

Pre-election Brief

South Korea's 2025 Snap Presidential Election

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South Korea's presidential election on June 3, 2025, comes at a pivotal moment in the country's political development, unfolding against a backdrop of deepening domestic political tensions, economic challenges, and mounting external pressures.

The snap election—the country's 21st presidential contest—was triggered by the Constitutional Court's April 4 decision to uphold the National Assembly's impeachment vote from December, which followed President Yoon Suk-yeol's attempt to impose martial law on December 3, 2024. Yoon's move plunged the nation into an unprecedented constitutional and political crisis that unfolded over several months and affected all sectors of state and society.

In this context, the election is not merely about selecting Yoon's successor but about confronting and overcoming the country's gravest political crisis since its transition from military to democratic rule. Reflecting heightened public engagement and the perceived significance of the vote, early voting has seen a high turnout.

Background

The presidential election follows months of political turmoil, during which Yoon's declaration of martial law, the National Assembly's impeachment vote, and the Constitutional Court's ruling stood out as the most significant among numerous consequential events.

Martial law declaration

On December 3, 2024, President Yoon Suk-yeol declared martial law. In a televised address, he singled out the National Assembly—particularly the opposition Democratic Party (DP)—as the source of paralysis within his administration and a threat to national security, which he cited as the justification for invoking martial law.

Yoon's rationale highlights the core of the crisis: a prolonged power struggle between the opposition Democratic Party (DP) and his ruling People Power Party (PPP), ongoing since his election in 2022. Throughout his presidency, Yoon faced an opposition-controlled National Assembly, with the DP consistently using its majority to challenge his authority and advance its own legislative agenda.

In his address, Yoon pointed to 22 parliamentary motions to impeach government officials, describing them as unprecedented both in South Korean history and on a global scale. He further argued that the National Assembly had obstructed judicial processes by pressuring judges and impeaching prosecutors, all while attempting to cripple the executive branch.

According to Yoon, efforts to impeach key officials—including the Minister of the Interior, the Chairman of the Korea Communications Commission, the President of the Board of Audit and Inspection, and the Minister of National Defense—had significantly undermined the government's ability to function.

Addressing the budget dispute that preceded his declaration, Yoon accused the DP of using the national budget as a political weapon. He characterized what he called "the DP's legislative dictatorship" as "an act of inciting internal rebellion by trampling the constitutional order of the free Republic of Korea and disrupting legitimate state institutions established by the Constitution and law."

Yoon went on to describe the National Assembly as "a den of criminals, paralyzing the nation's judicial and administrative systems through legislative dictatorship and plotting the overthrow of our liberal democratic system."

Appealing to long-standing anti-Communist sentiments in South Korean society, Yoon vowed to use martial law to defend the nation against "the threats of North Korean communist forces" and to "immediately eradicate the unscrupulous pro-Pyongyang, anti-state forces that undermine the freedom and happiness of our people and endanger our free constitutional order."¹

In an immediate response, 190 lawmakers convened in the 300-member National Assembly– despite military attempts to block access–and unanimously voted to revoke the declaration of martial law.



President Yoon declares martial law (Photo: Yonhap News Agency)

¹ An English transcript of President Yoon Suk Yeol's martial law declaration, available at *Korea JoongAng Daily*, <u>https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/2024-12-04/national/politics/Transcript-President-Yoon-Suk-Yeols-speech-to-declare-emergency-martial-law-/2191990</u>.

Impeachment vote

After a first failed attempt on December 6, the National Assembly voted to impeach Yoon on December 14, with votes from his own party that secured the two-thirds threshold required to pass the motion, resulting in Yoon's suspension from office. The motion argued that Yoon violated constitutional principles and provisions, including:

- Sovereignty of the people (Article 1 of the Constitution) and representative democracy (Paragraph (1) of Article 67 of the Constitution).
- Parliamentary immunity from arrest (Article 44 of the Constitution)
- Voting rights of National Assembly members (Article 49 of the Constitution).
- The duty to command the armed forces in accordance with the Constitution and laws (Paragraph (1) of Article 74).
- The National Assembly's authority to demand the termination of martial law (Paragraph (5) of Article 77).
- Procedural and substantive requirements for declaring martial law as stipulated in the Constitution.²

The decision made Yoon the third South Korean president to be impeached, following Roh Moohyun in 2004—who was later reinstated—and Park Geun-hye in 2016, who was removed from office.

