projects with an emphasis on cooperation and coexistence, public diplomacy and soft power enhancement while respecting the recipient country's distinct culture, norms, institution, and context. Hence, it's only legitimate that the effectiveness of the KSP projects is evaluated on such criteria.

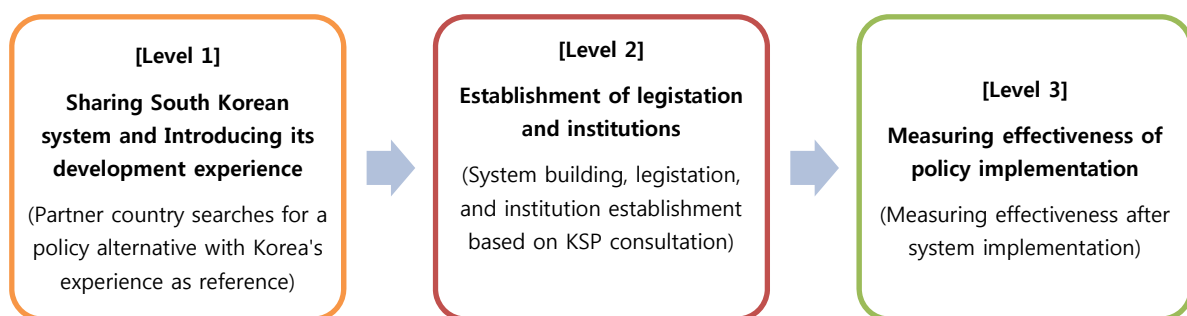
For instance, the following considerations should be the evaluation criteria of the KSP: whether the project built a new, stable communication channel based on trust with the partner country during the policy advising process; whether it contributed to strengthening the cooperation and diplomatic ties with the partner country through the dialogue with the high-level officials and policy advising report briefings; whether it

contributed to introduction of new system and reduction of costs by sharing the policy limitations and failures that the two countries experienced in the process of providing policy alternatives to the partner country; and whether it stably maintained the network system with the partner country through institutionalization and promoted economic cooperation through linkage with the follow-up projects.

Also the characteristics of development cooperation based on knowledge sharing should be reflected in determining the depth and scope of evaluation. For instance, whether a consensus on expected effects of the KSP was reached during the process of general demand investigation and local demand investigation among the high officials, whether it contributed to self-sustainable growth of the partner country through sharing systems and providing policy alternatives should be the primary criteria for evaluation, and whether the policy makers and experts from both countries actually participated in drafting of the policy advisory report and capacity building program at the appropriate level should be checked to be reflected into the evaluation process.

Taking these considerations into account, the chart below summarizes the scale and scope of evaluation in three steps. Since the KSP is initially meant for other countries rather than for domestic needs, there are more case studies that can be analyzed through applications of a more flexible version of step-by-step objectives or top-down application of the goals.

<Figure 2: Goal Setting Categories of the KSP>



For instance in the cases when the evaluation criteria is expanded to levels 2 or 3, considering various political and economic policy variables are at work for the economic and social development in the partner country, estimating how much the policy advisory report as the result of the KSP contributed to the changes in the economic and social development of the country may be beyond the evaluation criteria of the KSP. Hence, there is the need for the policy makers from the partner countries to at least recognize the importance of the relevant topics in the development process of the country through

the policy consultation and to promote them as the national agenda through step-by-step selection of the KSP goals, or the primary objectives should be considered as achieved once the assistance for capacity building programs is requested in preparation for policy planning and implementation on the particular policy issue.

- **(Case 1. Cambodia KSP)** KSP services were implemented for labor demand prediction and technical professional training, and the Cambodian government recognized the importance of these topics and a Productivity Committee was established under immediate supervision of the Deputy Prime Minister. The chairman is selected among the various persons participated in the previous KSP projects, and the partner country requested a follow-up policy advisory after expressing high levels of satisfaction towards the KSP capacity building programs implemented right after the committee was launched.
- **(Case 2. Indonesia KSP)** After the consultation on “Measures to Strengthen Finance Supervision” as a part of the KSP in 2009, the Indonesian Financial Supervisory Commission and the Central Bank requested a capacity building training to the Korean government, and the KDI carried the programs out from 2010 to 2012 with cooperation from the Korean Financial Supervisory Commission.
- **(Case 3. Uzbekistan KSP)** Per request from the Uzbek Ministry of Finance in 2014, a training on the topic of “Korea’s budgeting system including budget planning and finance for public education and health sectors” was conducted, and the Uzbek Ministry of Finance requested for further KSP consultation in 2015 upon the successful completion of the program.

However, if the evaluation measure for the KSP effectiveness is set to Level 3 as in the figure above, there is a danger to distort the evaluation result due to excessive impact analysis compared to invested resources by overly expanding the evaluation objectives. In the case of the Cambodian KSP, for instance, once the consultation is completed on “Measures to introduce minimum wage” through the KSP, the partner country should evaluate the socioeconomic impacts from introducing the policy by itself, as the domestic impact valuation of the policy after its introduction is beyond the scope of the KSP service.

Therefore, the proper level of goal setting is around 1~1.5 Levels, and if the objectives of the program is set around 1~1.5 Levels, then the details of the evaluation may be whether the consulting topics are set to the cases of policy implementation experiences in which Korea has a comparative advantage (balance between policy

advisory demand and consulting supply capacity), whether the final policy advisory report was of quality, whether it raised awareness of the policy makers on the relevant topics through the program, and whether it resulted in a follow-up project.

<Table 4> Summary of Project Management and Evaluation Based on Theoretical Perspectives

Theory and Keyword	Project Management Objectives and Criteria	Evaluation Categories (Examples)
International: Cooperation and Co-existence	Public diplomacy & Soft power <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final briefing and policy dialogue with senior officials - Institutionalization and stable management of the network with the partner country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final briefing surveys and interviews - Enhancing national status through public diplomacy - Co-existence through linkage with the follow-up projects - Co-existence through bilateral sharing of both countries' cases - Ensuring continuity and stability of the relations with the partner country
Development: Policies and Institutions	Policy Research and Policy Advice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sharing the key sectoral policies and institutions based on the Korean experience - Sharing knowledge through participation of the actual decision-makers in both countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Topic selection based on comparative advantage of Korea - Quality of report - Raising awareness of local policy makers on the relevant topics through the program and request for follow-up projects (Agenda Setting)
Cooperation: Two-way Communication and Sharing	Two-way Communication and Sharing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Project planning based on local demand - Participation of local experts - Policy dialogues and exchanges through step-by-step training programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whether or not the local demands are reflected during topic selection process - Levels of participation and cooperation of local experts - Impacts of capacity building and learning

Finally, two-way communication and sharing may be added to the list of major evaluation criteria. Since the KSP is a project based on cooperation and knowledge-sharing with the partner country, a two-way communication rather than a unilateral transfer is critical, and it has the significance in the partner country gaining a sense of ownership as well as a foothold for building bases for the country's mid- and long-term vision, self-reliant growth, and sustainable economic development. Therefore, it is important to maintain the collaborative business management as the fundamental principles through demand-centered program planning, utilization of the local experts, acceptance of partner country's ideas through step-by-step exchanges with the local, etc. When evaluating the KSP in this context, the partner country's sense of ownership in the

process of project implementation, level of participation, and level of cooperation should be assessed, including collaborative project management as the key criteria. Moreover, whether there were enough opportunities for the local participation for smooth collaboration and whether mechanisms to induce participation worked properly or not should be the evaluation criterion.

