EMERGING POWERS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Today’s global governance institutions need to be analyzed against the backdrop of two large trends. Emerging countries such as China, India and Brazil change the global distribution of power, which puts existing regimes’ legitimacy and effectiveness into question. At the same time, we face rapidly changing global economic, technological and environmental challenges, and the world must confront the task of creating new structures and systems of governance. Global warming and international terrorism are examples of threats that cannot be solved by a small group of established powers. Both trends require a rethinking of old paradigms and innovative mechanisms. This course aims to introduce students to a broad array of topics that will open the horizon for a debate and a new imagination about global governance as it is currently emerging and what an alternative future of “global governance” could look like.

Yet, to grasp the complexity of today’s challenges and the impact of emerging powers on the international order and global governance, we first need to understand today’s global governance structures themselves- what is their role, how do they work and what are the challenges they face? We also need to understand why today’s challenges are different. Finally, we need to study emerging powers’ stance on the democratization of global governance.

This course is divided into four parts. In part one (Class 1, 2), we will analyze the theoretical concepts and the history of global governance. Why do states choose to engage in international institutions? Which problems should be solved by the nation state, which require international collaboration? Do global institutions need to be democratic in order to be legitimate? What are the lessons of past experiments with global governance, such as the League of Nations? We will also look at a series of institutions and regimes that aim to solve to specific problems. Have they done so effectively in the past? If not, can they be redesigned? In the second part (Class 3-5), we will analyze several threats that pose significant challenges to today’s structures. Are existing regimes prepared to tackle climate change effectively, or do we need a new form of international collaboration? In the third part (Class 6-15), we will study emerging powers’ role in global governance and their efforts to redesign current structures. How do countries on the periphery of the global distribution of power- countries which seek to change their position in the present context of the internationalization of authority--behave, react and construct a discourse? In the fourth and final part (Class 15), we will evaluate different scenarios on how global structures may evolve in the future.

Course requirements and grading:

Aside from regular attendance, it is crucial to do the reading (see “required reading”) prior to every class and be ready to respond to cold calls. Participation (based on a thorough knowledge of the assigned readings) counts for 25% of the final grade. Posting a one-paragraph comment (questions, remarks, opinions) on the online message board about the assigned reading until the morning of the class is strongly encouraged and counts towards participation. During the semester, each student needs to prepare one 600 word op-ed on a current event related to global governance (10%), which may be sent to a newspaper for publication. Furthermore, students will write three 1-page policy memos (20%), one 2000-word policy paper (30%), and they will present one policy briefing (25%). There will be no final exam.
Part I: Introduction: Global Governance and Global Institutions

Class 1: What is global governance? Theoretical Concepts

Class 2: Global Institutions and Regimes: UN, Bretton Woods, WTO and G20: “The West” against “the rest”?

Part II: Global Challenges

Class 3: Global Governance and the Case of Global Warming

Class 4: Global Governance, International Terrorism and Failed States

Class 5: Global Governance and Global Finance

Part III: Emerging Powers and Global Governance

Class 6: India’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance I

Class 7: India’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance II: India’s Regional Policy

Class 8: China’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance I

Class 9: China’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance II: China in Africa: The “Beijing Consensus”? 

Class 10: Brazil’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

Class 11: Russia’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

Class 12: Other Emerging Powers’ Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

Class 13: Global Governance and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Class 14: Global Governance and International Terrorism

Part IV: Conclusion

Class 15: Part I: Southeast Asia in the Context of Global Governance: The case of ASEAN
Part II: Conclusion: The Future of Global Governance
Class 1: What is global governance? Theoretical Concepts

Global governance is an often-used, but little understood concept. What do we really mean by global governance? Does global order require global governance institutions, and what are the key challenges these institutions face? We generally accept the necessity of global institutions, but there is also a widespread dissatisfaction with their performance.

What are the origins of global governance, and what are the lessons of global institutions in the 20th century? Why do so many institutions suffer a “democratic deficit”, and how does this limit their legitimacy? What are ways to make the institution more effective? In which areas can nation states solve problems more effectively, and in which areas do we need international institutions? And, what role does civil society, NGOs and international corporations play in this context?

