

**University of Waterloo**  
**Political Science 684**  
**Topics in International Diplomacy:**  
**The G20 and the complex process of summit diplomacy**

Winter Term 2011

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Wednesday 2:30-5:20 EV1 225

Office Hours: Wednesday 1:00:-2:00 or by appointment

This course locates the G20 within a complex process of summit diplomacy. The course will start with an overview of the concept and practice of concert diplomacy, with special attention to the functioning of re-ordering global order. Both the strengths and weaknesses of this process will be examined. Concerts bring together the states, the leaders, and the officials who dominate international affairs. But this re-configuration can also be contested from a variety of perspectives. Is it a concert of big states? The course will then proceed to examine the similarities and differences between the G20 and earlier concepts of diplomacy. In many ways the G20 at the leaders' level builds on prior institutional arrangements, above all the G20 Finance set up during the Asian/IMF crisis of the late 1990s. Some of its culture is derived from the G8. Yet it is the uniqueness of the G20 as a novel forum that stands out. Moreover, unlike the G7 it contains not just states and leaders from the North but opens up rights and responsibilities to the global South, both in terms of the BRICs and middle powers. It operates as a crisis committee, but also has the potential to be a steering committee moving into an array of issues including development. Although a club in terms of many of its features, it is also linked into a wide number of networks. Indeed, much of its work is designed to act as a catalyst for other institutions. If largely a state-centric project of diplomacy there does seem to be some (albeit contested) space for non-state actors to participate.

***Required Texts:***

John English, Ramesh Thakur and Andrew F. Cooper, *Reforming from the Top: A Leaders' 20 Summit* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005). **JE, RT and AFC.**

Peter C. Heap, *Globalization and Summit Reform: An Experiment in International Governance* (Springer/IDRC 2008). **PH**

Andrew F. Cooper and Agata Antkiewicz (eds) *Emerging Powers in Global Governance: Lessons from the Heiligendamm Process* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008). **AFC and AA.**

Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*: (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010). **ASA and AFC.**

The core readings for this course are from these books (denoted with a \*). However, the outline contains a number of other readings that can be used as background for discussions, seminar presentations, and papers.

### ***Additional Readings:***

The majority of this course's readings are journal and newspaper articles. These can be accessed via the University of Waterloo's library system. Please use the links outlined below and search using the journal title or via the e-journals: <http://sfx.scholarsportal.info/waterloo/az>

### ***Course Requirements and Assignments:***

Student will do two short papers that will allow them to lead analysis and discussion of that week's seminar topic. Students will be able to select their assignments by the second week. Students will turn one of their short papers into a longer term paper.

These papers must be written in traditional essay format with appropriate acknowledgement of sources (i.e. proper footnotes, bibliography etc) and they must develop a central thesis that relates to the broad themes addressed during the week of the presentation.

Presentation(s) and Leadership of class comprise 60% of the final mark: 20% for the analytical content of each of two short papers and 20% for overall seminar leadership and other forms of class participation.

The short papers will be 8 to 10 pages in length (12 font) and are required by 4:30 pm the day before the class in which the small papers will be presented. Submission by email of the papers is fine.

Paper: The essay assignment for the class will be an expansion of one of these smaller papers into a larger research paper between 20-25 pages (12 point font, double spaced). The paper is worth – 40%

The final paper is due by 4:30 pm on April 4, 2011, and will be written in traditional essay format with appropriate acknowledgement of sources (i.e. footnotes, bibliography etc).

### ***Academic Integrity:***

**Academic Integrity:** In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

**Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>

**Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>

**Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm>

**Academic Integrity website (Arts):**

[http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic\\_responsibility.html](http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

**Academic Integrity Office (UW):** <http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/>

### **Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

**Note for students with disabilities:** The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

### ***Week 1 – January 5***

Overview of the Course

A focus on the major questions

Looking Back: Traditional Perspectives on Summitry

The Concert Model

Leaders and their advisors

Adaptations in the post-1945 Era

Wider debates

### ***Overviews on Summitry prior to the G20***

*\*Andrew F. Cooper and John English, Introduction, 1-24. JE, RT and AFC*

Nicholas Bayne, ‘The G8’s Past Performances,’ UofT G7 Info. Center. Nicholas Bayne. The G8’s Past Performance ...

