KOREA AND (THE FUTURE OF) THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

JONGRYN MO

DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE, THE ASAN INSTITUTE

OCTOBER 25, 2013

ASAN INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

Debate on global governance: realism versus liberalism

- Variants of hegemonic stability theory
 Political leadership (Gilpin, 1987)
 - A G-zero world (Bremmer and Noubini, 2011)
 - American primacy (Kagan, 2012)
- Liberal Internationalism
 - Rising powers are liberal internationalists (Ikenberry, 2011)

Missing in the debate is the role of middle power leadership!

- Global governance is polarized
 - The United States versus China
 - The G7 versus the BRICS
 - Developed versus developing countries
- Effective and stable global governance may require and depend on a strong middle
 - MIKTA close to 10% of world GDP
 - Traditional middle powers Australia, Canada, Scandinavian countries

Concepts of middle power leadership

- Middle powers countries in the middle in terms of level of development and size
- Middle country behaviors examplesetting, niche playing, mediating/bridging
- Middle country tools hard power and soft power



Ikenberry, John and Jongryn Mo. 2013. *The Rise of Korean Leadership: Emerging Powers and Liberal International Order*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan

The Rise of Korean Leadership (Ikenberry and Mo, 2013)

- Part 1: The Global Financial Crisis and the Rise of Korea as a Global Player
 - Chapter 1 The G20 and South Korea's Middle Power Leadership
 - Chapter 2 Korea's FTA Networks and its Global Leadership
 - Chapter 3 Tiding over the Global Financial Crisis: The Korean Experience
- Part 2: Korea as a New Bridge to the Developing World
 - Case 4 Korea and Emerging Development Cooperation Regime
 - Case 5 Korea's Leadership on Green Growth
- Part 3: Korea's Emerging Role in Regional and Global Security
 - Case 6- Seoul Nuclear Security Summit: Contributions and Achievements
 - Case 7 Global Leadership: International Peace-Keeping Activities

Key issues in the study of Korean leadership

- Charateristics of Korean leadership
 - More successful in example-setting and initiative-taking than in mediating/bridging
 - Focus on intellectual leadership as opposed to "hardware" leadership
- Actual effects on global governance
 Middle power leadership and the G20
- Future of Korean leadership
 - Political will and domestic politics Japan deja vu?
 - Cooperation with other middle powers MIKTA

Middle power leadership and the G20 (Cooper and Mo, 2013)

- Financial regulatory reform
 - Middle powers with strong banks and crisis experience
- Global financial safety net Korean agenda at the Seoul Summit
- The G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth
 - Australia, Canada, and South Korea with the United States
- Seoul Development Agenda
 - Middle powers with recent development experience

Middle powers and G20 institutionalization

- Middle powers' voice is strongest at the G20
- Middle powers have a natural incentive to strengthen the G20 as the premier forum for international economic cooperation

 The G7 and the BRICS
- Middle powers can also use the G20 as a platform for increasing their influence at international organizations
 - G20-IMF relations

Domestic politics of global leadership

- The partisan model (the United States, Canada, Australia)
 - Progressive party is more committed to global issues, multilateralism and global leadership than conservative party
 - Kevin Rudd vs Tony Abbott/ Paul Marin vs Stephen Harper
- The consensus model (Scandinavia)
 - All major parties are equally committed to global issues, multilateralism and global leadership
- The bureaucratic model
 - Global leadership is not a major political issue; the bureaucracy drives global issues policy

THANK YOU!