The impeachment vote represented a decisive assertion of legislative authority over the executive, reaffirming the parliament's constitutional power to hold the president accountable for violations of the Constitution or serious misconduct. This vote also served as a test of South Korea's young democracy. The impeachment of a sitting president underlines the parliament's commitment to democratic rule and resilience

At the same time, the decision exposed and deepened existing political polarization. Passed largely with the support of the DP and resisted by the PPP, the impeachment reflects intense institutional conflict and broader societal divisions over Yoon's leadership and the legitimacy of his actions.

Constitutional Court ruling

After 38 days of deliberation, the Constitutional Court on April 4 unanimously upheld the National Assembly's impeachment vote against President Yoon, removing him from office with immediate effect and triggering a snap presidential election to be held within 60 days.³

The court ruled Yoon's declaration of martial law unconstitutional, stating that it failed to meet the threshold of a wartime emergency or a comparable national crisis that would justify such extraordinary measures. It also dismissed Yoon's allegations of election fraud, which had been raised during the trial. Instead, the court found that Yoon had violated the Constitution by

² National Assembly, Republic of Korea, at

 $[\]label{eq:https://korea.assembly.go.kr:447/portalEn/bbs/B0000170/view.do?nttld=3392887\&menuNo=1500099\&sdate=\&edate=&searchDtGbn=c0\&pageUnit=10\&pdCndCd=A\&pageIndex=1.$

³ "Constitutional Court upholds Yoon's impeachment, removes him from office", *Yonhap News Agency*, April 4, 2025, <u>https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20250403008554315?section=national/politics</u>

mobilizing police and military forces to obstruct parliamentary proceedings and attempting to raid the National Election Commission.⁴

Acting Chief Justice Moon Hyung-bae concluded that Yoon had abused national emergency powers and caused chaos across society, the economy, and foreign policy. "By imposing martial law," Moon stated, "[Yoon] abandoned his duty to uphold the Constitution and gravely betrayed the trust of the people of the Republic of Korea—the sovereign citizens of a democratic republic."⁵



⁴ "Yoon removed from office in unanimous impeachment ruling", *The Chosun Daily*, April 4, 2025, <u>https://apnews.com/article/south-korea-yoon-martial-law-conspiracy-theories-youtube-election-fraud-60baa8ab306ceaca6465b90569f079a6</u>

⁵ "Full transcript of Yoon Suk Yeol's impeachment ruling", *The Korea Times*, April 4, 2025, <u>https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/amp/southkorea/politics/20250404/full-transcript-of-south-korean-president-yoon-suk-yeols-impeachment-ruling-by-constitutional-court</u>

Election issues

Following the Constitutional Court's ruling, Acting President Han Duck-soo announced during a Cabinet meeting on April 8 that the snap presidential election would be held on June 3—the latest permissible date. The official 22-day campaign period was set for May 12 to June 2, the day before the election, with overseas voting scheduled for May 20–25 and early voting held on May 29 and 30.

The presidential candidates have been campaigning in the midst of a deeply divided society, economic uncertainty, and mounting external pressures.⁶

Heightened political polarization

The political fallout from Yoon's martial law declaration has left South Korean society deeply polarized. Months of civil unrest and mass protests—both supporting and opposing the former president—have underscored the depth of the country's ideological divide. Supporters view Yoon's actions as a decisive stand against corruption, while critics condemn the imposition of martial law as a violation of South Korea's hard-won democracy. Conservative factions have largely embraced Yoon's authoritarian leadership style, whereas progressive groups call for sweeping reforms to protect and strengthen the nation's democratic institutions.⁷

In January, Yoon resisted arrest for nearly two weeks by ordering armed soldiers and members of the Presidential Security Service to block access to the presidential compound, resulting in a tense standoff between law enforcement forces and Yoon's armed security team and supporters.

