POL 456F/2256F

Global Summit Governance and Diplomacy

University of Toronto, St. George Campus
Fall 2022
Time: Tuesday, 2-4PM
Location: Bahen Centre Information Tech, 40 St. George Street, Room B025

Instructor: Louis Pauly louis.pauly@utoronto.ca; www.munkschool.utoronto.ca/pauly
Office Hours:Wednesday, 2-4:30PM, Sidney Smith, Room 3060

This course examines the development of global summit governance. It does so through a focus mainly on the Group of Seven (G7) and Group of 20 (G20) as informal "soft law" plurilateral summit institutions (PSls) and their relationship with "hard law" multilateral organizations resting on binding treaties, like the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. It begins with a review of the history and competing conceptions of global governance, the evolving role of informal international institutions, and the impact of transnational non-governmental actors. It then assesses alternative models describing and explaining the performance of the G7, G20 and other leader-level fora on key dimensions of global governance. Finally, it evaluates various proposals for improving compliance with agreements reached, and it reviews the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key summit members. Through focused readings, open-minded discussion and debate, and a summit simulation, the course critically assesses the proposition that the G7 and G20 have emerged as effective and legitimate centres of global governance.

The first section of the course deals in turn with basic dimensions of global governance, summits, and compliance and reform. The second section then turns to assessing the G7 and G20 diplomacy of key members, followed by a G7 summit simulation in the second-to-last week. After the first two sessions, students will lead our weekly discussions and the simulation. Assignments will be made in weeks 1 and 2.

Requirements and Grading

I. A critical book review essay of between 1,400 and 1,500 words. The essay will be delivered to the instructor's Sidney Smith mailbox on paper and electronically on the course Quercus site, by 5:00 p.m., Wednesday, October 19, 2022, for 25% of the overall course grade.
II. Active participation in all seminars, the simulation, and leadership in one seminar, for 25% of the overall course grade.
III. A research essay of 2,500-3,000 words, due in the instructor's Sidney Smith mailbox and by electronic copy to our course Quercus site by 4:00 p.m. on Wednesday, December 7, for 50% of the course grade.

Late Penalty and Policy
Each assignment will be graded on a 0-100 scale. A late penalty of 5 points per calendar day will apply for all unexcused delays. Students should retain draft work and copies of their essays and assignments, until the marked work has been returned and the grades posted.

Academic Integrity: Honesty and transparency are fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating truthfully, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters. It is the rule book for academic behavior here, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments
a) Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
b) Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
c) Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
d) Making up sources or facts.
e) Including references to sources that you did not use.
f) Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment, including working in groups or assignments that are supposed to be individual work, and having someone rewrite or add material to your work while editing it.
g) Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own.

Misrepresentation:
a) Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
b) Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact the instructor. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from the instructor, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website. *If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to the instructor or seek the advice of your college registrar.* (Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as

source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.)

Accessibility Services: Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach the instructor and/or Accessibility Services at (416) 978 8060 (accessibility.utoronto.ca).

Course Outline and Weekly Readings:

Required weekly readings are listed below. They must be read before coming to class.

Readings are on reserve in Trinity College's John Graham Library, located in the east wing of 1 Devonshire Place. Students may by appointment also use the G7 Research Room on the second floor of the Library. Graduate students can secure access to the G7/G8/G20 archives and artefacts for special projects. Many weekly readings are also available on the G7 Information Centre website at http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar. Some may also be available on the G20 Information Centre website at http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/biblio. Many will also be accessible on-line through the UofT (Robarts) Library system.

September 13: Introduction: Global challenges, global responses

What is global governance? Across the formal and informal institutions and networks now involved, where do the G7/G20 summits and related infrastructure fit in? How have scholars and close observers begun to understand their histories, their theoretical foundations, and their performance to date?

No readings are required for the first session, but it is recommended that each student becomes familiar with Mark Mazower's *Governing the world: the history of an idea, 1815 to the present*, Penguin Books, 2013.