John Kirton, 'Contemporary Concert Diplomacy: The Seven-Power Summit and the Management of International Order'.

**UTLink. *Contemporary Concert Diplomacy:...* Prof. John Kirton**

Alison Bailin (2005), 'From Traditional to Group Hegemony'.  
[www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf)

### ***Accounts of the Concert Model***

Elrod, Richard, (1976), 'The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System,' *World Politics* 28 (January 1976):159-74.  
Google or Jstor <**The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System**>

Rosecrance, Richard, (1976), 'A New Concert of Powers,' *Foreign Affairs* 71 (2): 64-82

### ***Concert Models and Advisors***

"Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power-Concert", *International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Apr., 1977), pp. 202-216.  
google or jstor **Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power-Concert**

Henry A. Kissinger  
'Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge',  
*Washington Post*, April 22, 2009  
google or jstor **Henry A. Kissinger - Obama's Foreign Policy Challenge ...**

### ***Background on Wider debates about new and old Diplomacy***

Harold Nicolson, 'The Ideal Diplomatist,' *Diplomacy* (first published in 1939), Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1988, pp.55-67.

Sasson Sofer, 'Old and New Diplomacy', A Debate Revisited," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1988, pp. 195-211.

### ***Week 2 – January 12***

Ideational Forces and the intersection of Diplomacy and Governance  
The ongoing relevance of Realism and Power Politics  
Liberal Internationalism  
Clubs and/Or Networks  
Diplomats as agents of change  
Status quo versus revolutionary

### ***Ideational Forces***

\* Richard Higgott, 'Multilateralism and the limits of global governance,' 72-96. **JE, RT and AFC**

Cox, Robert (1996), 'Global Perestroika', in Robert Cox with Timothy Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapter 15.

Hedley Bull, 'Diplomacy and International Order', in Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, 2002, pp.156-177.

Peter van Ham, 'Power, Public Diplomacy, and the *Pax Americana*', in Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy*, ch. 3, pp. 47-66.

### ***The intersection of Diplomacy and Governance***

Andrew F. Cooper, Brian Hocking and William Maley, 'Diplomacy and Global Governance: Locating Patterns of (Dis)Connection', in *Diplomacy and Global Governance: Worlds Apart?* (London: Palgrave, 2008), 1-14.

Weiss, Thomas (2009), 'What Happened to the Idea of World Government', *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (June): 253-271.

### ***Realism***

Hans J. Morgenthau, 'Diplomacy', ch. 31 in *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th edition, 2005, pp.539-550; 551-568

Paul Sharp, 'Diplomacy and Diplomats in the Realist Tradition', in *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 53-72.

### ***Liberal Internationalism***

Paul Sharp, 'Diplomacy and Diplomats in the Rational Tradition', in *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*, pp. 39-53.

\* Ikenberry, John (2001), 'The Three faces of Liberal Internationalism', 17-47. **ASA and AFC**

### ***Networks***

\*A.M Slaughter and Thomas Hale, 'Transnational Networks and Emerging Powers', 48-62. **ASA and AFC**

### ***Diplomats as Change Agents***

Brian Hocking, 'Catalytic Diplomacy: Beyond 'Newness' and 'Decline', in Jan Melissen, *Innovation in Diplomatic Practice*, Macmillan 1999, pp.21–42.

Alan K. Henrikson, 'Diplomacy's Possible Futures', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, Volume 1, Number 1, March 2006, pp. 3-27(25)

Daryl Copeland, 'Guerrilla Diplomacy: The Revolution in Diplomatic Affairs', *World Politics Review*, 25 December 2009.

See blog — **Guerrilla Diplomacy**

Geoffrey Wiseman, 'Pax Americana: Bumping into Diplomatic Culture', *International Studies Perspectives*, vol.6, no.4 (November 2005), 409–430.