Required reading: (37 pages)


John Bolton. “Should We Take Global Governance Seriously?” Chicago Journal of International Law, 2000 (11 pages)


Optional reading: (65 pages)

Manuel Castells. “Global Politics and Global Governance” Political Science and Politics, 2005 (7 pages)


Class 2: Global Institutions and Regimes: G20, UN, Bretton Woods, WTO, etc: “The West” against “the Rest”?

This class begins with an introductory review of competing conceptions of global governance, the role of informal international institutions such as the G8/G20 system, and their interaction and contrast with formal legalized multilateral intergovernmental organizations now centered in the UN. Is an information institution such as the G20 the more suitable model for the 21st century and a globalized financial system?

The United Nations were created after World War II to create a framework for global governance. Its mission to prevent war remains the same, while the nature of the threats to the international order has changed significantly over the past 50 years. Have the United Nations failed? Does it still fulfill its purpose? What are the UN’s key challenges today, and how does it need to change to deal with them? If the UN was created today, how would it differ from the organization we know?

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are two very important multilateral organizations which shape global governance today. The IMF’s role as lender of last resort gives it substantial control rights over economic policies in borrowing countries. While its importance had been questioned before the crisis, it emerged strengthened as private capital dried up and states became more dependent on the IMF. Emerging powers such as Brazil have announced that they would become lenders, which is a historic step in the process of democratization of global governance. To what extent are the limitations of these institutions a reflection of the “democratic deficit” in how they function? Can they be redesigned? What can be said of the various reform proposals? Should their missions be redesigned, expanding their role in some areas, reducing it in others?

This class also provides an opportunity to take a look at the GATT, the World Trade Organization, its various constituent agreements, and prospects for its further evolution. The WTO’s judicialization of dispute settlement has contributed to the organization’s increasing autonomy as well as influence. But, why do we really need the WTO? And what is the underlying philosophy of the organization? How does the WTO dispute resolution process work? Is the WTO more democratic than other institutions, and can is provide a model for international decision making processes?

The role of the West is crucial in this context. Virtually all attempts to establish international institutions emanate from the West. The international system today is still dominated by the West, and developing countries accuse Western powers of using global institutions to defend their interests. Are these accusations justified? What exactly is the West, and what role did it play in the creation of today’s global institutions?

Required reading: (72 pages)


Kishore Mahbubhani. “The Case Against the West” Foreign Affairs, 2008 (8 pages)

Huntington, Samuel. “Clash of Civilizations?” Foreign Affairs, 1993 (28 pages)

“What runs the world?” The Economist, July 3, 2008 (8 pages)

Optional reading: (18 pages)

Fareed Zakaria. “Culture is destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew” Foreign Affairs, 1994 (18 pages)
Class 3: Global Governance and the Case of Global Warming

Global warming is on the most formidable challenges we face in the 21st century. It is a particularly interesting case, as it requires, more than any other problem we face, a global solution. No nation state can effectively protect itself against the negative effects of global warming without collaborating with other states. So far, global governance institutions have not been able to respond adequately to the problem. One of the major difficulties at the summit will be to agree on carbon emissions reductions. Developing countries insist that the rich world must reduce their emissions first, and more, as they have a “historic responsibility” for the damage done—having polluted the atmosphere for decades as they industrialized. The rich countries retort that to find a sustainable solution, everybody must cut emissions, particularly rising powers and future polluters such as China and India. As preparatory meetings for the Copenhagen Summit are already underway to test the waters, a solution seems unlikely indeed. Can we use our current international structures to effectively deal with climate change, or do we need new mechanisms?

Required reading: (35 pages)


Ruth Greenspan Bell. “What to Do About Climate Change”, Foreign Affairs, 2006 (6 pages)

Thirteenth Session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and Third Session of the Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol December 3-15, 2007 Bali, Indonesia (7 pages)

Michael Levi. “Copenhagen’s Inconvenient Truth” Foreign Affairs, 2009 (11 pages)

“Bangkok Blues”, The Economist, October 15, 2009 (1 page)

Optional reading: (41 pages)

Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, “What is the Economics of Climate Change?” Summary of Conclusions, 31 January 2006 (4 pages)

Class 4: Global Governance, International Terrorism and Failed States

Since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the international order is built around the nation state. This order is based on the assumptions that states are capable and willing to maintain internal order. Yet, the phenomenon of “failed states” puts this rule into question. It is not entirely clear whether states fail more often today than they did before. Yet, due to better information technology, they are brought to our attention much faster, and due to globalization they are more likely to affect us than before. Failed states can be so-called “safe havens” for terrorists, as seen in Afghanistan prior to September 11, 2001. The danger that emanates from these states is therefore ever higher, as is the incentive to intervene. When states fail, their people do not enjoy the most public basic good: security. This has usually a negative impact on their human rights and social and economic freedom. What is the role of global governance institutions when states fail? Do we have a responsibility to protect, or the obligation to observe state sovereignty? How do established powers’ views differ from emerging powers in this respect?

