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 – example-setting, niche playing, mediating/bridging
• Middle country tools – hard power and soft power
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

• Characteristics 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!