### ***Status Quo vs. Revisionist***

Paul Sharp, 'Diplomacy and Diplomats in the Radical Tradition', in *Diplomatic Theory of International Relations*, pp. 17-39.

Johnston, Alastair I. 'Is China a Status Quo Power?', *International Security* - Volume 27, Number 4, Spring 2003, pp. 5-56

Chris Alden and Marco Antonio Vieira, 'The New Diplomacy of the South: South Africa, Brazil, India and Trilateralism', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 7 (2005), pp. 1077-1095

### ***Week 3 – January 19***

Out with the Old? The G8 under stress  
Two-level international and domestic 'games'  
Like-mindedness as virtue or constraint  
The Challenge of Rising States  
International status and domestic politics

### ***The G8 under stress***

Alison Bailin, 'From Traditional to Institutionalized Hegemony',  
< [www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/bailin/bailin2000.pdf) >

### ***From Traditional to Institutionalized Hegemony***

\*Colin I. Bradford, Jr. 'Anticipating the Future: A Political Agenda for global economic governance', 46-62. **JE, RT and AFC**

\* Angel Gurria, 'A Leaders' 20 Summit', **63-71. JE, RT and AFC**

### *The G8 in context*

Hugo Dobson, *The Group of 7/8*, London: Routledge, 2007.

### *Legitimacy and efficiency gaps*

Payne, Anthony (2008), 'The G8 in a Changing Global Economic Order,' *International Affairs*, 84 (3): 519-533.

Bayne, Nicholas (2005), 'Do We Need the G8 Summit? Lessons from the Past, Looking Ahead to the Future,' *New Perspectives*, 15-29.

Ikenberry, John (1993), 'Salvaging the G7', *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Spring): 132-139.

### *Two-level Games*

Putnam, Robert D. (1988), 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization* 42 (Summer 1988):427-60.

### *The limits of like-mindedness*

Stevens, P. (2006) 'Only by reshaping the postwar settlement can it be preserved', *Financial Times*, 24 February.

### *Rising States*

\*Yoginder Alagh, 'On Sherpas and Coolies: The L20 and Non-Brahmanical Futures', 169-186. **JE, RT and AFC**

\*Yu Yong Ding, 'China's Evolving Global View', 187-200. **JE, RT and AFC**

\*Ricardo Sennes and Alexandre Barbossa, 'Brazil's Multiple Forms of External Engagement: Foreign Policy Dilemmas in a Globalised, Asymmetrical and Unstable World', 201-229. **JE, RT and AFC**

\*Ian Taylor, 'South Africa: Beyond the Impasse in Global Governance', 230-259. **JE, RT and AFC**

\*Abdel Monem said Aly, 'The L20 and the Restructuring of the International Economic Order: An Egyptian Perspective', 260-280. **JE, RT**

Seminars

## ***Week 4 January 26***

Summitry as shock absorbers and/or a crisis committee  
The crisis of 2008- – as a unique/conventional experience  
A Global or Anglo-American phenomenon?  
Incremental and transformational solutions?

### ***The G20 as a shock absorber***

\*‘introduction’, 1-16. **ASA and AFC.**

‘Making the L20 a Reality’, 61-68 **PH**

Alan Alexandroff and John Kirton, ‘The ‘Great Recession’ and the Emergence of the G-20 Leaders Summit’, 177-195. **ASA and AFC.**

Hank Paulson, *On the brink: inside the race to stop the collapse of the global financial System*, Business Plus, 2010.

### ***The Financial crisis***

Marc Jarsulic, *Anatomy of a Financial Crisis*, Macmillan, 2010.

Paul Krugman, ‘How did Economists Get It So Wrong’, NYT, 2 September 2009.