PART A: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE G7/G20

September 20: Global Governance: Institutions, Concerts, Clubs, and Forums

In the construction of global governing institutions, what is the role of a single dominant power, a ruling class, a balance of power, concerts among great powers, intergovernmental organizations, market and other societal processes, civil society actors, multi-stakeholder networks, epistemic communities, and dominant ideas and empowered individuals? What theories try to explain or understand such factors? How have summit institutions (SIs) operated historically? What were the motivations behind the UofT's pioneering research programs on the G7 and G20?

Putnam, Robert and Nicholas Bayne (1987). *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits,* rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). 1-24 (skim the rest of the book).

Rosenau, James (1995). "Governance in the Twenty-First Century," *Global Governance* 1(1):13-44.

Bayne, Nicholas (2003). "International Institutions: Plurilateralism and Multilateralism," in Nicholas Bayne and Stephen Woolcock, eds., *New Economic Diplomacy: Decision- Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 229-250.

Weiss, Thomas (2009). "What Happened to the Idea of World Government," *International Studies Quarterly* 53(2): 253-271.

Kirton, John (2015). "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).

September 27: Global Governance: Formal-Legal Institutions

How and why have formal intergovernmental institutions, multilateralism and collective security approaches to global governance emerged, notably with the League of Nations and United Nations system? Are legalized intergovernmental organizations now more prevalent, effective and just as centres of global governance? How much has and can the multilateral intergovernmental system, established in the 1940s, perform and reform amidst the challenges of the 21st century?

Madeleine Herren, "International Organizations, 1865-1945," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Organization*, edited by Cogan, Hurd, and Johnstone, Oxford UP, 2016.

John Mearsheimer. 1994/5. "The False Promise of International Institutions" *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.

Ikenberry, John (2001). *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 3-116 (skim rest of the book).

Abbott, Kenneth, Robert Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter
and Duncan Snidal (2000). "The Concept of Legalization," *International
Organization* 54 (Summer): 401-420.
Bayne, Nicholas (2004). "Hard and Soft Law in International Institutions:
Complements, Not Alternatives,"in John Kirton and Michael Trebilcock, eds.,
*Hard Choices, Soft Law: Voluntary Standards in Global Trade, Environmental and
Social Governance* (Aldershot: Ashgate},347-352.

October 4: G7 Governance

How, how well and for whom has the G7 governed and why? How has the G7
summit institutionally developed since its 1975 start? How well does it perform
in its domestic political management, deliberation, direction setting, decision
making, delivery, the development of global governance institutions, distinctive
mission done and problems pre-empted? When and why does it perform well?
What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the ten major
models developed to describe and explain G7 performance (listed below).

the 1997 *American leadership* model of Putnam and Bayne;
the 1999 *concert equality model* of Kirton and Wallace;
the *1996 new consensus model* of Bergsten and Henning;
the 1999 *democratic institutionalist model* of Kokotsis and Ikenberry;
the 1999 *neo-liberal hegemonic consensus model* of Gill and Cox;
the 1999 *ginger group model* of Hodges and Baker;
the 2000 *collective management model* of Bayne;
the 2001 *group hegemony model* of Bailin;
the 2003 *meta-institution model* of Penttila; and
the 2005 *transformational governance model* of Kirton, et al.

Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. (2011).
Securing the Global Economy: Global Governance for a Post-Crisis World
(Farnham: Ashgate), Chapter 1,3-21.
Cox, Robert (1996). "Global Perestroika," in Robert Cox with Timothy Sinclair,
Approaches to World Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapter
15.
Gill, Stephen (1999). "Structural Changes in Multilateralism: The G7 Nexus and
the Global Crisis," in Michael Schechter, ed., *Innovation in Multilateralism*
(Tokyo: United Nations University Press).
Pentillii, Risto (2003). The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security
(Oxford: Oxford University Press), 33-50 and 89-92.
Bayne, Nicholas (2005). *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century*
(Aldershot: Ashgate), 3-35, 191-235 (skim rest of the book).
Charles Roger (2020). *The Origins of Informality*, Oxford: OUP Press, Introductory
chapter.