In addition to the partner country's sense of ownership, it is also important to critically consider the criteria about the project management, such as whether the demands of the partner country were adequately reflected, whether there was a close consultation with the local experts about the research plan and an active participation was encouraged, and whether there was a vigorous communication through exchanges with the local policy makers. Further, there needs to be a more in-depth evaluation tracking on the policy advisory reports conventionally considered as the evaluation target by the Korean evaluation group and related organizations as well as on the contents and results of the capacity building programs during the process of project implementation, given that the capacity building programs are also a major part of achieving the goal of mutual communication and cooperation with the partner country (See Appendix 6 for the list of capacity building programs during 2013-2014).

V. A Comparative Study of ODA Strategies of South Korea and China

Compared to such knowledge sharing efforts of Korea, China has concentrated on a capital-based ODA strategy. Particularly, in comparison with the Western model of development that has faced recent downturn, China has emphasized the efficiency of its own economic model of "Beijing Consensus" based on its rapid development experience and carried out a rather aggressive ODA strategy to win the hearts of the developing countries. As evidenced in the Five-Year Plan—the backbone of the country's economic policy—, China has selected "go global" (zou-chu-qu, 走出去 – literally "go out") as the official policy title since 2001 to encourage outward expansion of its domestic enterprises. At the Tenth National People's Congress, Premier Wen Jiabao stressed the importance of assisting effective global expansion of the Chinese investment (OECD 2008). In addition to amending the regulations and legislations to support such goal, China has been promoting its outward strategy by providing the financial support and loaning policy financing through its Exim Bank and China Development Bank (Choi, Pil Soo et al., 2013). In addition to the expansion of the Chinese firms to developing countries, such relatively flexible foreign policy of the Chinese government has also contributed to its ODA strategies.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Korea has carried out its ODA strategies

through the KSP as a form of technical assistance for active, effective exchange between itself and the developing countries. Accordingly, the developing countries have experienced economic growth even in the midst of the global economic slowdown, and the importance of these newly developing economies to Korea has gained weight (Choi, Pil Soo et al., 2013). Nevertheless, compared to how China has increased its share in these newly developing markets through its diplomatic strategies, Korea has not seen much fruits from its efforts. In particular, China proposed the development model of “Beijing Consensus” under the principles of non-intervention policy that does not question the democratization or human rights process to win the hearts and the minds of the developing countries, as opposed to the model of “Washington Consensus” that incorporates privatization, deregulation, democracy, and transparency (Michel, Serge et al., 2009). Because the African countries with the Western colonial experiences are very sensitive to direct and indirect intervention of the U.S.-centered Western powers such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) under the Bretton Woods system, such non-intervention principle of China has put emphasis on the discourse of the South—South Cooperation that advocate for economic development from the perspective of developing countries.

Given this, this chapter aims to identify and analyze the success and the limitations of China’s ODA strategies through three keywords of international, development, and cooperation. In particular, it’s pertinent to find the policy implications for South Korea’s future diplomatic strategy as the relative newcomer in establishing diplomatic relations with Africa by comparing the Korea’s knowledge-based KSP with the China’s capital-based ODA. In order to do this, the fundamental mindsets are first compared to analyze the characteristics of the two countries’ ODA, followed by the case study of the Chinese ODA to Africa. Based on such observation, the chapter concludes by deducing some policy implications for South Korea to differentiate its ODA strategies for successful public diplomacy in future.

1. ODA Strategies and Policy Orientation

South Korea has a development history of being the first country since the foundation of the OECD in 1961 of making a successful transition from one of the biggest aid recipient from the U.S. until 1980s to a pure aid donor (Jung, Woojin, 2010). Along with emerging as the new donor country by becoming the 24th member to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 2010, Korea has conducted the multifaceted research to ensure that development assistance since the declaration of the UN MDGs in 2000 successfully contribute to providing a platform for the recipient countries to move up the ladder. In contrast, China has not joined the DAC and pursued public diplomacy by involving different interests like its own geopolitical influence and

economic effects (Sohn, Hyuk-Sang et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the large-scale Chinese foreign aid is welcomed by the emerging economies due to its principles of non-intervention, respect for sovereignty, and equality and mutual benefit given in a rapid manner. In addition to this, China plans to expand and diversify its financial support to the emerging economies by working with the BRICs countries like Brazil, Russia, India, and South Africa through the New Development Bank, as well as the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) expected to begin the official duties by the end of 2015 (F. Hochberg, Foreign Affairs 2015).

While some media in the Western countries emphasize the negative aspects of such Chinese strategy by using radical phrases like “market domination” or “resource sweep,” this is not the best way to understand China’s success in its recent diplomatic performance in developing countries (Choi, Pil Soo et al., 2013: 3). Based on such accomplishment and checks from the Western countries on the Beijing consensus, it seems fair to say that China understands the needs of the emerging economies that the West has overlooked, which has become the basis for China to thrive as a business partner working for the mutual benefits and development among the actors. Therefore, it is necessary to compare the basic spirits of the ODA between Korea and China, in order to analyze the development cooperation efforts of the two countries with similar economic aspects.

<Table 5> Comparison of the Basic Principles between the Korean and Chinese ODA Strategies

Korea’s Framework Act on International Development Cooperation (Framework Act)—Article 3	China’s Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Reduce poverty in developing countries; ◆ Improve the human rights of women and children, and achieve gender equality; ◆ Realize sustainable development and humanitarianism ◆ Promote cooperative economic relations with developing partners; ◆ Pursue peace and prosperity in the international community 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Chinese government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual. 2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty of recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges. 3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans, and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden on recipient countries as far as possible.

	<p>4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese government is not to make recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.</p> <p>5. The Chinese government does its best to help recipient countries complete projects which require less investment but yield quicker results, so that the latter may increase their income and accumulate capital.</p> <p>6. The Chinese government provides the best-quality equipment and materials manufactured by China at international market prices. If the equipment and materials provided by the Chinese government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese government undertakes to replace them or refund the payment.</p> <p>7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master the technology.</p> <p>8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.</p>
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Source: Re-written based on the sources from KOICA, taken from Lee, Chang-Jae et al. (2011), p.40;
Quoted from 李安山(2006), Re-quoted in Kwon, Yul et al. (2010), p.21.