Notably, the rise of the "New Right" political movement during the crisis has deepened societal divisions by promoting a revisionist, authoritarian-leaning narrative. Alienating large segments of the population, the movement advocates for strong executive authority and expanded national security measures, while alleging election fraud in the 2024 general election, in which the DP retained its parliamentary majority. Its rhetoric frequently portrays the opposition as sympathetic to North Korea or unpatriotic, further polarizing the political discourse.

The heightened political polarization and partisan hostility seen during the martial law crisis and the pre-election period are not new but reflect long-standing ideological tribalism. The DP is frequently accused of sympathizing with North Korea, while the People Power Party (PPP) is derided as beholden to U.S. and Japanese interests. These divisions are deeply rooted in Korea's modern history, shaped by colonial rule, civil war, and a hard-won transition to democracy. In this context, Yoon's martial law declaration was not an anomaly but rather a symptom of South Korea's political DNA.⁸

⁶ National Election Commission, The Republic of Korea, <u>https://www.nec.go.kr/site/eng/main.do</u>.

⁷ Gulf Research Centre, "South Korea's Political Crisis: Implications for Democracy, Governance and Regional Security with the GCC States," February 19, 2025, <u>https://www.grc.net/single-commentary/228</u>.

⁸ Singapore Institute of International Affairs, "Politics and Power Struggles: South Korea's Leadership Crisis," February 24, 2025 <u>https://siiaonline.org/politics-and-power-struggles-south-koreas-leadership-crisis/</u>.



Yoon supporters (Photo: Bloomberg)

Anti-Yoon protesters (Photo: AFP)

Constitutional overhaul

Constitutional reform has emerged as a significant issue. The impeachment and removal of Yoon intensified public discourse on the need to amend the constitution to prevent future abuses of executive power. Public sentiment also reflects a desire for constitutional change. A poll in December 2024 indicated that 56% of respondents supported amending the Constitution to reform the current single, five-year presidential term and to establish stronger checks and balances to curb excessive presidential powers.⁹

Economic headwinds

South Korea's economy is projected to grow by just 0.8% in 2025, down from 1.6% estimated in February, as the country faces rising domestic and global uncertainty. Sluggish domestic demand and cooling exports are compounded by challenges during a critical period for trade talks with the United States.

The Bank of Korea projects that the consumption growth will decline by up to 1.0 percentage points annually over the next five years due to rapid population aging and a falling birthrate. Particularly the shrinking working-age population and rising life expectancy are major factors behind the slowdown. Retirees tend to have limited income, reduced social activity, and a higher tendency to save, which lowers overall consumption. From 2013 to 2024, the trend growth rate of private consumption declined by 1.6 percentage points compared to 2001–2012, with 0.8 percentage points annually attributed to demographic factors. These effects are expected to intensify between 2025 and 2030.

With the recovery in domestic demand delayed, export growth is expected to slow further due to the impact of U.S. tariffs.¹⁰

⁹ "Majority of Koreans back changes to limit presidential powers," The Korea Times, December 31, 2024, <u>https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/southkorea/politics/20241231/poll-shows-most-koreans-back-changes-to-limit-presidential-powers</u>.

¹⁰ Bank of Korea, "Economic Outlook (May 2025),"

https://www.bok.or.kr/eng/bbs/E0000634/view.do?nttld=10091648&searchCnd=1&searchKwd=&depth2=400417& depth3=400423&depth=400423&pageUnit=10&pageIndex=1&programType=newsDataEng&menuNo=400423&oldM enuNo=400423.

International challenges

On the international stage, South Korea's next president will face the task of navigating a volatile global economy while managing U.S. President Donald Trump's transactional approach to diplomacy and trade, including the reimposition of tariffs. The intensifying U.S.-China strategic rivalry places Seoul in a precarious position, as it seeks to balance its security alliance with Washington against its economic dependence on Beijing.

Meanwhile, North Korea's deepening alliance with Russia, its accelerated militarization, and ongoing nuclear threats present formidable challenges for inter-Korean relations. Historical and territorial disputes with Japan also persist, despite recent diplomatic efforts that have led to a modest improvement in bilateral ties.