Jeffrey Frieden, ‘avoiding the worst: international economic cooperation and domestic politics’, 2 February, 2009 voxeu.org

***International economic cooperation and the home front | vox ...***

### ***The G20 agenda and the crisis***

Andrew F. Cooper: The G20 Summit: An Ambitious but Incomplete Advance in Global Re-ordering

Greg Chin: China and the end of the G8

Eric Helleiner, ‘Contemporary Reform of Global Financial Governance: Implications of and Lessons from the Past’ in Jomo Kwame Sundaram, ed., *Reforming the International Financial System for Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)

Eric Helleiner and Stefano Pagliari, ‘Between the Storms: Patterns in Global Financial Governance, 2001-07’, in Geoffrey Underhill, Jasper Blom, and Daniel Mügge, eds., *Global Financial Integration Thirty Years On* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Eric Helleiner and Stefano Pagliari, ‘Crisis and the Reform of International Financial Regulation’, in E.Helleiner, S.Pagliari and H.Zimmermann, *Global Finance in Crisis* (London:



Routledge, 2010).

Lawrence Summers, 'The pendulum swings towards regulation,' *Financial Times*, October 26 2008.

### ***Week 5 February 2***

Do Ideas matter?

Models from the past? – Bretton Woods or Yalta?

Models for the Future – the G20 Finance and the L20

The role of Think Tanks/Epistemic Communities

Ramesh Thakur and Andrew Thompson, 'The L20 in the 21st Century', 296- 311. **JE, RT and AFC**

John J, Kirton, 'Toward multilateralism; The G20" Contribution', 141-168. **JE, RT and AFC**

John Kirton, 'The G-20 Finance Ministers: Network Governance', 196-217. **ASA and AFC.**

### ***Models from the past***

Eric Helleiner: The Washington G20 Meeting: A New Bretton Woods?

Eric Helleiner, "A Bretton Woods Moment? The 2007-08 Crisis and the Future of Global Finance" *International Affairs* 86(3)(2010): 619- 36.

### ***Models for the future***

Mark Beeson and Stephen Bell, 'The G-20 and International. Economic Governance: *Hegemony, Collectivism, or Both ?*. Following the East Asian crisis of 1997-1998', ...  
<[heinonlinebackup.com/hol-cgi-bin/get\\_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/...](http://heinonlinebackup.com/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/...)>  
**The G-20 and International Economic Governance: *Hegemony...***

Ramachandran, V. Rueda-Sabater, E. and Kraft, R., 'Rethinking Fundamental Principles of Global Governance: How To Represent States and Populations in Multilateral Institutions', *Governance*, 22 (3), pp. 341-351.

Pentilla, Risto (2009). 'Multilateralism light: The rise of informal international governance,' July. London: Centre for European Reform.

Bradford, Colin and Johannes Linn (2004), 'Global Economic Governance at a Crossroads: Replacing the G7 with the G20,' Brookings Institution Policy Brief 131 (April).

Fues, Thomas (2007), 'Global Governance Beyond the G8: Reform Prospects for the Summit Architecture', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, 2, pp. 11-24.

Hillman, Jennifer (2010), *Saving Multilateralism: Renovating the House of Global Economic Governance for the 21st Century* (The German Marshall Fund of the United States: Washington, D.C.).

Lesage, Dries (2007), 'Globalisation, Multipolarity and the L20 as an Alternative to the G8', *Global Society* 21 (July): 343-361.

### ***Think tanks***

'Taking aim-Focusing the Project', 15-39. **PH**

### ***Week 6 February 9***

How Different are leaders?

The Convening Power of some (dominant) leaders

The socialization patterns from finance to leadership

Calling the G20 into being: the ongoing power or the last gasp of US Exceptionalism?

\* *Barry Carin and Gordon Smith, 'Making Change happen at the global level,' 25-45 **JE, RT and AFC***

\*'Gaps in Institutional Architecture', 7-11. **PH**

\*'What do leaders Do Anyway', 11-14. **PH**

\*Role of Leaders, 51. **PH**

Paul Martin, (2004) 'Address by Prime Minister Paul Martin on the occasion of his visit to Washington, D.C'. 29 April.