First, South Korea's foreign aid policy is founded on the Framework Act on International Development Cooperation (Framework Act) Article 3, which entails reducing poverty, improving the human rights of women and children, realizing sustainable development and humanitarianism, promoting cooperative economic relations with developing partners, and pursuing peace and prosperity in the international community. In contrast, the China's Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries given by the former Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1965 give shape for the country's ODA policies. Regularized since the establishment of the Chinese Exim bank in 1994, China takes on a special position in that it's both an aid recipient and a donor at the same time. Among these fundamental principles are the non-intervention policies, assistance without any political strings or demands, mutual relations under the mindset of mutual benefits and development, and supports with the

aim to promote self-reliance of the recipient country through technology transfer (Kwon, Yul et al., 2010).

2. Types and Characteristics of the ODA System

In order to compare the characteristics of the international development cooperation of Korea and China, it is necessary to examine the meanings behind the three keywords of international, development, and cooperation. When seen through the keyword of *international* based on the international relations theory, Korea pursues a liberalist public diplomacy with an emphasis on cooperation and coexistence in the international community, whereas China recognizes scarcity of the resources and the security in the world and thrives to secure these resources through hegemonic competition for its own interests. Within the *development* perspective, China's public diplomacy is taking the lead in building economic infrastructure and providing financial support for economic development of the recipient country while focusing on the capital (K) of the three factors of production from the traditional economic theory. On the other hand, Korea's public diplomacy extends from the traditional factors of the production and supplements the capital (K) with the knowledge (K), and thrives to promote economic development in the recipient countries through the KSP-based technical assistance. Finally, within the framework of *cooperation*, Korea operates an ODA project with the focus on project management and policy advisory tailored to the partner country through two-way communication and sharing its experience. Similarly, China also seeks to grow its soft power by proposing the development model of joint growth through the dialogue of "South-South" cooperation.

<Table 6> Characteristics of the Korean and Chinese ODA Based on Theoretical Perspectives

Theory and Keyword	Korea (Technical Assistance/KSP)	China (Resource-based Diplomacy)
International	Cooperation and Coexistence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Public Diplomacy & Soft Power <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Final briefing and policy dialogue with senior officials – Institutionalization and stable management of the network with the partner country 	Global Hegemony <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Competition over Global Hegemony <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strategy put forward in opposition against the conventional interventionist ODA from the West – Securing welcome and cooperation by assisting in development of the strength of the recipient countries that the Western countries have missed

Development	Policies and Institution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Policy Research and Policy Advice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Sharing the key sectoral policies and institutions based on the Korean experience – Sharing knowledge through participation of the actual decision-makers in both countries 	Aid Strategy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Resource-centered Public Diplomacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Focus on building the economic infrastructure and providing financial support – Economic interest in securing the natural resources from the recipient countries through such public diplomacy
	Two-way Communication and Sharing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Collaborative Project Management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Project planning based on local demand – Participation of local experts – Policy dialogues and exchanges through step-by-step training programs 	Proposal of the Joint Growth Model <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Dialogue of ‘South-South’ Cooperation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Actively fulfilling the needs of the recipient countries and immediate implementation of the aid payment plan – Growth of soft power through the joint pursuit of mutual benefit under the principle of equality

Therefore, this chapter aims to help better understand China’s position in the field of international development cooperation through its public diplomacy using the case study of the Chinese aid in Africa. As China fills the financial vacuum from the Western countries backing out, Africa is becoming a stronghold of China’s public diplomacy at a rapid pace. Although the anti-China sentiment is on the rise as a side effect to the increasing Chinese influence in the region, it is difficult to refute the fact that China wields strong influence over the resource-rich African countries like Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan through the generous financial support for development projects like building infrastructures (Choi, Pil Soo et al., 2013). Thus, by identifying the positive aspects and the limitations of the Chinese public diplomacy strategy for Africa, South Korea can effectively plan how it should seek a differentiated strategy as a late-comer to diplomatic exchanges with the continent.

3. China’s ODA Strategies in Africa

The Asian—African Conference held on April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia takes its meaning in that it was the first official diplomatic contact between China and Africa other than the official meetings held at the international level under the auspices of the USSR. Also known as the “Bandung Conference,” it was also a significant event for the world’s history of diplomacy in that a total of 390 delegates from 29 countries across Asia and Africa participated including Nasser of Egypt and Nehru of India, representing the two-thirds of the world’s population (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012). The main

purpose of the Bandung conference in which the countries representing Asia and Africa gathered together for the first time was to “promote the friendship and cooperation between Asian and African countries, to maximize the joint benefits, to restore the sovereignty and the status of the Asian and African countries that suffered from the imperialist powers from Western Europe and North America for centuries, and to show off the concentrated power of the non-aligned” (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012: 51). In other words, the Bandung Conference has a significance in that the representatives from 29 countries of the Third World made their first appearance in the international arena by declaring a neutral status during the Cold War and resisting to colonial expansion, which laid the foundation for development in the developing countries (Michel, Serge et al., 2009). However, as the table below summarizes the large number of African countries that established diplomatic ties with China from immediately following the end of the Conference in 1956 to 1970, the most important meaning of the Bandung Conference is that China successfully evolved into the official leader of the Third World by helping those countries to debut in the international stage. Given this, it is necessary to analyze the diplomatic exchanges between China and Africa that have been further developed with such historical background, and examine the success and the limitations of such relations through the frameworks of international, development, and cooperation.

<Table 7> List of Countries that Established Diplomatic Relations with China between 1956~1970

Country	Date of Independence	Date of Establishment	Opening Date of Embassy	Arrival Date of Ambassador
United Arab Republic (Egypt & Syria)	1922	1956.5.30	1956.6.14	1956.7.19
Morocco	1956.3.2	1958.11.1		1961.8.11
Algeria	1958.9.21*	1958.12.20	1962.9.10	1962.11.28
Sudan	1956.1.1	1959.2.4		1959.7.15
Guinea	1958.10.2	1959.10.4	1959.12.23	1960.3.31
Ghana	1957.3.6	1960.7.5		1960.8.25
Mali	1960.9.22	1960.10.27	1961.1.7	1964.3.8
Somalia	1960.7.1	1960.12.14		1961.3.14
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1960.6.30	1961.2.20	1961.7.31	1961.7.31
Tanganyika	1961.12.9	1961.12		1962.3.31
Uganda	1962.10.9	1962.10.18	1962.12.17	
Zanzibar	1963.12.10	1963.12.11		1964.4.4
Kenya	1963.12.12	1963.12.14		1964.4.18

