#### KOREA AND (THE FUTURE OF) THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

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### 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)

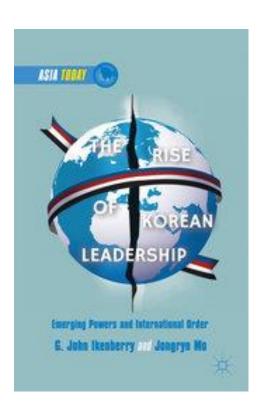
- Liberal Internationalism
  - Rising powers are liberal internationalists (Ikenberry, 2011)

# 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!**