Required reading: (56 pages)

Kofi Annan. “Two Concepts of Sovereignty” The Economist, 1999 (2 pages)

Samantha Powers. “Bystanders to Genocide”, The Atlantic, 2001 (30 pages)


Optional reading: (47 pages)

Barnett Rubin. “Saving Afghanistan”, Foreign Affairs, 2007 (13 pages)


“Fixing a broken world” The Economist, January 29, 2009 (5 pages)

“The UN and humanitarian intervention: To protect sovereignty, or to protect lives?” The Economist, May 15, 2008 (3 pages)
Class 5: Global Financial Governance

The recent financial crisis has shown that international financial institutions are not yet able to regulate markets sufficiently, and it is widely agreed upon that substantial reforms of the international financial architecture are necessary. What interests and factors have hindered the reform process, and which institutions are best suited to regulate and control international finance in the future? Emerging powers such as India and China play a special role in this process as they have, for the first time in history, shown that they can continue to grow even when the United States and Europe are in recession. What role do these emerging markets play in the new global financial architecture, and how will it change the nature of the system?

Is the G20 system emerging as a leading, effective centre of global financial governance in the 21st century? It aspires to do so in competition with hegemonic concentrations of state power, emerging non-member countries and groupings, formal multilateral and regional international institutions, globalized markets, other private sector processes and networks, civil society and empowered individuals and celebrities. What are its advantages and disadvantages? What will the IMF’s role be in this context?

Required reading: (28 pages)


Harold James, “Fixing Global Finance: Who broke global finance, and who should pay for it?” Foreign Affairs, 2009 (6 pages)

“The Cosmetic surgery? The face of global economic governance is changing” The Economist, October 9, 2009 (2 pages)

“The G20 Summit: Regaining their balance”, The Economist, September 26, 2009 (2 pages)

“Not just straw men” The Economist, June 18, 2009 (6 pages)

Recommended reading: (30 pages)

International Monetary Fund, Annual Report 2009, Part I: The Global Economy (6 pages)

International Monetary Fund, Annual Report, Part III: Restoring Financial Stability (24 pages)
Class 6: India’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance I

India is one of the least understood of the emerging powers. Even within India, policy makers are at odds over India’s future path. India still partly understands its foreign policy through the prism of North-South relations, positioning itself as developing country. It supported conceptions of international order that challenged those of the liberal West - such as the revisionist Third Worldism after 1948. India opposed the United States more often in the UN General Assembly than Cuba.

On the other hand, India has also supported the United States at times. In addition, India is a democracy and not ideologically predisposed against Western-style institutions. Is India’s language of Third Worldism and southern solidarity is simply a rhetorical remnant of the past, interest-driven strategy or a reflection of a deeper set of beliefs? If it is the latter, ‘what happens if the ‘developing country identity’ conflicts with the aspiring ‘great power identity’”? What is India’s vision of global governance in the 21st century?

Required reading: (52 pages)


Amrita Narlikar. “Peculiar chauvinism or strategic calculation? Explaining the negotiating strategy of a rising India” International Affairs, 2006 (18 pages)

“When trade winds smell sweet”, The Economist, April 10, 2008 (2 pages)

Optional reading: (19 pages)

Dinshaw Mistry. “A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of India as an Emerging World Power” India Review, 2004 (19 pages)
Class 7: India’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance II

After studying India’s global foreign policy, we will now analyze specific cases of India’s regional policy. Understanding India’s regional constraints is crucial as it still dominates the Indian foreign policy’s discourse. None of India’s seven neighbors, none is a stable democracy. Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Myanmar and Bangladesh face frequent political crises, which often cause refugees to flow into India. India has border disputes with China and Pakistan, and its foreign policy paradigms are still heavily influenced by the possibility of a ground war against its two greatest neighbors. This poses challenges very different from those other emerging powers such as Brazil face. India also faces decades-long Maoist insurgency in the Northeast, which significantly constrains its ability to criticize other governments such as Sudan or China for human rights violations. Often criticized for its friendly relations to Myanmar, analysts often overlook India’s crucial role in the reconstruction of Afghanistan and its implications for regional stability in Central Asia.