October 11: G2O Governance

How, how well and for whom has the G20 institutionally developed and

performed and why? How does it compare with and relate to the G7? What are the essential features, strengths and shortcomings of the model of systemic hub governance. What other models are emerging to describe and explain G20 governance?

Kirton, John (2013). *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate), 3-40, 449-453, skim rest of the book.
Cooper, Andrew F., John English and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Reforming Multilateral Institutions from the Top: A Leaders 20 Summit* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), 141-168.
Cooper, Andrew and Ramesh Thakur (2013). *Group of Twenty (G20)* (Abingdon: Routledge). Introduction.
Engelbrekt, Kjell (2015). "Mission Creep? The Nontraditional Security Agenda of the G7/8 and the Nascent Role of the G20," *Global Governance* 21(4): 537-556.
Slaughter, Steven (2019). *The G20 and International Relations Theory*, Edward Elgar, Introductory chapter. (Skim the rest of the book.)

October 18: G7/G20 Relationships with Other State-Led Groups

CRITICAL BOOK REVIEW ESSAY DUE

How, how well and for whom have the BRICS and other forums developed as governance instruments and why? How do they compare with and relate to the G7 and G20? What are the essential features, strengths, and shortcomings of the models emerging to describe and explain BRICS governance?

Cooper, Andrew F. (2016). *BRICS: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Kirton, John (2015). "BRICS Summit Performance," *International Organization Research Journal* 10 (2). See articles by other authors as well.
Kirton, John and Marina Larionova, eds. (2018). *BRICS and Global Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). Introduction and Conclusion.
Kirton, John, Julia Kulik and Caroline Bracht (2014). "Generating Global Health Governance through BRICS Summitry," *Contemporary Politics* 20(2): 146-162.
Kirton, John (2015). "Changing Global Governance for a Transformed World," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).

October 25: Compliance and Accountability in Informal Institutions

How much do G7, G20 and other countries and institutions comply with the collective commitments, mandates, and the principled/normative consensus the leaders forge at the summit? How and why does the pattern of compliance vary by time, participating country and issue area? How have different accountability measures been used and affected compliance? Which ones can be added to

increase compliance?

Kirton, John and Marina Larionova, eds. (2018). *Accountability for Effectiveness in Global Summit Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). Introduction and skim other chapters.

Kirton, John (2015). "Advancing G8 and G20 Effectiveness through Improved Accountability Assessment," in Marina Larionova and John Kirton, eds., *The G8-G20 Relationship* (Farnham: Ashgate).

Kirton, John (2006). "Explaining Compliance with G8 Finance Commitments: Agency, Institutionalization and Structure," *Open Economies Review* 17 (November).

Kirton, John, Nick Roudev and Laura Sunderland (2007). "Making Major Powers Deliver: Explaining Compliance with G8 Health Commitments, 1996-2006, *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 85(3):192-199.

November 1: Effective and Legitimate Governance in a Global Civil Society
To ensure optimal performance, what frequency, length, location, facilities, format, schedule, membership, participation, agenda, preparatory process, communiques, institutions, media, engagement groups and other civil society and public diplomacy, should the G7 and G20 summits have? Importantly, how do their choices interrelate to affect performance? How can and should the G7/G20 reconcile the competing claims of representativeness, inclusiveness, legitimacy, trans-regional cooperation, open democratic values, and timely and effective global governance? What are the various empirical, ideal and prospective configurations of each body as an international institution? What should their relationship with each other and outside institutions be?

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

Hajnal, Peter (2007). *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 95-140, 159-78.

Hajnal, Peter (2022) Whither the G7 and G20?, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 28:2, 127-143,

Bradford, Colin and Wonhyuk Lim (2010). *Toward the Consolidation of the G20: From Crisis Committee to Global Steering Committee* (Seoul and Washington DC: Korea Development Institute and The Brookings Institution).