PPP and DP contenders for presidency

South Korea's multiparty political system, formalized in the 1987 Constitution, has historically operated as a moderate multiparty system dominated by two main parties: progressives and conservatives While these parties have frequently rebranded to distance themselves from prior administrations and corruption scandals. Today they are known as Democratic Party of Korea (DP) and the People Power Party (PPP).

Most smaller parties have emerged as splinters or breakaway factions from these two major parties. They often form due to ideological differences, leadership disputes, or strategic disagreements within the major parties. While some have tried to establish distinct platforms, many remain linked historically and politically to their parent parties.¹¹

A prominent case is presidential candidate Lee Jun-seok, a former PPP leader who left the party in December 2023 amid tensions with President Yoon and the party leadership—particularly over its perceived failure to distance itself from Yoon. He went on to establish the Reform Party the following month. Lee Jun-seok recently rejected last-minute efforts by the PPP to form a joint candidacy between him and Kim Moon-soo.

Despite the candidacy of Lee Jun-seok, in the 21st presidential race the DP and PPP once again battling it out in the political arena, cementing the two-party system.¹²

PPP/DP rivalry

The ruling PPP is the country's conservative political party, generally positioned on the right-wing of the political spectrum. It was established in February 2020 as the United Future Party through a merger of several conservative parties, including the Liberty Korea Party, New Conservative Party, and Onward for Future 4.0, and was renamed the People Power Party in August 2020.

¹¹ Youngmi Kim, "Evolution of Political Parties and the Party System in South Korea," in S Lim and NJP Alsford (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary South Korea*, London: Routledge, 2021, pp. 65-81, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003026150.

¹² "Lee Jun-seok rules out presidential campaign merger with PPP's Kim," *Korea JoongAng Daily*, May 27, 2025, <u>https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/2025-05-27/national/2025presidential/Lee-Junseok-rules-out-presidential-campaign-merger-with-PPPs-Kim/2316758</u>.

It advocates free-market capitalism, pro-business policies, and a strong national defense, while maintaining conservative positions on social and cultural issues. The party emphasizes economic liberalism and fiscal conservatism, upholds traditional family values, and supports a tough stance on North Korea in alignment with U.S. foreign policy. The party places strong emphasis on law and order, viewing it as essential to maintaining public safety, social stability, and national security. Consistent with its conservative orientation, the party advocates tough-on-crime policies, strong policing, and strict enforcement of laws, particularly in areas such as organized crime, drug offenses, cybercrime, and national security threats.

The opposition DP is generally considered a liberal political party in South Korea. Founded as the New Politics Alliance for Democracy in March 2014 as a merger between the previous Democratic Party and the preparatory committee of the New Political Vision Party (NPVP), the party changed its name to the current name in December 2015. In 2022, the Democratic Party, the Open Democratic Party, and New Wave merged to form a big tent party.

The party advocates progressive social policies, economic reform, and engagement with North Korea. It promotes gender equality, labor rights, and expanded social welfare while supporting anti-discrimination efforts. Economically, the DPK focuses on inclusive growth, labor market reform, innovation, and affordable housing. On North Korea, the party favors diplomacy, denuclearization, humanitarian aid, and maintaining strong security alliances, especially with the United States.

The fundamental rivalry between the PPP and the DP is similar in many ways to the two-party system in the United States between Republicans and Democrats. Both sets of parties represent the dominant political forces in their countries, with the PPP and Republicans generally positioned on the conservative center-right, and the DP and Democrats leaning toward the liberal center-left. However, South Korea's political landscape also features more fluid party dynamics, with frequent factional splits and new party formations, whereas the US parties tend to be more stable institutions.

This rivalry shapes most major political debates, elections, and policymaking. The divide often results in intense presidential and legislative confrontation. When the presidency and the National Assembly are controlled by opposing parties, legislative gridlock frequently occurs, as is currently the case in South Korea. Each side has resorted to impeachment motions, legislative boycotts, and aggressive oversight.