Required reading: (27 pages)

“India Elsewhere: A Special Report on India” The Economist, 2008 (4 pages)

C. Raja Mohan. “India’s Outdated Myanmar Policy: Time for a Change” RSIS Commentaries, 2007 (2 pages)

C.Raja Mohan. “India and the Balance of Power” Foreign Affairs, 2006 (9 pages)

Amrita Narlikar. “All that Glitters is not Gold: India’s Rise to Power” Third World Quarterly, 2007 (12 pages)

Recommended reading: (35 pages)


Class 8: China’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance I

China plays in a different league than the other emerging countries, and the recent talk about a potential “G2” summit between China and the United States underlines this point. It remains little known, however, how China plans to shape global governance structures in the decades to come. Does it plan to play by the existing rules, acting within the systems, or does it plan to create alternative mechanisms? Is China’s behavior in Myanmar indicative of its future strategy with regards to R2P vs. respect for sovereignty? As China’s role changes, will it continue to align with developing countries such as Brazil and India?

Required reading: (30 pages)


Optional reading: (33 pages)

Jing Gu, John Humphrey and Dirk Messner. “Global Governance and Developing Countries: The Implications of the Rise of China” World Development, 2008 (22 pages)

“The Dragon in the Backyard” The Economist, August 13, 2009 (7 pages)

“Overkill: A special report on China and America” The Economist, October 22, 2009 (4 pages)
Class 9: China’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance II: China in Africa: The “Beijing Consensus”?

In this class, we will study China’s involvement in Africa. China has been directly involved in Africa since the 15th century. Yet, only in the past decade is the depth and scale of this involvement become so significant that it has serious geopolitical consequences. China’s current thrust into sub-Saharan Africa seems to do more for economic growth and poverty alleviation there than anything attempted by Western colonialism or the massive initiatives of the international lending agencies and other donors. China’s influence over African governments is growing. The Chinese government often prides itself and underlines that it respects other governments and does not interfere on issues such as human rights. Western aid agencies are therefore concerned that African governments will no longer depend on their aid, which is often tied to conditionalities. Are such concerns justified? Is China’s decision not to condemn human rights abuses in Sudan a harbinger of how it will conduct its Africa policy? Why does it seem to care so little about good governance?

Required reading: (17 pages)

“China and Africa: Don’t worry about killing people” The Economist, October 15, 2009 (2 pages)

“Never too late to scramble” The Economist, October 26, 2006 (6 pages)

Harry Broadman “China and India go to Africa” Foreign Affairs, 2008 (9 pages)

Optional reading: (6 pages)

Class 10: Brazil’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

Brazil’s economic clout lags behind its fellow emerging powers China and India, but Lula has tried to make up for it by being the most vocal player of the group, tirelessly pressing for more weight in several international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the UN Security Council. President Lula cleverly recognized the financial crisis as a unique chance to make a compelling case for the democratization of global governance—pointing out that Western powers could no longer fix the world on their own.

Judging from the statements made during the G20-summit in Pittsburgh in late September, and the Annual IMF and World Bank Meeting in Istanbul early October 2009, Brazil and the other emerging powers will have it their way. Yet, it is unclear what Brazil will do with its newfound power. Will it continue to press for a better representation of developing countries, even though it is no longer one itself?