Dobson, Hugo (2008). "Where Are the Women at the G8?" http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar/dobson-2008.html

Pentillii, Risto (2003). *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 75-88.

PART B: G7/G20 DIPLOMACY OF MEMBER STATES

Part B shifts to a comparative foreign policy approach to examine the role of selected participating countries and organizations toward and within the G7/G20. How important is the G7/G20 to its members, given the alternative international institutions and instruments available? What roles, issues and functions do they emphasize? Who and what are the actor's usual allies, adversaries, coalition strategies and tactics? When and why does it prevail?

November 15: Comparative Foreign Policy: The Place of the G7 and G20 in Key Member-State Strategies

Alexandroff, Alan, ed. *Can the world be governed? Possibilities for effective multilateralism*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008, chapters by Ikenberry and Drezner. Skim the rest of the book.

Kirton, John (2020), 'The United States' Co-operative Leadership in G7 and G20 Governance," *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 40 (1) (Winter-Spring 2020): 103-116.

Kirton, John (2011). "Canada as a G8 and G20 Principal Power," in Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, eds. *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas,* second edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 157-174.

Kirton, John (2018). "Canada's G20 Entrepreneurship," *International Journal* 73 (4) December 2018.

Boehm, Peter (2019), "The Value of the G7: Reflections of a sherpa," *Politique étrangère*, Issue 2, 61-74.

November 22: Comparative Foreign Policy: The Place of the G20 in Key Member-State Strategies

Cooper, Andrew F. (2013) "Squeezed or revitalised? Middle powers, the G20 and the evolution of global governance," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 963-984.

Cooper, Andrew F. (2021) "China, India and the pattern of G20/BRICS engagement: differentiated ambivalence between 'rising' power status and solidarity with the Global South," *Third World Quarterly*, 42:9, 1945-1962.

Alexandroff, Alan (2015) "South Africa in a complex global order: How and where to fit in?", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 22:2, 249-268,

Cooper, Andrew F. & Alan S. Alexandroff (2019) Assessing the variation of 'leader-focused status' in contemporary global governance, *Contemporary Politics*, 25:5, 532-548.

Dobson, Hugo (2016), "China's G20 Leadership -Review," *The China Quarterly*.

Narlikar, Amrita (2014). "Unintended Consequences: The G20 as Global Governance," *Caribbean Journal of International Relations & Diplomacy* 2(3): pp. 61-71.

November 29: Simulating the 2023 G7 Summit
To simulate the forthcoming Hiroshima G7 summit hosted by Japan in the

spring of 2023, students assume the roles of members and participants. A draft communique will be produced in advance by the host leader and sherpa for consideration, confirmation and revision during the simulation. The students who serve as the host and sherpa will not need to lead another seminar this term. All students will be evaluated as part of their presentation and participation mark.

December 6: Global Summits and the Future of Multilateralism: Where to from here?

Slaughter, Steven (2019). *The G20 and International Relations Theory*, Edward Elgar, Concluding chapter.

Roger, Charles (2020). *The Origins of Informality*, Oxford: OUP Press, Concluding chapter.

Philip Zelikow (2022), "The Hollow Order: Rebuilding an International System That Works," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August, pp. 107-119.

Friedberg, Aaron and Charles W. Boustany, Jr., "Partial Disengagement: A New US Strategy for Economic Competition with China," *The Washington Quarterly*, 43:1 pp. 23–40.

Pauly, Louis (2021). "A New Multilateralism for the Twenty-First Century," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 6-8.

Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay (2022). "Last Best Hope: The West's Final Chance to Build a Better World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August, pp. 120-130.

Written Assignments

BookReview

Early in the term, each student will be assigned *one* of the following books to review.

Putnam, Robert D., and Nicholas Bayne (1987). *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits,* rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). (American leadership)

Hodges, Michael, John Kirton and Joseph Daniels, eds.(1999). *The G8's Role in the New Millennium* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (concert equality).

Bergsten, C. Fred and C. Randall Henning (1996). *Global Economic Leadership and the Group of Seven* (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics). (new consensus).