Paul Martin, 'Time for the G20 to take the mantle from the G8, the G7 finance Ministers took the initiative in 1999. It is time their leaders followed suit, 'Kirton John and Koch Madeline (eds) *G20 San Paulo Brazil Noveember 2008. Growthm innovation, inclusion: The G20 at ten*, Newsdesk. London. 2008.

\*'Globalization and Summit Reform; A Leader's View', Paul Martin. 87-90. **PH**

Helleiner, Gerald (2001), 'Markets, Politics and Globalization: Can the Global Economy Be Civilized?', *Global Governance* 7: 243-263.

G20, The Group of Twenty: A History

**THE GROUP OF TWENTY: A HISTORY**

'How Canada helped to create the G20', *Globe and Mail*, June 26, 2010.

Richard Samans, Marc Uzan and Augusto Lopez-Claros (eds) *The International Monetary System, the IMF, and the G-20: a great transformation in the making*, Macmillan, 2007.

New York Times, 'Lame Duck Summit', 3 November 2008.

Gideon Rachman, 'The Bretton Woods *sequel* will flop', *Financial Times*, November 11, 2008

Martin Wolf, 'Why agreeing a new Bretton Woods is vital and so hard', *Financial Times*, 5 November 2008.

Woods, N. (2010) 'Global Governance after the Financial Crisis: A New Multilateralism or the Last Gasp of the Great Powers?' *Global Policy*, 1 (1), pp. 51-63

### ***Week 7 February 16***

A New Concert of the Bigs

False starts in G8 outreach or a harbinger in innovative diplomacy

The innovative capacity of HP process

Status and reputation concerns of Rising States

Plurilateralism vs Universalism via the UN

### ***Moving towards a concert of the bigs***

\*Andrew F. Cooper, 'The Heiligendamm Process: Structural Reordering and Diplomatic Agency', 1-18. **AFC and AA**

\*Timothy M. Shaw, Agata Antkiewicz, and Andrew F. Cooper 'The Logic of the B(R)ICSAM Model for Global Governance', 19-44. **AFC and AA**

\*John Kirton, 'From G8 2003 to G13 2010? The Heiligendamm Process's Past, Present, and Future', 45-82. **AFC and AA**

Aslund, A. (2009) 'The Group of 20 must be stopped', *Financial Times*, 26 November.

### ***False starts***

Cooper and Antkiewicz, A (2010), 'G20 for Global Governance: Lessons from G8 Outreach', *Studia Diplomatica*, LXIII (2-3), pp. 91-103.

Payne, A. 'How many Gs are there in 'global governance' after the crisis? The perspectives of the 'marginal majority' of the world's states', *International Affairs*, 86 (3), pp. 729-740.

Cheng Yunjie, Defining, 'Pursuing New Global Economic Role a Tough Task for China', 9 November 2008.

***Defining, pursuing new global economic role a tough ...***

‘Nation should play greater role in G20, says expert’, *China Daily* 19 March 2009.

***Nation should play greater role in G20, says expert***

William H. Overholt, ‘China in the Global Financial Crisis: Rising Influence, Rising Challenges’, *Washington Quarterly*, January 2010, 21-34.

David Dombey, Krishna Guha and Andrew Ward, ‘Talks challenge elite club of rich countries,’ *Financial Times*, 17 November 2008,

BBC, ‘World Press says G20 summit shows shift in power balance,’ 17 November 2008.

**BBC News - G20: Reaction from around the world**

***The HP process***

*Gregory T. Chin*, ‘China’s Evolving G8 Engagement: Complex Interests and Multiple Identity in Global Governance Reform’, 83-114. **AFC and AA**

*Abdul Nafey*, ‘India and the G8: Reaching Out or Out of Reach?’, 115-136. **AFC and AA**

*Denise Gregory and Paulo Roberto de Almeida*, ‘Brazil and the G8 Heiligendamm Process’, 137-162. **AFC and AA**

*Brendan Vickers*, ‘South Africa: Global Reformism, Global Apartheid, and the Heiligendamm Process’, 163-192. **AFC and AA**

*Duncan Wood*, ‘A Break with the Past or a Natural Progression? Mexico and the Heiligendamm Process’, 193-212. **AFC and AA**