Required reading: (30 pages)

“Whose side is Brazil on?” The Economist, August 13, 2009 (3 pages)

Andrew Hurrell. “Lula’s Brazil: A rising Power, but going where?” Current History, 2008 (7 pages)

Maria Regina Soares de Lima, Monica Hirst. “Brazil as an intermediate state and regional power: action, choice and responsibilities” International Affairs, 2006 (20 pages)

Recommended reading: (42 pages)

Juan de Onis. “Brazil’s Big Moment”. Foreign Affairs, 2008 (8 pages)

Peter Kingstone. “Brazil: The Sleeping Giant Awakens?” World Politics Review, 2009 (7 pages)

Sotero, Paulo and Leslie Elliott Armijo. “Brazil: To be or not to be a BRIC?” Asian Perspective, 2007 (27 pages)
Class 11: Russia’s Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

What exactly do we mean by “emerging power”? Is Russia an emerging power? Using traditional parameters, it is difficult to categorize Russia as such, given its bleak demographic prospects and lacking progress in the fields of education, rule of law or human rights. Yet, Russia has often associated itself with the other BRICs, and it has, in some instances, taken similar positions. In any case, Russia remains an important player in international order, and understanding its point of view is crucial. How does the fact that Russia is in many dimensions in decline affect its foreign policy?

In the 1990s, Russia attempted to integrate into, and then with, the West. These efforts failed because the West lacked the will to adopt Russia as one of its own, and because Russian elites failed to adopt a purely Western policy agenda. Under President Putin, Russia started to behave again like a great independent power. The current Russian government’s policy- growth without development, capitalism without democracy, and great-power policies without international appeal- will be difficult to sustain, but it is unclear what will replace it.

Required reading: (29 pages)

Dimitri Trenin. “Russia Reborn. Reimagining Moscow’s Foreign Policy” Foreign Affairs, 2009 (10 pages)

S. Neil Macfarlane. “The ‘R’ in BRICs: is Russia an emerging power?” International Affairs, 2006 (17 pages)

Robert Kaplan, “The Bear has still teeth”, The Atlantic, 2009 (2 pages)

Recommended reading: (7 pages)

“The West and Russia: Cold comfort” The Economist, September 4th 2008 (7 pages)
Class 12: Other Emerging Powers’ Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Governance

While the BRIC label has been enormously popular in both academic and non-academic circles, it is, it combines countries which are very different from each other. India and Brazil are democracies, while Russia and China are not. Brazil and Russia export commodities, India and China import them. Brazil and India push for democratization of global governance, while Russia and China are already part of the UN Security Council. Brazil has no nuclear arms, Russia, India and China have them. And it is not clear at all whether Russia is an emerging country in the first place. The BRICs’ interests are therefore bound to diverge, and the usefulness of the label is reduced for political science.

The BRIC label has eclipsed other, no less important emerging powers that may soon participate in the shaping of international order. South Africa, for example, is almost certain to be included in an expanded UN Security Council. Yet, little is known about South Africa’s foreign policy strategy. Its failure to condemn human rights abuses in neighboring Zimbabwe may give us first hints, but it is unclear whether South Africa would continue such a policy if given more formal power in international institutions.

Several Muslim countries can be considered as emerging, and analysts have argued about which country is ready to assume more responsibility. Turkey and Indonesia and Saudi Arabia are part of the G20. Can they represent the Muslim World, and if so, what will their position be?

How will other emerging countries, such as Mexico, attempt to gain a larger insertion into the global institutions?

Required reading: (50 pages)


“Mugabe of the hook as usual” The Economist, September 10, 2009 (2 pages)

Recommended reading: (21 pages)


“Turkish foreign policy: Dreams from their fathers” The Economist, July 23, 2009 (3 pages)

“Indonesia: Everybody’s friend” The Economist, September 10, 2009 (2 pages)
Class 13: Global Governance and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) represents a grand bargain among nuclear and non-nuclear weapon states on issues of disarmament, non-proliferation, and peaceful nuclear use. Although it has been the cornerstone of the international non-proliferation regime for the past 40 years, a number of states have begun to question its ability to meet today’s challenges. This class is designed to provide a foundation for those interested in nuclear non-proliferation in the context of global governance. We will analyze the origins of the NPT, the difficulties tied to its implementation, and the different perspective nuclear weapons states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS) have on the regime. In particular, we will study the current US administration’s attempt to follow up on pledges made in the NPT to disarm. Is the vision of a world without nuclear weapons mere rhetoric, or a serious possibility? What are the major obstacles to this strategy?