Burundi	1962.7.1	1963.12.23	1964.1.13	1964.6.1
Tunisia	1956.3.20	1964.1.10	1964.4.20	1964.5.22
Republic of Congo	1960.8.15	1964.2.22		1964.6.8
Central African Republic	1964.9.26	1964.9.29		
Zambia	1964.10.24	1964.10.31	1964.11.28	1965.3.14
Dahomey	1960.8.1	1964.11.12	1964.12.19	
Mauritania	1960.11.28	1965.7.19	1965.9.3	
Equatorial Guinea	1968.10.12	1970.10.15		
Ethiopia		1970.11.24		

Note: *It is the independence day declared by the Algerian provisional government, and China recognized the Algerian Republic

Source: Compiled information from various sources, quoted from Kim, Dong Hwan et al. (2012).

i. 'International': Competition for Global Hegemony and Non-Intervention Policy

In order to fully understand the success of the Chinese foreign policy, it is necessary to compare the Western and the Chinese development cooperation efforts to observe *how* China captured *what* the Western countries overlooked. When the end of the Second World War was near in the year 1944, the representatives of the 44 countries among the Allies gathered together in America and established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in efforts to regulate the international trade and financial exchanges, with the aim *not* to repeat the failure of the economic policies that caused the Great Depression in the 1930s. Of these two institutions, the World Bank operates under the two objectives of assisting the poorest countries to develop and the war-torn countries to reconstruct, while the IMF is responsible for operation and maintenance of the international financial order. Despite this, the fact that the IMF and the World Bank are the sister institutions with complementary objectives means that development assistance is closely related with international financial order. Accordingly, these institutions attach policy conditionality to the development as well as financial assistances in order to guide the financial policies of the recipient countries to fit the international standards (Lee, Cheon-Woo, 2011).

Particularly, given that the U.S.-led world economy was booming, an U.S.-centered order was formed among the Western countries during this period. In response to the newly-independent countries in the Asia-Pacific region in the 1950s, the Colombo Plan was established to strengthen economic and social cooperation between the developing countries and the aid donors. Further, the OECD was founded to counter

the escalating tension from the Cold War and the DAC was launched under the organization. Due to the policy conditionality attached owing to the peculiarity that foreign aid “is an administrative act among sovereign countries that coexist with each other in the international community,” however, the development assistance from the Western countries in reality didn’t see much results in terms of the recipient countries’ development effectiveness (Lee, Cheon-Woo, 2011: 779). The interventionist policy initially intended to increase aid absorption capacity of the recipient countries actually created a complex, complicated aid structure and eventually resulted in the adverse effect of lower effectiveness of ODA.

Moreover, as evidenced in the main objective of the Bandung Conference, many of the newly-independent Asian and African countries had the mission to restore their own sovereignty and status that had been undermined by the imperialist countries from Western Europe and North America. Such sentiments provided a solid foundation to prefer the “South-South” Cooperation as mainly promoted by China over the “North-South” Cooperation that carries an interventionist policy with the risk of sovereignty infringement (Byun, Oung, 2013). Rooting from such background, many examples clearly illustrate the anti-West and pro-China sentiments among the aid recipients. For instance, when the Western countries were quick to criticize and to impose economic and political sanctions on China in the aftermath of the Tiananmen Square incident, many of the African countries actually refused to do so and asserted that other countries should not intervene with the Chinese internal affairs (Michel, Serge et al., 2009). “Tangible development means you can see, you can touch,” a longtime advisor to the president of the Republic of Congo Serge Mombouli argues, “We need both. We cannot be talking just about democracy, transparency, good governance. At the end of the day the population does not have anything to eat, does not have water to drink, no electricity at night, industry to provide work, so we need both. People do not eat democracy” (Gjelten, 2013: 1). Judging by the overwhelming support from the developing economies, such favoritism of the emerging economies derived from the China’s non-interventionist policy shows that China has the lead in the global hegemonic competition. Further, China’s leap as the global hegemony also demonstrates the growing importance of the emerging economies in the international stage.

Especially, China broadened the depth of its exchanges with Africa by establishing diplomatic ties with the dictators in the region who were largely unwelcomed by the Western countries. For instance, it was the Chinese economic and political aid that filled the vacuum in Zimbabwe as the Robert Mugabe’s dictatorship forced the Western countries pulled out their assistance by imposing further sanctions. Under the claim to respect the recipient country’s sovereignty, China’s foreign aid not only maintained the Mugabe regime to sustain but also expanded the bilateral

cooperation to include the military assistance starting in 2004 (Michel, Serge et al., 2009). Similarly, the strongly accused Sudanese President of Omar Hassan Ahmed Al Bashir for the genocide in Darfur also emphasized China as a good ally that “never interferes with the internal affairs” and praised the country as “a great example of the South-South Cooperation” during his interview with the China Daily (Michel, Serge et al., 2009: 30). Such interview may be seen as a reward for the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Yang Wen Chang (楊文昌)’s response to the pouring criticism on China for supporting Darfur, saying “China separates the politics and the economics in Africa. The matter of what happened in Darfur, Sudan is a strictly domestic one—it’s not the matter for China to intervene nor is China in the position to do” (Michel, Serge et al., 2009: 224).

In conclusion, such biased support of the developing countries for China is enough to directly question the efficiency and the justification of the strings-attached Washington Consensus that calls for a semi-mandatory reorganization of the recipient countries’ internal discipline by the Western countries. Moreover, the overwhelming support for the Beijing Consensus from the continent of Africa with many emerging economies also symbolizes China’s leap forward as the global hegemony.

ii. ‘Development’: Capital-based ODA Strategies

Despite that China boasts the world’s largest foreign exchange reserves, the country lacks the natural resources essential for achieving sustainable development. On contrary, many developing countries in Africa are endowed with abundant natural resources but their potentials are limited due to lack of capital and technology for carrying out a development policy. Given this, China has carried out a resource-based strategy when giving development assistance to the recipient countries by providing the financial support for multidimensional economic building projects like infrastructure construction. Although the Western countries criticize China by pointing out such assistance is aimed to secure natural resources from the recipient countries and calling it “resource sweep,” many aid recipients argue that China’s assistance is a development model based on mutual trust and respect, and the development projects carried out the country have been beneficial for the recipient country’s development (黎霞 et al., 2013). Hence, it is necessary to analyze the scale and the types of China’s assistance to Africa and the influence of such ODA strategy.

<Table 8> Announcements of aid by Chinese leaders

Date	Leader	Tape of Aid	Amounts	
			RMB	US Dollar
2008	Premier Wen Jiabao	Africa grants in 2007	2.377 billion	313 million
		Africa zero-interest loans in 2007	700 million	92 million
		Africa concessional loans	n.a.	n.a.
		Total Africa aid, 1950-2006	44 billion	5.7 billion
		Total aid, 1950-2006	206.5 billion	27 billion
		Of which grants	90.8 billion	12 billion
		Of which 'loans'	115.7 billion	15.2 billion
		[African aid 22% of total]		
2011	State Council	Total aid, 1950-2009	256.29 billion	37.7 billion
		Of which grants	106.2 billion	15.6 billion
		Of which zero-interest loans	76.54 billion	11.25 billion
		Of which concessional loans	73.55 billion	10.8 billion
		[Loans total	150.09 billion]	

n.a. not applicable

Note: Conversions made from RMB to US dollars at a rate of RMB7.6 = US\$1 for 2006 and 2007 figures, and RMB6.8 = US\$1 for 2009 figures. Figures are gross commitments and do not include debt relief.