*Paul Bowles*, ‘ASEAN and the G8: Potentially Productive Partners or Two Ships Passing in the Night?’, 213-231. **AFC and AA**

*Richard Woodward*, ‘Is the OECD Involved in the Heiligendamm Process?’, 263-283. **AFC and AA**

*Victoria V. Panova*, ‘Russia and Evolution of the Heiligendamm Process’, 285-306. **AFC and AA**

*Colin I. Bradford, Jr.* ‘The United States and Summit Reform in a Transformational Era’, 307-336. **AFC and AA**

*Alan S. Alexandroff*, ‘Enhanced Engagement: The Heiligendamm Process and Beyond’, 337-351. **AFC and AA**

## **Week 8 February 23**

Reading Week

## **Week 9 March 2**

Building Momentum from Washington DC to London to Pittsburgh

The importance of technical policy

Process matters: the Importance of Sherpas/technical experts

Long dead economists – the power of stimulus

A revival or transition of institutions – the IMF and the FSB

\*TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2009

### **Flashpoints For The Pittsburgh Summit**

Alan S. Alexandroff, Andrew F. Cooper, Bessma Momani, Colin Bradford, Daniel Schwanen, Debra Steger, Gregory Chin, Jennifer Jeffs, Pierre Siklos, and Thomas Homer-Dixon

**CIGI Special G20 Report** Eric Helleiner and Paola Subacchi.

**From London To L'aquila: Building A Bridge Between The G20 And The G8**, 23 June, 2009.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 2010

### **The Financial Stability Board And International Standards**

Eric Helleiner **CIGI G20 Paper No.1**

Nicolas Sarkozy, 'Towards the G20. In London leaders must do everything they can to ensure global growth', *International Herald Tribune*, 1 April 2009.

George Parker and Alex Barber, 'Vacuum in US stymies planning for G20', *Guardian*, 11 March 2009.

Edward Luce and Chrystia Freeland, 'Summers backs state action,' *Financial Times*, 9 March 2009.

Martin Wolf, 'Will the G20 rise to these exceptional challenges? Nom is the answer', *Ft*, 1 April 2009.

'Sarko more likely to win than to walk out', *Financial Times*, 1 April 2009.

Timothy Garton Ash, 'Far from resisting Chinese requests for a larger role in international organizations, we should offer it ourselves,' *Guardian*, 2 April 2009.

Edmund Andrews, 'Global Economic Forum to Expand Permanently', *NYT* 26 September, 2009.

Bob Davis, Jonathan Weisman and Stephen Fidler, 'G20 to replace G8 as permanent council on international economic cooperation', *Wall Street Journal*, 25 September 2009,

## **Week 9 March 9**

### Architectural Issues

Who is In and out and who decides?

Regional vs national representation

The Bigs versus the Rest

The ongoing push for opening up the process

‘L20 Nuts and Bolts’, 69-74. **PH**

### **\*Making The G20 Summit Process Work: Some Proposals For Improving Effectiveness And Legitimacy**

Barry Carin, Gordon Smith, Paul Heinbecker, and Ramesh Thakur **CIGI G20 Paper No.2, June 10, 2010.**

Debaere, P. (2010) ‘The output and Input Dimension of European Representation’, *Studia Diplomatica*, LXIII (2-3), pp. 141-154.

Battacharya, A. (2010) ‘Enhancing the G20’s Inclusion and Outreach’, *East-West Dialogue: Shaping the G20 Agenda in Asia—The 2010 Seoul Summit*, 5 April.

\*Carin, B. (2010) ‘A G20 “Non-Secretariat’, in Bradford, C., and Lim, W. (eds), *The New Dynamics of Summitry: Institutional Innovations for G20 Summits*, Issue and Essays, Korea Development Institute, pp. 383-391

Cho J-s. (2010) ‘5 non-G20 nations invited to Seoul summit’, *Korea Times*, 24 October.