DP/PPP candidates

Five candidates are vying for South Korea's highest political office, including:

- Lee Jae-myung, Democratic Party
- Kim Moon-soo, People Power Party
- Lee Jun-seok, Reform Party
- Kwon Yeong-guk, Democratic Labor PartySong
- Jin-ho, Independent



Presidential candidates, from left to right: Lee Jae-myung, Kim Moon-soo, Lee Jun-seok, Kwon Yeong-guk, Koo Joo-wa (candidacy withdrawal May 19), Hwang Kyo-ahn (candidacy withdrawal June 1), Song Jin-ho

However, only two candidates are considered serious contenders: Lee Jae-myung of the main opposition Democratic Party (DP) and Kim Moon-soo of the ruling People Power Party (PPP).

This election is widely seen as a rematch of the razor-thin 2022 presidential race—the closest in South Korean history—when Yoon Suk-yeol narrowly defeated Lee Jae-myung by just 0.73 percentage points. Three years later, Lee is once again the DP nominee and comfortably leads in the polls.

DP candidate: Lee Jae-myung

Lee Jae-myung, a career politician and two-term lawmaker (2022–present), previously served as mayor of Seongnam and governor of Gyeonggi Province before becoming the leader of the DP. Despite narrowly losing the 2022 presidential race, Lee's popularity endured, contributing to the DP's landslide victory in the 2024 general elections.

Despite strong polling numbers, Lee's candidacy has not been without controversy. In 2024, he was convicted of violating the Public Official Election Act for making false statements about his ties to a rezoning scandal during his tenure as Seongnam mayor. He was sentenced to one year in prison in November 2024. However, an appellate court overturned the verdict in March 2025, clearing his path to contest the upcoming presidential election. On May 1, the Supreme Court overturned that acquittal in a 10–2 decision, ordering a retrial at the Seoul High Court. Initially scheduled for May 15, the Supreme Court postponed the retrial to June 18–after the June 3 presidential election.¹³ Nevertheless, the DP strongly criticized the Supreme Court's decision, denouncing the ruling as politically motivated and organizing rallies and protests against what it perceives as judicial overreach.

Lee is campaigning on a platform of economic reform, democratic renewal, and pragmatic diplomacy. His economic agenda promotes a "basic society" model centered on universal basic income, affordable housing, low-interest loans, and a shorter workweek. Politically, he advocates constitutional amendments to restrict the imposition of martial law, including a requirement for parliamentary approval within 24 hours of any such declaration. On foreign policy, Lee aims to

¹³ "South Korea top court overturns presidential frontrunner's criminal case," *Channel News Asia*, May 1, 2025, <u>https://www.channelnewsasia.com/east-asia/south-korea-top-court-rule-presidential-frontrunner-case-election-5101586</u>.

balance relations with the U.S., China, and Japan, while pursuing gradual denuclearization and renewed dialogue with North Korea.

PPP candidate: Kim Moon-soo

The main contender to Lee Jae-myung is Kim Moon-soo, who was appointed by Yoon as Minister of Employment and Labor in August last year and resigned from the post in April to run for the presidency. A former Democratic Party (DP) member, Kim is a three-term lawmaker (1996–2006) and served as Governor of Gyeonggi Province from 2006 to 2014.

A leftist labor activist during South Korea's military rule—imprisoned and tortured for his union activities—Kim has since become a staunch conservative and vocal supporter of Yoon. He opposed Yoon's impeachment and defended him throughout the post-martial law crisis. A critic of labor unions and progressive social movements, Kim was labeled "anti-labor" by the DP during his ministerial tenure, citing his controversial remarks encouraging corporations to sue striking unionized workers.

Kim's candidacy has faced considerable internal resistance within the PPP, which face a severe leadership vacuum after Yoon's removal from office. After securing the party's nomination with 56.5% of the vote, Kim encountered opposition from party leadership, which attempted to replace him with former Prime Minister Han Duck-soo. This led to a temporary suspension of his campaign and a series of legal disputes. However, a party-wide vote ultimately reinstated Kim as the official candidate.¹⁴

Kim's campaign focuses on economic policies centered on deregulation and tax relief for the middle class. He has pledged to create a more business-friendly environment by easing regulations, increasing incentives for companies investing in South Korea, and amending the industrial safety law to shield corporate executives from criminal liability in fatal workplace accidents. He also supports continuing Yoon's hardline policy on North Korea, advocating a firm stance toward Pyongyang.