Kokotsis, Eleonore (1999). *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland). (democratic institutionalism).

Penttila, Risto (2003). *The Role of the G8 in International Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Adelphi Paper 355. (meta-institutionalism)

Bayne, Nicholas (2005). *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (collective management)

Bailin, Alison (2005). *From Traditional to Group Hegemony: The G7, the Liberal Economic Order and the Core-Periphery Gap* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (group hegemony)

Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005). *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (transformational governance)

Baker, Andrew (2006). *The Group of Seven: Finance Ministers, Central Banks and Global Financial Governance* (Abingdon: Routledge). (ginger group)

A critical book review essay should follow the general form of a major book review typically found in scholarly journals, like *International Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *World Politics*, or *Global Governance*. It should deal with the book in a balanced fashion but with a clear overall argument. It should state the author's or authors' purpose(s), central thesis, and explicit or underlying analytical or causal model. It should evaluate that thesis and the evidence presented to sustain it. How well is the argument or model supported by the evidence as assembled and interpreted by the author? What anomalies or puzzles arise? How does the argument compare, in quality and substance, with alternative explanations you have encountered in your reading for the course to date? What are your major criticisms and corrections? How adequate is the author's argument as a general model of G7/G20 performance? How well does it relate to, draw from or contribute in turn to more general theories of international institutions and global governance?

Research Essay

The Research Essay of 2,500-3,000 words will focus on G7 and/or G20 performance in dealing with a major global challenge. Early in the term we will divide key topics among seminar participants. Topics will include: climate change, biodiversity loss, international financial stability, ocean and atmospheric pollution, free and fair trade, international tax fairness, investment regulation, the architecture of global security, terrorism, pandemics and public health, international monetary arrangements, sovereign debts, management of outer space, the generation of nuclear energy, economic development, transnational money-laundering, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

With a specific global challenge in mind, the essay will outline discussions and evolving agreements negotiated by the G7 and/or G20 over time. It will assess progress made and intentions for the future. It will note the roles, if any, assigned to formal or informal international institutions. It will evaluate the compliance of members with specific commitments made and note who led, who supported, who resisted, and who adjusted to produce any results achieved in principle and in practice. It will suggest the dimensions of collaborative work yet to be done. It will discuss any domestic constraints faced by leading member-states, and it will outline evident international impediments to future progress. Throughout the essay, a clear theoretical stance should be taken. In the end, that stance should be justified and juxtaposed with obvious alternatives. A concluding comment should be made on the adequacy or inadequacy of the G7 or G20 forum itself in tackling the issue at hand.

Bibliographies should include at least twenty relevant scholarly sources. Students may exchange ideas and data but not text with others, but each essay should be written independently.

Information Sources

Most of the books and weekly readings are on reserve at Trinity College's John Graham Library. All published material should also be accessible on-line or physically through the UofT (Robarts) Library System. Occasional pieces will be uploaded to the course Quercus site.

A comprehensive, authoritative and up-to-date source of information and analysis on the G7 is available at the G7 Information Centre at http://www.g7.utoronto.ca, on the G20 at the G20 Information Centre at http://www.g20.utoronto.ca, and on the BRICS at http://www.brics.utoronto.ca. The first contains extensive bibliography of works on the G8, compiled by Peter Hajnal, plus other publications and citations, together with the full text of some pieces. It also contains the documentation issued by and at the annual G7/8 summit and some ancillary ministerial meetings, a list of delegations, media coverage and, since 1996, an evaluation of the performance of the annual G8 summit and its participating members. It also contains links to other G7 sites.

The physical version of the materials on the G7 Information Centre website, together with additional documentation and audio recording of briefings at the summit, is available at the G7 Research Collection at Trinity's John Graham Library. Special arrangements are required to access these materials; see Graham Library staff. For an overview of G7 and G20 documentation see the books by Peter Hajnal from Ashgate Publishing. In addition to texts noted above, a partial listing of relevant journals, books and published studies is provided on the course Quercus site.