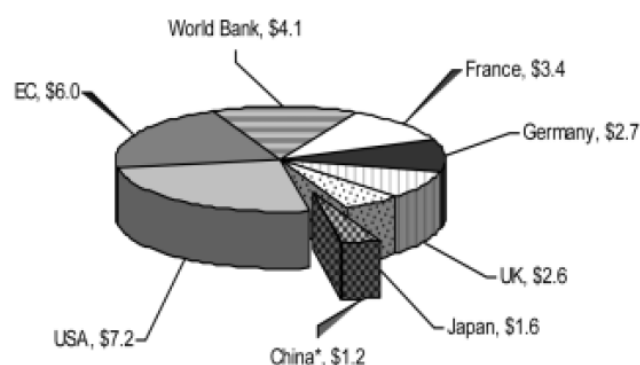
Source: Brautigam (2011); Chinese State Council (2011). Quoted from D. Brautigam (2011).

Amount of foreign aid announced by the Chinese government under the title of ODA is summarized in Table 10. The Chinese government made a commitment to invest a total of RMB 256.29 billion (US\$37.7 billion) by the end of 2009, of which RMB 106.2 billion (US\$15.6 billion) would be given as subsidy and RMB 76.54 billion (US\$10.8 billion) would be given as concessional loan. A close examination into the plan announced by the Chinese government reveals that the announced foreign aid amount increased by 29.4% annually from 2004 to 2009 (State Council, 2011). Although it may be a stretch to call it an overall trend given the difficulties with getting the data prior to 2004, it has its significance in that this is the first statistical data that the Chinese government released in transparent manner. Examining the Chinese aid for Africa specifically, it appears that about a half of the total foreign aid during 2009 fiscal year of 46.7% was sent to Africa (State Council, 2011). This supports the announcement that the Chinese government made in the previous year.

Next, it is necessary to analyze the scale of the Chinese aid for Africa compared

to other development banks and other countries' aid agencies. The table below summarizes the level of ODA for Africa by major development agencies and donor countries.

<Figure 3> Official development assistance to Africa, 2008



Note: Figures are disbursements. Figures for OECD countries are from the OECD's DAD Statistics. Figures for China are the author's estimates.

Source: Brautigam (2011); Quoted from Brautigam (2011).

During the fiscal year of 2008, China provided about US\$1.2 billion to Africa under the name of ODA. Compared to this, each of the World Bank, the U.S., and France gave US\$4.1 billion, US\$7.2 billion, and US\$3.4 billion to Africa, respectively. While China's foreign aid to Africa was estimated to increase to around US\$1.4 billion in 2009, the relatively smaller amount of Chinese aid compared to other aid institutions may be due to China's so-called "package deal," that complicates the aid structure so that only a part of the financial support to Africa was accounted as ODA (Brautigam, 2011). Nevertheless, in terms of the efficiency that is often considered as the indicator for successful ODA, China still has the superiority and, thus, the Chinese case of resource-based diplomacy still deserves to receive positive assessment (Michel, Serge et al., 2009)

When China first established the diplomatic ties with the African countries, the initial intention had its priority at more ideological elements based on proletarian revolution, rather than the current motive of securing resources (Shinn, David H. et al., 2012). Despite that it had relatively abundant natural resources in the early stages of development, China soon depended its entire oil supplies on import only 15 years after the reform to open up its borders in 1993, which prompted the country to begin exploring oil in Africa in 1995. Starting with the Prime Minister Li Peng's announcement on "China's Energy Policy," the country clarified its position in that the purpose of its African exploration solely lies in resource diplomacy rather than ideology (Austin, Angelica et al., 2008). Particularly after the country's recent rapid economic growth, the "stable resource supply has become an essential element that must be acquired, that is the most significant factor in determining the future prospects of the country," for China

in preserving its system by achieving political stability through sustained growth rate (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012: 182).

In keeping with the efforts of China, it is not an exaggeration to describe Africa as a “resource department store” that has almost all kinds of natural resources needed for sustainable economic growth in abundance (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012: 199). In addition to the world’s third largest oil reserves, other metals and minerals essential for industries are also rich in Africa. For instance, strategic minerals such as rare element minerals essential for high-tech industries like the weaponry in countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia, which becomes why countries other than China are also putting forth efforts into diplomatic exchanges with Africa. Nevertheless, judging by the active imports and exports in major sectors between China and Africa, it appears that China has the precedence over other competing countries with its aforementioned non-interference policies.

<Table 9> Major Mineral Production and Reserves in Africa

<Unit: %, Percentage>

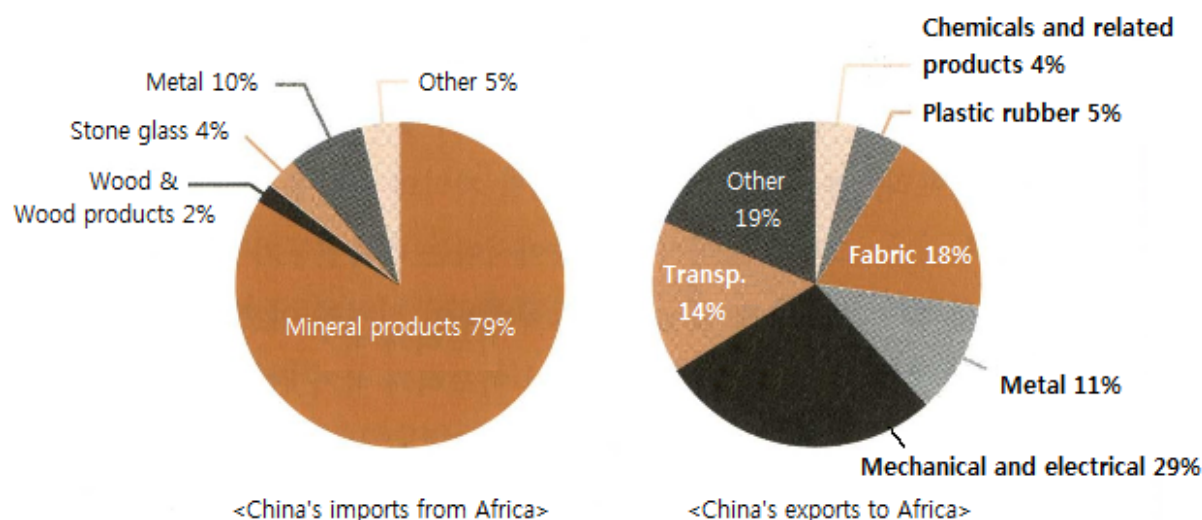
Minerals and Metals	Production Output	World Rankings	Reserves	World Rankings
Production group	54	1	88	1
Phosphorite rock	27	1	66	1
Gold	21	1	42	1
Chrome	44	1	85	1
Manganese	28	2	82	1
Vanadium	51	1	95	1
Cobalt	57	1	60+	1
Diamond	78	1	88	1
Aluminum	4	7	45	1
Uranium	16	3	18	2
Bauxite	9	3	27	1

Note: Average yields from 2005-2009. World rankings for production and reserves are based on the world standard. Table created by Kim, Dong Hwan et al., (2012).