Government of Norway (2009) ‘Norwegian Call for Nordic Membership in the G20’, Press Release. Oslo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs’. Available Online < Available from: [http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/selected-topics/Trade-policy/membership\\_g20.html?id=587984&epslanguage=en-GB](http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/selected-topics/Trade-policy/membership_g20.html?id=587984&epslanguage=en-GB)

Rana, P.B. (2010) ‘Reform of the International Financial Architecture: How Can Asia have a greater impact in the G20’, *RSIS Working Paper no. 201*. 9 June.

Wade, R. and Vestergaard J (2010) ‘Overhaul the G20 for the sake of the G172’, *Financial Times*, 21 October.

\*Greg Chin, “China’s Rising Institutional Influence,” 83-104.

\*Amrita Narikar, “Reforming Institutions, Unreformed India?”, 105-127

\*Andrew Hurrell, “Brazil: Rising Superpower in a Bipolar World,” 128-150.

\*Andrew Moravcsik, “Europe: Rising Superpower in a Bipolar World”, 151-176.

\*Daniel W. Drezner, "BRIC by BRIC: The Emergent Regime for Sovereign Wealth Funds", 218-239.

(all in **ASA AND AFC**)

***Week 10 March 16 (this class will have to be re-scheduled)***

Losing Momentum?

Big through the G20 is Harder than the G8

A return to like-mindedness

Technical solutions are controversial and take a long time

bank taxes, too big to fail etc

Bigs vs. Middle Powers

'Next Steps, 75-84. **PH**

Bradford and Linn, 'Is the G-20 Summit a Step toward a new Global Economic Order?' Policy Brief #170, Brookings, 2009

\*THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 2010

**The G20 And The Post-Crisis Economic Order**

Andrew F. Cooper and Colin Bradford

Rachman, 'Will Berlusconi finish off the G8', 24 November 2008.

Beattie, A. (2010) 'The G20: Ad hoc institution faces tough struggle to show it has teeth', *Financial Times*, 10 November.

Chin, G., 'The Emerging Countries and China in the G20: Reshaping Global Economic Governance', *Studia Diplomatica*, LXIII (2-3), pp.105-124.

Thomas Wright, 'The US and the G20', *Studia Diplomatica*, LXIII (2-3), 71-80. pp

Mark Blyth and Neil K. Shenai, The G-20's Dead Ideas

Why Fiscal Retrenchment is the Wrong Response to the Crisis, *Foreign Affairs*, July 9, 2010.

***Week 11 March 23***

A club of states?

Civil society/uncivil society and the G8

Celebrities and the G8

The G20 as a state-based project

The struggle for a constituency

Taking on or rescuing the bankers

\*Daniel Drache, 'The political economy of dissent: Global Publics after Cancun', 123-140. **JE, RT and AFC**

\*A-M Slaughter, 'Government Networks, world order and the L20,' 281-295 **JE, RT and AFC**

'Global Fairness and the search for Legitimacy', 39-50. **PH.**

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### ***Week 12 March 30***

A Crisis Committee to the hub of Global Governance  
Expanding the agenda beyond financial shock absorbers  
Bringing development in  
The Korean Summit – bridging the developed and developing world  
The G20 Business Forum – towards public/private partnerships

'The G20: From Global Crisis Responder to Global Steering Committee', (Paul Martin)

'The G8: Legacy, Limitations and Lessons', (John Kirton)

'The Impact of the G20 on Global Governance: A History and Prospective (Ngairé Woods)

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'Turning the G20 into a New Mechanism for Global Economic Governance: Obstacles and Prospects', (Lan Xue and Yanbing Zhang)



‘Bringing Development into the G20: Overarching Themes’, (Homi Kharas)  
‘Laying the Foundation for a Long-Term G20 Work Program on Development’, (Simon Maxwell)  
‘The G20 and Development: From Financial Stability to Sustained Growth’, (Jomo Kwame Sundaram)  
‘G20 Development Agenda: Perspectives from Least Developed Countries’ (Cyrus Rustomjee)

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***25 August 2010 - 18th Ambassador's Conference - Speech by Mr ...***