Latest polls show Lee Jae-myung maintaining a lead of over 10 percentage points against Kim Moon-soo, less than a week before the election, with 49.2% support compared to 36.8% for his main rival. Far behind is Lee Jun-seok of the Reform Party, polling at 10.3%.¹⁵

If elected, Lee Jae-myung would become the first center-left president to take office with a National Assembly majority. The Democratic Party currently holds 171 out of 300 legislative seats, which would grant Lee a strong mandate through the next general election in 2028. This level of legislative control would enable him to pursue sweeping reforms with minimal resistance, avoiding the legislative gridlock that hindered the Yoon administration's agenda.

¹⁴ "South Korea's conservatives settle on Kim Moon-soo after nomination turmoil exposes rifts," Reuters, May 10, 2025, <u>https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/south-koreas-conservatives-drop-presidential-candidate-select-new-pick-2025-05-09/</u>.

¹⁵ "Lee leads Kim by over 10 percentage points as early voting set to begin," *Yonhap News Agency*, May 28, 2025, <u>https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20250528001051315</u>.

Postscript: Yoon's Fate

Yoon's removal from office is a stunning fall from grace for the former star prosecutor turned politician, who once played a central role in the impeachment and imprisonment of former president Park Geun-hye.¹⁶ He is the third South Korean president to be impeached, the second to be removed from office, and the first sitting president to be indicted on charges of insurrection. Yoon's criminal trial on insurrection began on April 14 and is ongoing. But the outlook is bleak.

In their opening arguments, prosecutors echoed the Constitutional Court's impeachment ruling, asserting that Yoon had no legal authority to declare martial law and had deliberately sought to paralyze the legislature and undermine democratic institutions. Yoon continues to deny the charges, insisting that his actions constituted a "peaceful message martial law" intended to alert the nation to what he described as a crisis sparked by the impeachment of more than 20 officials by the DP. "I knew this martial law would end within half a day, a day," he stated in court.¹⁷

It's a near repeat of the defense he presented during his impeachment trial—one the Constitutional Court firmly rejected, ruling that the conflict with the National Assembly should have been addressed through democratic processes. The trial is expected to stretch over several months, with testimony from at least 38 witnesses. A conviction on insurrection charges could result in life imprisonment, or even the death penalty.¹⁸

Yoon has remained defiant, embracing his newfound status as a cult political figure. Just seven days after his removal, he and his wife Kim Keon-hee left the presidential residence for the last time as thousands of supporters gathered at the gates, chanting "Yoon again" – a rallying cry for the former president to run for office once more.

When the gates opened, Yoon stepped out of his car to greet the crowd like a national hero, shaking hands and embracing supporters. He didn't hesitate to accept a red hat from one of them, emblazoned with "Make Korea Great Again", a clear nod to Donald Trump's infamous slogan.¹⁹

The gesture was more than symbolic; it signaled Yoon's full embrace of conspiratorial, far-right populism that has taken root in American politics and now emerging as a driving force in South Korea's 2025 presidential election. Ultimately, Yoon's fate may not just influence the next presidency, it could redefine the future of South Korea's constitutional democracy.

¹⁶ "South Korea's impeached president is removed from office, fourth months after declaring martial law", *CNN*, April 4, 2025, <u>https://edition.cnn.com/2025/04/03/asia/yoon-impeachment-verdict-south-korea-intl-hnk/index.html</u>.

¹⁷ "South Korea begins criminal insurrection trial of ousted president Yoon", *Reuters*, April 14, 2025, <u>https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/south-koreas-ousted-leader-yoon-due-court-criminal-trial-starts-2025-04-14/</u>.

¹⁸ "Yoon's criminal trial starts as South Korea races for new election", *Nikkei Asia*, April 14, 2025, <u>https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/South-Korea-leadership-crisis/Yoon-s-criminal-trial-starts-as-South-Korea-races-for-new-election</u>.

¹⁹ "Yoon Suk-yeol greets 2000 supporters in Seoul wearing 'Make Korea Great Again' hat", *Chosun Biz*, April 11, 2025, <u>https://biz.chosun.com/en/en-society/2025/04/11/S52XVJKDDFCQNCFGJV5GV0BDAU/</u>.

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