Source: Compiled information from various sources. World Mineral Production 2005-2009 (2011), UN Economic and Social Council (2009), Statistics South Africa (2010), USGS Mineral Commodity Summaries. January 2011 (2011). Excerpted from Kim, Dong Hwan et al. (2012).

Examining imports and exports in the major sectors between China and Africa in more detail, it becomes clear that such bilateral trade portrays an interdependent relationship based on the complex interests mutually beneficial for both countries, rather than just a one-sided profit. In particular, the fact that these African countries receive the Chinese manufactured goods in lower prices in exchange for providing the raw materials gives justification to the Chinese development model claiming to promote mutually beneficial relations for both parties involved.

<Figure 4> China—Africa Imports and Exports by Key Sectors

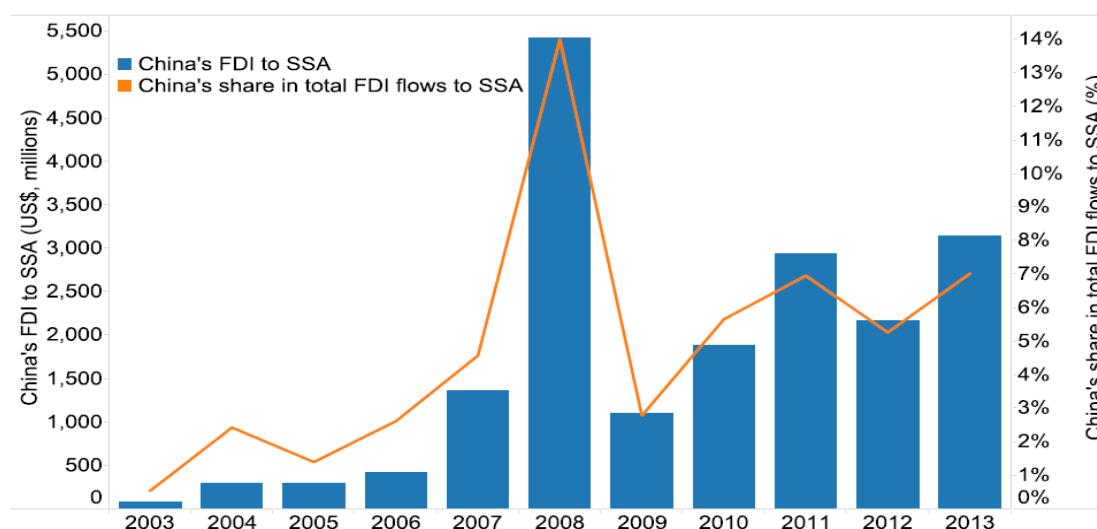


Source: Compiled information from various sources. World Trade Atlas. UN COMTRADE. Chinese Customs. Excerpted from Kim, Dong Hwan et al. (2012). Translated by the author.

In similar manner, China's foreign direct investment (FDI) to Africa increased rapidly by four folds from 2005 to 2008. Although the figures from 2015 are not yet officially released, if this pattern continues, the Chinese FDI to Africa is expected to reach \$50 billion or 70% increase compared to 2009 (Pigato, Miria et al., 2015). Examining at FDI assets by industry, most of the capital is concentrated in mining; but the investment for infrastructure, manufacturing, and service sectors are accelerating as well.

<Figure 5> Chinese FDI Inflows to Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), 2003-13

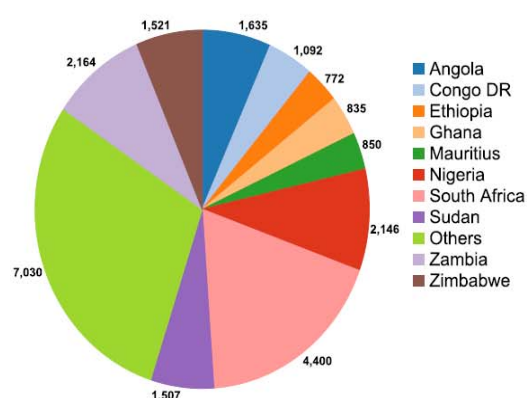
<Unit: US\$, millions>



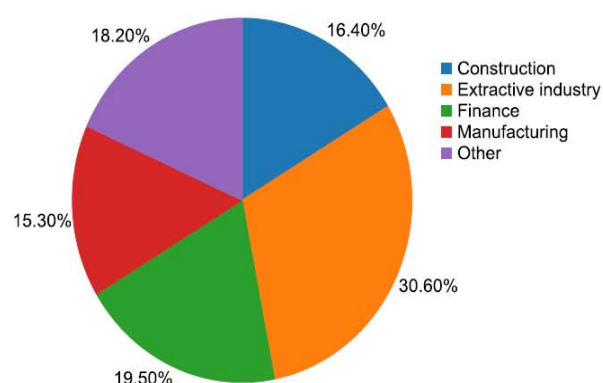
Source: UNCTAD 2014; MOFCOM 2014. Excerpted from Miria Pigato et al., 2015.

<Figure 6> Chinese FDI in SSA, by Country and Sector

a. Chinese FDI in SSA, by country (US\$, millions)



b. Chinese FDI in SSA, by sector (percent)



Source: MOFCOM 2014; State Council of China 2013. Excerpted from Miria Pigato et al., 2015.

Then, what kind of diplomatic strategy has China been implementing in order to secure the raw materials from the continent? The foundations of the changes in the Chinese policy to resource diplomacy for obtaining the natural resources and energy beginning in the 2000s are observed in the establishment of Forum on China—Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Founded in 1996 by the former leader Jiang Zemin who was inspired by the successful hosting of Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in Japan, FOCAC is based on the five principles of *sincere friendship, equality, mutual respect, consultation and cooperation in international affairs, and looking into the future* that were established after visiting six African countries to define the new direction of diplomatic relations between Africa and China (Li, Anshan, et al., 2012). The establishment of such organization shows that China perceives Africa as the reliable supply of the energy and resources required for the country's economic growth as well as an emerging market to sell the Chinese product in exchange. Furthermore, it suggests that China is proposing its own development model of Beijing consensus against the Washington consensus from the West, and is willing to promote development in the African developing countries by discovering the strengths that the Western countries failed to uncover.