Required reading: (28 pages)

Allison, Graham. “Nuclear Disorder” Foreign Affairs, January/ February 2010 (8 pages)


“An Awkward Guest List” The Economist, April 10th 2010 (2 pages)

Recommended reading: (18 pages)

Carter, Ashton B. “How Washington Learned to Stop Worrying and Love India’s Bomb” Foreign Affairs, Postscript, January 10, 2007 (2 pages)

Lindsay, James M. and Ray Takeyh. “After Iran gets the bomb”, Foreign Affairs, March/ April 2010 (10 pages)

Ferguson, Charles D. “The Long Road to Zero”, Foreign Affairs, January/ February 2010 (6 pages)
Class 14: Global Governance and International Terrorism

Terrorism has been, since September 11, 2001, one of the dominant themes in international relations. Despite its global nature, international institutions have been slow to adopt mechanisms to curb terrorism. One of the aspects that make dealing with the phenomenon effectively so difficult is that it appears in many different forms. Furthermore, it is intricately tied to other international issues such as nuclear proliferation, religious fundamentalism, human rights, immigration and international law. Terrorism in Colombia and India is very different from terrorism in Iraq, Afghanistan and in the United States. Terrorists act out of different kinds of motivations, which requires anti-terrorism measures to be tailored specifically towards the respective case, rather than offer sweeping responses. Basic questions often remain unanswered. Who exactly is the enemy? Is it possible to fight a ‘war on terrorism’? Can such a war be won, and if so, how? The major international actor in this context has been the United States, and its efforts to curb terrorism have often been harshly criticized. In this class, we seek to answer some of these fundamental questions. What are the definitions that are not only academically sound, but that help policy makers take difficult decisions?

Required reading: (18 pages)


Howard, Michael. “What is in a name?: How to fight terrorism” Comment, Foreign Affairs, January/ February, 2002 (6 pages)

Roth, Kenneth. “Obama’s Prisoner’s Dilemma” Foreign Affairs, March 12, 2009 (3 pages)

Recommended reading: (46 pages)

Burgess, Mark. “Terrorism: Problems with the Definition” Center for Defense Information, 2003 (8 pages)

Leiken, Robert. “Europe’s Angry Muslims” Foreign Affairs, July/ August 2005 (10 pages)

Falkenrath, Richard. “Grading the War on Terrorism” Foreign Affairs, January/ February 2006 (6 pages)

Levi, Michael. “Stopping Nuclear Terrorism” Foreign Affairs, January February 2008 (6 pages)

Gause, Gregory F. “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?” Foreign Affairs, September/ October 2005 (16 pages)
Class 15: Part I: Southeast Asia in the Context of Global Governance: The case of ASEAN
Part II: Conclusion: The Future of Global Governance

Part A:
Southeast Asia has remained, throughout the economic crisis of 2008, one of the most dynamic regions in the world. On January 1st, 2010, China’s free trade agreement with the ten-country Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) created the world’s biggest free trade area by population, covering nearly 1.9 billion people. While full pan-Asian economic integration remains a distant goal, ASEAN has the potential to turn into a meaningful regional body with strategic weight in the future. The integration process in South East Asia, an area of half a billion people, can teach us useful lessons about how a highly diverse set of countries—some democratic and emerging, some despotic and stagnant—seek economic integration and a better insertion into the world economy. Indonesia, the club’s biggest member, plays a particularly important role in this process. Having emerged from a harsh dictatorship only a decade ago, Indonesia is bound to play a regional leadership role. It has yet to define its role on a global stage, but it is, as the world’s largest Muslim country and the third-largest democracy located in a strategically important position between the Indian and the Pacific Ocean, destined to play a key role in global politics of the 21st century.

Part B:
To conclude, what does the future of global governance look like? Judging from past experiences, can the newly emboldened G20, which met in Pittsburgh in September 2009, become a legitimate and effective regime? Or is Security Council Reform the only way to truly democratize global governance? And, how will emerging powers use their new weight to influence the process?

Required reading: (49 pages)

- “Indonesia’s place in the Global Jungle”, The Economist, March 31st 2010 (2 pages)
- Acharya, Amitav. “ASEAN at 40: Midlife Rejuvenation?” Foreign Affairs, August 15, 2007 (3 pages)

Recommended reading: (41 pages)

- “The Indonesian surprise”, The Economist, April 2nd, 2009 (1 page)
- Adam Roberts. “Variable Geometry: Is anyone in charge in today’s nonpolar world?” Internationale Politik, Fall, 2008 (7 pages)
- Rieffel, Lex. “Indonesia’s Quiet Revolution” Foreign Affairs, September/ October 2004 (8 pages)