FOCAC have been actually providing various economic benefits like debt relief, tariff exemption, and FDI through the Chinese enterprises to African countries, and the African leaderships have been voluntarily cooperating with the Chinese resource diplomacy in order to win more of this large-scale benefit package from China given through FOCAC. Although China has promised large sums of aid, it was a decision without damage in terms of China's core interest of securing a reliable source of energy need for sustainable growth. For instance, at the third FOCAC, China achieved its

objective of resource diplomacy and signed a total of 16 commercial contracts worth of US\$1.9 billion, including US\$938 million worth of aluminum steelworks construction in Egypt. US\$60 million worth of Sudanese textile business, US\$300 million worth of road maintenance in Nigeria, and other contracts in infrastructure, natural resources, technology, finance, and communication (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012).

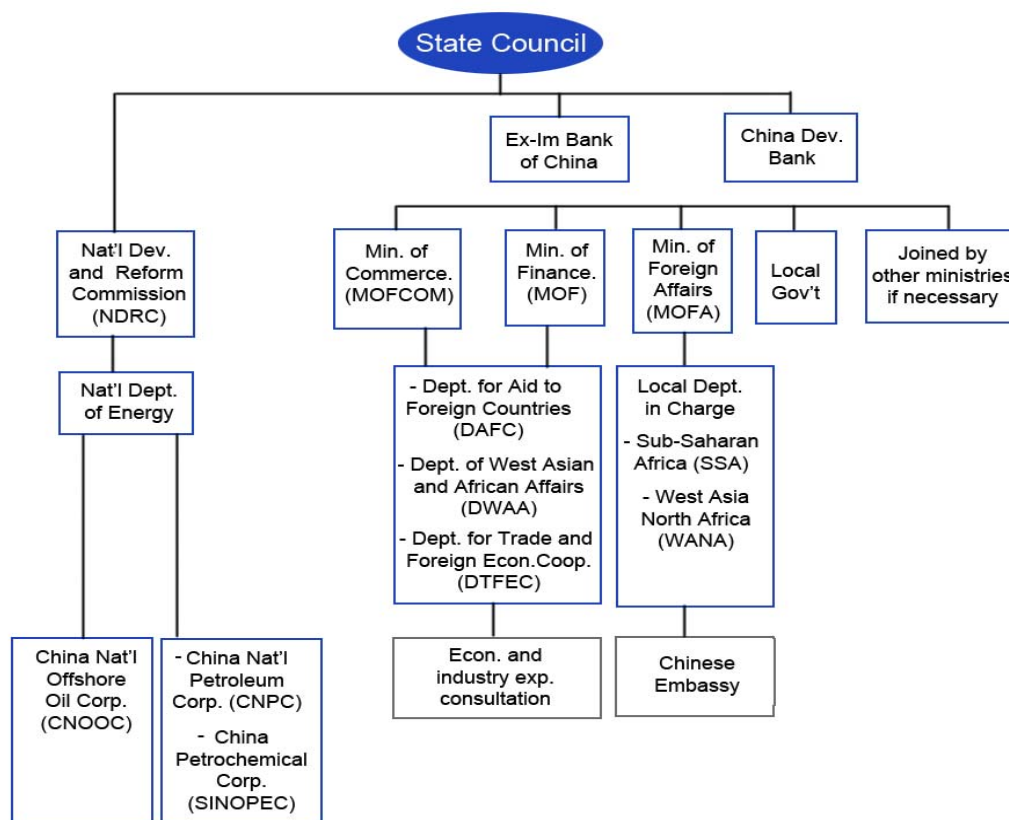
<Table 10> FOCAC Purpose of Establishment

General Agenda	Detailed Agenda
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securing a stable source of resources need for China's economic growth • Emerging markets that can absorb the Chinese products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securing resource supplier, including agricultural products • Creating a market to export the Chinese goods and services • Land acquisition for the purpose of maintaining vested rights in the agricultural sector • Securing position as an alternative model to the Western development model • Providing political support when in need like international conflicts • Encouraging mass migration of Chinese people

Source: Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012: 189. Translated by the author.

In order to carry out such strategic public diplomacy, there is a cooperation organization systematized inside the Chinese government as summarized in the table below. In a broad sense, the Chinese State Council is responsible for overseeing China's expansion in Africa, and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) under the State Council orders guidance to the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Land and Resources, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on related policy decisions. Among these, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State-owned Asset Supervision and Administration Commission, and the Ministry of Commerce are the entities that make decisions on the expansion of Africa primarily. In particular, as the world's largest export-credit agency that surpassed the World Bank in the year of 2006 alone and held US\$153.8 billion worth of asset in 2011, the Export-Import (EXIM) of China is the only agency that operates a concessional loan system under the State Council (Kim, Dong Hwan et al., 2012).

<Table 11> China's Cooperation Organization for African Expansion



Source: GTZ: Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit(2008). Lugt (2011). Recreated from the figure in Kim, Dong Hwan et al., (2012).

iii. 'Cooperation': 'South-South' Development Model and Spread of Soft Power

Finally, China has been implementing a diplomacy policy of joint cooperation in Africa with the aim to grow its soft power through the pursuit of mutual benefit and equality discourse under the principle of joint growth. In particular, China has gained the support and cooperation among developing countries thanks to its attitude to actively collect opinions from the recipient countries and its immediate transaction of aid, as opposed to the Western aid that gets delayed due to a number of policy strings attached. For instance, in response to the criticism from the Western countries saying China only dumps low-quality products in Africa, the former Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi argued that "China is selling good-quality goods at relatively low prices and these goods suit the African market" (FOCAC). Such response from African countries that highlight only the benefits of the Chinese aid to Africa is also shown in the local press, despite the accusations from the West towards FOCAC.

More than anything, it's important to note that Africa's such favorable disposition towards China is not solely due to the capital inflows to the continent

through resource diplomacy for development purposes. Aside from embarking much investment in major infrastructure projects, China has been dedicated to guide the African developing countries to achieve the eight goals of MDGs by 2015 as well as the future Post-MDGs (SDGs) (Ye, Jiang et al., 2014). For instance, many of the African countries are suffering from challenges like foreign debts, lack of public facilities like hospitals and schools, unsanitary environment, and food shortage. In order to tackle such pressing issues, the Chinese government has been giving full support to improve the quality of life for Africans by improving medical service, building schools, supporting to increase agricultural productivity, and providing disaster and debt reliefs. Such efforts to build the public welfare facilities and to provide humanitarian assistance has been expanded to contribute directly and indirectly into improving the life of the citizens in the developing countries through projects like constructions of low-cost housing, sewage disposal systems, and telecommunication network. In regards to the food supply issue, China is also giving massive support to increase the agricultural productivity in Africa through 142 related construction projects like Agricultural Demonstration Sites and Agricultural Technology Distribution Centers. Particularly, China's assistance to improving education in Africa carries significance in its legitimacy as it started when China first established its diplomatic ties with the continent. Specifically, China has been implementing the one-to-one cooperation of "China · African University 20 + 20 Cooperation Plan" to strengthen the cooperation with the African educational institutions, and operating and expanding the program in which 100 African students with a doctoral degree in science and technology to pursue their post-doctorate research in a relevant institution in China (King, Kenneth, 2014).

Finally, China has been showing the most vested interest and vowed to provide a large-scale support in the medical field. In fact, China's assistance to the African medical industry has a history of 47 years, and it holds a large share in China's public diplomacy as shown in the Chinese leadership's announcement to actively expand the support by providing more anti-malaria medicines and prevention clinics and to take the full responsibility in training the African doctors and nurses in this regard (Brautigam, Deborah, 2011). Such actions on China's part have definitely contributed to favoritism among Africans toward the giant aid donor. According to the poll titled "How the World Sees China" the done by an American think-tank of Pew Research Center in 2007, most of the African countries display strong senses of favoritism towards China, including Cote d'Ivoire and Mali where about 92% of the respondents responded in favor towards China (Pew Research Center, 2007). Given this, such Chinese case in which the country implemented positive images to the citizens from the aid recipient countries rather directly and effectively by putting forth efforts into providing medical assistance may be seen as a successful case of "health diplomacy" and takes an important part in China's long-term friendship with the African countries.

VI. Conclusion and Policy Implications

1. Complementary Nature of Korea—China ODA Strategies

Based on such successful case of the Chinese public diplomacy, it is essential to examine how Korea can differentiate itself as the late-comer in diplomatic exchanges with Africa. Given that the two countries display similar trends in public diplomacy while sharing analogous goals of market creation in the emerging economies and securing resources for sustainable development, there has been a heated debate in the field of development cooperation over whether China and Korea can be economic partners working closely with one another or bound to be competitors working against each other. Especially since the China's rapidly expanding range of economic activities and industry competitiveness may indicate a slowdown in the Korean public diplomacy, China's invasive and strategic development assistance to emerging economies may seem as a threat in achieving Korea's objectives.

However, as previously seen in the case of China's assistance to Africa, such rise of China in the area of public diplomacy may actually signal an opportunity for Korea to seek the ways to cooperate with China rather than perceiving it was a threat. In particular, there are many more complementary elements through middle and long-term cooperation between the countries rather than substitutable factors, given that China's ODA carries out its public diplomacy with the focus on resource and capitals while Korea's strategy revolves around the technical assistance of KSP. Therefore, there needs to be proactive efforts to improve the quality of public diplomacy and to achieve the synergies by promoting future cooperation through network activation.

2. Proposal for Development of KSP

The KSP is a new model of development cooperation being established by South Korea, almost the only country that made a successful transition from aid recipient to aid donor. The recent changes in the international political landscape and financial environment demand to overcome the conventional finance support system. Specifically, the financial assistance to the developing countries dependent on certain organizations and the structural reforms from outside with conditionality attached exposed many issues when it comes to achieving the goals of sustainable development, peace and co-existence, eradication of global poverty, and security. And this is where the importance of the KSP lies as a mean to complement the development finance. As critical as capitals are knowledge, institutions, and policies, and they by nature cannot be separated from individuals, society, and the state but are accumulated as a part of collective capabilities.

This is another reason why South Korea should develop and expand its KSP from the long-term perspective, despite various limitations. The following are a few recommendations in this regard to end this article.

First of all, there is the need to improve the budget, human resources, and stability with respect to the operating system managing the KSP services. As a single-year contracted service, the KSP is not guaranteed its stability when it comes to the country and topic selection, and such structural limitation becomes an obstacle in seeking substantiality and training professional workforce. Given this, it is necessary to furnish the evidence and system, to actively allocate the budgets, and to build a solid base system to carry out the KSP service in stable manner.

For instance, the foreign aid projects from Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF) have their own legislation for doing business efficiently and systematically. Hence, it is imperative to establish the legal basis and the conforming governance structure in order for the KSP to settle as a new development cooperation model.

Under Korea Development Institute (KDI), the Center for International Development (CID) oversees the KSP business in order to effectively address the current surge in demand for domestic and foreign policy advisory services. Although organizational and relevant infrastructures for services like business management consulting & inspection and policy research & program evaluation, etc. have been strengthened, there still needs to be improvement in various aspects. In particular, building an institutional basis to ensure the stability of finance is urgent, as is the effort to build an attraction system to secure an outstanding workforce. In addition to securing the budget stability and optimizing human resources and organizations adequately to appropriate business scale, the attention and policy support for training development cooperating consultants and strengthening international bond and ties are also required. Moreover, further participation from private consultants should be encouraged for training the professionals and carrying out the KSP services to solidify the grounds for the domestic KSP services. Finally, programs like Young KSPians for training the future development cooperation experts should be further diversified and expanded.

Second, there needs to be a monitoring and evaluation model for sustainable development of the KSP. The current evaluation system of the KSP is not so far from the evaluation techniques, systems, and methods used for the previous generation's international development cooperation projects. Hence, it is necessary to build a more effective monitoring and evaluation system to specialize and develop the indicators and evaluation methodologies that reflect the characteristics of the KSP. The current

performance evaluation outsourced three years in a row shows certain weaknesses in terms of evaluation's expertise, objectivity, and feasibility.

As an alternative, the external expert group and the KDI need to perform a preliminary review on evaluation feasibility through investigating present condition and fundamental research, building database, and surveying the relevant literatures, and to come up with an effective evaluation methodology (including indicators) considering the characteristics of the KSP and an action based on such research. In particular, a post-monitoring service is essential to check the cases in which the KSP policy advisory actually guided in the partner country's policy making process through the local networks periodically and to review development plan linked with the follow-up business continually. At the same time, capacity building within the overseeing institution to perform the relevant evaluation with expertise and closer network building among internal and external experts and business partners through workshops and seminars with a group of outside experts are required as well.

Finally, as the KSP serves supplementary role to the conventional financial development assistance, constructive criticisms and support from the international community is critical to settle as the new, effective development cooperation model. Actively utilizing Korea's resources like its development experience, expertise, business experience, and global network, the KSP is contributing to co-living and development with the partner countries. Considering the rising attention from the international community towards this new attempt in development cooperation, the KSP is also a large-scale international cooperation model with much potential to develop in future.

Albeit the current system is incomplete and the business administration may be insufficient in some aspects, the KSP is still evolving and that's why there are infinite possibilities for program development and expansion through new ideas. Unlike the traditional model of development assistance, the KSP cannot be monopolized by a particular organization, which calls for participation and cooperation among many more agencies. As the phrase "knowledge sharing" literally means, there needs to be cooperation among the relevant departments and organizations, collaboration among scholarly fields and majors, and creative fusion between the public and the private sectors. There needs to be diverse collaborative models generated in many levels, and further interest and support are required from the international community in order to carry out this research more actively.

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